GUIDE TO THE E16 SLAVIC PEOPLES FILE

The E16 Slavic Peoples file includes general data on the Slavic peoples, languages, and cultures. Slavic speakers currently comprise the largest linguistic group in Europe, numbering over 250 million, and all but a few border groups live in a state with a Slavic majority. Those states are Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and the USSR. Although the Slavic peoples have a common linguistic and racial heritage, they are currently divided into several political, geographical, and linguistic units. There are three major geographic/linguistic groups - Eastern, Western, and Southern - which are in turn divided into anywhere from seven to thirteen subgroups depending upon whether the divisions are based on political, ethnic, or linguistic criteria. The Eastern group which consists of Russian peoples is the most populous; it accounts for almost three-quarters of the Slavic speakers or 180 million people. The group is divided into 3 linguistic units: Great Russian, which is spoken by inhabitants of central European Russia and in a great part of Siberia; Belorussian or White Russian, which is spoken in an area centering on Minsk; and Ukrainian or Little Russian, which is spoken on the steppes north of the Black Sea from the western frontier to the Kuban and Don rivers. The Western group includes the Poles, the Czechs, Moravians, and Slovaks who together comprise the Czechoslovakian nation, the Kashubs who live in Poland and the Lusatian Sorbs or Wends who live in East Germany. According to 9: Jakobson, this group represents six separate literary standards - Polish, Kashubian, Lower and Upper Lusatian, Czech, and Slovak-and accounts for nearly 50 million Slavic speakers. The Southern group, which accounts for approximately 25 million people, consists of Slovenes who live in northern Yugoslavia, Serbs, and Croatians who together make up most of the population of Yugoslavia, Bulgarians, and Macedonians who live in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece.

This group represents four literary standards - Slovene, Serbocroatian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian. All Slavic languages belong to the Indo-European family.

The Slavs, who currently occupy the Eastern section of the European continent and part of Asia, have not always occupied this territory but have gone through numerous migrations. 4: Cross suggests that before the Slavs dispersed and differentiated, they inhabited an irregular oblong area northeast of the Carpathians extending eastward from the basin of the middle Vistula to the course of the Dnieper north and south of Kiev. The dispersion and dissolution of the Slavic peoples probably occurred as a result of differing geographic and foreign influences. As a buffer zone between Europe and Asia, the Slavs were subject to Eastern and Western culture. Consequently, under Eastern influence the Russians, Serbs, Macedonians, and Bulgarians accepted the Orthodox Church and use the Cyrillic alphabet, while under Western influence Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Lusatians, Slovenes, and Croatians accepted the Catholic church and use the Latin alphabet. Despite these differences there have been periodic resurgences of a Panslavic movement. The history of this movement is thoroughly discussed in 3 of the 7 sources in this file.

All seven of the sources in the E16 file are historical in nature. The source numbers range from 1 to 10 but there are no sources 2, 3, or 8. 1: Niederle was written by a Czech ethnologist and was translated first from Czech to French and then from French to English. The author divides the Slavs into 9 groups and gives an extensive historical, statistical, and demographic summary of each group along with some brief ethnographic information. 4: Cross is an historical survey of the Slavs from their origins to the beginning of World War II. Particular emphasis is placed on the political and cultural relations among the various Slavic groups and between the Slavs and Germans with an eye toward providing

an historical basis for modern international conflicts. Sources 5: Thomson, 6: Mousset and 7: Lednicki all provide an historical account of the Panslavic movement. 5: Thomson is a brief article surveying Panslavism from 1848-1948. 6: Mousset is a more extensive analysis of the subject, translated from the French. The author traces the development of the movement from its inception in the early 17th century and places it within the framework of international relations. 7: Lednicki looks at the Panslavic movement from the viewpoint of various Slavic peoples particularly from that of Russians and Poles and discusses the idealogies of specific Panslavists. 9: Jakobson is an historical survey of the thirteen Slavic languages and of Church Slavonic by an outstanding linguist and Slavicist. He discusses the development of their alphabets, phonologies and grammars and provides samples of each language. 10: French provides a survey of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Part I concentrates on the history while Part II discusses the architecture, interior decoration and furnishings of the churches and describes the rites of worship. The file was processed in 1955 and 1956. Since the file is concerned mainly with general political and historical information, the researcher is advised to consult the country and ethnic files for the various subgroups in order to obtain more specific information.]

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I established the fact that a Russian geographer, Mr. Zarianko, had arrived at a total of 101,724,000 for the year 1891, while the statistics set forth by Mr. Schrader in his Atlas gave only 97 million.

In 1905 Mr. Niederle resumed the inquiry for an article intended for the Czech Encyclopedia and arrived at a total of 138,500,000 persons.

About the same time a Russian scholar, a distinguished student of the Slavs, professor in the University of Kiyev, Mr. Florinskii, studied for his part, the statistics of the Slavic peoples and made public /vii/ the results of his research in a volume published at Kiyev in 1907 under the title The Slavic Race. Here are his figures:

Great Russians	65,000,000
Ukrainians	31,000,000
Belorussians	7,000,000
Bulgars	5,400,000
Serbo-Croats	9,000,000
Czechs	6,641,000
Slovaks	2,600,000
Poles	20,000,000
Kashubs	355,000
Sorbs of Lusatia	150,000

on a round total figure of 148 million.

Mr. Florinskii estimates that, the annual excess of births over deaths being 1.7%, the race increases each year by 2,500,000 individuals. With this coefficient the increase should then present a grand total of 186 million for the year 1915, and of 200 million for the year 1920.

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Among the problems which Mr. Florinskii had to solve, one of the most delicate was that of Macedonian ethnography. The struggle, of which Macedonia has been the scene for more than a quarter of a century, between the Serbs and the Bulgars, has greatly embarrassed certain Russian publicists desirous of alienating neither of these contending parties.

In a map published in 1889, the Russian geographer Mr. Zarianko, in accordance with all the precedents, assigned Macedonia to the /viii/ Bulgars. Appalled by the protests of the Serbs, who were seeking in Macedonia compensation for the loss of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Mr. Zarianko in a later edition had the idea of giving to Macedonia a special coloring, meaning by that, as he said, a country whose nationality had not yet been studied. Since then the ethnographers have had the

B. S. S.P. 101 time to determine the facts and here are the terms in which Mr. Florinskii worded his decision in 1908:

B. S. S.P. 197 101 "It seems to me," he said,[1] "that there is no valid reason at all for making the Macedonians a special ethnographic group. The principal criterion is deciding upon the division of this group between the Bulgarian and Serbian nationalities is established by the linguistic data. According to these, insofar as they are known at present--it has been determined that the majority of the Macedonian dialects have the fundamental characteristics of the Bulgarian language. It is only in northern Macedonia, in the districts of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Kratovo that the peculiarities of the Serbian language appear clearly in the Slavic idioms, through they are with certain peculiarities of the Balkan tongue."

Mr. Florinskii concludes by awarding the north /ix/ of Macedonia to the Serbs, and the remainder to the Bulgars.

000 "I do not know," I wrote in 1908, in connection with the publication of Mr. Florinskii's book (1), "if this judgment of Solomon

1. In l'Energie francaise, issue of 29 February.

will satisfy the two parties. In any case one may be certain that the Greeks will make fierce outcry. Be that as it may, I cannot urge the Serbs and the Bulgars too strongly to find a definitive modus vivendi. The Slavs could not possibly make too many concessions in order to unite themselves against the eternal enemies of their race: the Germans, the Magyars, the Greeks, the Turks."

In those matters which relate to the Slavs of Macedonia, Mr. Niederle has arrived at almost the same conclusions as Mr. Florinskii; but he has supported them by other arguments.

III.

S.P. 114 In writing the article "Slavs" for the Czech Encyclopedia, Mr. Niederle found it necessary to study certain problems of demography and anthropology. At that precise moment the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg proposed the publication of an Encyclopedia of Slavic Philology under the direction of Mr. V. Jagic (1), the eminent /x/

1. See my article about Monsieur Jagic in the Journal des Savants, (Year 1908).

professor at the University of Vienna. Probably at the instigation of this distinguished scholar, they requested Mr. Niederle to write for this collection a volume upon the Slavic race. This volume written

[1] [Mr. Florinskii, professor in the University of Kiyev, 1908--August]

000 author was named Kubalski.

Henri Martin and others were guilty in the matter of the pretended Turanianism of the Russians. In pointing out these fantasies or these errors I naturally have made some enemies among those who believe that it is to their advantage to exploit them. But truth must be served above all else.

It is to serve once again the cause of truth--and at the same time the interests of our country--that I have undertaken this translation. In it will be found in a flawless and rigorously scientific style everything which concerns the distribution of the Slavic nations, the statistics, the demography, the anthropology of this poorly known group. It is to be hoped that this work may become the breviary of our professors, of our publicists, of our politicians. We have been led astray sufficiently in the matter of the Slavic peoples; the time has come for us to form a just and exact idea of them.

LOUIS LEGER.

/1/ THE SLAV RACE

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INTRODUCTION

114 Editor's Note: Names which did not occur in the English reference books available to me, occur in a form transliterated from Russian and are marked with an asterisk.

101 S1.--The first Slavs appeared only recently in Central Europe, where little by little they came to be distinguished from the other Indo-European peoples because of the difference in their language and partially because of the differences in their civilization. From the outset they differed among themselves from the point of view of their physical characteristics; they presented diverse types as to the shape of the skull and the skull and the color of hair and eyes. In the regions in which the primitive Slavs evidently have dwelt since the most remote times, we encounter from the prehistoric period differing types of skulls and different colorations.

142 At the moment of their entrance upon the historic scene, a portion of the Slavs are represented to us as men with light-colored eyes and blond or red hair, others with dark hair; the vestiges of hair found in tombs confirm these two types.

found in tombs confirm these two types.

101 Domestic life also presents varying types during the pre-Christian period. For example, in the West, between the Elbe and the Vistula, /2/ we find a certain type of tomb and a peculiar Adriatico-Danubian material, and another type east of the Vistula, where the influence of the Black Sea is dominant. From the moment at which the Slavs separated themselves from the other Aryans, the differentiation of the languages began to develop within the race itself; this differentiation has been reinforced by various factors, for example, by the formation of isolated centers, where the cultivation of the soil was carried on intensively, or where a political unit developed, by the movements of various groups and their mixture with foreign elements (for example the migration of the Slavs towards the south and their subsequent career in the Balkan Peninsula). This differentiation became so striking that the primitive people, who formed only a single body, dissolved into a set of groups absolutely distinct one from another. Even today there is no complete agreement in the question of knowing just how far this disaggregation has proceeded and which are the groups that should be considered as being completely independent; but everyone recognizes that there is no longer a single Slavic nationality. There is now a series of individual nations. Today, Slavic unity is merely a theoretical concept played upon by ideas and sentiments, but in the life of the Slavs themselves the moments are rare indeed in which one may discover some remembrance of the vanished unity.

How did this dismemberment take place? /3/ What circumstances caused the groups to spring up? How did that individualization occur, what is the condition of the race today, how many nations may be enumerated? These are some of the questions which Slavic science has not yet completely solved.

174 The following appears to be the most likely. The nucleus of
101 the primitive Slavic people was between the Oder and the Dnepr; in prehistoric times they reached by successive steps the Elbe, the Saale, the Danube, the Desna, the Niemen, and the Baltic. They disaggregated on this vast territory, partially under the influence of certain geographical conditions, for example, the influence of the large streams and the mountains--partially under the influence of civilizing currents, which are not the same in the Orient as in the Occident, and finally under the influence of linguistic development. At first three groups were established. The first, to the west of the Vistula and the Carpathians, stretched out towards the Occident beyond the Elbe, the Saale,

174 the Elbe, the Saale, and the Sumava (Boehmerwald) and has produced
101 the Slavic branches of the Polabians, Pomorians, Poles, and Czechoslovaks; the second, whose primitive home was between the upper Vistula, the Dnestr, and the middle Danube, descended little by little--save a few tribes to the south of the Carpathians, --some to establish themselves on the Drava, others, after having crossed the Sava and the Danube, in the region of the/4/ Balkans, and formed the Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgar groups; the third group spread out from the basin of the Dnepr in a vast circle to the north as far as the Gulf of Finland, on the upper Dnepr, the Volga, the Oka, to the east, towards the Don, to the south, towards the Black Sea and the lower Danube, and formed the Russian nation; under the influence of diverse conditions this nation differentiated within itself and became altered according to the localities in which it had settled.

101 The various branches of the Slav family are not all equally differentiated from each other. Between the Czechs and the Poles the difference is greater than between the Czechs and the Slovaks. It is greater between the Great Russians and the Poles than between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. Furthermore, in politics and in literature controversies continuously arise in the matter of knowing whether a segment should be considered as a tribe or as an independent nation. There is no agreement at all as to the use of the terms nation, nationality, tribe, branch, any more than as to the actual total number of Slavs.

000 It all depends upon the points of view on the matter of philology, ethnography, history, and or politics. Even when one starts out from the same viewpoint, one can arrive at various conclusions. One philologist sees two languages where another one sees only dialects of the same tongue. Certain of them give greater weight to their hopes for a renaissance, for political individuality, /5/ for national autonomy, than to the scientific data; others, obedient to political considerations, imagine new nations which their rivals are even un-
114 willing to hear mentioned. Thus the number of Slavic nations, and, consequently, the method of handling the entire Slavic problem, differs greatly from one author to another. Thus Dobrowsky (1), --

1. Joseph Dobrowsky, born in 1753, died in 1829, a Czech scholar, the true creator of Slavic philology. See my note about him in the Grande Encyclopedie, Translator.

in order not to go too far back, nor to become involved in too many

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more clearly, with the first Chronicle of Kiev, (1) preserved in a

1. Chronicle said to be by Nestor: see my translation (Leroux, 1884) and the Index which accompanies it. Translator.

manuscript from the twelfth century, that we have somewhat more precise details. These texts inform us that upon the territory of present-day Russia there lived a swarm of tribes which constituted independent units. The writer of these annals enumerates twelve of them:

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the Slavs of Lake Ilmen, with their center at Novgorod-the-Great.

the Krivichi near the sources of the Dnepr, the Dvina, and the Volga (those who lived on the Polot River were called Polotchani).

the Dregovichi between the Pripet and the Dvina.

the Drevliani to the southwest of the former.

the Poliani from Teterevo to Kiyev, which became their center.

the Dudlebi and Bujani (or Volhynians) on the Bug.

the Tivertsi and the Ulichi on the Dnestr and on the Bug.

the Radimichi on the Soya.

the Viatichi on the Oka.

the Severiani on the Desna, the Seym and the Soula.

the writer of the annals who enumerates these various peoples gathers them together under the collective name of Rus. How did this name Rus originate among this people? Here again is an enigma. (1) But whatever /11/ its origin may be, it is certain that it referred

1. On this enigma, see our edition of Nestor. Translator.

at first to the center at Kiyev, where the first Russian state was founded by the Varangian princes, that from there it spread out rapidly towards the Orient among the Slavs as a political and then an ethnic designation, and that it was applied to certain peoples who, according to the chronicler, were of a Lekh origin.(2)

2. Regarding this name, see the second chapter. Translator.

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The Slavic domain towards the Orient, as it is outlined by the Russian chronicler in the twelfth century, was not originally Slavic territory, it was previously occupied by allogenes /people of another race/ and colonized by the Slavs. The proof of this statement is furnished by the earlier names, Lithuanian and Finnish, in the region located to the north of the Pripet and in the neighborhood of the sources of the Dnepr, in the basins of the Oka and of the Volga. We encounter upon this territory the first Slavic colonization vouched for by texts and not by the primitive people. It is here that the eastern Slavs,

000 especially by the inhabitants of Great Russia.

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It may be seen from this sketch of the development of the Russian nation--especially from the intensive colonization of the later years--that it is impossible to bound the Russian realm by a continuous line. For the Russian population in Asia and in Europe does not appear as a compact mass, but as an aggregate, more or less homogneous, of groups of colonists, sometimes indeed completely isolated, in the midst of allogenic populations. The Russians are established in a compact mass in eastern Europe, the greater part within the Russian Empire, and a small fraction within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But only the western and southern frontiers of this mass are well defined; to the east and to the north the frontier juts out and forms population islands along the navigable rivers in the midst of native elements, Finnish or Turko-Tatar. The following is the precise boundary of the territory inhabited in a compact fashion--save for a few allogenic islands--by the Russian people, beginning from the mouth of the Neva which on the west abuts the Finnish national territory. (1)

1. I shall not enter upon all of the topographic details because they are of no interest, and besides the authors are not always in agreement concerning them.

From Petersburg the frontier first runs along the Gulf of Finland to the mouth of the Narova; it follows that river, stretches along Lake Peipus and the lake of Pskov towards Izborsk, descends /21/ towards Loutsyn (Ludza) as far as Dvinsk (Daugavpils). It turns around to the west of Volna, crosses the Niemen north of Grodno, reaches Bielostok (Bialystok), Surai on the Narew, Bielsk, Drohiczyn on the Bug, stretches into the Russian area of Kholm (Chelm)--according to the studies of Frantsev--and follows the Biala, Parczew, Krasnystaw line towards Tomaszow. Then it enters Galicia by skirting Tarnograd, reaches the San River above Jaroslaw, runs toward Sanok, and in the Carpathians reaches Piwniczna on the Hungarian frontier. (1)

1. Certain names which the reader would not find on French maps have been omitted in this enumeration. Translator.

At Piwniczna the border extends slightly towards the west, makes a few detours, penetrates into the counties of Spis and Sarys (Saros in Hungarian), and follows the Poprad as far as Spisska Sobota.

According to the latest studies of Czambel and of Tomashivskii, (2) the results of which present only very slight differences, the Russian

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2. The difference between the frontier of Czambel and that of Tomashivskii consists in the fact that Tomashivskii includes as Russian a few additional communes in the counties of Spis and Sarys.

boundary in Hungary begins at Lipnik, not far from the mouth of the Dunajec, crosses at Kaminka to the outskirts of Stara Lubovna (O Luble, in Magyar), and Iakoubiani (Iakobpol), towards Hodermark* and Stelbach*, Kisgeber*, Iatkiotsi*, (Zseltek). Then it makes a great semi-circle towards the north, reaches Bardejov, descends towards the south along the Topla as far as Petkovtsi (Petkocz*), crosses /22/ the Ondavka to Valkov (Valko), Beresliv (Breszlo*), Porauba (Orosz poruba*) (1)

1. In this Magyar word Orosz means Russian. We have omitted here a few localities without interest. Translator.

Hliviscze, Komouch, as far as Uzhorod (Ungvar). There it touches the Magyars. The boundary skirts their territory as far as the city of Visso on the river of the same name. But the Ukrainians are in the minority here. From there the boundary follows the right bank of the Vasir* as far as Bukovina, then it crosses the Suczava River, leaves to the Russians the upper reaches of the Seret, crosses Kaminka, Negotin. The city of Sereth and runs along the frontier up to the place where the Prut comes out of Bukovina. Here, the cities of Czernowitz and of Seret are German. On the other hand, Russian islands are found in Galicia, particularly between Lutcza and Korczyn to the south of Rzeszow, near Rymanow, near Dynow, in the outskirts of Jaroslaw, in the basin of the Wysloka, and in Hungary around Spiess and Krempach. Let us also mention the large island in Bukovina between the Seret and the Suczava*.

Beyond the Austrian frontier the Prut is usually considered to form the boundary between the Russians and the Rumanians. But at the northern point of Bessarabia, between the Prut and the Dnestr, there is a Russian region, notably in the district of Khotin, in what is called the Bessarabian Bukovina. Outside of this region /23/ the Russians are scattered and strongly exposed to Rumanization.

According to Nestorovskii, the boundary of Russian nationality in Bessarabia passes through Balamoutovka, Rjavinets, Grozintsi, Sankoutsi*, Reugatch*, Dinouci*, Doljok*, Bielovtsi*, Gijdev*, Kichlo-Salievo*, Kichlo-Zamjievo*, Bielavintsi*, Titskany* and Fitesti*. In the districts of Sorok* and of Bielets* the Russian colonies are already very widely scattered; but they have penetrated as far as the southern

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section of the guberniya. Estimates are not in agreement. Chubinskii in 1872 figured that in all of Bessarabia there were 100,000 Ukrainians. Nestorovskii in 1905 guessed at 250,000. The latest statistics have figured that the Russians comprised 27.8 % of the total population, or 540,000 (of whom 380,000 were Ukrainians).

Beyond the Dnestr, to the east, it is not easy to trace the boundary exactly. Retailed maps are lacking. The ethnographical maps which I have used extend the Russian domain as far as the Black Sea. But to the south of the line of Yampol, Balta, Olviopol (now Pervomaisk), Elizavetgrad (now Kirovograd), Slavyanoserbsk, and Novocherkassk, this domain is pervaded by so many islands of foreigners (Germans, Bulgars, Rumanians, Tatars, Greeks, Jews, Armenians) that the Russians in the south cannot be considered as forming a compact population. It would be impossible to delimit their territory exactly until after the most minute ethnographic examination. To date we do not have a sufficiently detailed study. According to /24/ Derzhavin the latest statistics have enumerated in the guberniya of Kherson 57 linguistic groups, in Bessarabia, 41, and in the guberniya of Tavrida, 39. The dominant element, nevertheless, is Ukrainian.

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We reach the same conclusions for the provinces beyond the Dnepr, the Don, and the Volga. There are also many non-Russian elements and exact data and good ethnographic maps are lacking. On Russian maps--which are usually on a small scale--the Russian domain comprises the area between the Dnepr and the Don and stops at the Kuban (the Crimea being Tatar). In general the border begins on the shores of the Black Sea, at the town of Gagri below the Caucasus, crosses the mountains, curves around Pyatigorsk and Stavropol, draws near the left bank of the Don (there are 33.7 % Russians in the province of Terek), then skirts the Steppes of the Kirghiz and of the Kalmyk, and comes to the lower Volga, to the shores of the Caspian Sea and of the Terek. All along the Volga, from its mouth upwards, are situated numerous Russian towns and villages, cut off from each other by German, Finnish, and Tatar areas.

The Russian domain of the Volga cannot be delimited by a line; it is full of islands of allogenes which often interect one another These allogenic groups occupy a territory which extends approximately from the spot where the Volga bends towards the south from Saratov through Serdobsk, Morshansk and Murom to Nizhnii Novgorod (now Gor'kiy). To the north of the Volga the Russian population is compact;

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it extends to the lower reaches of the Onega and of the Ladoga, and further north there are numerous Russian colonies on the shores of the rivers and of the lakes; they are scattered in the midst of the allogenic populations.

Outside of this territory briefly outlined above, the Russians can be found in groups in certain cities of the Kingdom of Poland, in the interior of Hungary and of Slavonia and in Bulgaria in the colony of Tataritsa*, near Siliste (probably Silistria). They have been established there since the beginning of the eighteen century. At that period the Ataman Nekrasov, a devout Christian, came and settled in this region with his companions. They were called the Nekrasovtsi. As a result of pressure from the Rumanian authorities, the Russians settled in the Dobroudja began to emigrate to Bulgaria. However, in the delta of the Danube there still exist several Russian colonies. They are those of St. Georghe, of Letea, of Svistovka*, of Periprava*, and of Karaorman in the outskirts of Sulina. Another considerable Russian group is found at Tulcea* (5,621 Russians, 4,372 Rumanians, 4,018 Bulgars).

In Asia, the Russians mainly occupy Siberia. Their villages and their towns are located on the navigable waterways and along the new line of the Trans-Siberian Railway. From a statistical viewpoint Siberia is almost entirely Russian;/26/ but in reality it contains immense area which are uninhabited or occupied by the natives. As to the various regions, western Siberia (the region of the Ob and the Irtysh) is almost entirely Russian. The Russian population is concentrated in the south, on the upper Ob, the Irtysh and its tributaries.

Central Siberia (the basins of the Yenisey and of the Angara) contains fewer Russians. They are especially concentrated in the southern provinces, in the neighborhood of Minousinsk, of Krasnoyarsk, and of Irkutsk. The Lena or Yakut part of Siberia contains only 11% Russians. On the other hand, the province of the Amur, the seacoast, and the Russian section of Skhalin are Russian. It is estimated that in the guberniyas of Tobolsk and Tomsk there are 91% Russians; in the Yenisey guberniya and province of the Amur, 86.5%; in the Irkutsk guberniya, 73.6%; in Transbaikalia, 66.2%; along the seacoast 50.9%; on Sakhalin, 65.2%. In the guberniya of Yakutsk, in the north of Siberia, the population is mainly composed of Yakuts; Russians make up only 11% of it and live only in the towns. In central Asia their number is not considerable; 8.9% of the total.

*[In Dobroudja -- Analyst]

S.P. T.R. 101 16a population (25.7% in the towns and 6.6% in the country districts). The Russians are especially concentrated in the north: 33% in the province of Akmolinsk, 25% in that of the Ural, from 7.7% to 10% /27/ in the provinces of Semipalatinsk, Semirech'ye (or Dzhety-Su), Transcaspian, and Turgai; only 3% in that of Syr-Day'ya, 1.6% in that of Samarkand, and 0.6% in that of Fergana.

So far the Steppe of the Kirghiz contains no Russians.

Turkestan numbers 8.9% of them scattered in the large cities and in about one hundred fifty small towns located in the most fertile oases. The southernmost colony is that of Aleksivskoe, 125 kilometers from Herat.

Outside of European and Asiatic Russia, there are a great many Russian emigrants in the large cities of Europe, especially in the colonies of religious heretics in America, in Alaska, in Canada, particularly in the neighborhood of Yorktown, (1) as well as Ukrainians, especially in Brazil and in the Argentine Republic (province of Parana).

1. In 1899 and 1900 about 7,500 Russian Doukhobors settled near Yorktown, Saskatchewan, Canada.--Editor.

The Russians, furthermore, are very numerous in the principal cities of California, and of the States of Washington and Oregon.

Some Russian colonies of Cossacks have also been established in Asia Minor, in the neighborhood of Nicaea and of Sinope.

S.P. T.R. 16b S 5. Statistics.-- The territory of the Russian Empire, according to the census of 28 January 1897, contained a total of 83,933,567 Russians, that is to say 66.8% of the population. If we consider that, following Pokrovsky, the population /28/ increases each year by 1.5%, which means 1,250,000 Russians, the increase in the last four years would have amounted to at least 5 million. Therefore, we may venture to estimate for the year 1900 a total of 89 million Russians. If we add to this the Russians of Austria and of Hungary, in accordance with the census of 1900, we obtain the following totals:

In Russia and in Asia	89,000,000
In Austria	3,375,576
In Hungary	429,447
Total for 1900	92,805,023

But this total does not correspond with the facts. In the first place, the Hungarian census reduces the number of Russians. They are

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Ukrainian. If we take into account the annual increase of 1.5% during the four following years, we will then obtain the following figures for the close of the year 1900:

Great Russians	(approx.)	59,000,000
Belorussians	(approx.)	6,200,000
Ukrainians	(approx.)	23,700,000

To the latter, one must add almost all the Russians /42/ of Austria-Hungary, that is 3,805,023 (leaving out the 40,000 Jews who state that they are Ukrainians), and 500,000 who live in foreign countries. We will then have for the close of the year 1900 a total of 28 million. But the Ukrainian statisticians declare that this figure is too low and estimate that it should be much larger. Thus, very recently, for the year 1905, Mr. Nechuj-Levitskyj figures--for the entire world--37,206,000 Ukrainians, 31,174,000 of whom are in European Russia. We cannot accept these figures, but will admit of a total of 30 million.

Gnatiuk, at the end of the last century, estimated 30 million; Hrushevskyj, in 1906, 34 million; Karsky, for 1903, conceded about 8 and a half million Belorussians.

§ 8.--The dialectal and ethnographic differentiation is not confined to these three principal groups. Within each of them there are to be found smaller groups which bear historic names or popular nicknames.

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These differences appear especially among the Ukrainians, where not only do the philologists find new dialects, but where history and the people themselves mark out a whole series of names, where certain peoples (as for example the Gorals of the Carpathians) have so unusual a physiognomy that one asks oneself if they do not have a peculiar origin, perhaps non-Slavic.

Chubinskii, in his extremely valuable collection /43/ of ethnoc ethnography, recognizes three types among the Ukrainians of southern Russia: the Polesian, the Ukrainian, the Podolo-Galician.

The first, that of the Poliechouks (Polexiani of the ancient chronicles), inhabitants of the Polesie (1), in the southern portion of the

1. Polesie, the region which skirts the forest. Tr:

districts of Kiyev, of Radomysl, in the Volhynia from the northeast to the river Goryn', in a portion of the gubernyas of Siedlec and of Grodno which make up the Podlasie.

S.P. T.R. 101 197 The inhabitants of the district of Pinsk call themselves the Pintchouks. They live to the north of the Goryn' River, on both banks of the Styr', beyond the Turya and the Pripet, and to the north of the Pina connect up with the Podliachiens of the gubernia of Grodno.

S.P. T.R. C. 101 We find another Ukrainian type west of the Dnepr, in the gubernia of Kiyev, the central region of the Volhynia and the southwest of the Podolia. It is that of the Cossacks or Zaporozhians.

SP TR 197 They have presented and still present today an ethnographic oddity. There has been much discussion as to the origin of those fighting and trading associations which in the constant warfare against the Tatars and the Turks developed an ethnic individuality, especially from the point of view of their domestic life and social organization.

/44/ The ancient theories which represent them as being of foreign origin are certainly incorrect; it is certain that the Cossacks are of Russian origin. In accordance with the region in which their associations were founded and set up, they are distinguished today as Cossacks of the Kuban, of the Don, of the Terek, of the Ural, etc. Their types are different. Thus the Cossacks of the upper Don who speak Great Russian are blond, the Cossacks of the lower Don who speak Ukrainian C [161] are, in great majority, very dark. The census of 1905 reported, for European and Asiatic Russia, 3,700,000 Cossacks who live in the Cossack provinces of the Don, of Orenburg (Chkalov), of the Kuban, of the Terek, of Astrakhan, of the Amur, of Transbaikalia, of the Seacoast, of Akmolinsk, of Semipalatinsk, of the Ural. Aside from the Russian Cossacks, there are also allogenic Cossacks, for example the Buriat Cossacks of Transbaikalia, the Kalmuk Cossacks of the Don, the Turkish Cossacks of the territories of Orenburg (Chkalov and of the Ural, the Mordvinian Cossacks of the territories of Akmolinsk and of Orenburg (Chkalov).

S.P. T.R. 101 197 In addition to the names of Cossacks and of Zaporozhians, one could come across not so long age the names of Stepoviks for the inhabitants of the southern steppes, of Poberezhtsi (river-dwellers) for the inhabitants of the southern part of the present Podolia, and of Volyntsi for those of the western portion of the district of Berdichev (gubernia of Kiyev) and of certain sections of Podolia.

/45/ To a third type belong the inhabitants of western Volhynia and of Galicia: on the frontiers of Galicia and of Poland they are called Rusini or Rusniaks. In the region of the Carpathians they also have a multitude of local names: Bukovinians, Krainians, Hrivniaks, Opolanes,

S.P. T.R. 101 197 Galicians, L'vovians and others, derived from the name of the locality which they inhabit. The principal element are the Gorals (mountaineers, from the word gora, mountain) of the Carpathians, who are also called Verkhovintsi (from verkh, summit). Four principal tribes are distinguished among these Russians: in the west, the Lemki, on the two slopes of the Beskid mountains, especially in the districts of Sandets, Jaslo Jaslo and Sanok; the Boiki, neighbors of the former, to the west of the San; the Tukholtsi, farther to the south, from the district of Sambor to the district of Stanislavov; and still further in the mountains, in the district of Kolomyja, of Stanislavov, in Bukovina, and in the Hungarian county of Marmaros, the Hutsuli (Huculi) are met with, who call themselves Christians, Rusniaks, or Russian people.

S.P. T.R. R. 101 197 Among the Russian population of the Bukovina, three types may be distinguished: the Podolians or Polianes, the Hutsuli and the Lipovani. The latter are religious heretics who left Russia in the eighteenth century.

S.P. T.R. R. [144] The Hutsuli are a very peculiar and interesting tribe, an enigma of Slavic ethnology. /46/ They have given rise to all sorts of hypotheses. Ivan Vagilevitch links them with the Turkish Ouzes, Koshkov to the Thracians or to the Scythians; more recently Volkov looked for their origins in the Caucasus. Some accept a strong intrusion of foreign elements into the primitive Slavic element, while others consider them to be Slavs of pure blood. They are remarkable for their fine stature, for the antiquity and the richness of their customs, for their artistic sense, for their picturesque costume, but also for their lack of intellectual culture which places them in the lowest rank among the Slavs. It is estimated that 93% of them are still illiterate. The name Hutsuli is probably of Rumanian origin (goc, plus the Rumanian article ul). The names Boiki and Lemki are surnames given by their neighbors because of their use of the words lem and boi. Vagilevitch has seen in the Lemki--without good reason, however,--the remains of vanished Celts. In 1890 Shukhevych estimated their number at 60,000. (1)

S.P. T.R. R. [212]

S.P. T.R. R. [164]

1. A. Sobolevsky found the names Hutsuli and Boiki again in the Gulatsi and the Butsi of the guberniya of Kiyev (district of Tcherkassk). And he used this connection to support his theory on the arrival of Carpathian Russians at Kiyev after the Tatar invasion.

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Among the Belorussians dialectical shadings and local names of tribes can also be found; for example, the Polianes in the district of Slonim, the Siekals or Sakals in that of /47/ Wolkowysk. Among the Great Russians, despite the immense size of the space occupied by them, intercourse has always remained easy because of the evenness of the ground; no considerable differences in speech nor types, as pronounced as among the Ukrainians, have established themselves. However, there are to be found among them also local names due most frequently to differences in dialect. Thus, in the guberniya of Voronezh one finds the Iaguny, the Kaguny*, the Tsukany*, the Shchekuni*, the Talagai*; in the government of Kursk, the Saiany. In the government of Kaluga, the inhabitants of the western section of the district of Mosal'sk and of the districts of Bryansk and of Trubchevsk (guberniya of Orel) call themselves Polieshi*, and the inhabitants of the eastern section of the district of Mosal'sk, the Polianes. The inhabitants of the north bank of the Desna are called the Zadesentsy (Transdesniens) by the Ukrainians. Likewise, many names are used which are derived from those of cities, Muscovites, Novgorodians, etc.).

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S 9.--This differentiation of types is partly confirmed by the anthropological method. The Ukrainians of the south, indeed, set themselves off from the Belorussians and the Great Russians, not only by their manner of wearing their hair and their beard, but even by their bodily structure. Thus, we find in the south more brachycephalics, with darker coloring and taller stature than among /48/ the Great Russians and the Belorussians. But, on the other hand, these groups themselves are of far from perfect uniformity. Quite the contrary. What is known up to the present in the matter of the physical study of the Russian types shows rather outstanding variations among local groups, variations which are greater than, for example, the average difference between the Great Russian, the Ukrainian, and the Belorussian groups.

In general, if we refer to the anthropological signs gathered by A. Ivanovsky, here is what we can ascertain:

Among the Russians, the average height is about 1.65 meters. Among the Great Russians, 51% are found to be shorter, and 49% taller than this; among the Belorussians, 36% shorter, 64% taller; among the Ukrainians, 47% shorter, 53% taller.

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In the matter of the color of the eyes and the hair, the Slavs of Russia belong for the most part to a mixed type. It is only among the Belorussians that the pure blond type dominates (48%, against 31%

S.P. T.R. 181 mores and customs. And this difference is further emphasized by their historical careers and in these latter years by their political divergences. These divergences go so far that they sometimes result in a rupture of all of the ties of kinship. The representatives of the intellectual class among the Ukrainians are unwilling to consider themselves as Russians, as a nation of the same origin and of the same character as the Russians. They tear the unity of the Russian world into two segments, into two nations: the one located to the north is made upof the Great Russians, the Russians Kat'eksokhln, /among the foreigners/ otherwise called Rossiani, the Moskali or the Moskvichi. The others, the people of the south, are the Little Russians, the Yugorusi (1), or, /51/ according to a more recent appellation, the Ukrainians.

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1. Russians of the south.

S.P. T.R. 101 Up until now there is no agreement as to the names to be used. The Great Russians and the foreigners, conforming to tradition, most frequently use the expressions: Great Russians, Little Russians, bearing in mind the historic name of Little Russia (excepting Galicia and Vladimir). The appellation of Iugorusi is less frequently encountered (for example in Pypin and in Kostomarov). The Little Russians do not care for these two names and forsome time have preferred that of Ukrainians. The Galicians employ the term Rusin with the adjective 'ruski' opposed to Rossianin, 'rossisky' for the Great Russians. This name has been adopted beyond the Russian borders, but it has not been accepted within them. The Gorals of Galicia willingly call themselves Rusniaks. The Germans, following the Latin, use the form 'Ruthenian' which also has been admitted into French. The conflicts between the two nationalities have engendered ironic and insulting appellations. Thus the Ukrainians call the Great Russians "Katsapy" (Goat-head, because of their beard) or Khazars, and the latter call the Ukrainians "Khokli" (from Khokhol, "top-knot," because of the manner in which the Cossacks formerly dressed their hair).

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Thus there is conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. This interesting conflict has very old and quite /52/natural causes. The differentiation between the Russians of the north and of the south occurred a long time ago; it has developed little by little, but without pause. Furthermore, there have been grievances and misunderstandings for a very long time between Great Russia and the Ukraine, and their entire life has been completely distinct throughout

1: Niederle--41 E-5 1911 E/4 Slavic Peoples E/4
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000 Of course this unity must be the product of reciprocal agreement, of a mutual understanding, and not of constraint or of force. The form of this agreement will be discovered by the leaders of the two parties when the memory of oppressions and persecutions is erased. And then, --as we like to hope--a ground for agreement will be found for a union both internal and /59/ towards the foreigner, while the two individualities will be preserved, as Kostomarov already hoped for. Then perhaps the apt words of Gogol will be realized. He wrote in 1844 to Mrs. Smirnov: "May the different strengths of the two races develop in such a manner that, when unified, they may produce something exquisite for humanity."

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/61/

II
THE POLES

S.P. P. 101 S 11. Historical Introduction--The Poles constitute today the most important portion of the western group. They are the only people of whom it may be said that they have been established from time immemorial in the same region (between the Oder, the Carpathians, and the sea) and that they are the least remote from their cradle. They S.P. have always occupied a central position from a geographic point of [197] view, among the other Slav peoples, and the philologists assert that their language holds an analogous place among the Slavic idioms.

We know hardly anything about the ethnography of present-day Poland in antiquity. Even Ptolemy scarcely sheds any light upon the Poles. Many people would like to see the Poles in his Boulanes (Boulanes, but the preferable reading is Poulanes). Beginning with the ninth century of the Christian era, we have a little more light; but for want of documents we are unable to determine the boundaries of the Polish domain; on the other hand, we are not sufficiently informed /62/ of the character of certain tribes living upon the shores of the Baltic or to the southwest. At this period the Polish nation was probably not united; but it already stood out from the other Slavs and was designated by the name of Liakhs (or Lekhs). This is the name which they bear in the Kiyev Chronicle (1). Today, --if we lay aside the literary use of the

1. See my Chronique de Nestor, p. 328. Transtator.

word Lekh, --it is used in practice only for the people who are settled in the plain of western Galicia, between the Biala, Vistula, and San

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Rivers, and the Carpathians. The Gorals also use this word to designate the country and people of Poland.

Towards the close of the tenth century, as far as we know, the Lekh people consisted of the following tribes:

The Polianes primitively settled on the Warta, the Notec (today in German, Netze) near the lake of Goplo and as far as the Oder.

The Vislanes on the upper Visla (Vistula).

The Mazovi on the two banks of the middle Vistula.

The Kuiavi at the bend of the Vistula, near Thorn.

The Slezani (Silesians) on the upper Oder and to the east as far as the other side of the Bobra. They included the tribes of the Didoshi, the Bobrani, the Bezunchani, the Opolani and the Holasici.

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/63/ What were the ties of kinship between the Polish tribes and the Slavs of the seacoast, the Pomoriani (1) (between the lower Vistula, the Oder and the Notec) and the Lutitsi to the west on the Varnava and the Elbe? It would be difficult to determine them. The old writer of the Kiyev annals, in the indications which he gives us of the country inhabited by the Poles, relates these peoples to the Lekhs. Here is what he says: "For these Slavs coming to settle on the Vistula called themselves Lekhs and among these Lekhs certain of them called themselves Polianes, Lekhs, some Lutitsi, some Mazovi, others Pomoriani."

1. It is from this name (po, along the, more, sea) that Pommern is derived, the German name of Pomerania now Germanized.

All these tribes subjected themselves to the Polianes of the center under the princes of the Piast dynasty and accepted their name. It is not known when this unification took place. We only know that the principal authors of it were the princes Mesek I (960-992) and Boleslav the Brave (992-1025).

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Unity was not accomplished at the outset; it was achieved by the development of internal colonization.

At the beginning, the regions of Little Poland and of the Mazovia were sparsely inhabited. The foreign element which hastened this unification, was obviously the Germans against whom it was necessary to carry on warfare from the time when they subjugated and annihilated the Slavs of the Elbe (eleventh and twelfth centuries).

The struggle against the Germans exercised among the Poles, as among the Czechs, a considerable influence upon their internal and

* [Between the different Polish tribes, cf. Above and page 41, category 11c — Analyst]

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the two languages. In such a case how can the majority be determined? And how can the nationality be determined in /71/ the localities in which these belinguals must decide which group is in the majority? In Austria, in place of the mother-tongue, the habitual language (Umgangsprache) has been taken as the criterion. I do not believe, however, that this process has caused any serious injustice to the Poles.

In Russia the results of the linguistic census have not been used to draw up the ethnographic map, and we are reduced to individual guesses. The first ethnographic map of Poland was drawn up by Safarik for his general map published in 1842. Since that time a certain number of attempts have been made; but the Poles do not yet have a good, complete ethnographic map. Only a few frontier areas which have been the object of a detailed investigation are known in detail.

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The Polish domain constitutes in its entirety an irregular square included between Jablunkov, (1) in the Carpathians, Ujscie on the

1. In Silesia.

Notec, Suwalki and Sanok. In the north it is penetrated by a Kashub enclave along the left bank of the Vistula, between Danzig and the lake of Leba.

The frontier line begins in the southeast at the sources of the Moravka, a tributary which flows into the Ostravica at its right bank, and reaches the Oder near Bohumin. This line is disputed by the Poles and the Czechs in the area of Teschen, which the Czechs call /72/ Tiesin and the Poles Cieszyn. The localities of this region are in dispute between the two nationalities (1) and the question of the

1. We here suppress the names of localities which have no interest at all for the French reader. (Translator).

schools gives rise particularly to conflicts of a purely local character. According to the latest statistics, the Czechs are diminishing in this region, while the Germans and the Poles are increasing. The mingling of Czech and of Polish produces a sort of mixed dialect; it is only to the west of Ostravica that pure Czech is spoken.

In the German Empire the Poles are settled partly in Silesia, but especially in Poznan (in the districts of Poznan-Posen, and of Bydgoszcz, in German Bromberg), in East Prussia (in the districts of Danzig-Gdansk and of Kwidzyn-Marienwerder) and in Prussian

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Mazovia. In the province of Poznan and in East Prussia this frontier is in fact not well known, it is strewed with German enclaves, and it is difficult to figure out. We have only German maps. If one figures on the basis of the percentage of Poles, according to the estimates of Parczewski one may consider as Polish (more than 80%) the districts of Odolanow, of Koscian, of Ostrzeszow, of Poznan in the western section of Pszczynsk, of Olesia*, of Skwierzyna. (1)

1. As late as 1790, the Poles were touching the outskirts of Breslau. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Oder was the frontier commencing at the mouth of the Nissa.

/73/ We are well acquainted with the Kashub country through the work of Ramult (see below). From the sea, the frontier describing the arc of a circle, runs from Oliwa and from Danzig (Gdansk) to Tczew (Dirschau), crosses the Vistula at Malbork (Marienburg) and goes towards Kwidzyn (Marienwerder). Here it follows the left bank of the Vistula as far as Chelmno (Kulm) where it crosses the river. Then it runs to Grudziadz (Graudenz), Goryn, Bagrationovsk (Eylau), Ostroda, Knys* and crosses the Prussian frontier in the direction of Suwalki. In this region the Germanization of the Mazovi and of the Lithuanians has made great progress. Formerly the Mazovian frontier on the north ran as far as Goldap where the Mazovi adjoin the Lithuanians; today a German wedge has penetrated between the two peoples and the Poles no longer border upon the Lithuanians except in the government of Suwalki.

Beyond the German frontier the Polish boundary skirts around Suwalki--according to Karsky's map--and goes toward Augustow (Stanislas Dobrzycki extends the Polish domain as far as Grodno). then it crosses the districts of Sokol and of Bialystok and runs toward Suraz on the Narew River. Then, according to Gloger, Zakrzewski and Frantsev, it runs towards Bielsk, Samaky*, Krasnystaw, Tomaszow, and then goes up to the north towards Tarnograd. It enters Galicia and goes toward the San near Radowa*, Tuchla*, and Radymno, then it follows the San as far as Sanok, and, across Rymanow, Dukla, /74/ Zmigrod, Gorlice, Gribow, it reaches Pivniczna at the Hungarian frontier. From there as far as the pass of Jablunkow it is officially the same as the Hungarian frontier. The Poles who live in the region of Spis, declared themselves at the last census, to be Slovaks (1).

1. In the region of Spis, the Poles are settled between Stara Lubovna Kezmarok and Smokovce, in that of Orava, to the north of

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Zubrohlav* and of Bobrova*, in that of Trencin at Cerna and at Skalita*. There also are Polish colonies in the region of Liptov and in the Slovak region of Zemplin*. In the Spis area, the Slovak Czambel has counted 51 Polish communes with 30,000 persons. Kazimir Krotoski raises this number to 50,000.

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Such is the compact whole of the Polish nation.

In the Kingdom of Poland the Poles form 71.85% of the total population. They are most numerous on the left bank of the Vistula: 73.5% in the guberniya of Warsaw, 84% in that of Kalisz, 87% in that of Kielce, 77% in that of Lomza, 72% in that of Piotrkow, 83% in that of Radom, and 81% in that of Plock, 66% in that of Siedlce, 63% in that of Lublin and 23% in that of Suwalki.

Besides this we find Poles in small groups in almost all of European Russia: 10% in the guberniya of Grodno, 8.2% in that of Vilna, 6.2% in the Volhynia, 9% in that of Kowno. There are sizeable colonies in the large cities, /75/ in Moscow, Petersburg, Kiyev. On the island of Sakhalin, a place of deportation, there are 5% of them.

They are numerous in eastern Galicia. There is in this entire province only one purely Russian district (that of Kossow) where there are less that 5% Poles, while there are 23 purely Polish districts. It is especially in the large Russian cities that the Poles are distributed. The cities which have the largest Polish population are in the Russian section of Galicia: L'vov (Lemberg) with 120,000 Poles, or 76% of the total, against 15,000 Russians, Bobrka, Ukrainian, Bubrka), Muszyna, Sanok, Lesko, Sambor, Przemysl, Rava Russkaya, Belz, Zholkva, Gorodok, Cieszanov, Stry, Kalush, Stanislav, Kolomyya, Ternopol, Gusyatin, Buchach, Sokal, Terebovlya, etc., etc. On the other hand, certain cities have a German majority, composed in fact of Israelites (Biala, Szczerzec, Dolina, Bolekhuv, Nadvornaya, Kossow*, Kuty, Zablotow, Brody).

Outside of Poland and of Russia there are important Polish colonies in Vienna (4,364), Berlin (26,000), Dresden, Bucharest, Paris. In Germany new Polish colonies are at present in the process of formation in Westphalia and in the country of the Rhine; at Mulheim in the Ruhr at Ruhrort, at Essen, at Dortmund, at Bochum, at Hattingen, and especially at Gelsenkirchen. These are colonies of workmen. They are continuously increasing in size. In 1890 statistics showed in these /76/ localities

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Polish women), despite all of the ill will of the government, are better educated than the Russians. Among the Russians there have been found 29.50% of the men and 9.34% of the women who are literate. Among the Poles the proportions are 34.78% and 29.40%.

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S 14. Differentiation.---We find also among the Poles rather considerable internal differences; but these are not reasons for dividing the nation into various nationalities. Moreover, the question has not been studied sufficiently, and not enough attention has been paid to it to enable one to distinguish from a scientific point of view the various Polish groups. Much material has been gathered together, especially, from the point of view of folklore, by Oscar Kolberg, more recently by Jan Karlowicz and others, in the review Wisla (The Vistula), and from an anthropological viewpoint by J. Majer, K. Kopernicki, I. Talko-Hrynczewicz, W. Olechnowicz, L. Rutkowski, A. Zakrzewski. The field of linguistics has been studied in recent times /83/ by St. Dobrzycki, J. Karlowicz and K. Nitsch, but up until the present these researches have not been gathered together and digested in a single study. The customary division into large and small groups is above all based upon historic tradition; a more scientific division will be a task for the future. The Polish nation is generally divided into the following groups:

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1. The Great-Polish group occupies Silesia, Poznan, and Prussia;
2. The Mazovian group lives to the east of the preceding one in the basins of the Vistula, of the Narew, and of the Bug;
3. The Little-Polish group is settled to the south on the upper Vistula, as far as the Carpathians and the San;
4. A fourth group is formed by the Kashub on the shore of the Baltic.

The Great-Polish group was the first to serve as a rallying point for the ancient tribes, evidently under the pressure of the German race, and its language has become dominant; it is the one which constitutes the local idiom.

On the contrary, Mazovia and Little-Poland, regions which were forested and less accessible, have retained more originality and local character.

Taking into account the names by which the people distinguish the tribes and the regions, the Polish ethnographers--Karlowicz, for example--distinguished particularly the following tribes:

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/84/ In Silesia the inhabitants of the mountains call themselves Gorali (1), those of the region of Jablunkow, Jablonkowiane or Jackowie; those of the central region, the Walachians, those of the plains Lakhi or Dolaci, those of the banks of the Vistula (in Polish, Wisla) Wislaci.

1. Mountaineers. Gora means "mountain." Translator.

The Polish watermen who steer the rafts of logs down the Vistula have been known in German since the seventeenth century by the name of "Water Poles." In Poznan and in Prussia there are noted the Paluci (in the districts of Wagrowice* and of Szubin*) and, on the left bank of the Warta, beginning at the mouth of the Prosna, the Porzeczane (riverians). The region which extends from the lake of Goplo to the Vistula and to the Netze (districts of Inowraclaw, of Strzelin, and of Bydgoszcz or Bromberg) is called Prussian Kujavia includes the districts of Nieszawa and of Wroclawek.

The inhabitants of the district of Krobia on the frontier of Silesia and on the Orla River are called Chazaci or Lesniaci (foresters). In the Kingdom of Prussia, where the areas of Chelm and of Marienburg adjoin Kujavia and where Warmia (Ermeland) adjoins Mazovia, the Borowiaki and the Kociewiaki are settled. A little lower down, at the mouth of the Vistula, are found the Zulawi.

The Mazuri, from the northern frontier as far as Dzialdowo to the south and to the east as far as /85/ the Russian frontier, are called by their neighbors Tylosani (because they say tylo instead of tylko (1).

1. A Polish word which means, "only."

In Russian Poland derivations of place names are mainly used: Bojary, Borowiacy, Gryczanie, Kopieniacy, Koziari, Nadrzeczanie (river-dwellers), etc., etc.... The names of the principal tribes are those of the Kujaviens, of the Kurpie* in the areas called Green Pusta and White Pusta (the districts of Ostroleka, Kolys, Przasnysz, Makow, Ostrow, and Lomza), of the Ksienzacy in the former principality (Ksienstwo) of Lovicz, of the Mazowsze in the guberniyas of Suwalki, Lomza, Plock, Warsaw and Siedlce. The Polish Podlasie (country of forests) connects with the country of the Mazovians. Prussian statistics, we note this detail in passing, like to separate the Mazuri from the Poles because of their Reformed religion.

In Little Poland an infinity of local denominations are also met with, some of which we have already mentioned; they result from topographic peculiarities: Gorals (mountaineers), Zagorzane (beyond

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the mountain), Lakhi, Mazuri, Lasowci, etc...

The ethnographers also distinguish the Poles by regions: Kalisz, Piotrkow, Radom, Kielce, Lublin, Sandomierz, Cracovie (it is the latter which has the most beautiful native costumes).

/86/ All of these groups, despite their differences, have the sense of belonging to a single nation, especially since the Russian and German oppression has stirred up among them the idea of nationality and of union. Only the Mazuri of Prussia, whom their Lutheran religion separates from the Catholic mass, lean towards the Germans. They speak Polish, but they feel themselves to be Prussians and have realized the hopes of the Berlin statesmen, especially the ministers Studt and Amim. A German publicist, Tetzner, has said of them (1): "The Evangelical Mazuri is Prussian in body and soul and keeps completely about from the Catholic Pole."

1. Tetzner, Slaven in Deutschland, p. 133. Recently a Mazurian review printed in Gothic characters, but written in Polish, stated its sympathies for France. (Translator)

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I shall add here some notes relative to the anthropology of the Polish type.

The type of the gorals or mountaineers is markedly different from that of the inhabitants of the plain. The Gorals are of a medium height (1.681 meters), generally of a light or mixed complexion. (Talko Hryncewicz considers the light type to be the primitive Polish type). The greater part of them are brachycephalic (between 80.5 and 82.3%). As one moves away from the Carpathians and goes toward the north, the brachycephalic type gives way to the dolichocephalic.

The brachycephalics in Galicia represent 83%, in the department of Lublin /87/ 78% among the nobles, and 59% among the peasants; in the Sandomierz area 77%; at Plock, among the nobles 78%, 54% among peasants; at Lomza 68% to 63%; at Warsaw 57%.

The Goral, therefore, represents a special type among the Poles, as among their neighbors the Russians. In general, the complexion is fairer among the Poles of Galicia than among those of Warsaw.

But the proportions are entirely different in the east. The purest

S.P. P. 141 type is the Galician; the types of Lomza and of Lublin are very mixed. On the other hand, anthropological research has verified an interesting phenomenon, which is that the Polish nobility differ greatly from the rural type; they include more brachycephalics, are taller in height, less frequently have light-colored eyes. This seems in part to confirm the theory which assigns to them a special origin.

S.P. P. 144 According to Talko Hryncewicz, the Polish prototype is the mountaineer of the Carpathians.

The further that one withdraws from this region, the more the type changes and indicates admixtures. According to the latest researches of A. Ivanovskii, the Poles from a physical point of view demonstrate much affinity with, and resemblance to, the Great Russians. This fact is of interest in relation to the question of the affinity of the Great and of the Little Russians (Ukrainians).

S.P. P. 101 144 /88/ S 15.---The oddest of the Polish groups is that composed of the Kashubs and the Slowiency of the Leba. Many ethnographers (A. Hilferding, Zubaty, Ramult and Beaudouin de Courtenay) separate them from the Poles and associate them with the Slavs of Pomerania. Their Polish origin is advocated by I. Karlowicz, Bruckner, Krynski, etc... Lorentz saw in the Slowiency a branch independent from both the Kashubs and the Poles.

P S.P. 101 We have described in a very general way the territory occupied by the Kashubs. According to the studies of Ramult and Nadmorski, it extends along the left bank of the lower Vistula. It is bounded by a line which runs from Kamien (Kamin) through Czluchowo* (Schlochau*) Ferstnowo* (Forstenau*) toward Starzyn* (Starsen*) and from there by Bytow (Butow), Lemborg* to the lake of Zarnow*. Along the river the boundary runs towards Danzig (Gdansk) and from there straight through Skarszewy (Schoeneck), Leg, towards Kamien.

From this central nucleus a small compact island is detached, which is located on the shores of Lake Lebo at the mouth of the Leba and of the Lupa.

Along with the name Kashubs, the origin of which is unknown, one finds toward the east special names: Karwaci, Pomarency,

S.P. P. 101 Lyczacy, Kociewiacy, Borowiace, Krajniacy, and, on Lake Lebo, those of Kabaci, Lesacy, Belocy. But the most curious is that of Slowiency which /89/ evidently goes back to ancient times and which is found as early as 1586.

S.P. P. 161 The Kashubs are few in number. According to the official statistics of 1900 there were 100,213 of them.

According to earlier statistics of Ramult, there were 174,831 in their own territory, with a total of 200,000 in Europe and 130,000 in America (the United States, Canada, Brazil). As for religion, the majority are Catholics. Only 6% of the Slowiency are considered to be Protestant.

S.P. P. 162

000 Although the Kashubs are very few in number, there is no reason to despair of their prospects, for, on the one hand they live in an isolated region near the sea, and on the other hand they are constantly in close contact with the Polish element, who assist them in maintaining their position.

* * *

/90/ /There is no page numbered 90./

/91/ IV

THE SORBS OF LUSATIA

S.P. 101 S 16. Historical Introduction.--Of the powerful nation of Slavs who lived for centuries on the middle and lower Elbe, there now exist only an insignificant remnant, composed of the Slavs of the two Lusatias; it is the Slavic group which is the closest to the Czechs from the geographic and linguistic viewpoint.

In former times the Polabian Slavs (or those of the Elbe /Laba/) were settled in the basins of the Oder, of the Saale, and of the Elbe. We are able, with some reservations, however, to follow their trail as far as the first century of the Christian era. But those who accept the Slavic character of the cinerary tombs in Lusatia and Silesia, are able to go back at least as far as 1000 B.C. This is merely a matter of an archeological hypothesis; but it appears much more accurate to attribute the type of tombs found between the Vistula and the Elbe to the Slavs rather than to the Germans.

S.P. [172]

1: Niederle--59 E-5 1911 E1 Slavic Peoples E/6
Sorbs

●/01 At the period for which we possess somewhat more detailed historical data about them, the Polabian Slavs were divided into three great families:

1. The Obotrites in Mecklenburg, Lüneburg and Holstein (as far as the Varnava River), whence they penetrated into the Old Mark;

2. The Luticl or Veletiz between the Oder, the sea, the Varnava and the Elbe;

3. The Sorbs on the middle Elbe between the Verra*, the Havel, and the Bobrawa.

175 177 From the time when history records the presence of the Slavs on the Elbe, their history has been but a long struggle for existence; they carried on this struggle simultaneously against the German Empire and the Roman Church. The campaign undertaken by the Germans against the Polabian Slavs was at the same time of a political, national, and religious character. The Slavs resisted energetically, but the struggle was too unequal. The Germans had as allies the Danes, and upon occasion also the Polish and Czech prines. Furthermore, they were not in agreement among themselves.

Under Charlemagne and his immediate successors, the Germans achieved only insignificant victories.

The Saxon dynasty was more fortunate; the entire country of the Polabians fell into German hands. The conquest was accomplished by the /93/ Margraves. The Slavs were not only conquered, but were in a short time denationalized. Beginning with the twelfth century German colonization penetrated into their country; in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Germans were already superior in numbers, and by the fifteenth century only a few rare specimens of the Slav race were to be found.

On the island of Rugen* (Rouiana* in Slavic) the Slavs disappeared in 1404; on the Elbe towards the middle of the sixteenth century, they occupied only the districts of Luchow* and Danneberg*, the southern part of the district of Blekede*, a third of that of Ulzen*, and the northern section of the Old Mark (Altmark). Further to the east no more than a few remains were to be found in Mecklenburg, which was still rather thickly populated by Slavs in the thirteenth century (between the rivers Elde and Suda), and in Brandenburg in the district of Priegnitz (Brizan). But this rather sizeable group in Luneburg, was completely unable to maintain itself. In 1671 there were still Slavs

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177 there; about 1700 they were in great measure Germanized; the last Slav group was that of the Dravani (Drawaina) in the district of Luchow which even today is called Wendland, country of the Wends.

1714 The Slavic language disappeared between 1750 and 1766. It was in 1751 that mass was celebrated in Slavic for the last time.[1]

161 In the years 1890-1900 the newspapers reported, according to A. Parczewski, that the census /94/ of 1890 had found 570 Slavs-Wends still in this region. But it was an error. The official census had indeed found in the Luchow area 570 Wends, but they spoke only German.

197 The Slavic tongue in this region has been dead for more than a century, as Mr. Muka reported without hesitation.[1] He was sent out as an investigator by the Academy of Sciences of Cracow.

000 However, the Slavic character is still found in great measure in the type and in the manner of life of the inhabitants of the Wendland.

101 Originally the Sorbs of this region[2] occupied in a compact mass
175 all of the country situated between the Saale, the Verra*, the Fulda, the upper Havel, and the Spree. They extended as far as Frankfort on the Oder, on the Lower Bobra, the Hvizda (Queis). The group included the so-called Sorbs between the Saale and the Elbe (1) then the Lusatians

1. These Sorbs are designated in Latin texts of the Middle Ages by the name Sorabes. (Translator)

on the middle Saale, and the Milczani on the upper Elster, the upper Spree and the Neisse. From the eleventh century on, the Germans began to penetrate into these regions; but they only came there in large numbers beginning with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At this period the Sorb national group began to diminish to the west of the Elbe; it finally succumbed as a result of the Thirty Years War. The situation was better in /95/ Upper and Lower Lusatia, united under the Bohemian crown. Unfortunately, in 1635 the Treaty of Prague ceded
175 the territory to the House of Saxony. The Sorbian national group
668 commenced to decline, especially in Lower Lusatia. Its decadence was not arrested until the nineteenth century by the literary renaissance which restored some energy to this small people.

Thanks to the efforts of a few patriots, the national conscience

[1] [Wendland -- Analyst] [1] [Among the Polabian Slavs - Analyst]

175 was reawakened, literature revived, the Slavic tongue was introduced into the primary schools and the Germans of Saxony granted to their Sorbian fellow-citizens a tolerable modus vivendi. How long will this state of affairs endure? It is difficult to foretell.

177 Germanization is making great progress especially in Lower Lusatia, subjected to Prussians.

101 162 S 17. Boundary of the National Group. ---In 1886 Muka established on his ethnographic map, the best which exists up until the present, this boundary by a line which began to the south of Lubja (Lobau), passed between Rychbach (Reichenbach) and Wosporg (Weissenbach*), ran to Nizka (Niesky*), Reczice* (Rietschen*), went toward Muzakow* (Muskau*) on the Neisse, then following the Neisse reached Barsc (Forst), ran to Gresna* (Griessen*), to Barklawa* (Baerenklau*), to the west of Gubna (Guben*). The line then went straight to the west by Luboraz* (Lieberose*), Mochow*, Waldow*, Bocklin* (Burglehne*) then toward the south through Lubnjow* (Lubbenau*), /96/ through Wotrowce* (Bischofsdof*), Kalama* (Kalau*), Rudna* (Reuden*) and Bukowina; then towards the southwest the boundary ran around Komorow* (Senftenber*), Rolana* (Ruhland*) on the Elster, went through Nadzicow* towards Kamence*, Elstra*, Biskupci* (Bischofswerda*), where it turned sharply to the east towards Velecin* (Wilthen*) on the Lubia*. Such was the outer boundary of the region in which the majority of the people spoke Sorbian; there was in this region an absolutely Sorbian territory in the neighborhood of Chotebuz* (Cottbus*) and of Grodk*. There were also numerous German islands.

On the map drawn up in 1902 by A. Czerny, the territory had diminished and the Germans had gained ground. Today the northern part of Lower Lusatia is separated from the southern part only by a straight line between Grodk* and Chotebuz* on the two banks of the Spree. However, Tetzner in his book wrongly indicates Lower Lusatia as forming only an island.

161 S 18. Statistics. --The figures in effect confirm that the number of Lusatians is diminishing. At about 1880-1884, Muka, travelling from village to village, had set the total number of Sorbs at 175,966. He counted 72,000 in Lower Lusatia and 103,000 in Upper Lusatia. The official statistics for 1900 numbered only 93,032 Sorbs, speaking only Sorbian. If one adds about 23,000 bilinguals speaking both Sorbian and

161 German, one arrives at the figure of 116,810 individuals, and, if this figure is corrected according to the estimates of Parczewski, of Swjela*, and of Muka, about 156,000 persons are obtained, a lamentable total for a people surrounded and penetrated from all sides by the German flood. What favors Germanization is the extent to which the Sorbs [177] are economically dependent upon the Germans: the military service, preaching in German, the absence of an intellectual class, their complete isolation. The Sorbs who resist most energetically are those of Upper Lusatia, whose intellectual center is at Bautzen (Budysin). In Saxony, of 297 communes called Wends (1), according to the census

1. The Sorbs of Lusatia are called Wends in German.

of 1900, there are in all 225 with a Slav majority, and only 7 entirely Slav.

167 We have no other data on the Lusatians or on their emigration. It appears that there are colonies in America (especially in Texas--Serbin (a town), which recalls the name of the nation, Giddingswenden (probably the town of Giddings), West (perhaps the town of West Point) Yewa (not located), Warda (a town), Burleson (a county) whose inhabitants left Europe towards the middle of the last century, and who still preserve the national tradition. There are also some in Australia (at Angerspark, at Adelaide near Melbourne). They are of more recent origin.

795 The great majority of the Sorbs are Lutherans; there are 15,000
162 Catholics, who live for the most part in the neighborhood of Budysin (Bautzen).

197 /98/ S 19. Differentiation.--Even though they are only a small
182 nation, the Sorbs are not unified from the linguistic point of view. The difference between the idioms of Upper and Lower Lusatia is so great that the common people have great difficulty in understanding one another and many linguists have recognized two distinct languages. There are in fact two literary languages founded upon the two dialects which are farthest apart (that of Kottbus and that of Bautzen) and two literatures. This duality creates a grave danger, the much more so as the two fractions are divided from a political viewpoint. Kottbus belongs to Prussia and Bautzen to Saxony. Aside from the language, the
101 two Lusatian groups differ from many viewpoints in matters of domestic
182 life and costume. According to Muka, the boundary between the two

S.P. 101 182 areas formerly ran from Zagan (Sagan) on the Bobrawa through Muzakov, Grodk, Kolany, Kupsk (Muckenberg), Wikow (Elsterwerda) towards Bielagora (Belgern) on the Elbe, and it has remained in conformity with this line in matters relating to the Sorb population.

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V

/99/ THE CZECHS AND THE SLOVAKS

S.P. C. 101 S 20.--Historical Introduction.---The Czechs also belong to the western branch, as well as the Slovaks, who, from more than one viewpoint, may be considered as forming only a single nation with them, even though fate has already separated them to a considerable degree and, judging by all appearances, should further enlarge this separation.

These two branches developed from a common center, which alongside the Polish and the Polabre center, was located somewhere to the north of the Sudeten Mountains and perhaps reached as far as Moravia; it is from this region that the ancestors of the Czechs and the Slovaks came into the regions where history verifies their presence.

S.P. C 174 [172] 101 They came there from the north, perhaps all together in a single move, perhaps at various periods. The texts contain nothing about this; archaeology, while admitting the Slavic and particularly the Czech character of the cinerary tombs of the Lusatian type, can only conjecture that Bohemia and Moravia were occupied before the middle of the first century B.C. /100/ The cradle of the Czechs and the Slovaks is to be found further to the north, but, taking into account archaeological data, one may to a certain degree regard them as being indigenous to Bohemia and to Moravia. The same may be said for the branch settled in Hungary. Dr. Czambel chose to state in recent times that the Slovaks did not come with the Czechs, that they came by themselves and from another region, from the southeast,--all this in order to demonstrate that the Slovaks do not belong to the western group, but to the southern group. But this theory S.P. C. 174 197 101 lacks foundation from the viewpoint of history and of philology. The linguistic kinship shows without argument that the Czechs and the Slovaks belong to the same group as the Sorbs of Lusatia, the

[The Czechs and Slovaks — Analyse]

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Poles, the Polabes, and that they carried out their migration at the same time as these.

The Czecho-Slovaks, after having crossed the Sudeten and the Carpathians, settled at first in the north of Bohemia, of Moravia, and of Slovakian Hungary; to the south there were settled Gallic, Illyro-Thracian tribes, later on also the Germanic peoples of the Marcomani and the Quadi. After the departure of these allogenes, the Slavs spread not only over the territory on which they are established today, but even much farther to the south. This applies to the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia and also to the Slovaks of Hungary; the latter still have numerous islands /101/ in the counties of Esztergom, of Budapest, to the south in those of Bars* and of Nograd, and positive indications prove that formerly they extended much farther toward the south in the areas in which they encountered colonies of Slovenes and Bulgars.

To the east, it is difficult to determine the ancient frontiers. Their delimitation by the Vah, the Hron, and the Tepla rests only upon hypotheses. However, we do know that the frontier in those days did not extend as far as today,--that is, almost as far as the Tisza. For the greater part of the western Slovaks are made up of Russians assimilated during the historic period. To the north the Polish Gorals (Mountaineers) had penetrated across the mountains in the regions of Trencin, of Orava and of Spis. In the north the frontier followed the Sudeten Mountains (the regions of Sluknov and Friedland were Sorbian (1)

1. Of course this refers to the Sorbs of Lusatia; see the preceding chapter 1 (Translator).

and composed the district of Zagozd*). In Silesia, the region of Opava was Czech. In the west, the Czechs, in the twelfth century, when their written history began were beginning to penetrate across the Bohemian Mountains (Boemerwald, in Czech, Sumava) as far as Bavaria and in the south even beyond the Danube. How far did they go into Pannonia? Did they indeed settle there, they or the ancestors of the Slovaks? This cannot be ascertained with certainty. /102/ In all likelihood, they went at least as far as Lake Balaton, as is vouched for by the history of the princes Pribina, Kocel, and Svatopluk. (1)

1. About these persons, consult my work on Cyrille et Methode (Paris, librairie Franck, 1868).

Like the other Slavic peoples, the Czechs at first did not form a single nation. We know little of the internal situation in Hungary

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 58-63 -- Analyst]

S.P. c. 174 101

and in Moravia, at the beginning of history. However, it appears very likely that the different groups which are still met with today, the Czechs properly speaking, the Hanaks, the Lahs, the Slováks, and the Valachs existed in those days. But we do not know where the frontier between the Czechs and the Slovaks was located: was it on the lower and middle Morava, as Safarik would have it, or farther to the east?

We know more about the Czechs. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, we see leaving the forest bordering Germany, a whole series of tribes that appear among them: to the north from the sources of the Oharka, proceeding towards the east, the Sedlicany, the Lucany, the Lemuze, the Deczany, the Litomerice, the Psovany, the Charvaty (Czechs?); in the center, the Czechs; near them the Zliczany; and to the south in the area of Budejovice (Budweiss), the Dudlebi.

Very soon the Czechs became the most numerous and strongest of all of these tribes /103/; thanks to their central location, they soon dominated the other tribes and fused them into a single people. From the ninth century their name was used to designate the entire aggregation of tribes.

S.P. c. 175

Thus this nation was formed.[1] Settled in the watershed between the streams flowing to the north and those flowing to the south, near the source of the large rivers, protected by natural walls, it developed under excellent conditions. And, were it not for the errors of its princes, who through egoism caused serious damage to its prosperity and to its future, the history of this nation would have been entirely different from what it has been, and would occupy today a different position in the Slavic world from that which it now occupies.

S.P. c. 175 167

What caused it[1] a terrible blow was the German colonization in Bohemia and Moravia. In the south, the Germans, pushing forward along the Danube towards the east, thrust back the Czecho-Slovaks who were settled in this region. This was a completely natural movement and one which should not have caused any great harm to the development of the Czech national group, seeing that the Germans would soon come into collision with the Magyars on the Litava (Leitha).

What was particularly harmful to the Czechs was the German colonization summoned into the country by the national princes of the Premysls dynasty, Premysl Otakar I (1197-1230), Vaclav I (1230-1253)

1 [Czechoslovakia - Analyse]

1: Niederle--66 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Czechoslovakia EB1

S.P. C. 175 167 and especially Premysl Otakar II (1253-1278) and their successors; the nobility and the clergy, /104/ particularly the monks, followed their example. As a result of this colonization, the Czech element found itself blockaded in the interior of the country by a belt of German [illegible]ries and towns, a belt which continually drew tighter; at first below the Metallic Mountains and the Boehmerwald, then on the lower Elbe, then in the areas of Liberec (Reichenberg), Trutnov, Kladsko (Glatz) and in the region of the Jeseniky (Gesenke) Mountains. Moreover, German groups settled in the interior of the country. From the thirteenth century Bohemia and Moravia became bilingual countries.

S.P. C. [191]

From the standpoint of area the German zone was neither wide nor compact; it formed itself especially in the clearings of the forests on the west and northwest.

S.P. C. 101 563

In the fourteenth century, according to Professor Sedlaczek, the frontier of the nations in Bohemia ran from Kynwart* toward Zdar*, Kralupy, Chomutov (Komotau) which was German, toward Most, then toward Duchcov and Decin. Bilina and Teplice were still Czech. Then the frontier ran to Benesov* which was German, to Jablonna*, crossed Mount Iestied* and reached the sources of the Jizera (Iser). From the fourteenth century Liberec (in German, Reichenberg) was German. The Germans were settled in the mountains beyond Vrchlaby* (today Hohenelbe) which was still Czech. Pilnikov (Pillnitz), Trutnow, Zacler, Stare Buky* were already German. Starkov* remained Czech, but the region of Brumov*, and the country of Kladsko /105/were Germanized. Olesnica and Rokytnice* were Czech. Beyond Policzka* and Litomysl* the situation was as it is today. At Nemecky Brod there was a German island; Jindrichuv Hradec was mixed, as well as Budejovice (Budweiss). Krumlov and Prachatice were mixed; the Kasperk Mountains were German; in the region of Domazlice the frontier was Czech. Klatovy was mixed, Tachov German.

S.P. C. 175 167 S.P. C. [565]

Less is known about the German penetration into Moravia and into Silesia. From the thirteenth century the greater part of the fortified towns in Moravia have been German. In many of the cities, notably at Brno and at Olomouc, from the thirteenth century on a German bourgeoisie developed. The religious orders and the clergy contributed in summoning the Germans, especially Bishop Bruno who has been called the greatest Germanizer of Moravia. In the Teschen area the Czecho-Polish frontier has been the same from the fourteenth century

S.P. c 175 177 167

again in 1827 Jungmann in a moment of discouragement gave vent to this sad cry: "We have had the sad fate of being the witnesses and the accessories of the final annihilation of our mother tongue."

S.P. c 175 68 517

Nevertheless, certain men succeeded in awakening the nation, in saving what might be saved. The history of the Czech literature since the second half of the eighteenth century shows us in an admirable fashion the work which a little group of men, obscure but impassioned, taken with a great idea, have been able to accomplish.

Aroused by the progress of liberalism in Europe, by the "Josephinism," they succeeded in reviving an interest in national affairs, in shaking the people out of their torpor, at first among the lowly ones who had preserved the language, then in the intellectual class. This Czech people, whose existence appeared doubtful one hundred years ago, of whom the Viennese educator Kindermann von Schulstein, basing himself upon the new scholastic program, had proclaimed the approaching disappearance, this Czech people, is today conscious of itself, it forms a compact mass of six and one-half million persons and constitutes an impregnable citadel against which the powerless efforts o the germanism bent upon the ruin of the Slavs come and break. There is only one thing to regret and that is that political conditions have prevented the union and assimilation of the two million Slovaks settled in northern Hungary.

S.P. c 101

S 21. National Frontiers.--The compact mass of the Czechs and Slovaks are distributed among six administrative regions: in Austria, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, and the Duchy of Silesia, in Hungary, and, for a few segments, in Prussian Silesia.

The ethnographic boundary which separates the Slovaks from the other Czechs runs across Moravia; but the Slovaks of Moravia are so closely associated with the life of the Czech nation and are drawing so much closer to them each day that one may /112/ consider as the true boundary the political frontier which separates Moravia from Hungary. There, in the Carpathians, a wall stands which separates the two groups, Czechs and Slovaks, and unless unforeseen circumstances intervene, it is to be feared that their former unity will wind up in a dualism: Czechs on the one side, Slovaks on the other.

Thanks to a series of ethnographic studies, and also to the acute

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conflicts which are breaking out constantly along the Czecho-German frontier, we are very well acquainted with this boundary and it is the one which has been studied most among the Slav peoples. Beginning west of Novy Postrekov* near Domazlice it runs to the north of Klence*, goes around Stankov*, runs toward Manetin, goes around Rakovnik, passes west of Rouny, to Terezin (Theresienstadt) on the Elbe.

On the Oharka River the Czech element has penetrated recently into the industrial basins of Duchcov, of Most (Brux) and of Teplice (Teplitz). From Litomerice (Leitmeritz) the boundary follows in general the right bank of the Elbe, passes by Libechov*, by Bela* (Weiswasser*), runs up north towards Svetla*, passes by Skuhrov*, and reaches near the frontier the most northern Czech village, Paseky*; then it descends to the southeast in the direction of Jaromer and goes up towards Upice, where it passes into Prussian Silesia in which a dozen Czech villages may be counted. Then it runs south again, goes around the Orlice* Mountains and enters Moravia at Silperk*. In this province, the boundary /113/ through Pisarov*, Bludov*, Podstat*, meets the Silesian frontier, runs around Novy Jicin, goes up again to the Silesian frontier and runs towards Neplachovice* on the Prussian frontier. It goes into the interior of Prussian Silesia and reaches the Polish frontier (1) at Sulov* where it descends again towards the south-

1. We omit here a long enumeration of localities which it would be impossible to find except upon a detailed map.

west, towards Hodonin and follows the course of the Morava; then it runs to Dacice, to Chlumice*, to Suchodol*, to Kaplice where it goes up towards the northwest by Krumlov, Vimperk, Lusice*, and joins Postrekov*.

S.P. C. 101 563

In this Czech region[1] there is a certain number of German islands:

That of Budejovice (Budweiss) includes several communities. In the district about this city the number of Germans is diminishing greatly; Jihlava (Iglau) in Moravia; Brno (Brunn). That of Rousinov*, of Vyskov*, and of Olomouc (Ollmutz) in Moravia, and the largest, the most feared of all in the region of Lanskroun*, Mohelnice*, Moravska Trebova* (Moehrisch Trubau*), Svitau* and Brezov*, surrounded by Czech towns. The towns of Krumlov in Moravia, and of Hodonin also have a majority of Germans. (1) There are on the other /114/ hand

1 [Morava – Analyse]

S.P. C. 101 563

1. The following were the numbers of Czechs and of Germans in a certain number of the towns in 1900: Brno, 38,365 and 68,762; Olomouc (Olmutz), 6,798 and 13,982; Jihlava, 4,228 and 19,765; Znojmo, 1,854 and 14,014; Hodonin, 3,987 and 4,976; Krumlov, 879 and 1,233.

Czech islands, but rather weak ones, in Lower Austria and in Prussian Silesia, where one may find names which recall national traditions, such as those of Husinec, and of Podebrady, of Tabor Veliky and Tabor Maly., etc.

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On the other hand, the Czechs are very numerous in Vienna (more than 350,000), in Linz, Budapest (4,100), Berlin, Dresden (3,188), and Svitavy (Zwittau). They are still to be found in Galicia in the district of Zolkiew, in the Hungarian Banat, in Croatia-Slavonia (31,587 of them have been counted; they came mainly between 1880 and 1890). In Hungary many of the localities which are named Csehi recall the memory of former colonies. Some of them already are Slovakized. In Russia, in the Volhynia, beginning in 1868, colonies were established in the districts of Dubno*, Rovny*, Lutsk, Zhitomir, Ostrog, Vladimir, Glinsk*, Zdolbonov, and Kupichevo*--the last three are the most considerable--in the Crimea, at Bohemka and Czechobrod* and near Novorossiisk* at Kirilovka-Metodievka and Gliebovka*, in Poland at Kuczow*, Zelow*, Lodz. 50,385 Czechs have been counted in Russia, 50% of whom are in Volhynia, 4,978 in the government of Lodz, 3,360 in the Caucasus. In Bulgaria, there are Czech colonies at Voivodov* and at Brslianisi* near Plevna.

On the other hand, many Czechs have settled in the United States, notably in Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, the /115/ states of New York, Ohio, Texas, and Wisconsin; the number is estimated at half a million. In New Zealand there is near Auckland the Czecho-German colony of Puhoj (about 800 Czechs).

S 22. The region of the Slovaks is now very well known in Hungary. It starts at Devinska Nova Ves--near the place where the Morava empties into the Danube--runs along the Moravian frontier and that of Galicia (1) towards Stropkov (Hung., Sztropko) to the north

1. This line envelops a few Polish and Russian localities.

of Zemplen. From Stropkov it runs to Breznice, Papin*, V. Remety in the county of Uzhorod (Ungvar), reaches Huta*, the most eastern Slovak village, then it turns about towards the west through Lucenec, Levice, Vrable, whence it thrusts out a point towards the south as far as Nove

S.P. C. 101

Zamky, then touches Galanta, Bratislava, and returns to Devinska Nova Ves. (2)

2. As we have done previously, we have omitted here a certain number of localities which the reader would not find on the general maps.

In the interior of the Slovak country there are German islands in the counties of Nitra and of Turocz*, Bars*, Gemer*, and Spis (near Kezmarck and Gelnica). There are also Russian islands, Polish islands, and Magyar islands--especially between Vrable and Nitra on the north and at Abauj to the west of Kosice.

/116/ On the other hand, there are numerous Slovak islands in central and South Hungary, particularly in the counties of Esztergom (Gran) and of Budapest. These island--notably those of Kerepes* and of Pilis--are the remains of the former Slovak population. They are to be found further to the south in the counties of Bekes, of Backa (Hung: Bacska), and of Torontal*. The islands of Keresztur* and of Kocava* have been claimed by the Russian Gnatiuk for his nationality. But the Czech philologists (Pastrnek, Polivka), the Russian Sobolevskii and the Slovak Czambel have demonstrated that their inhabitants were originally from the counties of Zemplen and Sarys*.

In Slavonia, Stara Pazova is a Slovak colony; likewise in Srem (Hung: Szerem) there are Slovak colonies at Ilok, Sid and Zemun. In the Croat county of Virovitica, Punitovici* is in great part inhabited by Czechs and Slovaks.

An Evangelical Slovak colony has lately been established in Bulgaria, at Mitropolie, near Plevna.

Moreover, the largest Slovak city is Budapest where 25,000 have officially been counted, though there may actually be twice as many. There are 50,000 of them at Vienna. In recent times they have in great numbers emigrated to North America.

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S 23. Statistics.--The official censuses /117/ in the German sections of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Vienna--as for the Slovaks in Hungary--have generally been conducted to the detriment of the Czech nationals. Generally an unfair pressure is exerted upon the

S.P. C. 46 161 What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing population to the profit of the German sections. (In Moravia it is completely the contrary). In 1890 33.46% of the Czechs in Bohemia were living in German areas; in 1900 there were already 34.61% of them. During this ten year period the birth rate in the German sections was 8.1% for the Germans, and only 4.8% among the Czechs of the Czech sections. These phenomena are explained by the importance of German industry which attracts the Czechs into the German areas.

S.P. C. 48 177 Already the Germans--at least /125/ the sensible ones--recognize that it is impossible to Germanize the Czechs. The chauvinists alone still dared to hope for it, especially those who consider Bohemia as a lock which one can burst asunder in order to open to the German race an access to the Adriatic. But they are fooling themselves, as are those who believe that the Poles of the Kindom of Prussia can be denationalized.

S.P. C. 101 The situation of the Slovaks in Hungary is not nearly so good; they are deprived of all political rights and, following the example of what is happening in Prussia, they are being threatened with expropriation. Nevertheless, they continue to stand against the Magyars within their ancient boundaries, they give way only very slightly within these boundaries, and, were it not for the Magyarization which is being energetically imposed upon the nation, especially upon the upper classes, and for a rather considerable emigration, the people would be able to hold their own, all the more since they are constantly assimilating Polish and Russian elements in the north and east of their territory.

ooo When in 1900 I drew up my ethnographic map for the Slovaks, the Russians protested against the figures which the statistics showed to their detriment. It has been demonstrated that the progress of the Slovaks had not been as rapid as I had thought, but it exists nevertheless. All of eastern Slovakia is nothing but Russia which has been Slovakized, and this assimilation is continuing.

S.P. C. 178 [144] /126/ S 24. Differentiation.--The primitive differentiation of the tribes has left no important trace among the Czechs. All of the shades of difference have been leveled off by time and those which relate to the physical aspects, to the languages, to costume in these latter days, have almost entirely disappeared.

S.P. C. 178 have almost entirely disappeared. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, modern civilization, the school, the obligatory military service, and similar factors have unified them more and more. It is only in Moravia that there still is some slight variety, but it will disappear even there.

S.P. C. 177 101 184 Three principal dialects are recognized in Bohemia: those of the southwest, of the center, and of the northeast. But they do not afford accentuated characteristics which render them immediately recognizable. In contrast, here and there ethnographic islands are met with, which, from the point of view of language and of costume afford special interest and are distinguished by particular names. Thus, not so long ago in the west the area of Plzen and in the east that of Litomysl with the dialect of Orlice had a special physiognomy.

Likewise in the southeast the Blataki (from Blato, swamp, lake, in the area located between Sobieslav* and Trebon*) can be distinguished, and in the region southwest of the Sumava, the Chodes*, the most typical of all of the Czech tribes (1), which were /127/

1. A few notes on the Chodes will be found in my volume, Le Monde slave (2d edition, Paris, 1897, p. 200). Translator.

formerly settled between Domazlice and Tachov, and which are now concentrated around Domazlice, the Tachov area having been partly Germanized. It is in the area of Mount Rip that the true type of Czech peasant is to be found.

The odd character of the Chodes has given rise to the most diverse theories regarding their origin. Formerly Paul Stransky*, and later Ruffer, Erben, Grabowski, suggested that they were Poles settled as colonists by Bretislav I. But their dialect offers not the slightest trace of Polish influence. The uniqueness of the Chodes is explained sufficiently by the mountainous and isolated region which they occupy, by their traditions and the privileges which they have enjoyed since the fourteenth century as guardians of the frontiers.

The origiality of the primitive tribes is better preserved in Moravia. There we may very easily distinguish three different types, not only by dialect, but by physical and ethnographic details, particularly by the costume; even more, the people themselves are conscious of these differences and glad to affirm them. Up until now the things which have been most clearly recognized are the

SP. dialect and the costume. The other signs of differentiation have not
C been studied from a scientific viewpoint. We have noted in the first
197 place, that in the mountain regions of Bohemia and of Moravia there
101 exists a purely Czech element which in the south borders upon
184 German territory.

/128/ In the northeast of Moravia and of Silesia the Lasi are met with (their country is called Lassko); they occupy the region of the Opava and the Czech section of the Tesin (Teschen) area, and in Moravia the area in which are situated the towns of Pribor, Brusperk*, Moravska, Ostrava, Frydlant, etc. The name of Lasi, furthermore, is not commonly used among the people. One finds alongside it those of Valasi* and other local names, Horale*, Kozloviane*, Dulani*, etc. The dialect of these Lasi bears strong traces of Polish influence.

The Valasi, properly speaking, are settled to the south of the Lasi in the region of Vsetin. From a linguistic viewpoint their idiom is very close to that of the Slovaks. But the people distinguish themselves very definitely from the latter, and their dress is completely different.

They are a group of purely Slovak origin who have been given the name of the Rumanian Walachians, who from the eleventh to the twelfth centuries moved into the Little Carpathians and were assimilated by the natives.

The most unusual tribe is that of the Moravian Slovaks, formerly identical with the Slovaks of Hungary, but who are today entirely different from them in life and in customs. In Moravia there remains only a small group of 18 villages which preserves the Hungarian character.

C
[292] Among the Slovaks of Moravia, the national costume still per-
ists in all its brilliance; it /129/ is so varied that an ethnographer has been able to distinguish 28 absolutely different types.

SP
C Pure-blooded Slovaks occupy the southeast corner of Moravia.
101 To their groups are attached three former Croatian villages, which they have
184 assimilated.

All the rest of Moravia belongs to the Hanaks*. Just as the Slovaks are lively and cheerful, the Hanaks are calm and apathetic. Their center is located on the river Hana, a tributary of the Morava which gives them their name.

S.P. C. 181 184

Their principal towns are: Prerov, Olomouc (Ollmutz) and Prostejov. They are divided into the Red Hanaks and the Yellow Hanaks, according to the color of their breeches. Various tribes are recognized among them: those of the Baniaks*, of the Blataks*, of the Zabeczaks*, of the Moravicks*, names which refer to certain details of topography.

S.P. C. 101 184 177

The Slovak territory can be divided up only on a theoretical basis. From the dialectological viewpoint, it divides itself into three areas: that of the west on the Nitra and the Vah, that of the center (upon the Hron and upper Vah), that of the east which reaches from Gemer* and Liptov as far as the national frontier. The inhabitants of this area are considered by many ethnographers as Slovakized Russians, and it is a fact that in the counties of Spis, of Sarys*, of Zemplin and of Ujgorod (Ungvar) the Russians are becoming more and /130/ more Slovakized. One of the most remarkable of these groups is that of the Sotaks* in the county of Zemplin.

They are so called because they say so instead of tso /co, what/ and have nothing to do with the Satagues* of Jordanes.

S.P. C. 101 184

Let us also mention as local names those of the Magurani* in the county of Spis, of the Trpaci* in that of Niredhazy*. Among the Slovak groups, the most unusual is that of the Detva, in the county of Zvolen: a Hungarian ethnographer, O. Hermann, chose to see in the Detvanci colonists from Hercegovina, but he is mistaken.

S.P. C 101 184 463

The ancient ethnographers, and, following them, many modern books, indicate as forming special tribes those persons who work as peddlers, broom-makers, galziers, etc., who merely represent nomadic types common to all nationalities.

However, representatives of certain industries are natives of certain regions, for example, the dratenici, sellers of articles made from iron wire, are natives of the county of Trencsin, etc. (1)

1. Likewise in France, certain artisans are especially natives of the Creuse, the Auvergne, of Savoy, etc. Translator.

S.P. C. 184

What is of much greater interest from the Czech viewpoint than these local shades of difference, is the distinction which exists between the /131/ Czechs and the Slovaks of Hungary. This distinction arose a long time ago; it has been sanctioned by a long separation; the

S.R. C. 184 142

The outcome of all this is that the Czech type does not actually form a unique type. This circumstance is still more striking if one considers the diffusion of certain characteristics, for example, complexion. Thus the light type (blue eyes and blond hair) is found in the center of Bohemia and Moravia only in a ratio of 14%; in the mountainous sections it reaches from 20 to 25%, and in certain frontier regions where the Germans are in the majority in the northeast, it exceeds 30%. In contrast, we find in these regions 20 to 25% of the dark type; the proportion exceeds more than 25% in the mountainous regions of the Podripsko and of the Podbrdsko; but on the Czecho-Moravian plateau in certain neighborhoods it reaches only between 11 and 15%.

/135/ VI

THE SLOVENES

S.R. Sl. 101 174

S 25. Historical Introduction.--The Slovenes represent the southwestern fraction of the southern Slavs. They are the last remains of a formerly powerful group which occupied at the beginning of the Middle Ages the regions included between the bend of the Danube and the Adriatic pathway and which penetrated deeply into the Alpine regions. (1)

1. Sclaueni, Stlaueni, Sklavenoi, Sthlauenoi of the ancient texts. The word Slovene (in the language of the country Slovenec, Slovenka, in German--Slowenen) has become popular since the period of national renaissance. The Germans frequently use the designations Winden, Windisch, which may be found in many of the topographic names.

It is not known at what period the Slavs appeared for the first time in these regions. The indications, unfortunately extremely uncertain, seem to point to their having crossed the Danube at about the beginning of the Christian era, and to have appeared in the regions of Lake Balaton (Plattensee) and of the Sava. But substantial historical and archeological evidence is lacking.

/136/ One hears it affirmed constantly that the Slavs are the original races in the region of the Alps; these are vain statements. In these countries before the Christian era there lived the Ligurians, the Illyrian, Rhaetian, and Gallic tribes and some survivors of non-Aryan tribes.

Sl. S.R. 101

What is certain is that, from the end of the sixth century, this

1: Niederle--86 E-5 1911 E/ Slavic Peoples E/6

S.P. 81. 175 101

What is certain is that, from the end of the sixth century, this region[1] was flooded with Slavs. In the year 551 Jordanes did not yet know of them, for he drew the frontier of the Slavs from the Vistula to the lower Drava. In 595 Thassilo, Duke of Bavaria, was already fighting the Slavs in the area of the Korutania (Carinthia); in the year 600, we know that they threatened Italy. Evidently it was the departure of the Lombards for Italy which facilitiated the expansion of the Slavs.

At the beginning of this expansion they settled upon very extensive areas; but their groups were not very dense and they did not occupy all of the territory. To the east and to the north they had the Danube as their frontier--onto the right bank of which the Czechs crossed in certain localities--to the west, a line running from Linz through Wels, Dachstein, Tauern, Dreiherrenspitze and from there through the western corner of the Tyrol, as far as Innichen and Udine.

Thus they occupied the southern half of Lower Austria, all of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the territories of Gradiska and of Gorica (Goritz), the region of Lienz in the Tyrol, that is to say the east part of the Pusterthal, the Langau of Salzburg /137/ and the southeastern portion of Upper Austria. We are assured of this by the topographic nomenclature, by the ancient name of Sclavinia, and by a series of documents directly relating to the Slavic colonies. In this territory the sources mention very strong ancient tribes, such as those of the Dulebi, of the Suselci*, of the Stodoranes* alongside the Croatian colonies.

S.P. Sl. 175

At the outset of their history the Slovenes fell under the yoke of the Avars. They were freed from it by Samo (623-658). On the contrary, they were unable to resist for long the attacks of the Germans from Bavaria; their chiefs had to become the vassals of Bavaria (745-772). Then they were subjugated by the Franks (788) and by the Friuli. Their country was invaded by German colonies, which systematically sought to Germanize it. The Catholic Church played the principal role in this policy of Germanization. This work was carried on at the same time by the diocese of Salzburg and by that of Aquileia. The conversion to Christianity almost always redounded to the profit of Germany. The Slav diocese of Great Moravia did not endure long (1) and exercised slight influence.

Sl. [775]

1. About this diocese, see my book on La conversion des Slaves au christianisme, ch. vi ff. Translator.

1 [the region of the Alps -- Analyst]

S.P. Sl. 175

Beginning from the eight century the Alpine Slavs, who had occasionally crossed over the frontiers which we mentioned earlier, began /138/ to withdraw, especially in the north between Carinthia and the Danube, in the region called the East Mark (Ostmark). There in the north, German colonization established itself firmly upon the Danube, then upon the Leitha and upon the Mura, in the neighborhood of Celovec (Klagenfurt) and on the upper Drava. However, it scarcely descended at all along the course of this river. Then it penetrated to the banks of Lake Balaton (Plattensee), and, except for the arrival of the Magyars and the defeat of the Bavarians in 907, Germanization certainly would have invaded all of Panonia and the basin of the basin of the Drava.

The German frontier today would not be on the upper Raab, but on the lower Sava. The Magyars prevented this expansion, but in turn, they subjugated all the Slovenes--except a few groups. Moreover, the rapidity with which the Alpine areas were Germanized is explained by various circumstances. The Slavs were never very numerous in the Alpine regions of the East Mark (Ostmark). They lived in groups which were isolated and from the outset mingled with German groups.

In the texts having to do with the establishment of the churches founded by the Slavic prince Pribina and consecrated by Liufram, bishop of Salzburg (850), we find fifteen names of Slavic chiefs and fifteen names of German chiefs and we read an entire list of names of German localities. In this region the Slavs were never /139/ very strong nor very compact; thus, we must not be surprised to see them disappear in Austria proper, beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Evidently they did not exist in compact masses exept in the south, in Carantania, that is to say in southern Styria, in Carinthia, and in Carnolia, areas where they have maintained themselves until the present.

S.P. Sl. 101

S 26. Territorial Boundaries.--Today the Slovene country includes: 1) the entire Duchy of Carnolia (except the German island of Kocevje /Gottschee/), the north of Istria, Gorica /Hung: Kerrce/, the region of Udine in the Friul, the southeast part of Carinthia, southern Styria and a small section of eastern Hungary (the two counties of Vas* and Zalad*).

S.P. Sl. 101

Leaving the sea near Trieste, the boundary of the Slovene national group runs to Divina (Duino), Montefalcone, Gradiska, Kormin* (Cormons*), then it goes into Italy, includes the area to the east of Cedad*, Tarcenta*, Resia and comes back to the frontier of the Austrian State at Kanin*, then it runs to Potabl* (Pontafel*, in Italian, Pontebba*), Saint-Hermagoras, Dobracz* and Villach (Slovenian; Beljak) which is for the greater part German. It crosses the Drava, passes near Lake Vrbsky (Worthersee), near Kostanje (Kostenberg), Blatograd (Moosburg), Kamsky Grad (Kamberg), then it runs to Krka (Gurk), goes towards Djekse (Diex), Kerczanie (Grentschach), Grebin* (Griffen), /140/ Ruda* (Ruden*), Led* (Lis*), Labod* (Lavamund), Pernice* (Pernitzen*), St-Iernej*, St-Pancrace*, and Arfels*, which is German.

Fifty years ago the outskirts of this town were still Slovenian. Today they are Germanized. The right bank of the Mura from Svecane to Radgona (Radkersbourg) is also Germanized. At Radgona the boundary crosses over the Drava and goes past Potrna, Zenkova and Gorica (Hung: Kerrce) towards Hungary. There it follows the frontier as far as Serdica (Szerghaza in Magyar), goes to Saint-Gothard (Hungarianian, Szentgotthard) which is German, and reaches the Raab (Hungarian, Raba). Then it turns south, crosses Bergelin, Salovce, Krizevce (in Magyar, Tot Keresztur), Berkevce, Falkovce (Urdomb), Ladomir, Bukovnice (Bakonak), Velika Palina, crosses the Mura at Gornia Bistrica, leaves on the right some Croatian localities and then follows the political frontier of Croatia, of Styria, and of Carnolia. There the line descends to the south towards Istria, and again reaches the seacoast.

S.P. Sl. 101 162

Certain philologists attach to the Slovenes the inhabitants of the Croatian counties of Varazdin and of Zagreb (German; Agram). In the census of 1900 in which the Slovenes were still counted, 17,342 of them were reported, especially in the zupaniates or counties of Varazdin and of Zagreb (Agram). But they were scattered in the midst of the Croat population.

There is still a Slovenian island in Hungary in the county of Somogy, in the borough of Tarany, /141/ where in 1900 there were enumerated 1,597 Slovenes against 764 Magyars. Certain small islands are to be found in the interior of Istria. On the contrary, there are,

S.P. Sl. 101 162 particularly to the north and to the east, numerous German islands; we have already mentioned the German group at Kocevje (Gottschee), which includes a considerable number of localities.

S.P. Sl. 162 177 Furthermore, the northern frontier, and also that which touches Hungary, are gravely threatened. In Carinthia and in Styria the Germans have taken over the official functions and the schools, and, thanks to their efforts, the number of Slovenes is diminishing considerably In Carinthia 101,050 Slovenes were reported in 1890; in 1900 the figure was reduced to 90,495 and it is to be feared that the coming generation will be completely Germanized. In Styria, in 1850, 643,194 Germans were enumerated as compared with 363,750 Slovenes; in 1900 there were 902,343 Germans against 409,521 Slovenes. Thus in a half-century the number of Germans had increased by 40.5% and that of the Slovenes only 12.5%. These figures, as we shall explain farther along, are not completely reliable. However, it is impossible to deny a serious decrease in the number of Slovenes in all the areas in which they live. 1 Refer above in Section 23 to the table of the birth rate of Slav peoples which shows 6.1% for the Slovenes in 1880, 5.23% in 1890, and only 4.65% for the year 1900.

The most threatened frontier is that of /142/ Carinthia and Styria between Arvez* and Radgona (German; Radkersburg) where the Slovenes are withdrawing constantly on the south side and are maintaining themselves only in the mountains. In Hungary they are being rapidly Magyarized, notably in the county of Zelezna (Vas). Furthermore, even in Carnolia, they are increasing very slightly, as will be indicated later.

S.P. Sl. 161 S 27. Statistics.--Along with the Sorbs of Lusatia, the Slovenes constitute the smallest Slavic people and also the most threatened one. They are strangled between the Germans, the Italians, and the Magyars, furthermore, their birth rate is almost insignificant.

In Austria the following figures were counted:

In 1880	1,140,504
In 1890	1,176,672
In 1900	1,192,780

In Hungary, in 1890, there were counted 94,992 (including

1 [cf. E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, category 116, pp. 75-76, foot note 1 — Analyst]

S.P. 6. 163 181 167 In the matter of the birth rate during these latter years it has been very low in Carniola: between 1890 and 1900, 1.84%; the birth-rate for Austria taken all together is 9.44%. Between 1880 and 1890 the coefficient was 9.44%. For all of the Slovenes taken together the coefficient is only 1.37%.

Therefore, the development of the nation appears to be arrested. This phenomenon is due in part to denationalization, in part to emigration, and in part to inexact census figures.

S.P. 6. 162 [195] From the religious viewpoint the Slovenes are almost entirely Catholics (99.9%). In respect to occupations, 75.4% devote themselves to farming, 13.4% to industry, 3.5% to trade, and 7.7% to public services.

S.P. 21. 197 101 S 28. Differentiation.--From a linguistic viewpoint there are rather numerous differences; but they are not very deep (see what is said further along regarding the dialectology of the southern Slavs). To designate the various groups within the nation, the Slovenes usually give themselves geographic names, borrowed from their political boundaries: Kranjci (Carniolians), Primorci /145/ (people of the seacoast), Korosci (Carinthians), Goricani (Goricians), Styrians, or names of an even more local character, borrowed from the orography and the hydrography. In Styria there are singled out the Pohorianci, the Polianci of the Mura and of the Drava, the Halozanes, in Carniola the Gorenici (people from above), Dolenici (people from below), and the Notranjci who speak different dialects. To the north of the Mura, the Prekmurci (Transmurians) present an interesting type. In the north-west of Istria the Savrini or Bresavi are also pure-blooded Slovenes, as are the Berkini in the north of Istria. On the contrary the Fucki in the outskirts of the town of Buzet (Pinguente) and the Cici are Croats of the kaikavski and cakavski dialects. (1) Likewise, the White

1. Although certain philologists attach the Kaikavci of Croatia to the Slovenes, we relegate them to the next chapter; they consider themselves to be Croats.

Krainici--so called from their costume--who are settled between Kocevje and the Kupa River are also of the kaikavski dialect.

A very interesting group, particularly studied by Professor Beaudoin de Courtenay (2), is the group of Resians established in the

2. A Pole, despite his French name, Mr. Beaudoin de Courtenay today lives in St. Petersburg. Translator.

Friul, in the neighborhood of Udine. They[1] are crossed with /146/ Serbo-Croatian blood and perhaps with another, which explains why their language is divided into four dialects. These Slavs of the Friul are settled in eight purely Slovenian communes of the district of San Pietro, in three communes and several mixed localities of the districts of Taranto, Cividale, Gemona and in the purely Slavic commune of Resia (district of Moggio--German, Reschenscheideeck). Beaudoin de Courtenay estimates that the Slavs of the districts of Gemona and of Tarcento are Serbo-Croats, those of Stara Gora and of Cividale are Slovenes; according to him the inhabitants of the district of San Pietro are Slovenes crossed with Croats and Resians, the product of the mixture of a non-Aryan people with the primitive Slavs.

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/147/

VII

THE CROATS AND THE SERBS

S 29. Historical Introduction. --The Croats and the Serbs belong like the Slovenes and the Bulgars to the south Slav or Yugo-Slav family (1). They formed at the outset a single group, which

1. Yugo means south. Translator.

history has divided into two sections, into two nations, the Serbs and the Croats. Both of these two nations, even though they are conscious of their kinship, lay claim to an autonomous life.

Even formerly there existed distinctions between the various sections of the future Serb unit and the future Croat unit. But these distinctions were not deep ones. They consisted of dialectic shades of difference, the organization into different tribes, distinct political outlooks, etc.

At the beginning we find ourselves in the presence of an aggregat of tribes belonging to a single group, belonging to a single linguistic type with very slight differences; this group left its early homeland in the region of the /148/ Carpathians, moved towards the Danube, then the Dra the Sava and the Balkan peninsula. The various tribes settled over a considerable extent of territory, without geographic unity; they were separated by the mountains; they communicated with each other with

[1] [i.e. Resians in the Friul -- Analyst]

S.P. Cr. E/6 174 [101]

difficulty. They isolated themselves from one another, they were concentrated in different political groups, they assimilated the debris of the autochtonous nations. In the northwest the Croat area in the largest sense of the word took shape--bounded in the tenth century by the sea as far as the mouth of the Cetina (Tsetinia), established on the Kupa and the Drava--the location of the frontier along the Bosnian side is not clearly known; and on the other hand the Serbian area in the largest sense of the word included everything to the east of Croatia as far as the Shara mountains (Shar-Planina) and the region of the Morava. To this Serbian region Constantin Porphyrogenetos added the maritime tribes of the south between the Cetina (Tsetinia) and the Piva, Scutari (Skadar) and Durazzo (Drac). But originally these regions did not belong to the Serbs. At what epoch did the Serbo-Croats occupy this territory? We do not know exactly.

Certain families, perhaps even tribes, crossed the Danube before the fifth century, but the total immigration did not take place before the fifth or sixth centuries. What we may affirm is that they did not come in the seventh century in the reign of Heraclius (about 630-640), as is recounted by Constantin /149/ Porphyrogenetos according to tradition; they took part in the general immigration movement of the Slavs towards the Balkan peninsula in the fifth and sixth centuries.

S.P. Sb 101 175

From the very beginning the history of these Slavs, conditioned by geographic influences, followed two different currents. The tribes of the northwest, settled in favorable conditions near the sea, were the first to form a sizeable state (perhaps from the seventh century, but especially during the ninth and tenth centuries). They gave to it the name of Croatia, the origin of which is not known and of which no satisfactory explanation exists.

The tribes of the south and of the east were a long way from the sea; they inhabited a mountainous and poor region; they did not develop a political life until later on, towards the tenth or eleventh century. They grouped themselves about the tribe of the Serbs which originally was settled on the Tara, Lim, and Ibar Rivers. It is in Novi Pazar (ancient Rascia) that the word Srbia is first met with. This name spread throughout the region of the southwest which was detached from the Croat national unit. From that time two political entities developed side by side, often even in combat with each other; and political divorce finally took place when Croatia in 1102 became

SP CR Sb attached to the Hungarian crown. In 1526 it passed, with that crown,
101 under the scepter of the Hapsburgs.
175

SP CR Sb The Serbs on their side were getting ready in the twelfth century for /150/ the
175 most brilliant period of their history, a period inaugurated by the great zupan Stevan Nemanji (1168-1196). The breach widened still further when the two groups found themselves separated from a religious view-
Ca Sb point. The Croats, as a result of their political ties with the pope, [195] had received from Rome the royal crown, the liturgy, and the Catholic hierarchy. The Serbs, on the other hand, had received from Byzantium Christianity and also antocephalous church, at the time of Archbishop Sava, brother of the first crowned Tsar, Stevan. This double ecclesiastical influence deeply penetrated into the entire national life and manifested itself in the literature.

CR Sb While the Croats used the Roman alphabet, the Serbs used the
[212 181] cyrillic alphabet. The former followed Latin culture; the latter Byzantine culture.

Sb Serbian power was destroyed by the Turks at the battle of Kosovo
175 (1389); but they did not draw any nearer to the Croats. Subject to the
668 Osmanlis, they preserved their national character, they again recruited their energy, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, after the insurrections of 1804 and of 1815, they regained little by little their political autonomy.

The Principality of Serbia appeared as a solid nucleus ready to gather together all of the Serbian elements of the Balkans into a new national unit.

Sb CR
175 /151/ During this time[7] the Croats unfortunately exhausted their
668 strength in perpetual warfare against the Turks and in struggles for either internal independence or for the dynasty. Recently both the Serbian government and the Austrian government have equally disappointed the hopes of the Serbo-Croatian nation.

Recently the annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina to Austria has completely nullified the dreams of a Great Serbia.

000 This political situation has exercised a profound influence, not

7 [from the 12th - 19th centuries -- Analyst]

S.P. Sb. 3 Sb. 3 167

between Serb territory and Bulgar territory. The nationality of the inhabitants of this region has been for a long time a matter of controversy. But since the Serbs have occupied it and have brought to it their civilization, it can no longer be differentiated from the Serbian group. According to Mr. O. Brosh, an analogous phenomenon occurred in the south, in the section of Serbian territory called Old Serbia.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101

S 30. Territorial Boundaries.--

The Serbo-Croats are divided today among several states. The Croats belong entirely to Austria-Hungary. In fact, they occupy the Slavic section of Istria and of the seacoast, a section of Dalmatia and of Bosnia, all of Croatia and Slavonia, with the exception of Srem (Syrmien), and are scattered besides in western Hungary. The Serbs have their principal nucleus in the Balkan peninsula. They are settled in the independent kingdom, in Bosnia-Hercegovina annexed to Austria, and in a section of Dalmatia, in the independent principality of Montenegro, in the northern sections of the Turkish vilayets of Scutari (Skadar) and of Skoplje, in the north of Slavonia, and they /157/ form sizeable islands in South Hungary.

Because of the great size of the area over which they are scattered, their boundary is poorly defined and it is difficult to trace its outline. It is still more difficult to trace the boundary which separates the Serbs from the Croats. This is how one could mark it approximately: It starts out at the little stream of Dragonja and from the Croat town of Buzet (Pinguente), where the Croats of the two dialects kaikavski and cakavski meet the Slovenes and the Italians; then the border runs down to the south and passes into Istria through Beram (Vermo), Vodnjan (Dignano), and reaches Pula (Pola), then it follows the seashore of the Adriatic as far as the Bojana, which runs into the lake of Skadar (Scutari). Certain cities, Rijeka (Fiume), Zadar (Zara) are in great measure inhabited by the Italians. On the other hand, Sibenik, Trogir (Trau), Split (Spalato) are Slav. However, there are in the Kvarner (Quarnero) Islands some Italian localities.

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From the Bojana the line which separates the Serbs from the Albanians runs through the middle of the lake of Skadar (Scutari) and passes to the south of the frontier of Montenegro through Sutorman, Vila, Gusinje, Plav, near Pec /Ipek/, then below Djakovica, Prizren, it reaches Mount Chardagh and Mount Karadagh and comes to Vranje

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on the Morava. (1) Thus, as we already have pointed out, in the

1. The Serbs claim for their national group the area of Tetovo, Skoplje, and Kumanovo. They draw the boundary of their language /158/ through the Chardagh and then run it towards Tetovo, Skoplje, Kratovo; some of them even run it towards Kyustendil, Radomir, Iskets, Berkovica, Belogradchik, Kula, and Bryagovo (for example, Belic on his recent map). Mr. Resetar has the southern boundary start from Ulcinj and runs it the length of Montenegro (Plav and Gusinje are mixed localities), then from the Albanian Alps to the point where the two Drim (Drin) Rivers run together. The western boundary, if only the pure Serbian dialect is considered, goes from Janjevo in Old Serbia as far as the point where the two Morava Rivers run together, at Stalac, then it runs towards Bukovik, Rtanj, Toupijnitsa near Zaitchar and the Timok, which it follows to the Danube; the region of Vranje-Pirot presents certain characteristics of the Bulgar dialect in its language; but one may, as a consequence of political circumstances, consider it as a Serbian region.

region of Novi Pazar and of Kosovo, the Albanian element has made such progress that it now reaches as far as Prepolie, Sienitsa, Novi Pazar, Mitrovica.

From Kraina, the Serbian boundary runs toward Pirot, Zajecar and the Danube. It crosses that stream at Dolnji-Milanovacs and enters the Hungarian plain at Svinitsa, where at the outset it runs along the Danube. Then at the level of Stara Moldava, it turns again towards the north. After that it is not possible to draw a line, because, in these regions the Serbs and Croats do not live in compact masses. but form a series of islands of varying sizes in the southern section of the county of Krasso-Szoreny*, in the entire county of Timisoara (Temesvar) and of Torontal*, the southern section of Ba ka, the east of the county of Baranja, the south of the county of Szomod*, the west of that of Heves, of Soprony (Pressbourg) and of Mosony.

/159/ In southern Hungary the area situated between Feertemplom, Vrsac (Versec), Venga, Timisoara (Temesvar), Arad, Szeged, and Sombor is considerably populated with Serbs.

The boundary of Serbian territory, as far as one may make it

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make it out, starts from Stara-Moldava and passes through the villages or towns of Kroupica, Subotica, Izbiste, Aulma*, Dolova*, Dobrica, Roudna, Srpski Modosh, Srpska Boka, Srpska-Neuzina, Bokosh, Orlovat (Orlod), Perlez*, Veliki Beckerek (or Zrenjanin or Petrovgrad), Petrovgrad, Melenci, Curug, Nadal*, Turia (Torja), Sentomash, Despot, Sentivan (Szent-Ivan), Paraga*, Tovarichovo*, Deronie*, Vaiska and Sonta (Szond) on the Danube. Then it is necessary to point out a certain number of Serbian islands, especially the rather large group of the county of Torontal, to the east of Senta (Zenta), as far as Velika Kikinda, and a certain number of islands, for example that of Krasso, in the county of the same name, others in that of Timisoara, in Backa, around Sombor (Zombor), and even in the county of Budapest and, beyond the Danube, islands in the outskirts of Mohacs. Here the Croatian domain begins, represented by a few islands in Magyar and German areas, between Pecs and Mohacs. The compact group of Croats starts in the south of the county of Szomod, at Stara (Sztara) on the Drava. At the beginning it forms a group of communes along the river, then another group in the county of Szalad*, where the Croat tongue is spoken to the north of the Mura, and it extends as far as Kanjiza, on the frontier of Styria.

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/160/ A long chain of Croat villages stretches out in the counties of Vas, of Soprony and of Moson, between the frontier of Hungary and the middle course of the Raab, as far as the Leitha and the Danube. These villages are divided between four principal groups. The Croat colonies have even crossed the Leitha and the Danube and penetrated as far as the outskirts of Pozony, as far as the lower Morava, on the banks of which a few of them have been Slovakized.

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In 1900, 1,560 Croats were enumerated in this area. They descend from the colonists brought in by General Christoph Teufenbach.

The Croat boundary then runs down from Kanisza towards the south, the length of the frontier of Styria and Carniola, as far as the northeast corner of Istria, and it rejoins, by way of Podgrad (Castelnuovo), Soczergy and Rakitovicza, the Dragonja (Dragongna) River from which we started a short while ago.

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We find other Serb and Croat colonies outside of this compact region. In the first place many of them are found in Albanian country, notably in Old Serbia which is becoming re-Serbianized more and

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101 more, and also in Macedonia. Regarding this province, we are unable, because of the contradictory character of our information and of the brevity of this book, to furnish detailed data. Some Serbs live in the regions of Tetovo, of Kumanovo, of Skoplje.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101 167 Aside from the Serb and Croat groups which /161/ may live in the principal cities of Europe, there are also colonies in Italy, in Russia, and in America.

S.P. Cr. 101 167 In Italy, as a result of the Turkish invasions, Croats settled in the Udine area where they became mixed with the Slovenes (see Section 28)[1] and also in the Abruzzi. There they still exist today in the district of Molise and in the province of Campobasso where there are still three villages today: Acqua Viva Colla Croce (Cruc), San Felice Slavo, Montemitro (Mundimitar). There are about 5,000 persons. Italian statistics do not count individuals, but families. The three communes which we have just named are the remains of a large Slavic area which stretched as far as the province of Chieti. These Croats are the descendants of the emigrants who came in the sixteenth century from the seacoast of Dalmatia, between Makarska and the Naretva (Narenta).

S.P. Sb. 101 167 Between the years 1750 and 1752, a great number of Serbs, discontented with the behavior of the Austrian government, migrated to Russia. They settled in the northern section of the gubernia of Kherson, in the districts of Yelizavetgrad (now Kirovograd) and of Alexandrovo, and the city of Yelizavetgrad was their principal stronghold. Founded in 1756, it was at first called Fort Saint Elisabeth. The region was named New Serbia. In the northeast of the guberniya of Ekaterinoslav, another area was called Slaviano-Serbia. It was located between the northern Don, the /162/ Bakhmut (now Artemovsk), and the Lugan. But these Serbs, whose religion was the same as that of the Russians, were completely Russianized and were not reported separately in the Russian statistics. In 1842 Safarik still showed them on his ethnographic map. Mr. Florinskii, in his recent work, estimates their number at 9,000; but he adds that they have almost entirely forgotten their original language.

S.P. Cr. 167 In recent times, many Croats of Austria-Hungary have emigrated to America; American statistics confound them with the Slovenes and are for example for the year 1905 a total of 35,000.

[1] [Cf. E16 Slavic peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 91-92, Category 116 — Analyst]

000 give, for example, for the year 1905, a total of 35,000.

S.P. 56 191 167 The number of Serb emigrants is not so large. They settle especially in the cities of North America. There have also been, for the past thirty years, colonists in New Zealand and in the Auckland Islands.

S.P. Cr. 56. 191 162 It is very difficult to determine the boundary between the Serbs and the Croats. In Hungary, as we have already said, it begins at Stara, on the Drava. But the official statistics of Croatia and Slavonia do not distinguish between Serbs and Croats. It is the same in Cisleithania and we do not have the required information. One may, to a certain degree, take advantage of the statistics showing religious adherence and of the new map of Dr. Vasa Ruvarac. But this map gives only the division by districts and besides, as we /163/ have previously mentioned, religion itself is not an absolute indication.

S.P. Cr. 56. 161 S 31. Statistics.---It is very difficult, if not impossible, to give statistics about the Croats and Serbs, either all together, or taken separately. For the Turkish area we have no certain census and we are reduced to the guesses of individual Serbs or Bulgars, who, pursuing the tendencies which statisticians adopt, differ from one another to an unusual degree. (1) For Istria, the seacoast, Dalmatia,

1. In 1889, the Serb S. Gropcevic figured that in Old Serbia and in Macedonia there were 2,048,000 Serbs and 57,600 Bulgars. In 1900, the Bulgar Kancov figured 700 Serbs and 1,180,000 Bulgars.

Bosnia and Hercegovina, we do not have a distinction made between Serbs and Croats. Such distinction is found only in the Hungarian statistics. On the other hand, as will be seen further on, we assign to the Bulgars the population of Macedonia, properly speaking, south of Sofia. The following gives the approximate numbers of Serbs and of Croats in 1900:

Austria	711,382
Croatia and Slavonia	2,101,580
Hungary, approx.	700,000
Rieka (Fiume)	13,929
Bosnia-Hercegovinia (according to /164/ the census of 1905), approx.	1,650,000
Montenegro, approx.	350,000

S.P. Cr. Sk. 177 [illegible] 101

Towards the south, the Kajkavci have penetrated into certain localities in the territory of the Cakavci. Cakavci was spoken on the seacoast at one time, as ancient documents attest. Here is how this change of dialect is explained: at the moment of the Turkish invasions the inhabitants emigrated en masse towards the north and when they returned later on they had learned to speak Kajkavci. Those who speak the purest /176/ Kajkavski live between Zagreb (Agram), Varazdin, and Krizevac.

The territory of the Cakavci today comprises the greater part of the Adriatic islands, some Dalmatian villages, and the Croatian seacoast as far as the Kupa River.

The most extensive dialect is the Stokavski: in the area located between Vidin, Sofia, and Kyustendil, it is changing under the influence of the Bulgar dialects, and in the southwest, between Vranje and Prizren, under the influence of the Macedonian dialects. There is a whole group of types of speech still little studied, which by certain signs are akin to the Serb group, by others to the Bulgar group, which have been the subject of numerous discussions among philologists and among statesmen. This transitional region of the dialect which Belic calls the dialect of Timok and of Prizren, begins at the Danube at the mouth of the Timok, runs up towards the districts of Nis and of Vranje, Krusevac and Prizren; it divides itself into sub-dialects which bear the name of these localities. According to Belic and Resetar, the eastern frontier of this dialect starts at Ulcinj, goes through Prizren, Janjevo, Prokuplje, Stalac, Zaicar, and returns again to the mouth of the Timok on the Danube.

The secondary groups are composed of the Bunjevci, especially the Sokci in the Backa. We know very little about their origins and not very much more about their political character. They are claimed equally by the Croats and the Serbs. /177/ The Bunievci speak the Stokavski dialect. Another colony is settled in the county of Krasso on the upper course of the Karas (about 7,500 persons). The former ethnographers, Czoernig, Schwicker, Hunfalvy, Dobrovsky, Miklosich, and Drinov, took them for Bulgars. L. Miletic proved recently that their language and their origin are equally Serbian, that their language belongs to the Stokavski dialect, but that it is rather different from that of the Serbs of the Banat. Syrku was mistaken when he pretended

S.P. Cr. Sb. 197 101 to see them as an entirely independent tribe. All are Catholics. No one knows when they arrived. But they probably have been here since the fifteenth century. The latest statistics show them partly as Serbs, partly as Croats, and the Croats also claim them.

Here are still a few other groups. The purely Kajkavski inhabitants of the zupaniate (1) of Zagreb in the western region, between

1. Prefecture.

Samobor and Zumberk, call themselves Prigorci (mountaineers), those who live near the sources of the Kupa, Brajci; one also finds in the neighborhood of Zagreb the names of Berzjaci, Puhovci.

Istria is especially interesting from the viewpoint of such groups. In the north one first meets the Fuckovci who speak Kajkavski and who are so called because of the whistling manner /178/ in which they speak; to the south are the Cicovci, descendants of a Bosnian colony which came in 1532; in the southeast the old Istrian Cakavci distinguish themselves clearly from the later Stokavci colonists who came from Dalmatia and from the ancient Romans, called Vlasi or Morlaci by their neighbors. In Istria, the Rumanians /Romans?/ still maintain themselves in the villages of Zejani, Brda, Grobnik, Iesenovik, Sutnjevica, Lelaj and Nova-Ves. According to the latest statistics the pure-blooded Rumanians form three groups, one of 389, another of 516, the third of 217 persons.

S.P. Cr. Sb. [563]

S.P. Sb. 101 In Serbia a large number of local names has sprung up, borrowed from those of rivers, of mountains, of areas, and of towns. (1) Their

1. We shall not translate them. Translator.

origin is not difficult to trace. In Hungary the ancient name of Rasciens, inhabitants of the Raska, an ancient Serbian province has been kept for the Orthodox Serbs.

Local names have developed also in Bosnia from the names of towns and areas. (2)

S.P. Sb. [563] 2. There are in Bosnia a few groups of Roman origin, who still speak a Romance language. But the greater part declare themselves to be Serbs. They are called Cincari, Achani.

S.P. M. 101 Montenegro has preserved the former division into tribes, whose names are still known by the people. Beginning in the north, one

S.P. M. 101

finds the Hercegovinians who came from Hercegovina; then to /179/ the northeast the Brda (1) and between the sea and the lake of Skadar

1. This word in Serbian means "mountains." Translator.

(Scutari) the Crna Gora (Black Mountain), so-called, with the Krajna. In Montenegrin Hercegovina there are seven tribes: Grahovo, the Banjani, Opushna, Rudina, Nikticke Rudine, Nikticka Zupa, Piva, Drobnjaci, Saranci. In the region of Brda there live seven tribes which are, beginning from the west: (2) the Bjelopavlici, the Piperi, the

S.P. M. [194]

2. According to Hassert and Kovacevic, the Kuci are of the Albanian race, according to Erdelianovic, of the Serbian race. A certain number of them, the Drekanovici, present a strong mixture of Albanian blood. Erdelianovic considers certain among them (the Boukimirs) as Slavisized Romans.

Bratonozici, the Kuteki, the Vasojevici, the Moracani, the Rovcani. In ancient Montenegro four nahias are distinguished, each of which is divided into tribes: the nahia of Katun (Cetiniani, or people of Cetinie, Njeguchi, Zeknici, Couce, Kcevo, Ozrinici, Bielice, Komani, Zasarcani, Pjeshivtsi, Lukovo), the nahia Ljeshanska (Zecani), the nahia of Rieka (Cekliniani, Liubotinjani); the nahia of Crmnitsa contains

S.P. M. [663]

a whole series of little tribes called "brotherhoods." In an area which was previously Serbian there are settled today Albanian and Serbian Mohammedans whose principal tribes are those of the Mrkojevici and of the Mikulici, close to Antivari (Bar).

According to Zanetov, there is still another special tribe, that /180/ of Siren, on the upper reaches of the Lim and of the Bosnian Bistrica.

000

We have attempted to show the respective situations of the Croats and the Serbs, the difference in their political development despite their close kinship, the divergent tendencies, which, as a result of their historic traditions, they both follow with a view to assuring their future.

S.P. 578 Cf. 186

Up to the present, numerous conflicts have occurred between these two groups,[1] and one would be mistaken in believing that the relative calm which prevails today is a guarantee of tolerance and peace. Leaving aside the double ideal of a great Croatia and a great Serbia, an contradictory ideal if there ever was one, we run into an entire series of delicate questions, of conflicts which are constantly aggravated. They are met with in Croatia-Slavonia, in Dalmatia

[1] [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Analyst]

Serbs E16
Croats E16
Bulgaria E16

S.P. 578 Cr. 36 186 (for example Dubrovnik (Ragusa), and especially in Bosnia. This province is truly an apple of discord between these two national groups. Here the Austrian government is attempting to do things somewhat by chance without having a clearly defined idea regarding nationality.

000 What will come of this? What will happen to the country after the annexation? What will be the new relations between Croats and Serbs? We cannot yet tell today.

From the viewpoint of science and of the Slav idea, one should at least proceed with honesty and not shut one's eyes to the true facts. At the outset it would be necessary to determine through an accurate census the relative situation of the Serbs and the Croats and to treat with justice all of the national and political groups. Furthermore, it will no longer be necessary to invent a third Croato-Serbian nation, the Bosnian (1) nation, as was conceived of by the

1. Certainly, the concept of a Bosnian nation existed before. One may read in the twelfth century chronicle of Kinnamos: "Bosthna...ethos idia para taute zon," (Bosnia...is a nation living by itself), and one often finds that the Bosnians are considered to be a nation. But this designation, which was based upon political considerations, is no longer justified.

Kallay government a few years ago. Moreover, this innovation was in no wise successful. Since 1907, the official designation "Bosnian" has been replaced by the correct designation "Serbo-Croat."

VIII
THE BULGARS

S.P. B. 101 S 33. Historical Introduction. ---The last Slav people produced by the differentiation of the South-Slav group, is the Bulgars.

Almost all of them live on the Balkan peninsula.

S.P. B. 101 174 Like the other South-Slavs they had their cradle much farther north, somewhere, near the Carpathians, in the vicinity of the Russians. Between the third and the fifth century, they abandoned the Carpathians, began to push through the Thracian and Scytho-Sarmatian tribes, towards the lower Danube, and in the sixth century reached the Balkans. At this time the Slavic tribes of the Peninsula did not have a common ethnic name. They were called Slavs like their neighbors the Serbs

S.P. B. 101 174

and the Slovenes and they did not form a united group. Still in the seventh and eighth centuries we find in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula an entire series of tribes very slightly united to each other, the Sieveriens and seven anonymous tribes in the north of the present Bulgaria, the Rumeliot Slavs, then the Druguvicnes, /183/ the Smoliani, the Strumenci, the Rynchini*, the Sagudati*, the Berziti in Macedonia. It is evidently to these latter that the Slavs who pushed into Greece and into the Archipelago are related from the linguistic viewpoint, the Velegezites, the Vajuniti, the Milingi, and the Iezerci. Towards this period a union began to develop, but under foreign pressure. In 679 under the leadership of Asparukh a certain number of Bulgars from the Volga--of Turkish origin--crossed the Danube and penetrated into the Dobrudja as far as Varna; they subjugated the neighboring Slavic tribes, unified them, and little by little unified all of the Slavs of the center of the Peninsula.

S.P. [197]

On the other hand, the Bulgars of the Volga, who were relatively few in number, became themselves assimilated very quickly with the Slav element and merged with it. (1)

1. Zanetov and Skorpil thought that they found the remains of these ancient Bulgars among the Gagauz (see further on) and among the Turks of Deliorman between Silistra, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), Varna and Rushchouk, whom their Bulgar neighbors called Gadjaly. Mochkov came out against their hypotheses.

Their name alone, which was given to the new state and to its people, recalls the memory of this element of foreign race. Besides the Bulgars have basically always been Slavs, even though they have not hesitated to assimilate foreign elements. Among these elements, along with the Turkish Bulgars, one must cite the remains of the ancient Thracians, the Germans, /185/ especially the Goths, Turks, and Avars, to whom were added later on other Asiatic elements; the Poles, the Cumaeans, the Oguzes, gypsies, and finally the Osmanli Turks.

S.P. B. 175

The Bulgarian Empire, beginning with the reign of Simeon (893-927) acquired a considerable area; it grew by means of the constant warfare with Byzantines on the one hand and with the Serbs, on the other. The Slavs who belonged to its most remote frontiers at

1: Niederle--116 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples E76
Bulgaria EE1

S.P. 8. 176 167 In this region, before the arrival of the Turks, there were settled a large number of Pecheneg, Uzi, and Cumaeans (whose descendants are today called Gagauz) and later on the Tatars.

It seems that the earliest Turkish colonization took place in the region of Deliorman towards the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and later on at Tuzluk and at Gerilovo. The Ragusan Pavle Gjordjic, who traveled in these areas, reported a numerous Turkish population at Gerilovo*, at Deliorman, and in the Dobrudja. These areas were not completely assimilated by the Turks until the seventeenth century, and in the case of Gerilovo*, not until the eighteenth century. But many Turkish villages still retain their Slavic names.

All this Turkish colonization in the northeast of Bulgaria evidently had as an object the securing of passageways of the Balkans, especially after the defeats suffered in the war against King Wladyslaw of Poland in 1443.

S.P. 8. 101 167 Of the original Slav population[7] there remain only a few rare traces near Provadiya, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), and Razgrad. Also in the sixteenth century a great number of Turks, Yurvks*, and Koniars* came from Asia to settle in certain parts of Thrace and of Macedonia.

S.P. 8 101 166 The old Slavic Bulgars, after the arrival of the Turks, naturally withdrew into the mountainous regions. In the sixteenth century their boundary was formed by the towns of Devna*, Monastir (now Bitolj), Krivnia*, Ravna*, Nenovo*, /188/ Nevcha*, Kaludjerica, Divdiedovo*, Novo Selo, or, in other words, the line from Varna (now Stalin) to Shumla (now Kolarovgrad). But towards the south the Slav element soon began again to take over and regain the terrian. The Osmanlis perished little by little in the perpetual wars and were not replaced by new colonists. On the other hand, new Bulgars arrived from the northern areas (Lovech, Nikopol), a scene of constant troubles and danger.

S.P. 8. 175 167 It was on the banks of the Danube that the principal wars were fought and the Slavs moved away from there in all directions. Upon this emigration movement which is a very old one, we have no documentation until after the seventeenth century. Thus we know that in the course of the year 1741 Bulgar colonies went to settle in the Banat of Temesvar where their descendants are still established at Vinga, and Benesov*. From 1752 to 1754 a great number of Bulgars

7 [i.e. in northeast Bulgaria--Analyst]

SP. B. 167 previous Bulgar population did not date back further than one hundred and twenty years.

To the west of the Iantra* there are very few old villages and many new ones founded by the immigrants who have come from the areas of Lovech and of Sevlievo. These new populations were distinguished from the old ones by traditions, costume, and especially by dialect. On the other hand, there were many new immigrants to the south of the Balkans in the areas of Burgas, Aitos, and Yambol.

ooo Therefore, the Bulgar country has been the theater of perpetual movements, and definitive order will not be reestablished there until the Macedonian question has been finally resolved. However, the solution of the Macedonian problem is constantly delayed by the neighboring powers.

S.P. B 101 S 34. Territory Occupied by the Bulgars. ---It is bounded on the north by the Danube, from Cherna Voda to Vidin and then by a line which runs from Vidin through Tsar-Petrovo, Boinitsa and Shchichintsi, to the Serbian frontier. From this line at Vidin there runs off a narrow section which goes up as far as Novo Selo on the Danube. The western boundary follows the Timok which serves as the political frontier between Serbia and Bulgaria. But the philologists are not in agreement upon the characteristics of the intermediate dialect of the area of Pirot-Vranje. Belic assigns it to Serbian, Tsonev to Bulgarian and considers only as intermediate the dialect of the Morava and the Resava. As we have already explained, in the basin of the Timok, in the area of Pirot, Nish, Vranje and Prizren a dialect intermediate between Serbian and Bulgarian is spoken. But, leaving aside the dialectic shadings which are of no importance from the viewpoint of nationality, and bearing in mind the other factors which determine national consciousness, it cannot be said that the boundary of the Bulgar national group follows the Timok and runs up towards Nich and Vranje, as Tsonev would have it, but that it starts from Veliki Izvor on the Timok, that it follows the ridge of the Stara Planina (Mountains), otherwise known as the political frontier, as far as Mount Kom; then it passes between Pirot and Caribrod (now Dimitrovgrad), crosses the Ruia Planina (Mountains), passes near Vlasina and reaches the upper Morava at Vranje. Then it follows the road from Nich to Skoplje, runs around that city and runs across the eastern spurs of Mount Chardagh towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra).

SP. B 197

1: Niederle--119 E-5 1911 E/C Slavic Peoples E/C
Bulgaria EE1

S.P. B. 101

Along this very little-known line, the territory of the Bulgars and of their neighbors the Serbs is penetrated in a south-westerly direction by an Albanian wedge. From Vranje to Kumanovo, /192/ from Skoplje to Tetovo there are to be found a great number of Slav villages more or less Albanianized. It is difficult in these regions to draw a very clear boundary.

Towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra) the Bulgar frontier turns towards the south and follows the left bank of the Black Drin in the direction of Lake Ochrida, which it partially circles, then follows the Devol River, Lake Malik, reaches the city of Koritsa and finally that of Kostur (now Kastoria). The outskirts of Kostur are still Bulgarian as far as Krupishte* on the Aliakmon River (Mac., Bistritsa). Here the boundary turns toward the northeast, towards Lake Osyrovon (now Vegoritis), then it runs to Voden (now Edhessa) towards the lower course of the Aliakmon and reaches the Gulf of Salonika, which it follows to that city.

The outskirts of Salonika are Slav. Beyond that city the boundary runs across the plain of Lankadas toward the Chalcidice, goes through Visoka, Zarovo, Sukho, Njegovan as far as the confluence of the Struma and Lake Takhin* and towards Seres (now Serrai) where it encounters Greek, Turk, and Bulgar populations. From Serrai, according to Tsanov[1] the boundary follows a broken line, poorly known as to its details, which crosses through Turkish Rumelia, reaches Dimotika (now Didymoteikhon) of the lower Maritsa, then through Uzunkopru, Babaeski, Corlu, and Kataldja*, it runs as far as the outskirts of Constantinople.

The western[1] boundary of the Bulgar national group is formed by the shore of the Black Sea as far as the Danube.

S.P. B. 101 162

But the boundary drawn by Tsonev does not outline /193/ a compact population but only the extreme limit of Bulgar groups in the Balkan peninsula. Already the most southern sections of the districts of Philippopolis and Stara Zagora are more sparsely peopled by Bulgars I cannot speak, for want of exact information, of the ethnographic conditions in Turkish Rumelia. On the other hand, we know that the regions located between the Iantra and the sea are more sparsely populated with Bulgars.

Thirty years ago this region was populated by a majority of

[1] [SIC - Analyst]

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Mohammedans. A few districts were even purely Turkish, notably that of Khaskovo, near Silistra which contains only 6% Bulgars, that of Omortag (formerly Osman Pazar) (12.5%), that of Bazaurt (14%), that of Kemanlar (now Isperikh) (19%), that of Shumla (now Kolarovgrad) (24.3%). The Bulgars were the most numerous in the districts of Kesarevo (59%) and of Ruse (59%). In these regions they had a majority only in the towns. According to Sarafov, there were 482,000 Bulgars in this region in 1881. In 1888 there were more than 443,000 of them. In 1900 there were 417,694 Turks, 9,824 Gagauz and 18,079 Tatars in the districts of Ruse, Varna, Shumla, and Trnovo.

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According to Iurkevich the number of Turks in all of Bulgaria has diminished since 1888 by 12.5%. Thus the situation has noticeably improved in favor of the Bulgars.

/194/ According to the census of 1900 the following is the situation relative to the Turks and the Bulgars:

District of Ruse: 153,730 Turks (without the Gagauz and the Tatars) and 175,216 Bulgars.
District of Pleven: 12,261 Turks and 270,010 Bulgars.
District of Trnovo: 25,180 Turks and 366,687 Bulgars.
District of Vidin: 4,444 Turks and 142,975 Bulgars.
District of Shumla: 130,975 Turks and 108,579 Bulgars.
District of Varna: 107,839 Turks and 131,325 Bulgars (making a total of 433,779 Turks and 1,194,943 Bulgars).

The districts which present the most compact masses of Turks are those of Balchik, Varna, Bobrich (now Tolbukhin), Kurtbunar, and Provadiya in the districts of Varna; those of Eski Dzhumaya (now Targovishte), Osman Pazar (now Omortag), Popovo, Preslav, and Shumla in the district of Shumla; Elena, Svichtov, and Sevlievo in the district of Trnovo; Biela, Razgrad, Ruse, Silistra, and Tutrakan in the district of Ruse. The district of Burgas contained in 1900, 37,041 Turks, 39,652 Greeks and 218,189 Bulgars; that of Starazagora, 31,379 Turks along with 350,380 Bulgars. That of Plovdiv (or Philippopolis) 24,886 Turks against 313,847 Bulgars (without the Pomaks) (1). In

1. On the Pomaks, see the following section.

/195/ /for the table on this page see the next manuscript page/

this region /196/ the Turks live especially in the arrondissements of Karlovo, Peshtera, Plovdiv (Philippopolis), Stanimaka (now Asenovgrad),

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The Principal National Groups In Bulgaria In 1900

Districts	Bulgars	Pomaks	Serbs	Turks	Gagauz	Tatars	Greeks	Gypsies	Rumanians
I Burgas. . . .	218,189	3	26	37,041	28	132	39,152	10,985	29
II Varna.	131,325	37	43	107,839	9,809	11,329	7,720	9,000	752
III Vidin. . . .	142,975	24	398	4,444	2	20	163	5,686	39,977
IV Vratsa. . . .	230,536	631	145	2,039	--	109	45	9,081	12,225
V Kustendil. .	191,477	--	8	599	--	--	82	1,605	141
VI Plovidiv. . . (Philippopolis)	313,847	17,055	57	24,886	1	31	14,880	11,146	115
VII Pleven. . . .	270,010	2,837	133	12,261	2	510	46	7,277	9,752
VIII Ruse.	175,216	10	62	153,730	6	3,919	697	8,403	5,697
IX Sofia.	365,364	30	545	874	--	1	845	5,838	286
X St. Zagora. .	350,380	2	12	31,379	5	2	2,720	7,823	12
XI Trnovo. . . .	366,837	13	67	25,180	3	173	122	5,206	1,841
XII Shumen. . . .	108,579	2	20	130,945	6	2,658	230	7,513	196
Total	2,964,735	20,644	1,516	531,217	9,862	18,884	66,702	89,563	71,023

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Kazanluk, Kharmanli, Khaskovo, Aytos, Pomorie, Karnobat, and Sliven. Detailed figures will be found in the table above.

Along with the Turks the Tatars are likewise diminishing, except in the region of Varna where they are increasing. After them come the Gagauz, Christian descendants of the ancient Turko-Tatar invaders.

The Greeks, as is to be expected, are particularly settled on the shore of the Black Sea, notably in the region of Burgas, and in the interior areas around Ploviv (Philoppopolis), especially in the sector of Stanimaka (Asenougrad)--this town is today Greek--to the west of Kyzyl Agach, at Kavakla and in its neighborhood. Along the coast, the most northern Greek colony is Novo Selo near Varna; among the Greek towns we should also mention Mesembria (now Nesebur), Pomorie, Sozopol, and partly Burgas.

The Jews and the Armenians nowhere form compact groups. The gypsies are numerous, but they are scattered throughout the Kingdom.

In the mountainous regions they sometimes form the majority of the population, for example in the outskirts of Elena and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). There are very few Serbs according to the latest information (in all 1,516). This is the result of the intensive /197/ development of the Bulgars and also of the conflicts of the past thirty years. On the contrary, the Rumanians are grouped in compact masses along the Danube, especially between the confluence of the Timok and Vidin, and between the confluence of the Dolni (Cibur) and Svishtov. A majority of Rumanians are also to be found at Tutrakan, and in the interior of the country at Serbenica (now Sofronievo) near Byala Slatina and at Debovo near Nikopol. The Tsintsar (1) are to be

1. Name given to the Rumanians in the peninsula.

found in the outskirts of Sofia and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). We have spoken above of the Russian and Czech colonies of Voivodova*, Goma*, Metropolis* and Breslianitsi*.

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Outside of the region which we have just studied, we still meet groups of Bulgars beyond the Danube. These are the colonies which came in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The

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previous colonies have been absorbed by the Magyar and Rumanian elements. They date from the thirteenth century; they were the Bulgars of Brasso (Brasov now Stalin), of Nagy and of Kis Csegerd* (near Blasendorf), of Baumgart (Bongard) and of Reussdorfchen (Roszczur) in the outskirts of Sibin. They are today completely Rumanianized. In former times they were sometimes considered as being Serbs, sometimes as Slovenes. Their Bulgar nationality was demonstrated by Professor Miletic. They were Catholics. There still are in southern Hungary--/198/--in the Banat--the colonies of Vinga, between Avad and Temesvar (now Timisoara), Brestie near Vrsac and Stary Beshenov near Szegedin. These colonies date from 1747; they are also Catholic. There are also a great number of Bulgar colonies in southern Walachia. Weigand estimates the number at fifty, with a population of fifty thousand persons. They are established around Dolz (12 hamlets), Olenitsa (2), Teleorman (now Rosiorii-de-Vede) (5), Vlaska* (7), Ialomica* (3), Ilfov* (22). The largest are those of Afumatz* and of Kisele Sirbi*. There are in addition many Bulgars in the cities of Galati, Braila, Bucharest, Buzan, Olenitsa, Giurgiu (Bulg., Giurgevo), Craiova and Ploesti, who are estimated to number from five to seven thousand.

In Russia, the Bulgars settled towards the middle of the eighth century. They are mentioned from this period as at Chesma, on the river Visa* and Schinusha*. It was after the year 1769 that the principal immigration took place. Bulgar colonies established themselves alongside Serb colonies on the upper reaches of the Ingul and the Ingulka (1). They have disappeared by this time. On the contrary,

1. Tributaries of the Bug and of the Dnepr.

compact groups have remained in Bessarabia; they have been strongly mixed with Turkish elements. They are to be found especially in the districts of Akkerman (now Belgorod-Dnestrovski), Izmail, and Bendery. They are to be found also in the guberniya of Kherson, near Odessa and Nikolayev and in the guberniya /199/ of Tavrida (districts of Berdyansk--(now Osipenko)--and of Feodosiya). The statistics for the year 1897 still counted 172,659 Bulgars: for Bessarabia 103,225, for the guberniya of Kherson 25,685, for the Tavrida 41,260. In this guberniya they are being rapidly assimilated. According to Moshkov, the official statistics also included among the Bulgars the Gagauz, whose number is estimated to be 70,000, grouped around Komrat, in the district of Bendery.

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In Asia Minor, the Bulgar colonies are found principally in the outskirts of Bruss (now Bursa), a portion in a whole group of communes about the little city of Mikhailich (now Karacabey), another portion, around Kodjebunar*, Suiout*, Kobash, Toibelen*, Novo Selo*, Mandra*, Khaladjebair*, and Kilik*. There are also a few communes, occupied especially by shepherds, on the seashore and about Kyzdervent*, not far from Scutari (Skadar). Kantchov* counts here about twenty Bulgarian communes.

In recent times American statistics also attest to the presence of Bulgar immigrants; but they are mixed with the Serbs in such a way that it is difficult to arrive at correct totals. There should be about 50,000. Valjavec estimates them at 4,000, but this total is obviously too low.

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S 37. Statistics.--In view of the fact that the exact number /200/ of Slavs in Turkey proper is not known, it is very difficult to give absolutely exact statistics for the Bulgars. One can only make guesses and, for the balance, refer to the official statistics of the realm which unfortunately are very brief.

At the end of the year 1900 the total strength of the Bulgars should be broken up as follows:

Bulgaria proper (according to the census of 31 December 1900)	2,885,379
Turkish Rumelia, Albania, Constantinople, Asia Minor	600,000
Macedonia (according to Kanchov)	1,200,000
Rumania with the Dobrudja	180,000
Other countries	50,000
Total	4,915,379

In Bulgaria there were, according to the latest statistics, 2,634,735 Bulgars and 20,664 Pomaks; let us not forget that the Bulgarian statistics combine mother tongue and national group. In Rumania, the official statistics do not recognize the native Bulgars; they consider them to be Rumanians and list separately only 7,810 Bulgars as foreign subjects. As we have mentioned above, Weigand estimates the natives at 50,000; Kanchov figures the number of Bulgars in the Dobrudja at 40,000, Ishirkov at 30,000. In Hungary there were

000 work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

S.P. B. 163 [162] He[1] presents the following results:

Among the Bulgars the number of men is 1,000 for every 965 women; the males show an excess of births of 54.2%; the ratio between single persons to married persons is for men, 53%; for women 41.9% (4.4% widowers). The birth rate is 36.36 per 1,000; it is below that of the Serbs; on the contrary, the death rate is less than among these, only 18. (compare the figures given above in Section 31). In Bulgaria S.P. B. [165] very few infants die during the first year. They have the lowest infant mortality of any among the South-Slavs /203/ (8.3% only, against 15.4% in Dalmatia, 16.3% in Serbia, 21.2% in Croatia). As a result of this peculiarity, the coefficient of the excess of births over deaths is, if Jirecek is to be believed, as favorable as in Serbia, it represents 1.83. For the years 1881-1887, Sarafov found an increase of 1.85 (during this period there were born 100 boys for 89.7 girls); for the period 1890-1900, the coefficient was, it seems, slightly less. More recently, Iurkevich suggested the figure of 1.5 for the north of Bulgaria and of 1.2 for the south.

S.P. B. 161 According to Popov, the population density is 38.8 inhabitants per square kilometer.

S.P. B. 795 From the religious viewpoint the Bulgars belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. They have a church of their own whose head, called The Exarch, lives at Orta-koi (now Ivailovgrad) near Constantinople. Along with the Orthodox majority, one finds two dissident groups. The first of these is the Catholic Bulgars, or Paulitians (Pavlikiani). They speak the eastern dialect and live in the districts of Nikopol, of Svishtov, in seven villages in the outskirts of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There is also a Catholic community at Berdavski Geran, near Byala Slatina, and another, that of Gostilia, near Oryakhovo (district of Vratsa). All of them originated in the region of Plovdiv or Philippopolis, which was formerly their center. They formerly composed a whole series of communities between Plovdiv and /204/ Nikopol. It is from these that there came the colonies of Bulgars who settled in Hungary (Vinga, Besenov), and who are Catholics.

S.P. B. 795 101 Another rather sizeable section is composed of the Bulgars who, under Turkish domination, embraced Islam. They are called Pomaks.

[1] [i.e. Vrbanic op. cit. 116, p. 125 -- Analyst]

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They have settled by preference in the Rhodope (Grk., Rodope), where they constitute a rather large group between Plovdiv and Salonica. They are met with here and there to the north of the Balkans in the region of Lovech, Pleven (Plevna), especially between the Vid and Panega Rivers, to the south of Pleven. In the Kingdom of Bulgaria their number has greatly diminished; for, as a result of their Turkish sympathies, they have since 1878 been in perpetual conflict with the other Bulgars. The latest statistics numbered 20,644 of them in Bulgaria, of whom 17,055 were in the district of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and 2,837 in that of Pleven.

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From the viewpoint of education, the Bulgars are not very much advanced, which is explained by the difficult conditions in which they have lived, deprived of all the advantages of civilization. They are now making an effort to make up for lost time. According to the latest statistics the number of literate persons in the principality was an average of 28.4%. The districts may be placed in the following order:

Ruse 38.5%; Shumla 35.9%; Varna 34%; Trnovo /205/ 34%; Plovdiv (Philippopolis) 29.6%; Burgas 29.4%; Sofia 28.8%; Stara Zagora 28.3%; Pleven 23.1%; Kustendil 20.1%; Vidin 19.8%; Vratsa 19%. The highest degree of education is found naturally in the regions of the great cities: 60% at Sofia, Ruse, and Varna; 49% at Plovdiv; 47% at Kotel and at Shumla; 37% at Kazanluk. The least literate areas are those of Radomir (20%), Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad) (19%), Kyzilagatch (19%), Berkovitsa (16%), Kula (14%), Belogradchik (13%), Ferdinandovo (13%).

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S 38. Internal Differentation.--The Bulgars are divided into three groups from the point of view of language.

1). That of the western dialect: it is bounded on the east by a line which starts from the confluence of the Vid and the Danube and runs towards Salonica across the regions of Nikopol, Pleven, Lovech, Teteven, Pirdop, Novo Selo, Panagyurishte, Ikhtiman, Chepino, Rezlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Seres, and Salonica.

2). The eastern group is divided into two branches:

A. That of the northeast where the people bear the general name of Zagortsi (Mountaineers), or Khertsoi*, or Poliantsi*.

B. That of the southeast, or branch of the Rhodope, whose

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representatives are called the Ruptsi, the Rupalani; their nucleus is located between Stanimaka /206/ and the sources of the Arda in the area called Rupchos. The boundary between these two eastern groups is given as the chain of the Balkans and of the Sredna Gora (central chain). But this boundary is crossed alternately by the two dialects. The other limits thought up by the philologists are not in very close agreement with each other and it is impossible to decide which is the most accurate. Tsonev draws a line from Burgas through Yambol and Stara Zagora to Pazardzhik; Miletic, from Adrianople to Plovdiv along the Maritsa (with spear-heads towards Chirpin and Kotel).

To the west the dialect of the Rupci goes as far as Chepino. Evidently, before the invasion they reached as far as the Balkans and to the Sredna Gora and constituted the most powerful southern tribe. There is no agreement either regarding the boundaries of the western dialect. According to Miletic it runs as far as Pazardzhik (in the region of Schopi*).

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Among the Bulgars of the three groups, there exist many secondary groups provided with special names and distinguished by customs, traditions, local names or dialects. Thus the inhabitants of the mountainous regions of the Balkans are generally called Balkantsi, those of the Rhodope Mountains (in Bulgarian Rodopska Planina) Planintsi (1), those of the valleys of Sofia, of Kustendil, of Kratovo, Poliantsi, Poltsi, and Polchene. (2)

1. Planina means "mountain" in Bulgarian. Translator.

2. Pole means "field". Translator.

/207/ The Bulgars of the south call the Bulgars of the north the Zagortsi (the people across the mountains), and the Bulgars of the north call them the Otvedentsi (the separated ones). But we find Zagortsi from the north in the neighborhood of Aitos and of Burgas. Miletic notes from the east to the west the following designations borrowed from the names of localities: Erkechani (Erkech) (now Kozichino), Golichani (Golica), Chengentsi (Chenge), Richani (Rich), Kotlentsi (Kotel), Tichani (Titsa), Bebrovtsi, Bebroveni (Bebrovo), etc. The people from Rumelia receive surnames borrowed from their place of origin: Odrintsi (from Odrin or Adrianople), Yamboltsi (from Yambol), Starozagortsi (from Stara Zagora), etc.

In Bulgarian Macedonia one encounters an infinite number of

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local designations. The peoples are called Mervatsi who are settled between the Struma and the Rhodope Mountains in the area of Serrai, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Melnik, Drama, Nevrokop (now Delchev) and Bratsigovo. In western Macedonia there is a region called Mala Reka, "The Little River," whose inhabitants have received the name of Miak*. They call the inhabitants of Kichevo, Bitolia, Prilep and Tito Veles the Brsiak: (compare the Greek Bersetai). Among the other Macedonian names, Kanchov mentions the Esti on the right bank of the Black Drin, the Kekovtsi in the region of Popolie, the Pulivakovtsi in the western part of the plain of Salonica, the Ketskari, the Uliufs. Let us also mention /208/ the Touriaki and the Torlaki whose name is also applied by the inhabitants of Sofia to the inhabitants of the regions of Pirot and of Tsaribrod, the Tokiuntsi, the Niniovtsi, the Marachi between the Osem and the Isker (now Sibir), etc.

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The Mohammedan Bulgars who live near the sources of the Arda are called Ashrians; this name comes from the ancient form Agariane, the children of Agar (1); between the Dospat and the Mesta are found the Tseshtentsi and, below the Chardagh, the Torbechi.

1. On this name see the index of my Chronicle supposedly by Nestor. Translator.

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We have spoken above (Section 33)[1] of the names of the old Bulgars. An enigmatic appellation is also given them. They are called the Khrisoi, and this word generally means an uncouth man, a rustic. They are spread out between the Black Sea and the Isker (now Sibir) and also in the region of Vidin and to the south as far as the Starndja Planina (Mountains). They speak the dialect of the northeast and may be distinguished by their special costume. Likewise, the costume of the women is distinguished by the somber color of the woolen gown called sukman.

The immigrants from the Balkans who come into the regions of Shumen, or Razgrad, and of Ruse are called by the natives "The Blacks" because of the color of their breeches. In western Bulgaria "the wearers of white" and "the wearers of black" are distinguished. Other sobriquets are due to the cut of the breeches.

We owe special mention to the Schopi. They inhabit especially the mountainous region of Kustendil, Kratovo, Radomir, Breznik and

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 113-118 -- Analyst]

1: Niederle--130 E-5 1911 EN Slavic Peoples E16
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S.P. B 101 Sofia. According to Broch they start directly on the Serbian frontier, at Kriva Feia, to the east of Varna, and are distinguished from the other Bulgars by their costume (white breeches) and their physignomy. Some observers see in them an ancient Slavified Thracian tribe, the Sapaioi. Thus some people have found in the name of the Ruptsi the former Greek name of Merope, which has lost its first unaccented syllable.

Moreover, the Bulgars of the east call even the inhabitants of Vratsa and of Trun, by the name of Schopi even though they themselves do not use the name. If one were to believe Miletic, it is in the the village of Mechka, on the road from Nikopol to Pleven, that the Khrtsoi stop and the Schopi begin. Formerly the Schopi did not cross Isker (now Sibir).

B 563 101 Let us again mention that in the various sections of Bulgaria there exist communes which are called Arnaut, or in other words Albanian (Arnaoutlar), for example in the districts of Varna, Provadia, Razgrad, and Kermen. The inhabitants of these villages are partly of an origin neither Slavo-Albanian nor Greek. They are called the Arnaut because they came from Macedonia, notably from the regions of Kostur and of Voden. Such are the pretended Arnaut of Silistria, /210/ Razgrad, and Bratsigovo. On the contrary, the often repeated thesis which attributes a Slavic origin to the Tsakoniens and to the Mainotes of southern Greece must be considered to be without foundation.

[B 795] In the northeastern section of Bulgaria live the Gagauz. They are Christians who speak Turkish. A certain number of Gagauz speak Bulgarian and declare that they are Bulgars. Some persons consider them to be the descendants of Turkized Bulgars.

The Gagauz of the coast are settled at Varna and in some communes at Kestrich, Kara-Hussein, Djevizliji, Djaperliji, Ala Klise, Giaur-Suiutchuk, Eni Kioi, Kavarna, and Biela. The Bulgarian Gagauz are settled in several communes in the outskirts of Varna and of Provadia and especially in the village of Beidaut in the Dobrudja. There is no agreement as to the origin of the Gagauz. Jirecek considers them as the descendants of the Cumaeans, Mochov as the Karakalpak of the Russian chroniclers, Zanetov as the ancient Bulgars of the Volga.

B 101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz to be found also in Bessarabia, in the

1: Niederle--131 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples

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B. 101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz are to be found also in Bessarabia, in the district of Benderj, where they are concentrated in the outskirts of Komrat. Mochov estimates their number at 70,000; but in the official statistics they are considered to be Bulgars. According to Zanetov the Bulgarian Slavs of Bessarabia should be called Tukani.

S.P. B. M1 [197] /211/ From an anthropological viewpoint, the best documented specialist, Mr. Vatev distinguishes a certain number of groups in the Bulgar nation. But up to the present these groups have not coincided with the linguistic groups. What is certain is that the east differs from the west, noticeably from the region of Sofia and of Macedonia, and that the south offers characteristic traits.

Basing himself upon the measurements of 320,000 school children, 36,000 soldiers and 1,330 skulls, he arrived at the following conclusions regarding the Bulgarian type:

This type is of medium height: 1.665 millimeters for the men, 1,567 millimeters for the women; dark complexion predominates (50 % against 5% light blond; the remainder mixed). But it must be noted that the dark complexion predominates in the east, while in the west and in Macedonia, which formerly was the center of the Balkan Slavs, the dark type is still rare. The Bulgars have a regular nose, high eye sockets, and an erect head. As to the shape, there are 77% mesocephalics (index 75-80). The average index among the soldiers is 79.65 (in Macedonia 79.45) and among the skulls 77.97.

The dolichocephalic types are found especially in the south, the brachycephalic in the west; in the south of Macedonia the average index exceeds 85.

S.P. C.M. 101 648 S 39. The Slavs of Macedonia. ---As we have already mentioned, the Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia are claimed /212/ by both the Serbs and the Bulgars.

Let us note at the outset that it is not well known where Macedonia and Old Serbia begin and end. Thus, the Bulgars attach to Macedonia the regions of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Koumanovo; on the other hand, the Serbs attach Skoplje and Tetovo to Old Serbia; some of them lay claim even to Prilep, Bitolia, Ochrida, and Veles; all of these claims, of course, have a political objective.

Macedonia and Old Serbia represent the country bounded, roughly

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speaking, on the west by Lake Ochrida, the Drin, and the Chardagh, on the north by the frontier of Serbia, by mounts Osog and Rilo, and on the east by the Mesta River (Kara Su in Turkish). Both Serbs and Bulgars claim these two provinces. In this conflict the scholars of the two sides have not always been able to refrain from showing a certain amount of favoritism; some foreign scholars, Slav and non-Slav, especially Russian, have taken a more objective position in this argument and a third theory has been developed according to which the Slavs of Macedonia are neither Serbs nor Bulgars, but a special people. Such was for example the point of view of P. Draganov, in 1887, and it was this idea that prompted the Slavic Benevolent Society of St. Petersburg to publish the ethnographic map of the Balkans worked out by Komarov and Zarianko, and this theory has been defended /213/ by an eminent Serbian ethnographer, Tsviitch. (1)

1. See on this question our study upon l'Expansion des langues slaves (Le Monde Slave, 1st vol., Paris, Hachette, 1897, p. 309). Translator.

The historians have occupied themselves with the relationship of Macedonia with the Serbian and Bulgarian states; the ethnographers have compared the folklore of the Slavs of Macedonia with that of the Serbs and of the Bulgars; finally, the philologists have gone to great trouble to study the traits characteristic of the Macedonian dialects and to see to which of the neighboring idioms they are related. This struggle has brought forth a whole scientific leterature; but it is not ended and it will not be for a long time to come, because it is not a matter of scientific questions, but above all of politics.

S.P. C.M. 648

And from a political viewpoint reasons are always to be found for keeping solution in abeyance. The Serbs need the sea and Austria has prevented their access to the Adriatic by taking Bosnia-Hercegovina from them; from that moment they turn their covetous glances towards the Archipelago, especially towards the mouth of the Vardar, towards Salonica, and for this reason they are making every effort to demonstrate that Macedonia belongs to their nation.

On the other hand, the Bulgars do not wish to disavow what today is a fact, proved by past centuries, that is, the close /214/ interdependence of Macedonia and Bulgaria. In addition to these two principal claimants, other States, Greece and Rumania assert grossly

4: Cross
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[For information pertaining to the identification of primitive Slavic peoples, see category 116, pp. 1-51]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

186 175* ethnic or national self-consciousness and restricted the capacity of Slavic peoples either for self-government or for a resolute national effort in the critical moments of their evolution. Even those Slavs who live closest to the centers of European civilization and who shared its progress for centuries have often been debarred by economic and political factors from the enjoyment of a full national life, and those more distant from these centers have emerged from the Middle Ages only during the last 250 years. In the light of these facts, it is not surprising that the Slavs have often seemed an enigma to the Western world.

101 197 131 By virtue of their geographical distribution, the modern Slavs fall naturally into three distinct groups: Eastern, Western, and Southern. Of these, the Eastern is the most numerous. It embraces the Russians, who comprise two-thirds of the Slavic complex, and subdivide linguistically into three sections: first and most important, the so-called Great Russians, inhabiting the central and northern districts of European Russia; second, the White Russians (and here "White" has no political connotation whatever, but means light-haired) who occupy the area which borders on the northern part of the former eastern frontier of Poland, and, while centering in the neighborhood of Minsk, also run over into former Polish territory as far as Grodno, Bialystok, and Brest-Litovsk; and third, the so-called Little Russians (otherwise known as Ukrainians or Ruthenians), who inhabit the black-earth prairies or steppes north of the Black Sea from the western frontier to the Kuban and Don rivers. The Ukrainians, as present-day newspaper readers know only too well, also inhabit not only Volhynia and Eastern Galicia as far west as Przemysl, but also the extreme eastern tip of the former republic of Czechoslovakia, known as Subcarpathian Russia (now Soviet territory), and likewise make up a considerable part of the population of Bukovina (now also Soviet), an area which formerly belonged to Romania and which lies just south of the former Polish-Romanian frontier.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

It was to this district, centering about the city of Czernowitz, 101
that many Polish officials and soldiers withdrew to escape Ger- 131
man and Russian pursuit when Poland was invaded in 1939. 197

The Western Slavic group includes the Poles, the Czechs (or Bohemians) and Moravians, the Slovaks, and two Slavic islands in German territory: the Kashubs, who live on the [161] Baltic coast northwest of Danzig, probably not over two hundred thousand in number, and a considerably smaller number of Sorbs, or Wends, who inhabit Lausitz, or Lusatia, a small area on the upper Spree river northeast of Dresden.

The Southern Slavs are cut off from their northern kindred by the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Romanians, but comprise the Slovenes in the extreme northern part of Yugoslavia; the Serbs and the Croatians, who differ from one [195] another only in slight variations of dialect and by the fact that [212] the Serbs belong to the Greek Orthodox church and use the Cyrillic Script (similar to the Russian), while the Croatians are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; and the Bulgarians who, though possessing a Slavic national language, represent a complex fusion of racial and linguistic stocks.

In view of the numerous and violent migratory movements 174
which took place in northern Europe both before the Christian 167
era and during the first few centuries after it began, the Slavs are hardly likely to have occupied their present extensive territory during their whole recorded history. On the contrary, their migrations cover a range almost as vast as those of their Germanic neighbors, and the location of their primitive habitat constitutes a problem which has long engaged students of Slavic history and linguistics.

The earliest native tradition dealing with Slavic origins is 101
contained in the so-called Russian *Primary Chronicle,* a com- 174
pilation completely extant only in two fourteenth-century 113
texts, but which reproduce with considerable accuracy a work composed by a monk of Kiev about the end of the eleventh century. Here we read:

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

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For many years the Slavs lived beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and the Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs parties scattered throughout the country and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled. Thus some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs. Among these same Slavs are included the White Croats, the Serbs, and the Carinthians. For when the Vlakhs attacked the Danubian Slavs, and settled among them, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs. Of these Lyakhs some were called Polyanians, some Lutichians, some Mazovians, and still others Pomorians. Certain Slavs also settled on the Dnieper, and were called Polyanians. Still others were called Derevlians, because they lived in the forests. Some also settled between the Pripet and the Dvina, and were known as Dregovichians. Other tribes settled on the Dvina and became known as Polotians, from a small stream named the Polot, which flows into the Dvina. . . . The Slavs also settled around lake Ilmen, and were there known by their own name. They built a city, and called it Novgorod. Still others had their settlements along the Desna, the Sem, and the Sula, and were called Severians. And thus the Slavic race was scattered, and likewise its language was known as Slavic.

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In this passage, apart from the detail expended by the author on particularizing the various Eastern Slavic tribes which had fallen under the sway of Kiev more than two centuries before he wrote, what is most striking is his implication that neither the Western Slavs (Czechs, Moravians, and Poles) nor the Eastern Slavs were, in the annalist's view, indigenous to the areas they occupied in his day. He accepts the tradition that the original home of the Slavs was on the middle Danube, from which region (as he relates) they were displaced at an earlier undefined period by a nation known as the Vlakhs, under whose pressure they sought safer residences to the north and northeast. Now, while the term Vlakh has various meanings,

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

it would be most natural here to attach it to the Celtic Gauls who penetrated the Danube basin early in the fourth century B.C. and then, under the leadership of a chief named Brennus, marched down through Thrace and Macedonia and invaded Greece as far as Delphi in 280. The only difficulty lies in the absence of the slightest indication in Greek or Latin historians and geographers that the Slavs, or any part of them, were present on the middle or lower Danube basin before the Christian era. Nor are there in this area any early place names demonstrably Slavic which would show these sources to be faulty in this respect.

In fact, though the evidence of this passage from the Russian annals led numerous medieval and early modern historians in the last century to accept the Danubian origin of the Slavs, other much more reliable and older sources place them further north beyond the Carpathian Mountains when they make their first appearance in history. To be sure, the Slavs do not begin their historical career under this name, but under another which is etymologically related to the English term "Wends" or the German "Wenden," frequently applied to the Slavs in our own day. As the Venedi, Veneti, or Venedae, they are thus mentioned by Pliny the Elder and by Tacitus during the first century, and by the Egyptian astronomer and geographer Claudius Ptolemy, who wrote in Greek toward the end of the second century. Pliny locates them vaguely in the vicinity of the Vistula. Tacitus is equally indefinite, placing them in the unknown country east of the Suebic confederacy, which he knew as Germanic. Ptolemy mentions them as one of the major nations living along the Venedic Gulf, which appears to be his term for the section of the Baltic coast northeast of the Vistula.

The identity of the Venedae of the Baltic with the Slavs is established in the sixth century by Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, who says of them in one passage: "From the source of the Vistula river immense areas are occupied by the populous nation of the Venethae, who, though their appellations may change in various clans and districts, are mainly called

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

174 north by the rivers Narev and Pripet, and along its southern
131 edge touching the headwaters of the Prut, the Dniester, and the Bug, which are all rivers flowing into the Black Sea.

101 The very origin of the names "Wend" and "Slav" is problematic. The term "Wend" has sometimes been regarded as connected with the Danish *vand,* the modern equivalent of Old Norse "vatn" (water), so that the Wends would derive this appellation from being water dwellers or lake dwellers. Though there are traces of Slavic lake dwellers, the difficulty here is that the name, being found in Pliny and Tacitus, is far older than any Slavic contacts with the Danes as such. For geographical reasons also, the earliest Slavic contacts must have been not with North Germanic, but with East Germanic tribes who (if we may judge by the Gothic vocabulary) used for water the terms "wato," without a nasal, or (in the case of a river or any body of water) "ahwa," akin to the familiar Latin "aqua." Efforts to correlate the name "Wends" with a Germanic word "wenden," to wander, so that it might signify "the wanderers," collide with the objection that both early East and West Germanic cognates of this verb simply mean "to turn," with no implication of wandering at all. Any connection with the Gothic word "winja" (pasturage) is to be rejected because
[231] of the absent dental (d), though there is abundant evidence to
[241] prove that the primitive Slavs were relatively skilful agriculturists and cattleraisers. Similarly, it is hardly possible to justify a connection between the name "Wend" and the Indo-European base **uen,* meaning "to strive, to wish, to love," even through such a derivative as Old Norse "vinr," friend. The Slavic etymologies proposed are even more uncertain, so that, for lack of anything better, the most reasonable supposition is that "Wend" is related to the early Celtic base "uindo," which means "white." It would thus appear that this was the appellation applied by the dark-haired Celts in the Danube basin to their blond neighbors behind the Carpathians, and this interpretation is the more appealing since there are pure Slavic tribal names of which the definition "white" or "blond" is a com-

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ponent, e.g., White Croats and White Russians (Belohorvaty, Belorussi). 101

The name "Slav" first appears in a Greek text written about 550, and from that period becomes more and more frequent. The Slavic form itself is Slověnin, plural Slověne, and corresponds, except for the inserted *k* and *t*, to the Greek and Latin Σκλαυηνοί, Στλαυηνοί, Sclaveni, Stlaveni, and it has been suggested that the shorter forms Σκλάβοι, Σθλάβοι, Sclavi, Stlavi are imitated from the numerous characteristic proper names in *-slav* (Vladislav, Yaroslav, Svyatoslav, etc.). The origin of the *k* is dubious, though it may be recalled that the initial combination *sl* occurs in no native Greek word, while *skl*, of which the sound is identical to the unpracticed ear, was familiar from σκληρός and its cognates, and *stl* occurs in στλεγίς, etc. The Arabic names which include the *k* (Asqālab, Saqāliba) would thus appear to depend originally on these Greek forms. Among the Slavs themselves, as early as the thirteenth century, popular etymology developed a totally legendary derivation from "slava," glory, while numerous competent Slavists of the last century accepted the derivation from "slovo," word, thus interpreting *Slovene* to mean "speakers of the same language." This derivation has often been favorably argued from the converse that the Slavs called the Germans "dummies" (*nemtsy*) because their tongue was incomprehensible. On a somewhat similar basis, it has even been suggested that the name is connected with Gothic "slawan" (be silent), and English "slow," so that Slav would be a nickname like *Nemets*, as applied by the Slavs themselves to the Germans. Unfortunately, however, there is no evidence that "slawan" and "slow" are related. The trouble with both these suggestions is that the suffix *-ěnin, -yanin* always indicates a man from a certain place, hence a *Slověnin* ought to be a man from a place called Slovo or Slava. But no such place is known. On the other hand, it has been suggested that there may have been a river or a marshy area known as Slava or Slova (the name would be akin to the Indo-European base **kleu-*, "to cleanse, to water") so that the *Slověne* would

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

101 be the dwellers along the banks of such a river or in the marshy area thus postulated. In the primitive habitat of the Slavs there are rivers with names related to a base *slav-* or *slov-*, and much marshland, but nowhere has a name been preserved which is of sufficient importance to justify the assumption that it was the starting point for the term *Slověne* which, despite its mystery, has been applied to all Slavic subdivisions, whatever their location, since the sixth century A.D.

197 Like the Germanic dialects, the Slavic languages belong to the so-called Indo-European linguistic family. It so happens that we are familiar with a series of languages which begin to appear about 1000 B.C. from Hindustan to the Atlantic and from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean basin, and which exhibit so many common features that they may safely be considered to have a common origin. Along with the Germanic and the Slavic languages, this family includes Indo-Iranian (i.e., Sanskrit, the various later Indic dialects, and the several forms of Persian), Baltic (Lithuanian and Lettish), Albanian, Armenian, Celtic, Greek, and Italic (among the latter, besides Latin, the idioms of several other tribes speaking kindred tongues). The Baltic and the Slavic languages have so many striking resemblances that many philologists believe in a long period of Balto-Slavic community before the two branches separated and pursued individual paths of linguistic evolution. Of these two branches, the Baltic, especially as represented by Lithuanian, is the more conservative, hence evolved more slowly, and exhibits linguistically a more primitive character than Old Slavonic, despite the fact that our oldest Lithuanian text dates from the sixteenth century, while our oldest Slavic texts go back to the tenth.

While it is customary, for linguistic reasons, to postulate a uniform primitive Slavonic or proto-Slavonic tongue, this term should not be taken to mean that even at the dawn of their history the Slavic tribes over the whole extent of their habitat spoke a language identical in phonology, inflection, and vocabulary. It is rather to be supposed that the germs of dialec-

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tal differentiation inherent in the proto-Slavonic language even at the epoch of closest ethnic unity evolved into conspicuous local characteristics as the race gradually spread. By the ninth century A.D., when a Slavonic tongue was first used for literary purposes, the differentiation of the several Slavonic languages and even of the dialects in each was a consummated fact of some centuries' standing.

By their very location, remote from the centers of classical culture and bordering to the west, south, and north upon tribes to which it did not penetrate until the beginning of the Christian era, the Slavs, jutting out toward the confines of Asia in a region almost devoid of natural boundaries and barriers, were inevitably exposed to the repeated impacts of alien nations from the Orient. Destined later to form a part of the great medieval trade route from the Baltic to the Black Sea, the river Dnieper, along which the easternmost portion of the primitive Slavs lived, was likewise a promising area for penetration from the north. The Slavic occupation of western Russian territory, if the identification of Herodotus's Neuri as Slavic is correct, reaches well back toward the beginning of the first millennium before Christ. The earliest historical neighbors of the Slavs in the Russian prairie country were thus the Cimmerians, whose land, according to the *Odyssey,* was always veiled in fog and darkness, for there the sun never rose nor set. Actually they were an eastern offshoot of the Thracians, who centered in the basin west of the Carpathians until they were displaced by Germanic and Celtic invaders. During the second millennium and until the eighth century B.C., the Cimmerians extended eastward beyond the Crimea and the Sea of Azov, and to them belong the scanty remnants of bronze culture found in South Russia and dating from the beginning of the first millennium before Christ. The barrier erected by the Cimmerians to a Slavic advance toward the Black Sea was later perpetuated by the Scythians, who form the first wave of Oriental nomads to sweep across the black-earth region in historical times.

The Scythians are, in fact, the earliest inhabitants of south-

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167 steppes to the Danube, they threatened the Greek peninsula,
174 where their first occupation dates from 581.

721 Contemporary chroniclers report that the Slavs had by that
167 time acquired wealth by pillage and fought even better than the regular Greek troops. On the Adriatic, they occupied the districts of Illyria, Dalmatia, and Istria early in the seventh century. Shortly afterward the Slavs on the western front (the Czechs and those on the Adriatic seaboard) overthrew the Avar hegemony and became independent, but after the Avars were thus weakened, the Slavs never menaced Constantinople again. Yet by the end of the seventh century the whole interior of the Balkan peninsula, especially Macedonia and its neighborhood, was populated by Slavs. They even took to the sea and reached Crete in 623. At the height of the Avar expansion, the Slavs had already passed through Thessaly, Epirus, and Attica, and reached the Peloponnese in 588. Here their occupation was so formidable that, for the next two centuries, a Byzantine Greek scarcely dared set foot in the southern portion of the peninsula, while in the north the Danube was never again fixed as the frontier of the Byzantine Empire after 601. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that the Slavs were ever in the majority in Greece proper. Subject Greeks still formed the mass of the population. Were this not the case, it would be difficult to explain the eventual and rather rapid subsequent disappearance of the Slavic element south of Macedonia.

101 Once the Slavs were firmly established in the Balkans, they
177 immediately became exposed to the older cultures they found there. Those on the Adriatic coast and in the western Danube basin felt the impact of Latin civilization transmitted through romanized native populations, through colonial centers, or through the cities of the seaboard. When they settled within the sphere of Greek influence, the dominant cultural pressure was Byzantine. The results of these accidents of location are still discernible in the intellectual orientation of the Balkan Slavs.

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into genuine trading posts and towns, the importance of which was enhanced by the penetration of foreign merchants at the beginning of the historical period. The rise of trading posts and towns gradually concentrated adjacent agricultural areas under the control of the former, producing at the same time accumulations of wealth in the hands of a new ruling class which appropriated to itself the influence formerly wielded by the elders of family, clan, and tribe. The growing prestige of the towns also broke down the various tribal differentiations, since portions of the same tribal area might fall for reasons of geography and communication under the control of different towns.

In general, the Russian tribes formed three groups distinguishable by their speech, which are reflected in our day by the tripartite division of the Russian language into three basic dialects. The northern group, comprising the Slovenes (Slavs) of Novgorod and the Krivichians, is the forerunner of the modern Great Russian dialect, the standard literary language. The central group, including Dregovichians, Radimichians, Vyatichians, and Severians, divided into two sections, of which the eastern joined the northern, or ultimately Great Russian element, while the western section (Dregovichians, Radimichians) came to form the White Russian element centering around Minsk. The southern group, made up of Polyane, Derevlians, Volhynians, Ulichians, Tivercians, and Croats, evolved into the Little Russian or Ukrainian element. In fact, the term *Ukraina* goes back as far as at least 1187, and means the southern border district. The differences among these three dialects have of course been intensified as time went on by the accidents of political affiliation and by diversified cultural influences. But these three groups are none the less parts of the same nation, so that either a White Russian or a Ukrainian is precisely as much a Russian as the purest Great Russian born in the shadow of the Kremlin.

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648 175 As for the question of the Polish-Czech frontiers, the Prague Government wanted a return to the pre-Munich *status quo*; it will be seen later that the claim to the Teschen Basin, occupied by the Poles since 1938, delayed the return to normal status in the relations between Warsaw and Prague.

As regards the Serbs of Lusatia (Wends and Sorbs), they sent petition after petition to the peace arbitrators, claiming a hearing and justice. They submitted two memoranda, one on February 1, 1946, to the United Nations, the other in the month of May, to the Four Powers Conference in Paris. They returned to the attack on July 6, to ask for the separation of Lusatia from Germany. They were invariably put off until the German problem should be discussed by the Conference. Czechoslovakia, who had already espoused their cause at the time of the discussion of the Versailles Treaty,[3] signified that she saw in their separation from the Reich a guarantee for her own security.

• 101 These Lusatians are the remnant of a large tribe which must formerly have been the vanguard of the Slavs on the march towards Bavaria. In the ninth century the country was erected into a principality. But, of all the Slavonic groups, this is the one which has encountered the least favourable conditions for the development of a lasting political unity.

* * *

000 Now a few words on the evolution of the internal and external policies of each of the small Slav States while the treaties were in the negotiation stage.

642 175 On January 15, 1946, Yugoslavia voted her Federal Constitution, which set up the six People's Republics mentioned in the previous chapter. (The 'People's Republic of Serbia' included the two autonomous provinces of Voïvodin and Kossovo). Each of these republics sent twenty-five deputies to the Peoples' Council. They were sovereign States—except for the functions reserved to the central power (peace and war, internal security, basic legislation, currency, transport, postal services, radio, Customs, immigration, etc.)—*i.e.*, essentially in matters of education, public health, and social justice.

As in Russia, actual power lay with the Presidium of the Legislature, composed of thirty members, elected by the Assembly

[3] See above, p. 41.

1: Niederle, Lubor La Race Slave [The Slavic Race]. Paris: Felix Alcan, 1911

pp. i-xii, 1-231 [HRAF MS: pp 1-136] Bibliography

Translated from Czech into French by Louis Leger.
Translated from French for Human Relations Area Files by Herbert Vreeland.

[The above work is a statistical, demographical and anthropological summary of the slavic peoples in Europe and Asia. The author groups them into Russians, Poles, Sorbs of Lusatia, Czechs and Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and Bulgars. He presents each group in separate chapters with sections on pre- and proto-historical locations and migrations, historical developments, dialectal and anthropometric data, identification of subgroups and ethnic stratification of each nation outside its frontiers, present (1911) ethnographic boundaries, and demographic information with estimated population statistics by various scholars which includes religious denominations, birth and death rates, literacy and population trends. Specific problems then current such as the Macedonian question, the Serbo-Croat conflict, and the germanization

1: Niederle, Lubor

of groups of Czechs, Slovenes and Poles are also discussed. Also, the author has set forth his estimate of the total slavic population in the world.
A good preface by the French translator Louis Leger provides background on the author. There is a lengthy bibliography and an ethnographic map in the' foreign language text, category 116 - Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert Karlowich

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1955

4: Cross, Samuel Hazzard. Slavic Civilization Through the Ages. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948.

Pp. vii, 195

HRAF copy

[This is an outline history of the East European and Balkan areas and Russia. It traces the Slavic peoples from their historical beginnings to the formation of their modern states. The author stresses the cultural and political influences which have affected the various Slavic groups; he is particularly interested in German-Slavic relations. Pages 177 - 185 in category 116 present a summary of the book. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Eve Glassberg

Evaluation: Linguist-5
Processed in 1955

5: Thomson, S. Harrison. A Century of Phantom Panslavism and The Western Slavs. Journal of Central European Affairs, Vol. 11, pp. 57-77. Boulder, Colorado, 1951.

Yale: Bl 2.120.11.

[This is a chronology of the Panslavic movement in Eastern Europe from 1848-1948. The author analyses the ideological conflicts between the various Slavic groups and discusses the influence of Russian expansionism on the movement itself. The history of Neo-Slavism is briefly traced. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Dragan Zivanovic

Evaluation: Social Scientist-5
Processed in 1955

6: Mousset, Albert. The World of the Slavs. Library of World Affairs, No. 14. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Inc., 1950.

Pp. ix, 204; index.

Yale: B35 946mg

[This study traces the development of Panslavism - the idea and the political movement from its inception (early 17th century), within the framework of international history. Internation relations among the Slav nations, and between these and the other Western states, are described in considerable detail, with lengthy sections devoted to the roles played by the individual Slav nations. * There is extensive coverage of the 19th and 20th centuries, through 1949. --Analyst]

* Bulgaria: Pp. 65-66; 103-108; 141-147; 192-193.
Croatia: Pp. 74-76.
Czechoslovakia: Pp. 72-74; 118-122; 161-169; 194-197.
Poland: Pp. 95-103; 147-161; 197-198.
Yugoslavia: Pp. 67-68; 109-118; 132-141; 187-192.

Field date: none
Analyst: Angelica Baumann

Evaluation: Historian-4
Processed in 1955

111 E16 Slavic Peoples

7: Lednicki, Waclaw. Panslavism. In Feliks Gross, ed., European Ideologies, pp. 805-912. New York: Philosophical Library, 1948.

Yale: Oa50.948g

[This article traces panslavism from its forerunners and beginnings through its present status in Soviet ruled areas. The movement is presented from the viewpoint of various Slavic peoples, but particularly from that of the Russians and Poles. Such panslavists as Danilevskii, Tiutchev, Dostoevskii, Bakunin, and Herzen are treated individually.
For commentaries about panslavism by Marx and other West Europeans see category 116. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Eve Glassberg

Evaluation: Social Scientist-4
Processed in 1955

9: Jakobson, Roman. Slavic Languages. New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1955.

Pp. III, 36, 1 map.

personal copy.

[This is a concise survey by Professor Jakobson, an outstanding Slavicist, of the history of the thirteen Slavic languages and of Church Slavonic; a discussion of their evolution from the Proto-slavic, the development of their alphabets, their phonologies and grammars, and their distribution (also recorded on a map), according to areas and population. On pp. 12-13 there is a sample of the Slavic languages, based on a sentence from St. Luke (10:35). A lengthy bibliography of foreign and English sources is found on pp. 22-36. --Analyst.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Mary Vorobiov

Evaluation: Linguist-4
Processed in 1955

10: French, R. M. The Eastern Orthodox Church. London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1951.

Pp. 186.

Yale: Mnc22. F88.

The survey of the Eastern Orthodox Church gives a clear, concise outline of Orthodoxy in its "historical setting, its... contribution to the life and thought of the Christian church and its significance for the Orthodox people themselves." The term "Eastern Orthodox" refers to those organized bodies of Christians which formed the original nucleus of Christendom in Apolistic times, together with those churches which owed their foundation directly to that nucleus and have not since broken their communion with it. In part I the development of Eastern Orthodoxy - its spread and its doctrines - is historically outlined. Part II contains a detailed description of the architecture, interior decoration, and furnishings of the churches. The rites of worship traditional to the church service are discussed in full and analyzed to show the changes and additions wrought up to 1951. The

10: French, R. M.

importance of monasticism is considered in Chapter X. An extensive bibliography of sources in English is found at the end of the test.

Field date: no date
Analyst: Robert Flynn

Evaluation: Social Scientist - 4
Processed in 1956

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For information on family life, child training, and obscenity among Slavic peasants, see 11: Malinowski, OL6 Trobriands, category 116, pp. 36-38, 40-44, 51-54, 64, 105.

175, 113

E16 Slavic Peoples

[For an historical background of the Slavic Peoples, especially concerning their migrations in and to the Ukraine, see 7: Bregy and Obolensky, RD1 Ukraine, category 116, pp. 27-33.]

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[For additional information on the origin and history of Slavic Peoples see: 4: Allen RD1 Ukraine, cat. 116, pp. 41-52; 56-58;--Analyst]

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It was to this district, centering about the city of Czernowitz, that many Polish officials and soldiers withdrew to escape German and Russian pursuit when Poland was invaded in 1939. 101 131 197

The Western Slavic group includes the Poles, the Czechs (or Bohemians) and Moravians, the Slovaks, and two Slavic islands in German territory: the Kashubs, who live on the Baltic coast northwest of Danzig, probably not over two hundred thousand in number, and a considerably smaller number of Sorbs, or Wends, who inhabit Lausitz, or Lusatia, a small area on the upper Spree river northeast of Dresden. [161]

The Southern Slavs are cut off from their northern kindred by the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Romanians, but comprise the Slovenes in the extreme northern part of Yugoslavia; the Serbs and the Croatians, who differ from one another only in slight variations of dialect and by the fact that the Serbs belong to the Greek Orthodox church and use the Cyrillic Script (similar to the Russian), while the Croatians are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; and the Bulgarians who, though possessing a Slavic national language, represent a complex fusion of racial and linguistic stocks. [195] [212]

In view of the numerous and violent migratory movements which took place in northern Europe both before the Christian era and during the first few centuries after it began, the Slavs are hardly likely to have occupied their present extensive territory during their whole recorded history. On the contrary, their migrations cover a range almost as vast as those of their Germanic neighbors, and the location of their primitive habitat constitutes a problem which has long engaged students of Slavic history and linguistics. 174 167

The earliest native tradition dealing with Slavic origins is contained in the so-called Russian *Primary Chronicle,* a compilation completely extant only in two fourteenth-century texts, but which reproduce with considerable accuracy a work composed by a monk of Kiev about the end of the eleventh century. Here we read: 101 174 113

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tion that Hitlerite Germany adopted this discrimination as a creed. We have seen whither this folly led. A less dangerous, but more general, illusion leads historians to falsify the time-perspectives of the events they record by giving to the words 'national conscience' a racial import which is, more often than not, simply a gross anachronism. The most one can concede is that 'race' intervened as a disturbing element in international life at a time when the latter had, to all appearances, lost its homogeneity and its original authentication marks. The case of the Slavs is, in this respect, irrefutably eloquent. If we accept what the learned Genevan anthropologist, Professor Eugène Pittard,[2] has written, we lack precise information, and even clarity, regarding the original populations of the Slav countries; the data are too scanty for us to write their history on an anthropological basis and to establish definite relationships. Great Russians, White Russians and Little Russians present rather widely differing morphological characteristics. Neither does the Polish nation constitute a pure race. The Czechs of Bohemia and those of Moravia cannot be placed on the same level as the Russians and the Poles; on the other hand, Lusatians, Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks *do* seem to be the offshoots of one single ethnical stock. According to M. Pittard, the Slovenes would appear to be only Slavicised; a large proportion of them can be attached to the Adriatic or Dinaric race. The Croats and the Serbs used to form one single group; many of them must belong to this same Dinaric race: they are, again, Slavicised people, anthropologically far removed from the Slavs of the North, that is to say, of the districts today considered as the most specifically Slavonic. The same can probably be said of the Bosnians and the Montenegrins. The Bulgars do not represent a pure race, and different origins are attributed to them: Thracian, Tartar, and others; they too are Slavicised. In short, and without forgetting the reserves with which M. Pittard surrounds conclusions which he is very careful not to put forward as final—the Slavs of the South are probably not related to the Slavs of the North, and the identity of race of the former is apparently itself unconfirmed. Comparing this picture with the emotive manifestations of Slavonic solidarity which

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[2] *Les Races et l'Histoire*, in the collection "L'Evolution de l'Humanité," pp. 273 *sqq.*

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186* 578 175 the Slavs were to split up between the two camps into which Europe would be divided. So that, except in congresses, where ethnography and philology were discussed, this solidarity remained a myth. Russian egoism bore heavily upon the little 'Pravoslav' countries, in which the Tsarist policy affected to take an interest. Much more than that; certain territories, caught between two Slavonic currents—such as Macedonia, the Ukrainian Marches, the Teschen district of Silesia—kept alive the spirit of dissidence within the Slavonic family.

175 167 What remained of von Moltke's declarations was the obsession of an inevitable reckoning between the two races. Germany, who, from age to age, had extended her sphere of domination at the expense of the Slavs, dimly felt that, one fine day, the latter would grow tired of the role of 'fertilisers' (*Düngervolk*) to which the Pan-Germanic school condemned them. In Merovingian times, a slow but continuous migration, by easy stages, peopled the Eastern Teutonic states with Slavs. These tribes had reached the Elbe and the Oder by the fourth century. To designate the Teutonic peoples, they forged the collective appellation, *Niemtse,* which has remained in the modern vocabulary of the Slavonic peoples, and signifies 'dumb ones', *i.e.*, speaking a language unintelligible to Slavs. But, little by little, the ebb of the Teutonic tribes pushed them back. With the exception of a few descendants of the Pomeranians (the Kachoubes and the Slovinces) and of the Sorabes (Lusatians), the vast group of Western Slavs of the Elbe and the Baltic disappeared in the struggle waged against them by the Germans in the four centuries from the time of Charlemagne to the twelfth century.

829 167 181 This withdrawal is explained by the state of dissension—a hereditary defect with the Slavs—in which these populations lived. An Austrian historian of this century, J. Peisker,[1] was so struck by such a large-scale backward drive, that he sought a different explanation for it. The past, he said, shows such a succession of conquests, and establishments of Teutonism in Slavonic territory, that we cannot attribute it to the fortune of war. We are obliged to suppose the existence of some factor which paralysed the resistance of the Slavs. This factor must

113 [1] *Die Alteren Beziehungen der Slawen zu Turkotataren und Germanien.* Berlin, 1905.

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Russian civilisation is founded on Orthodox Christianity, the Polish on Catholicism. All these theories, among their chief representatives, had no political character; it was a programme of cultural and intellectual solidarity, in no wise a political Panslavism. Slavonic Messianism is, scientifically, as untenable as all Messianic aspirations, the Teutonic included'.[8] 186*

For Edward Benes, the Slavonic aspirations had no practical significance, except inasmuch as they furthered a democratic and revolutionary ideal. 'The new Slavonic idea will consider as definitely buried everything that recalls Panslavism, Slavophilia and Panrussianism. . . . It seems to me simply ridiculous to wish to confine Russia and the Russian people within the limits of the "Slavonic policy", of Slav solidarity in Central Europe, and other conceptions of that kind. The role of Russia and of the Russian people is much more vast; the evolution of the world summons Russia to a more important mission. I reject, and especially in the interest of Russia's great mission, all Slavism, and all Slav solidarity which, whether directly or by their consequences, would prove to be purely and simply Russianism or Russophilia. . . . The new Slav solidarity has no desire to fall into the mysticism of the old. It accepts life and the world as they are, and takes as its essential basis the great victory won by democracy during the European War and revolutions. This new Slavism, freed from all the unacceptable ideologies of the past, . . . borrows two great ideas from tradition and from the principle of all the great spirits and all the heroes of Slavonic culture: the idea of democracy and the idea of humanity'.[9]

Let us say briefly (and with all the reservations implied in a condensed judgement) that the official position of Czechoslovakia was then dominated by a spiritual assumption—attachment to the democratic conceptions of the West—and by the economic exigencies of a new, highly-industrialised State. Politics based on sentiment and ideology were distrusted—which does not mean (as we shall see farther on) that they were entirely excluded. 181

In Yugoslavia, on the contrary, they professed, with varying shades corresponding to the different aspects of internal policy, 186+

[8] T. G. Masaryk, *The Resurrection of a State*, p. 398.
[9] Article published in the *Slovansky prehled* (The Slavonic Review) of Prague in 1925, *passim*. 113

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186* the immanence of the traditional values connected with the Slav ideology. M. Krofta, Joint Minister of Foreign Affairs for Czechoslovakia and intimate collaborator of Edward Benes, reviving the latter's ideas in articles published by the *Prager Presse* on May 6, 1933 and June 9, 1935, declares any positive action by the Slavonic peoples tending to a regroupment to be out of the question, 'unless it should be necessary for them to erect a wall of defence against foreign imperialism'.

186* 668 829 From Belgrade, a former minister and propagandist, M. Lazare Markovich, retorted with a certain vivacity. In his view, Slavism clung to its prospect of action. 'Our attachment to the Russian people and to Russia', he said, 'must positively exclude any intimate liaison between Yugoslavia and Germany. Hitler's speech of May 21, 1935 has so categorically stated Germany's attitude that there is no hope of any Russo-German agreement. . . . Unlike our Czech confrères, we do not hesitate to say that we ardently desire, and will work with all our strength to reconstitute in Europe, a Slav policy based on joint action by the Slavonic peoples'.[10]

So, while MM. Benes and Krofta considered any political construction of Slav solidarity as romantic and out-of-date, M. Markovich considered 'that there can be no real European entente without the participation of the Slavonic peoples, with Russia at the head'. And, when the Four-Party Pact was signed, M. Markovich advocated the drawing-up of a similar pact among Slavonic peoples, 'in order to place the latter on a footing of absolute parity with the Latins and the Teutons'.[11]

This controversy, perhaps, reflects less the opposition of two principles than the contrast between two temperaments, Czech realism and Yugoslav emotiveness. Events appear to have given the lie to M. Markovich's thesis (German-Yugoslav *rapprochement*, Moscow Pact). But what we must look at in international life is not the episodes, but the constants; is it not in forecasting the imminent that one runs the greatest risk of going astray?

186* The truth seems to us to lie between the two positions. Slavism is neither a force nor a leading principle of international

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[10] Lazare Markovich, *Yugoslavia's External Policy*, p. 343 *et seq.*; *Spirit of Belgrade* of May 14, 1933.
[11] *Spirit of Belgrade* of June 11, 1935.

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Editorial Note

Russian progressive and liberal ideologies are discussed by Mr. Elias Tartak in his chapter, "The Liberal Tradition in Russia," and by Mr. Vladimir Zenzinov in his chapter, "The Destinies of Russian Peasantry."

The reader is referred to these two articles, as well as to to Mr. Max Nomad's on "Communism."

F. G.

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The facts and, let us believe, the accidental excesses, reported in *Independent Thought* show the moral impasse in which the ruling political powers of the world found themselves at the end of the war. However, these facts also show something else: that these unfortunate, displaced people, although divided by the political conflicts that separate their countries, were able to forget their dissensions in the name of human solidarity and common European ideals of freedom and justice.

Who knows, indeed, if the sole source of hope for the future does not lie in the misery of these very people, who fought on all the battlefields of the war for their ideals, vainly looking, at the end of their fight, for some recognition of their human rights.

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1: Niederle--1 E-5 1911 EtSlavic Peoples E/C

/i/ PREFACE

000 Since unified Germany has assumed a predominant position in the center of Europe, the fate of the Slavic race has become inseparably bound up with our own. If this race succeeds in holding in check German expansion towards the east and towards the south, that is to say towards the Mediterranean, we may hope to maintain our position in the Vosges area and, who knows, perhaps re-establish it upon the Rhine. If it ultimately goes under in the struggle, the future of the French nation becomes irremediably jeopardized.

The Franco-Russian alliance has been the natural result of a state of affairs whose gravity has not been suspected for far too long a time by our statesmen.

But the Russians are not the only representatives of this Slavic race, which extends from the Pacific Ocean to the Adriatic. Besides the Poles, enjoying a popularity among us for so long, which, however, has been fatal to them as it encouraged them to engage in fruitless struggles, there is a whole /ii/ series of peoples which spread from the Carpathians to the Adriatic; they have hardly any reason to be satisfied with their present lot. These peoples have to fight not only against German ambitions; they must also stand against those of the Magyars, of the Greeks, of the Turks. And we have the greatest interest in knowing what strength they possess, what may be their future chances of success.

114 Among the innumerable publications of which they have been the subject in recent years, there is none which affords as serious a scientific interest as the one whose translation is herewith presented. It is the result of a study pursued for many years without intermission by a scholar of the first rank.

The author belongs to that nation, the Czech, which stands in the forefront of the Slavic peoples and which has given to science so many remarkable men. Upon many occasions I have had the opportunity of calling the attention of my countrymen to these men. (1)

1. See especially my studies on the historian Frantisek Palacky /iii/ (Etudes slaves, Volume II); on the poet Kollar (Russes et Slaves, Volume I); on Václav Hanka (Journal des Savants, 1907); on Václav Tomek (ibid., 1908); on Ladislav Rieger (Correspondant, 1909); on Šafarik (Journal des Savants, 1910); Paris et Prague (Nouvelle Revue, 1908); and my monograph, Prague (Collection des Villes d'art).

114 Son of a distinguished Hellenist, whose early death was a loss to science and education, Mr. Lubor Niederle was born at Klatovy in 1865. At a very early age he became interested in anthropological studies. As this branch of /iii/ science was in no wise represented at the University of Prague, he went to study it at Munich and at Paris. After having visited the principal museums of the Occident, he went to Russia and from 1893 on he devoted himself particularly to Slavic ethnography, archaeology, and anthropology. He assisted in the foundation of a review entitled Le Peuple tchèque which began to appear in 1891, and which is at present directed by his eminent colleague Mr. Zibrt. Mr. Niederle was one of the organizers of the Czechoslovakia ethnographical exposition which was held at Prague in 1895. I had the good fortune to visit this very interesting exposition, an account of which may be found in one of my books. (1)

1. Russes et Slaves (Volume III, p. 340-357, Librairie Hachette, 1896) On the Ethnographic Museum, see Chapter II of Prague.

The collections gathered together for this exposition became the foundation for an ethnographic museum of which Mr. Niederle was the first curator and which, after being temporarily sheltered in the home of a generous Maecenas, Count Sylva Taroucca, found /iv/ permanent asylum in a villa previously occupied by the Kinsky family.

In 1890, Mr. Niederle was named professor of ethnology and prehistory at the Czech University. No one was better qualified than he to occupy this chair.

In the year 1889 he began to publish certain anthropological essays in the Czech language. In 1894 he brought out in the same language a volume on Prehistoric Man, Especially in the Slavic Countries, which has been translated into Russian and into Polish. Then he undertook a vast work designed to replace Safarik's Slavic Antiquities and bearing the same tit . Two volumes of this work were published between 1902 and 1910. In addition, Mr. Niederle devoted a considerable number of monographs to the Slovaks. Finally, he summarized his total research on the Slavic peoples in the volume which we are here presenting in translation. This volume is merely the expansion of an article which appearing a short while ago in the Czech Encyclopedia published at Prague by the Otto Publishing Company.

II.

161 Before the nineteenth century scarcely any serious attention was paid to statistics dealing with the Slavic peoples. In 1826, Šafarik

B. S. S.P. 101 time to determine the facts and here are the terms in which Mr. Florinskii worded his decision in 1908:

B. S.P. 197 101 "It seems to me," he said,[1] "that there is no valid reason at all for making the Macedonians a special ethnographic group. The principal criterion is deciding upon the division of this group between the Bulgarian and Serbian nationalities is established by the linguistic data. According to these, insofar as they are known at present--it has been determined that the majority of the Macedonian dialects have the fundamental characteristics of the Bulgarian language. It is only in northern Macedonia, in the districts of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Kratovo that the peculiarities of the Serbian language appear clearly in the Slavic idioms, through they are with certain peculiarities of the Balkan tongue."

Mr. Florinskii concludes by awarding the north /ix/ of Macedonia to the Serbs, and the remainder to the Bulgars.

000 "I do not know," I wrote in 1908, in connection with the publication of Mr. Florinskii's book (1), "if this judgment of Solomon

1. In l'Energie francaise, issue of 29 February.

will satisfy the two parties. In any case one may be certain that the Greeks will make fierce outcry. Be that as it may, I cannot urge the Serbs and the Bulgars too strongly to find a definitive modus vivendi. The Slavs could not possibly make too many concessions in order to unite themselves against the eternal enemies of their race: the Germans, the Magyars, the Greeks, the Turks."

In those matters which relate to the Slavs of Macedonia, Mr. Niederle has arrived at almost the same conclusions as Mr. Florinskii; but he has supported them by other arguments.

III.

S.P. 114 In writing the article "Slavs" for the Czech Encyclopedia, Mr. Niederle found it necessary to study certain problems of demography and anthropology. At that precise moment the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg proposed the publication of an Encyclopedia of Slavic Philology under the direction of Mr. V. Jagic (1), the eminent /x/

1. See my article about Monsieur Jagic in the Journal des Savants, (Year 1908).

professor at the University of Vienna. Probably at the instigation of this distinguished scholar, they requested Mr. Niederle to write for this collection a volume upon the Slavic race. This volume written

[1] [Mr. Florinskii, professor in the University of Kiyev, 1908--Bagbst]

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in the Russian language and accompanied by a very fine map appeared in Saint Petersburg in 1909. But an academic edition is always an official publication. One cannot say everything; one is restricted by certain considerations of diplomacy.

Thus, shortly after this edition appeared, Mr. Niederle brought out another one in Prague in his mother tongue, Czech, and it is upon this text that my translation[1] is based. It has benefited from certain corrections and additions, which the author was kind enough to give me. My version is as exact as possible; nevertheless I must warn the reader that I have occasionally suppressed certain names of localities which are not found on our French maps, abbreviated certain nomenclatures which appeared too long, and simplified the bibliography.

IV

000 Mr. Niederle's book is appearing just at the moment when the problems raised by the Slavic race /xi/ has become more than ever. These problems above all required illumination by the clear light of statistics. If, for example, we in France have been guilty of so many serious errors, which have been so harmful to us, in relation to Poland, this was caused by our ignorance of the exact relation between the number of Poles and the total number of their adversaries. On April 20, 1840, Cousin, the Minister of Public Instruction, explained to the Chamber of Deputies the basic reasons underlying the request for the establishment of a chair of Slavic language and literature at the College de France. This document naively stated that the most widely spoken of all of the Slavic dialects was the Polish--which evidently meant that the Poles were more numerous than the Russians. If we had been aware of the true numerical relationship between these two nations, we would perhaps have spared the Poles and ourselves cruel trials and bitter dissillusionments. The same report reduced to two million the number of Slavs in Turkey and this reduction rendered absolutely incomprehensible to our legislators and to our publicists the problems which were agitating the Balkan Peninsula. I have spoken elsewhere of the absurdities that have been gathered together in certain works by Polish refugees, which some publicists, /xii/ such as Saint-Marc Girardin, readily took seriously (1), and of the fantasies of which

1. See Souvenirs d'un slavophile, passim. The work which Saint-Marc Girardin stated to be serious, judicious, exact, was entitled Recherches historiques et statistiques sur les peuples d'origine slave, magyare et roumaine. (Paris, 1852) The

1 [original Czech version translated into French by Louis Léger--Ed.]

000 author was named Kubalski.

Henri Martin and others were guilty in the matter of the pretended Turanianism of the Russians. In pointing out these fantasies or these errors I naturally have made some enemies among those who believe that it is to their advantage to exploit them. But truth must be served above all else.

It is to serve once again the cause of truth--and at the same time the interests of our country--that I have undertaken this translation. In it will be found in a flawless and rigorously scientific style everything which concerns the distribution of the Slavic nations, the statistics, the demography, the anthropology of this poorly known group. It is to be hoped that this work may become the breviary of our professors, of our publicists, of our politicians. We have been led astray sufficiently in the matter of the Slavic peoples; the time has come for us to form a just and exact idea of them.

LOUIS LEGER.

/1/ THE SLAV RACE

INTRODUCTION

114 Editor's Note: Names which did not occur in the English reference books available to me, occur in a form transliterated from Russian and are marked with an asterisk.

101 S1.--The first Slavs appeared only recently in Central Europe, where little by little they came to be distinguished from the other Indo-European peoples because of the difference in their language and partially because of the differences in their civilization. From the outset they differed among themselves from the point of view of their physical characteristics; they presented diverse types as to the shape of the skull and the skull and the color of hair and eyes. In the regions in which the primitive Slavs evidently have dwelt since the most remote times, we encounter from the prehistoric period differing types of skulls and different colorations.

142 At the moment of their entrance upon the historic scene, a portion of the Slavs are represented to us as men with light-colored eyes and blond or red hair, others with dark hair; the vestiges of hair found in tombs confirm these two types.

174 the Elbe, the Saale, and the Sumava (Boehmerwald) and has produced
101 the Slavic branches of the Polabians, Pomorians, Poles, and Czechoslovaks; the second, whose primitive home was between the upper Vistula, the Dnestr, and the middle Danube, descended little by little--save a few tribes to the south of the Carpathians, --some to establish themselves on the Drava, others, after having crossed the Sava and the Danube, in the region of the/4/ Balkans, and formed the Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgar groups; the third group spread out from the basin of the Dnepr in a vast circle to the north as far as the Gulf of Finland, on the upper Dnepr, the Volga, the Oka, to the east, towards the Don, to the south, towards the Black Sea and the lower Danube, and formed the Russian nation; under the influence of diverse conditions this nation differentiated within itself and became altered according to the localities in which it had settled.

101 The various branches of the Slav family are not all equally differentiated from each other. Between the Czechs and the Poles the difference is greater than between the Czechs and the Slovaks. It is greater between the Great Russians and the Poles than between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. Furthermore, in politics and in literature controversies continuously arise in the matter of knowing whether a segment should be considered as a tribe or as an independent nation. There is no agreement at all as to the use of the terms nation, nationality, tribe, branch, any more than as to the actual total number of Slavs.

000 It all depends upon the points of view on the matter of philology, ethnography, history, and or politics. Even when one starts out from the same viewpoint, one can arrive at various conclusions. One philologist sees two languages where another one sees only dialects of the same tongue. Certain of them give greater weight to their hopes for a renaissance, for political individuality, /5/ for national autonomy, than to the scientific data; others, obedient to political considerations, imagine new nations which their rivals are even un-
114 willing to hear mentioned. Thus the number of Slavic nations, and, consequently, the method of handling the entire Slavic problem, differs greatly from one author to another. Thus Dobrowsky (1), --

1. Joseph Dobrowsky, born in 1753, died in 1829, a Czech scholar, the true creator of Slavic philology. See my note about him in the Grande Encyclopedie, Translator.

in order not to go too far back, nor to become involved in too many

● 114 details, --recognized in 1822 nine living languages and nine nations (Russian, Illyrian or Serb, Croat, Slovene, Korutanian (2), Slovak,

2. Korutanians, a name given by certain ethnographers to the Slavs of Carniola (In Latin Carantania). Translator.

Czech, Lusatian, Polish); Safarik (3) in his Slavic Ethnography in 1842,

3. About Safarik, see the notice in the Journal des Savants (March-April 1910) Translator.

six languages with thirteen dialects (Russian, Bulgarian, Illyrian, Lekho-Polish, Czech, Lusatian); J. Sreznev ii (4) in 1843, nine

4. A Russian philologist of the 19th century. Translator.

languages: Great Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Koroutanian Polish, Lusatian, Czech, Slovak; August Schleicher in 1865, eight languages: Polish, Lusatian, Czech, Great Russian, Ukrainian, Slovene, Serbian, Bulgarian; Fr. Miklosich, nine languages (Slovene, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Ukrainian, /6/ Great Russian, Czech, Polish, Upper Lusatian, Lower Lusatian); Dm. Florinskii in 1907, nine languages (Russian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Czech-Moravian, Slovak, Lusatian, Kashubian); V. Jagic in 1898, eight languages (Polish, Lusatian, Czech, Great Russian, Ukrainian, Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian). But, if today we were to follow certain publicists and the numerous separatist tendencies, the number of Slavic languages would mount up to between eleven and fourteen without counting those which are dead.

000 § 2. --We do not intend to become involved in these controversies, which are most frequently inspired by reasons unconnected
128 with science. But, since it is essential to establish a frame of reference, a general plan, at the outset of an ethnographic study we are going to proceed in accordance with the following one, without attemping to find fault with others. Here is the order in which we are going to study the Slavic ethnography:

1. The Russian group, in which one is today strongly inclined to distinguish two nations: the Great Russians and the Little Russians (South Russians, Ukrainians, Rousines or Ruthenians).

2. The Polish group in its entirety, one should mention here the Kashubs, whom certain people consider as Poles, while others, as the last remnants of Baltic Slavs who have disappeared.

3. The group of Lusatian Sorbs, divided into two /7/ quite distinct branches: the Upper Lusatians and the Lower Lusatians.

4. The Czech group which forms a compact unit in Bohemia and Moravia, but from which the Slovaks of Hungary are detaching themselves

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

101 174 167

For many years the Slavs lived beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and the Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs parties scattered throughout the country and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled. Thus some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs. Among these same Slavs are included the White Croats, the Serbs, and the Carinthians. For when the Vlakhs attacked the Danubian Slavs, and settled among them, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs. Of these Lyakhs some were called Polyanians, some Lutichians, some Mazovians, and still others Pomorians. Certain Slavs also settled on the Dnieper, and were called Polyanians. Still others were called Derevlians, because they lived in the forests. Some also settled between the Pripet and the Dvina, and were known as Dregovichians. Other tribes settled on the Dvina and became known as Polotians, from a small stream named the Polot, which flows into the Dvina. . . . The Slavs also settled around lake Ilmen, and were there known by their own name. They built a city, and called it Novgorod. Still others had their settlements along the Desna, the Sem, and the Sula, and were called Severians. And thus the Slavic race was scattered, and likewise its language was known as Slavic.

174 167 114

In this passage, apart from the detail expended by the author on particularizing the various Eastern Slavic tribes which had fallen under the sway of Kiev more than two centuries before he wrote, what is most striking is his implication that neither the Western Slavs (Czechs, Moravians, and Poles) nor the Eastern Slavs were, in the annalist's view, indigenous to the areas they occupied in his day. He accepts the tradition that the original home of the Slavs was on the middle Danube, from which region (as he relates) they were displaced at an earlier undefined period by a nation known as the Vlakhs, under whose pressure they sought safer residences to the north and northeast. Now, while the term Vlakh has various meanings,

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

it would be most natural here to attach it to the Celtic Gauls 174
who penetrated the Danube basin early in the fourth century 167
B.C. and then, under the leadership of a chief named Brennus, 114
marched down through Thrace and Macedonia and invaded Greece as far as Delphi in 280. The only difficulty lies in the absence of the slightest indication in Greek or Latin historians and geographers that the Slavs, or any part of them, were present on the middle or lower Danube basin before the Christian era. Nor are there in this area any early place names demonstrably Slavic which would show these sources to be faulty in this respect.

In fact, though the evidence of this passage from the Russian 174
annals led numerous medieval and early modern historians in 114
the last century to accept the Danubian origin of the Slavs, other much more reliable and older sources place them further north beyond the Carpathian Mountains when they make their first appearance in history. To be sure, the Slavs do not begin [101]
their historical career under this name, but under another which is etymologically related to the English term "Wends" or the German "Wenden," frequently applied to the Slavs in our own day. As the Venedi, Veneti, or Venedae, they are thus mentioned by Pliny the Elder and by Tacitus during the first century, and by the Egyptian astronomer and geographer Claudius Ptolemy, who wrote in Greek toward the end of the second century. Pliny locates them vaguely in the vicinity of the Vistula. Tacitus is equally indefinite, placing them in the unknown country east of the Suebic confederacy, which he knew as Germanic. Ptolemy mentions them as one of the major nations living along the Venedic Gulf, which appears to be his term for the section of the Baltic coast northeast of the Vistula.

The identity of the Venedae of the Baltic with the Slavs is established in the sixth century by Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, who says of them in one passage: "From the source of the Vistula river immense areas are occupied by the populous nation of the Venethae, who, though their appellations may change in various clans and districts, are mainly called

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

174 *Sclaveni* and *Antae,*" and adds elsewhere, "Though deriving
114 from one stem, they have now adopted three names, that is, Venethi, Antes, and Sclaveni." The "Ravenna Cosmographer," an anonymous geographic work not later than the seventh century, mentions the *Sclavini* as living in Scythia, which is here a generic term for northeastern Europe, while the ninth-century Latin text known as the "Anonymous Bavarus," with the full title "Description of the cities and regions on the north bank of the Danube," speaks of the *Zeruiani* (the name is obviously related to the modern terms *Serb* and *Sorb*), "which is so great a realm that from it, as their tradition relates, all the tribes of the Slavs are sprung and trace their origin."

Such of these sources as belong to the sixth century or later obviously reflect a period when the Slavic dispersion had already begun, but they are interesting as early datable appearances of the name *Slav* and as a sound basis for identifying Wends and Slavs as the same people.

174 Linguistic evidence also impels us to place the Slavs north
197 of the Carpathians before their dispersion. Old Slavonic not only shows traces of contacts with Thracian, Iranian, and Germanic, but is also closely related to Lithuanian and exerted some influence on the early Finnish vocabulary. The only area where such extensive relations could have developed must necessarily have been north and east of the Carpathian chain.
174 It is likewise true that such anthropological evidence as we
141 have identifies the proto-Slavs rather with the northern long-headed race than with the primitive Central European brachycephalics, though even at the epoch of Slavic unity the cephalic index was by no means uniform, and with the lapse of time the stronger shortheaded brunette type came to dominate among the Slavs, as it does indeed today.

174 The topological nomenclature of the Carpathian range is,
114 moreover, not Slavic, thus indicating that the early Slavs lived beyond these mountains and the forests which clothed them. Furthermore, Herodotus mentions as adjacent and subject to

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

the Scythians, but as distinct from them, a tribe known as the Neuri, who lived between the upper Dniester and the middle Dnieper rivers, and certain related Slavic place names indicate that they extended to the basins of the western Bug and the Vistula. This tribe is therefore generally regarded as Slavic, and on this basis it may be held with some certainty that the proto-Slavs as early as the fifth century B.C., and thus long before their dispersion, inhabited an area at least as far to the east as modern Kiev.

To the west it is not possible to place the proto-Slavic boundary beyond the Vistula, since all ancient historians mention this river as the eastern boundary of Germanic settlement. A further indication of this western Slavic frontier is the fact that the vocabulary of the proto-Slavs lacked a word for the beechtree, which grows west of a line roughly connecting Königsberg and Odessa, so that the Slavs were forced to borrow this name from their early Germanic neighbors. There is no good archaeological evidence to indicate that the proto-Slavs ever extended as far as the Elbe, though their medieval descendants reached it. Neither did they touch the Baltic, for the area north of the string of lakes and marshes which separates modern East Prussia from Polish territory was inhabited at the beginning of the Christian era by Baltic tribes akin to the present-day Lithuanians, who likewise occupied the basins of the Memel and the Dvina between the Slavs and the Gulf of Riga. Before the Christian era, the proto-Slavs were also separated from the Black Sea by a succession of Iranian tribes who occupied the southern steppe or prairie country, but they must have touched the navigable portions of the Russian rivers west of the Crimea, since Old Slavonic borrowed the Greek word for boat.

The habitat of the primitive Slavs before their dispersion was thus an irregular oblong area northeast of the Carpathians, extending eastward from the basin of the middle Vistula to the course of the Dnieper north and south of Kiev, bounded on the

1: Niederle E-5 1911 E/6 Slavic Peoples

THE SLAVIC RACE

Statistics - Demography - Anthropology

by

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with a map in colors
Translated from
French into English by Herbert Vreeland

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[Title Page]

1: Niederle--1 E-5 1911 EKSlavic Peoples EK

/i/ PREFACE

000 Since unified Germany has assumed a predominant position in the center of Europe, the fate of the Slavic race has become inseparably bound up with our own. If this race succeeds in holding in check German expansion towards the east and towards the south, that is to say towards the Mediterranean, we may hope to maintain our position in the Vosges area and, who knows, perhaps re-establish it upon the Rhine. If it ultimately goes under in the struggle, the future of the French nation becomes irremediably jeopardized.

The Franco-Russian alliance has been the natural result of a state of affairs whose gravity has not been suspected for far too long a time by our statesmen.

But the Russians are not the only representatives of this Slavic race, which extends from the Pacific Ocean to the Adriatic. Besides the Poles, enjoying a popularity among us for so long, which, however, has been fatal to them as it encouraged them to engage in fruitless struggles, there is a whole /ii/ series of peoples which spread from the Carpathians to the Adriatic; they have hardly any reason to be satisfied with their present lot. These peoples have to fight not only against German ambitions; they must also stand against those of the Magyars, of the Greeks, of the Turks. And we have the greatest interest in knowing what strength they possess, what may be their future chances of success.

114 Among the innumerable publications of which they have been the subject in recent years, there is none which affords as serious a scientific interest as the one whose translation is herewith presented. It is the result of a study pursued for many years without intermission by a scholar of the first rank.

The author belongs to that nation, the Czech, which stands in the forefront of the Slavic peoples and which has given to science so many remarkable men. Upon many occasions I have had the opportunity of calling the attention of my countrymen to these men. (1)

1. See especially my studies on the historian Frantisek Palacky /iii/ (Etudes slaves, Volume II); on the poet Kollar (Russes et Slaves, Volume I); on Václav Hanka (Journal des Savants, 1907); on Václav Tomek (ibid., 1908); on Ladislav Rieger (Correspondant, 1909); on Šafarik (Journal des Savants, 1910); Paris et Prague (Nouvelle Revue, 1908); and my monograph, Prague (Collection des Villes d'art).

114 Son of a distinguished Hellenist, whose early death was a loss to science and education, Mr. Lubor Niederle was born at Klatovy in 1865. At a very early age he became interested in anthropological studies. As this branch of /iii/ science was in no wise represented at the University of Prague, he went to study it at Munich and at Paris. After having visited the principal museums of the Occident, he went to Russia and from 1893 on he devoted himself particularly to Slavic ethnography, archaeology, and anthropology. He assisted in the foundation of a review entitled Le Peuple tchèque which began to appear in 1891, and which is at present directed by his eminent colleague Mr. Zíbrt. Mr. Niederle was one of the organizers of the Czechoslovakian ethnographical exposition which was held at Prague in 1895. I had the good fortune to visit this very interesting exposition, an account of which may be found in one of my books. (1)

1. Russes et Slâves (Volume III, p. 340-357, Librairie Hachette, 1896) On the Ethnographic Museum, see Chapter II of Prague.

The collections gathered together for this exposition became the foundation for an ethnographic museum of which Mr. Niederle was the first curator and which, after being temporarily sheltered in the home of a generous Maecenas, Count Sylva Taroucca, found /iv/ permanent asylum in a villa previously occupied by the Kinsky family.

In 1890, Mr. Niederle was named professor of ethnology and prehistory at the Czech University. No one was better qualified than he to occupy this chair.

In the year 1889 he began to publish certain anthropological essays in the Czech language. In 1894 he brought out in the same language a volume on Prehistoric Man, Especially in the Slavic Countries, which has been translated into Russian and into Polish. Then he undertook a vast work designed to replace Safarik's Slavic Antiquities and bearing the same ti . Two volumes of this work were published between 1902 and 1910. In addition, Mr. Niederle devoted a considerable number of monographs to the Slovaks. Finally, he summarized his total research on the Slavic peoples in the volume which we are here presenting in translation. This volume is merely the expansion of an article which appearing a short while ago in the Czech Encyclopedia published at Prague by the Otto Publishing Company.

II.

161 Before the nineteenth century scarcely any serious attention was paid to statistics dealing with the Slavic peoples. In 1826, Šafarik

161 (1) in his History of the language and the literature of the Slavic peoples

1. See note on page iii.

attempted to take a census of the race. He arrived at a total of 55,270,000 persons. However, it was rather poorly documented on a number of questions. In Russia it confused the Ukrainians with the Great Russians, and estimated the Ruthenians, as they were then called, at only about three million. He scarcely hinted at the existence of the Bulgars. Here are the estimates which he gave:

Russians	32,000,000
Ukrainians	3,000,000
Bulgars	600,000
Serbs in Turkey	800,000
" in Hungary	350,000
Bosnians	350,000
Montenegrans	60,000
Slavonians	253,000
Dalmatians	380,000
Croats	730,000
Slovenes	800,000
Czechs	3,700,000
Poles	10,000,000
Sorbs of Lusatia	200,000

In his Slavic Ethnography published in 1842, he arrived at a total of 78 million.

In 1868 I presented, in my work upon Cyril and Methodius and the Conversion of the Slavs to Christianity, the following figures, which I have on the research of Safarik and on that which the Russian historian Pypin had summarized in the first /vi/ edition of his History of the Slavic Literatures:

Great Russians	34,000,000
Ukrainians	12,000,000
Belorussians	4,000,000
Southern Slavs	11,400,000
(among whom are 5 million Bulgars)	
Czechoslovaks	8,000,000
Poles	10,000,000
Sorbs of Lusatia	150,000

Since that time I have had an occasion to return to this question in a work published in connection with a book by a Russian scholar, that of the late Budilovich on (1) The expansion of the Slavic Languages.

1. See le Monde slave (Second edition, Hachette, 1897).

[Louis Leger, Fr[illegible] translator of the original Czech [illegible]]

S.P. 161

I established the fact that a Russian geographer, Mr. Zarianko, had arrived at a total of 101,724,000 for the year 1891, while the statistics set forth by Mr. Schrader in his Atlas gave only 97 million.

In 1905 Mr. Niederle resumed the inquiry for an article intended for the Czech Encyclopedia and arrived at a total of 138,500,000 persons.

About the same time a Russian scholar, a distinguished student of the Slavs, professor in the University of Kiyev, Mr. Florinskii, studied for his part, the statistics of the Slavic peoples and made public /vii/ the results of his research in a volume published at Kiyev in 1907 under the title The Slavic Race. Here are his figures:

Great Russians	65,000,000
Ukrainians	31,000,000
Belorussians	7,000,000
Bulgars	5,400,000
Serbo-Croats	9,000,000
Czechs	6,641,000
Slovaks	2,600,000
Poles	20,000,000
Kashubs	855,000
Sorbs of Lusatia	150,000

on a round total figure of 148 million.

Mr. Florinskii estimates that, the annual excess of births over deaths being 1.7%, the race increases each year by 2,500,000 individuals. With this coefficient the increase should then present a grand total of 186 million for the year 1915, and of 200 million for the year 1920.

8. 6. S.P. 101

Among the problems which Mr. Florinskii had to solve, one of the most delicate was that of Macedonian ethnography. The struggle, of which Macedonia has been the scene for more than a quarter of a century, between the Serbs and the Bulgars, has greatly embarrassed certain Russian publicists desirous of alienating neither of these contending parties.

In a map published in 1889, the Russian geographer Mr. Zarianko, in accordance with all the precedents, assigned Macedonia to the /viii/ Bulgars. Appalled by the protests of the Serbs, who were seeking in Macedonia compensation for the loss of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Mr. Zarianko in a later edition had the idea of giving to Macedonia a special coloring, meaning by that, as he said, a country whose nationality had not yet been studied. Since then the ethnographers have had the

B. S. S.P. 101 time to determine the facts and here are the terms in which Mr. Florinskii worded his decision in 1908:

B. S.P. 197 101 "It seems to me," he said,1/A that there is no valid reason at all for making the Macedonians a special ethnographic group. The principal criterion is deciding upon the division of this group between the Bulgarian and Serbian nationalities is established by the linguistic data. According to these, insofar as they are known at present--it has been determined that the majority of the Macedonian dialects have the fundamental characteristics of the Bulgarian language. It is only in northern Macedonia, in the districts of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Kratovo that the peculiarities of the Serbian language appear clearly in the Slavic idioms, through they are with certain peculiarities of the Balkan tongue."

Mr. Florinskii concludes by awarding the north /ix/ of Macedonia to the Serbs, and the remainder to the Bulgars.

000 "I do not know," I wrote in 1908, in connection with the publication of Mr. Florinskii's book (1), "if this judgment of Solomon

1. In l'Energie francaise, issue of 29 February.

will satisfy the two parties. In any case one may beccertain that the Greeks will make fierce outcry. Be that as it may, I cannot urge the Serbs and the Bulgars too strongly to find a definitive modus vivendi. The Slavs could not possibly make too many concessions in order to unite themselves against the eternal enemies of their race: the Germans, the Magyars, the Greeks, the Turks."

In those matters which relate to the Slavs of Macedonia, Mr. Niederle has arrived at almost the same conclusions as Mr. Florinskii; but he has supported them by other arguments.

III.

S.P. 114 In writing the article "Slavs" for the Czech Encyclopedia, Mr. Niederle found it necessary to study certain problems of demography and anthropology. At that precise moment the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg proposed the publication of an Encyclopedia of Slavic Philology under the direction of Mr. V. Jagic (1), the eminent /x/

1. See my article about Monsieur Jagic in the Journal des Savants, (Year 1908).

professor at the University of Vienna. Probably at the instigation of this distinguished scholar, they requested Mr. Niederle to write for this collection a volume upon the Slavic race. This volume written

1/A [Mr. Florinskii, Professor in the University of Kiyev, 1908 - Bachst]

114

in the Russian language and accompanied by a very fine map appeared in Saint Petersburg in 1909. But an academic edition is always an official publication. One cannot say everything; one is restricted by certain considerations of diplomacy.

Thus, shortly after this edition appeared, Mr. Niederle brought out another one in Prague in his mother tongue, Czech, and it is upon this text that my translation is based. It has benefited from certain corrections and additions, which the author was kind enough to give me. My version is as exact as possible; nevertheless I must warn the reader that I have occasionally suppressed certain names of localities which are not found on our French maps, abbreviated certain nomenclatures which appeared too long, and simplified the bibliography.

IV

000 Mr. Niederle's book is appearing just at the moment when the problems raised by the Slavic race /xi/ has become more than ever. These problems above all required illumination by the clear light of statistics. If, for example, we in France have been guilty of so many serious errors, which have been so harmful to us, in relation to Poland, this was caused by our ignorance of the exact relation between the number of Poles and the total number of their adversaries. On April 20, 1840, Cousin, the Minister of Public Instruction, explained to the Chamber of Deputies the basic reasons underlying the request for the establishment of a chair of Slavic language and literature at the Collège de France. This document naively stated that the most widely spoken of all of the Slavic dialects was the Polish--which evidently meant that the Poles were more numerous than the Russians. If we had been aware of the true numerical relationship between these two nations, we would perhaps have spared the Poles and ourselves cruel trials and bitter dissillusionments. The same report reduced to two million the number of Slavs in Turkey and this reduction rendered absolutely incomprehensible to our legislators and to our publicists the problems which were agitating the Balkan Peninsula. I have spoken elsewhere of the absurdities that have been gathered together in certain works by Polish refugees, which some publicists, /xii/ such as Saint-Marc Girardin, readily took seriously (1), and of the fantasies of which

1. See Souvenirs d'un slavophile, passim. The work which Saint-Marc Girardin stated to be serious, judicious, exact, was entitled Recherches historiques et statistiques sur les peuples d'origine slave, magyare et roumaine. (Paris, 1852) The

[original Czech version translated into French by Louis Léger--tr.]

000 author was named Kubalski.

Henri Martin and others were guilty in the matter of the pretended Turanianism of the Russians. In pointing out these fantasies or these errors I naturally have made some enemies among those who believe that it is to their advantage to exploit them. But truth must be served above all else.

It is to serve once again the cause of truth--and at the same time the interests of our country--that I have undertaken this translation. In it will be found in a flawless and rigorously scientific style everything which concerns the distribution of the Slavic nations, the statistics, the demography, the anthropology of this poorly known group. It is to be hoped that this work may become the breviary of our professors, of our publicists, of our politicians. We have been led astray sufficiently in the matter of the Slavic peoples; the time has come for us to form a just and exact idea of them.

LOUIS LEGER.

/1/

THE SLAV RACE

INTRODUCTION

114 Editor's Note: Names which did not occur in the English reference books available to me, occur in a form transliterated from Russian and are marked with an asterisk.

101 S1.--The first Slavs appeared only recently in Central Europe, where little by little they came to be distinguished from the other Indo-European peoples because of the difference in their language and partially because of the differences in their civilization. From the outset they differed among themselves from the point of view of their physical characteristics; they presented diverse types as to the shape of the skull and the skull and the color of hair and eyes. In the regions in which the primitive Slavs evidently have dwelt since the most remote times, we encounter from the prehistoric period differing types of skulls and different colorations.

142 At the moment of their entrance upon the historic scene, a portion of the Slavs are represented to us as men with light-colored eyes and blond or red hair, others with dark hair; the vestiges of hair found in tombs confirm these two types.

000 found in tombs confirm these two types.

101 Domestic life also presents varying types during the pre-Christian period. For example, in the West, between the Elbe and the Vistula, /2/ we find a certain type of tomb and a peculiar Adriatico-Danubian material, and another type east of the Vistula, where the influence of the Black Sea is dominant. From the moment at which the Slavs separated themselves from the other Aryans, the differentiation of the languages began to develop within the race itself; this differentiation has been reinforced by various factors, for example, by the formation of isolated centers, where the cultivation of the soil was carried on intensively, or where a political unit developed, by the movements of various groups and their mixture with foreign elements (for example the migration of the Slavs towards the south and their subsequent career in the Balkan Peninsula). This differentiation became so striking that the primitive people, who formed only a single body, dissolved into a set of groups absolutely distinct one from another. Even today there is no complete agreement in the question of knowing just how far this disaggregation has proceeded and which are the groups that should be considered as being completely independent; but everyone recognizes that there is no longer a single Slavic nationality. There is now a series of individual nations. Today, Slavic unity is merely a theoretical concept played upon by ideas and sentiments, but in the life of the Slavs themselves the moments are rare indeed in which one may discover some remembrance of the vanished unity.

How did this dismemberment take place? /3/ What circumstances caused the groups to spring up? How did that individualization occur, what is the condition of the race today, how many nations may be enumerated? These are some of the questions which Slavic science has not yet completely solved.

174 The following appears to be the most likely. The nucleus of
101 the primitive Slavic people was between the Oder and the Dnepr; in prehistoric times they reached by successive steps the Elbe, the Saale, the Danube, the Desna, the Niemen, and the Baltic. They disaggregated on this vast territory, partially under the influence of certain geographical conditions, for example, the influence of the large streams and the mountains--partially under the influence of civilizing currents, which are not the same in the Orient as in the Occident, and finally under the influence of linguistic development. At first three groups were established. The first, to the west of the Vistula and the Carpathians, stretched out towards the Occident beyond the Elbe, the Saale,

174 the Elbe, the Saale, and the Sumava (Boehmerwald) and has produced
101 the Slavic branches of the Polabians, Pomorians, Poles, and Czechoslovaks; the second, whose primitive home was between the upper Vistula, the Dnestr, and the middle Danube, descended little by little--save a few tribes to the south of the Carpathians, --some to establish themselves on the Drava, others, after having crossed the Sava and the Danube, in the region of the/4/ Balkans, and formed the Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgar groups; the third group spread out from the basin of the Dnepr in a vast circle to the north as far as the Gulf of Finland, on the upper Dnepr, the Volga, the Oka, to the east, towards the Don, to the south, towards the Black Sea and the lower Danube, and formed the Russian nation; under the influence of diverse conditions this nation differentiated within itself and became altered according to the localities in which it had settled.

101 The various branches of the Slav family are not all equally differentiated from each other. Between the Czechs and the Poles the difference is greater than between the Czechs and the Slovaks. It is greater between the Great Russians and the Poles than between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. Furthermore, in politics and in literature controversies continuously arise in the matter of knowing whether a segment should be considered as a tribe or as an independent nation. There is no agreement at all as to the use of the terms nation, nationality, tribe, branch, any more than as to the actual total number of Slavs.

000 It all depends upon the points of view on the matter of philology, ethnography, history, and or politics. Even when one starts out from the same viewpoint, one can arrive at various conclusions. One philologist sees two languages where another one sees only dialects of the same tongue. Certain of them give greater weight to their hopes for a renaissance, for political individuality, /5/ for national autonomy, than to the scientific data; others, obedient to political considerations, imagine new nations which their rivals are even un-
114 willing to hear mentioned. Thus the number of Slavic nations, and, consequently, the method of handling the entire Slavic problem, differs greatly from one author to another. Thus Dobrowsky (1), --

1. Joseph Dobrowsky, born in 1753, died in 1829, a Czech scholar, the true creator of Slavic philology. See my note about him in the Grande Encyclopedie, Translator.

in order not to go too far back, nor to become involved in too many

114 details, --recognized in 1822 nine living languages and nine nations (Russian, Illyrian or Serb, Croat, Slovene, Korutanian (2), Slovak,

2. Korutanians, a name given by certain ethnographers to the Slavs of Carniola (In Latin Carantania). Translator.

Czech, Lusatian, Polish); Safarik (3) in his Slavic Ethnography in 1842,

3. About Safarik, see the notice in the Journal des Savants (March-April 1910) Translator.

six languages with thirteen dialects (Russian, Bulgarian, Illyrian, Lekho-Polish, Czech, Lusatian); J. Sreznev ii (4) in 1843, nine

4. A Russian philologist of the 19th century. Translator.

languages: Great Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Koroutanian Polish, Lusatian, Czech, Slovak; August Schleicher in 1865, eight languages: Polish, Lusatian, Czech, Great Russian, Ukrainian, Slovene, Serbian, Bulgarian; Fr. Miklosich, nine languages (Slovene, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Ukrainian, /6/ Great Russian, Czech, Polish, Upper Lusatian, Lower Lusatian); Dm. Florinskii in 1907, nine languages (Russian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Czech-Moravian, Slovak, Lusatian, Kashubian); V. Jagic in 1898, eight languages (Polish, Lusatian, Czech, Great Russian, Ukrainian, Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian). But, if today we were to follow certain publicists and the numerous separatist tendencies, the number of Slavic languages would mount up to between eleven and fourteen without counting those which are dead.

000 S 2. --We do not intend to become involved in these controversies, which are most frequently inspired by reasons unconnected
128 with science. But, since it is essential to establish a frame of reference, a general plan, at the outset of an ethnographic study we are going to proceed in accordance with the following one, without attemping to find fault with others. Here is the order in which we are going to study the Slavic ethnography:

1. The Russian group, in which one is today strongly inclined to distinguish two nations: the Great Russians and the Little Russians (South Russians, Ukrainians, Rousines or Ruthenians).

2. The Polish group in its entirety, one should mention here the Kashubs, whom certain people consider as Poles, while others, as the last remnants of Baltic Slavs who have disappeared.

3. The group of Lusatian Sorbs, divided into two /7/ quite distinct branches: the Upper Lusatians and the Lower Lusatians.

4. The Czech group which forms a compact unit in Bohemia and Moravia, but from which the Slovaks of Hungary are detaching themselves

S.P. 128 more and more, especially from a political viewpoint.

5. The Slovene group which is not troubled with separatist tendencies.

6. The Serbo-Croat group within which the political divisions and the shades of culture--noticeably in religious matters--are so sharply defined that one must today recognize them as two nations: Serbs and Croats.

7. The very homogeneous Bulgar group. The only point of disagreement is in the matter of the Slavs of Macedonia. Certain people assign them to the Bulgars, others to the Serbs; yet others pretend to recognize here a special nationality, the Macedonian nationality.

In pursuing this study, we shall remain faithful to this framework of seven basic groups. We shall see at the proper time and place to what extent the tendencies of those who wish to break off from these still other independent groups may be justified.

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/8/ No page numbered eight.

I

THE RUSSIANS

H.R. S.P. 174 S 3. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.--In the eastern region which was formed by the division of the primitive people into three groups, developed there the great Russian people which is divided today.

What were the beginnings of this people during the pre-Christian era and the first centuries after the birth of Christ? We know practically nothing about this. It is true that we know of certain names cited by Ptolemy, which apparently refer to them, but there is nothing upon which we may rely. (1) In the fourth century of the Christian era

1. These questions have been studied by the author in a vast work in Czech entitled Slav Antiquities, which also deserves to be tranlated into French. Translator

there appear vague references to a great people called the Antes, a name which denotes the southern Russian tribes between the lower Danube and the Don, but this name later disappears. The information which the Arabs furnish about the Russians of the tenth century is no less enigmatic. It is only with Constantin /10/ Porphyrogenitos and,

H.R. S.P. 174 more clearly, with the first Chronicle of Kiev, (1) preserved in a

1. Chronicle said to be by Nestor: see my translation (Leroux, 1884) and the Index which accompanies it. Translator.

manuscript from the twelfth century, that we have somewhat more precise details. These texts inform us that upon the territory of present-day Russia there lived a swarm of tribes which constituted independent units. The writer of these annals enumerates twelve of them:

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the Slavs of Lake Ilmen, with their center at Novgorod-the-Great.

the Krivichi near the sources of the Dnepr, the Dvina, and the Volga (those who lived on the Polot River were called Polotchani).

the Dregovichi between the Pripet and the Dvina.

the Drevliani to the southwest of the former.

the Poliani from Teterevo to Kiyev, which became their center.

the Dudlebi and Bujani (or Volhynians) on the Bug.

the Tivertsi and the Ulichi on the Dnestr and on the Bug.

the Radimichi on the Soya.

the Viatichi on the Oka.

the Severiani on the Desna, the Seym and the Soula.

the writer of the annals who enumerates these various peoples gathers them together under the collective name of Rus. How did this name Rus originate among this people? Here again is an enigma. (1) But whatever /11/ its origin may be, it is certain that it referred

1. On this enigma, see our edition of Nestor. Translator.

at first to the center at Kiyev, where the first Russian state was founded by the Varangian princes, that from there it spread out rapidly towards the Orient among the Slavs as a political and then an ethnic designation, and that it was applied to certain peoples who, according to the chronicler, were of a Lekh origin.(2)

2. Regarding this name, see the second chapter. Translator.

H.R. S.P. 174 The Slavic domain towards the Orient, as it is outlined by the Russian chronicler in the twelfth century, was not originally Slavic territory, it was previously occupied by allogenes /people of another race/ and colonized by the Slavs. The proof of this statement is furnished by the earlier names, Lithuanian and Finnish, in the region located to the north of the Pripet and in the neighborhood of the sources of the Dnepr, in the basins of the Oka and of the Volga. We encounter upon this territory the first Slavic colonization vouched for by texts and not by the primitive people. It is here that the eastern Slavs,

1: Niederle--13 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
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before the end of the tenth century and after having left the region of the middle Dnepr, made the first step in their expansion. If one is to believe the chronicle, it was not directed towards the Polish lands. On the contrary, it was the Lekhs who sent out strong colonies towards the east passing through Russian tribes. To compensate for this, Russian colonization was pushed from the earliest period towards the Baltic tribes.

/12/ We see the Dregovichi settled upon a territory formerly Lithuanian. The colonization took place still more rapidly and with greater success towards the north and east in the direction of the Finns. Likewise the Krivichi, the Radimichi, the Viatichi (and perhaps a portion of the Severiani) pushed the Chudi, the Muromi, the Mordvini, the Mescheri, and other Finnish tribes out of their original territory.

Towards the Orient the Slavic Severiani pushed forward at an early period and very energetically, and rolled back the Turco-Tatar tribes. This is what is maintained in the texts which, beginning with the sixth century, indicate that the Antes were very in numerous along the shores of the Sea of Azov, and which in the ninth and tenth centuries mention numerous Slavic colonies upon the Don and the Volga and the colony of Tmutorokan at the mouth of the Kuban.

It is only towards the south that the development of Slavic colonization was delayed for a considerable period. However, it was favored by the nature of the soil; all of the rivers ran down towards the south, towards the Black Sea.

Here the great obstacle was the invasion of alien peoples who, beginning in the third century A.D., began to occupy for a longer or shorter time the basin of the Black Sea. In the third and fourth centuries there were at first the Goths and the Heruls, then in 376 the Huns, /13/ then towards 482 the Bulgars, (1) then towards 557

1. This refers to the Bulgars of the Volga who later on came to give their name to a section of the Balkan peninsula. Translator.

the Avars. Towards the middle of the seventh century the Khazars crossed over the Don, and finally, during the course of the ninth century, the Magyars of the Ural began heading towards the Danube.

These invasions did not completely arrest the march of the

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Slavs towards the south; it is even probable that certain of them, for example those of the Huns and the Avars, carried along after them some Slavic tribes. But during this period it is impossible to speak of a true colonization, of a settlement of Slavs upon the Black Sea.

It is likely that it was only after the Avar invasion[2] that the Russian tribes succeeded in establishing themselves in large groups (the Tivertsi, the Ulichi) along the lower reaches of the Dnepr, the Dnestr, and the Danube.

The movement toward the south became more pronounced. Sviatoslav (957-972) established his permanent residence at Preslav (in present-day Bulgaria). Then a new obstacle arose. This was the arrival of the Pechengs, the Turks (the Uz), the Polovtsians or Kumans. The tribes and the Russian princes were compelled to carry on long struggles against these newcomers in the lower basin of the Don and the Dnepr. Finally there came the Tatar invasion. Victorious in 1224, they ravaged and depopulated /14/ the greater part of southern Russia from the Kalka to Kiyev, the Volhynia, Galicia, and Transylvania and even menaced the Russian lands in the northeast. (1)

1. It has been claimed that the region of Kiyev lost its entire primitive Russian population and that it was only repeopled in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by colonies coming from Galicia. But it has not been proved that this hypothesis is well founded. However, it is certain, as is testified to by the Carpin Map dated 1346, that the country was very sparsely peopled and that beginning with the fifteenth century the Polish lords introduced many new colonies into the vast domains which they had acquired.

All of these invasions exercised a strong and lasting influence upon the destiny of the Russian nation. They cut it off for a long time from access to the south and west. On the other hand, the pressure which they had brought upon the Tivertsi, the Volhynians, the Poliani, and the Severiani compelled these peoples to withdraw to the Carpathians, beyond the Pripet, the Sula, the Desna, driving other tribes before them; and the Russian nation was set in motion in a northern and northeastern direction against the Finns. Bit by bit the Finnish territory was occupied by the Russians and colonized.

In addition to the Viatichi, the Krivichi, and the Severiani, the principal agents of this colonization were the Slavs of Novgorod, particularly in the basin of the Onega, the Dvina, the Vychegda, the Pechora, the Kama, and the Vyatka. These are the principal episodes in the development of the Russian people until the end of /15/ the Tatar domination, that is until the fifteenth century.

2 [In the 6th century A.D. -- Analyst]

But alongside these external modifications,[4] great changes were taking place in the internal life of the Russian people; tribal life was being replaced by provincial life. The ancient tribal units were being dislocated and were disappearing little by little into the new provincial organizations which formed themselves around the princes, and little by little a new division of the Russian people could be seen establishing itself, whereby the old tribal units were replaced by three large groups, differing with respect to language, internal organization and, in certain ways, to political life. Mr. Shakhmatov, in a remarkable essay published in 1899 by the Russian Review of Public Education, has not yet spoken science's final word. We must restrict ourselves to this simple statement. Already at the time of the Tatar domination, the old tribal units had grouped themselves, either as a result of their internal development, or as a result of external causes, into three groups:

In the south (between the San, the Pripet, and the Dnepr) the Ukrainian group which obviously was made up of the former Poliani, Drevliani, Volhynians, Dudlebi, Tiversti, Ulichi, a portion of the Severiani, and the remains of the Croats and the Serbs from the Carpathians;

In the north the Great Russians, made up principally of the Slavs from Novgorod, the Viatichi, the Krivichi, and a portion of the Severiani;

/16/ In the west the Belorussians or White Russians (including principally the former Dregovichi, the Radimichi, a portion of the Drevliani and Krivichi, and the remains of the Lithuanians).

At this period appeared the expressions Great Russia, Little Russia (Ukrainia) and White Russia (it is not known what this last epithet signifies).

The Little Russian (Ukrainian) group is the one which has remained the purest from the language viewpoint; the White Russian group is less pure, as it has been affected by the political union with Lithuania from the end of the thirteenth century and, later on, from the sixteenth century, by a strong Polish influence. The basic elements of the Great Russian group were extremely varied; but the one which was most influential of all was the city which was to become the center of the Russian world, namely Moscow.

Despite this division, the three groups remained three branches of the same nation. The languages were closely related; close ties bound them together from a political viewpoint (at the beginning the common struggle against the Tatars, later the union under the Muscovite

4 [Migrations and colonizations: cf. cat. 116, pp. 11-14 - omitted]

H.R. 101 S.P. 175 scepter).

They have had religious unity for too long a period to permit anyone to hesitate considering them as a single whole, the Russian nation, despite the shades of difference already pointed out.

As for the matters which relate to external development, we must indicate the following stages:

H.R. 167 S.P. 175 167 The Russian nation did not succeed in extending itself to /17/ the west; between the space which it occupied and the sea Lithuanian tribes (Lettish) and, further to the south, the strong Polish race were concentrated. The Russians did not advance in that direction; very much to the contrary, their race underwent a very serious period of decline; in fact, it almost perished, on the one hand under the pressure of Lithuania, and on the other, under that of the Poles who were forced to stretch out towards the east, finding themselves pushed back by the Germans. This explains why on the maps of Bielenstien (1)

1. A German scholar of the nineteenth century who especially concerned himself with the Lett language.

the Russo-Lettish frontier of the thirteenth century is almost the same as today and why the western portion of Russian territory contains a large Polish element.

The expansion towards the north continued though with less success than formerly. The further one advanced into these regions, the less hospitable they became. But, beginning with the fifteenth century, especially from the reign of Peter the Great, the colonial expansion of the Russian element turned gradually toward the north, where colonies of monks and raskolnoki were sent out. (2) These colonies

2. Heretics (from raskol, schism). Translator.

were of slight importance and widely scattered. Then conditions changed. The expansion towards the north diminished, the movement turned towards the south and southeast.

The Tatar invasion had created a solid enclosing wall /18/ which Russian colonization was unable to cross so long as the Tatar Khanates were not brought under subjection. This was not long delayed. After 1486 Russia was freed from its bonds. The desire for revenge, the increase of the population, and other conditions, pushed the Russians very energetically towards the east, the southeast, and the south. They did not stop their advance. Their front line, which had been on the Oka, was replaced in the middle of the sixteenth century by the so-called Tula line, from Putivl' on the Seym through Briansk and Tula, towards the Una, tributary of the Moksha. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Muscovites occupied the Belgorod, Voronezh-Kozlov line,

1: Niederle--17 E-5 1911 E16Slavic Peoples E16
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the Tambov-Simbirsk line, the line of the Transkama (Sengilei-Menzelinsk). On the other hand, they colonized the region of Poltava in great masses. (1) At the end of the seventeenth century the line

1. The Ukrainians of the region between the Bug and the Dnestr began in the fourteenth century, under the princes of Kiyev and of Lithuania to penetrate into the Poltava region. But it was not until the sixteenth century that, under the protection of Moscow, they emigrated en masse. In the seventeenth century they already occupied the governments of Kharkov, the western portion of the government of Voronezh and the southern part of the government of Koursk. This immigration is explained by the development of the Cossacks, the necessity of fleeing from Polish domination, and the diminution of the Tatar strength, especially that of the Horde of the Crimea.

of the Don was reached, then, under the reign of Empress Anne, the line of the Ukraine (1731-1735), which was replaced forty years later by the line of the Dnepr between the Dnepr and the Sea of Azov.

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/19/ The movement forward was completed by the conquest of the Khanate of the Crimea in 1783. Colonies of German and Serbian immigrants into Russia accompanied these advances of the military lines. The litoral of the Black Sea was partially colonized in the eighteenth century, and partially, --for example between the Bug and the Dnestr (the present Guberniya of Tavrida)--only in the nineteenth century. At about the same time Russian colonization reached the Caucasus (line of the Caucasus along the Kuban and the Terek from 1779 to 1799), but it was not completed until the second half of the nineteenth century after the complete submission of the Caucasus (1864).

The Russians penetrated earlier into the regions beyond the Volga, especially from the reign of Peter the Great onwards.

At this period they reached Samara and in the years 1734-1744 the Orenburg line. In the interior of Asia colonization was at first accomplished by the conquests of the brothers Stroganov and of Ermak (1558-1582), in Siberia as far as the Obi and Irtysh Rivers. It was completed in the nineteenth century by the conquest of all of Siberia as far as Sakhalin and Manchuria, by the subjugation of the Kirghiz Steppes to the south and finally of Turkestan (Tashkent, 1864, Samarkand 1868, Khiva 1873, Kokand 1876, Ashkabad 1881, Merv 1884, Murghab 1885). Everywhere the troops were followed by colonists, especially by the inhabitants of Great Russia.

000 especially by the inhabitants of Great Russia.

S.P. T.R. 101 162 /20/ S 4. Territory and Frontiers of the National Group.

It may be seen from this sketch of the development of the Russian nation--especially from the intensive colonization of the later years--that it is impossible to bound the Russian realm by a continuous line. For the Russian population in Asia and in Europe does not appear as a compact mass, but as an aggregate, more or less homogneous, of groups of colonists, sometimes indeed completely isolated, in the midst of allogenic populations. The Russians are established in a compact mass in eastern Europe, the greater part within the Russian Empire, and a small fraction within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But only the western and southern frontiers of this mass are well defined; to the east and to the north the frontier juts out and forms population islands along the navigable rivers in the midst of native elements, Finnish or Turko-Tatar. The following is the precise boundary of the territory inhabited in a compact fashion--save for a few allogenic islands--by the Russian people, beginning from the mouth of the Neva which on the west abuts the Finnish national territory. (1)

1. I shall not enter upon all of the topographic details because they are of no interest, and besides the authors are not always in agreement concerning them.

From Petersburg the frontier first runs along the Gulf of Finland to the mouth of the Narova; it follows that river, stretches along Lake Peipus and the lake of Pskov towards Izborsk, descends /21/ towards Loutsyn (Ludza) as far as Dvinsk (Daugavpils). It turns around to the west of Volna, crosses the Niemen north of Grodno, reaches Bielostok (Bialystok), Surai on the Narew, Bielsk, Drohiczyn on the Bug, stretches into the Russian area of Kholm (Chelm)--according to the studies of Frantsev--and follows the Biala, Parczew, Krasnystaw line towards Tomaszow. Then it enters Galicia by skirting Tamograd, reaches the San River above Jaroslaw, runs toward Sanok, and in the Carpathians reaches Piwniczna on the Hungarian frontier. (1)

1. Certain names which the reader would not find on French maps have been omitted in this enumeration. Translator.

At Piwniczna the border extends slightly towards the west, makes a few detours, penetrates into the counties of Spis and Sarys (Saros in Hungarian), and follows the Poprad as far as Spisska Sobota.

According to the latest studies of Czambel and of Tomashivskii, (2) the results of which present only very slight differences, the Russian

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2. The difference between the frontier of Czambel and that of Tomashivskii consists in the fact that Tomashivskii includes as Russian a few additional communes in the counties of Spis and Sarys.

boundary in Hungary begins at Lipnik, not far from the mouth of the Dunajec, crosses at Kaminka to the outskirts of Stara Lubovna (O Luble, in Magyar), and Iakoubiani (Iakobpol), towards Hodermark* and Stelbach*, Kisgeber*, Iatkiotsi*, (Zseltek). Then it makes a great semi-circle towards the north, reaches Bardejov, descends towards the south along the Topla as far as Petkovtsi (Petkocz*), crosses /22/ the Ondavka to Valkov (Valko), Beresliv (Breszlo*), Porauba (Orosz poruba*) (1)

1. In this Magyar word Orosz means Russian. We have omitted here a few localities without interest. Translator.

Hliviscze, Komouch, as far as Uzhorod (Ungvar). There it touches the Magyars. The boundary skirts their territory as far as the city of Visso on the river of the same name. But the Ukrainians are in the minority here. From there the boundary follows the right bank of the Vasir* as far as Bukovina, then it crosses the Suczava River, leaves to the Russians the upper reaches of the Seret, crosses Kaminka, Negotin. The city of Sereth and runs along the frontier up to the place where the Prut comes out of Bukovina. Here, the cities of Czernowitz and of Seret are German. On the other hand, Russian islands are found in Galicia, particularly between Lutcza and Korczyn to the south of Rzeszow, near Rymanow, near Dynow, in the outskirts of Jaroslaw, in the basin of the Wysloka, and in Hungary around Spiess and Krempach. Let us also mention the large island in Bukovina between the Seret and the Suczava*.

Beyond the Austrian frontier the Prut is usually considered to form the boundary between the Russians and the Rumanians. But at the northern point of Bessarabia, between the Prut and the Dnestr, there is a Russian region, notably in the district of Khotin, in what is called the Bessarabian Bukovina. Outside of this region /23/ the Russians are scattered and strongly exposed to Rumanization.

According to Nestorovskii, the boundary of Russian nationality in Bessarabia passes through Balamoutovka, Rjavinets, Grozintsi, Sankoutsi*, Reugatch*, Dinouci*, Doljok*, Bielovtsi*, Gijdev*, Kichlo-Salievo*, Kichlo-Zamjievo*, Bielavintsi*, Titskany* and Fitesti*. In the districts of Sorok* and of Bielets* the Russian colonies are already very widely scattered; but they have penetrated as far as the southern

S.P. T.R. 101 162 section of the guberniya. Estimates are not in agreement. Chubinskii in 1872 figured that in all of Bessarabia there were 100,000 Ukrainians. Nestorovskii in 1905 guessed at 250,000. The latest statistics have figured that the Russians comprised 27.8 % of the total population, or 540,000 (of whom 380,000 were Ukrainians).

Beyond the Dnestr, to the east, it is not easy to trace the boundary exactly. Retailed maps are lacking. The ethnographical maps which I have used extend the Russian domain as far as the Black Sea. But to the south of the line of Yampol, Balta, Olviopol (now Pervomaisk), Elizavetgrad (now Kirovograd), Slavyanoserbsk, and Novocherkassk, this domain is pervaded by so many islands of foreigners (Germans, Bulgars, Rumanians, Tatars, Greeks, Jews, Armenians) that the Russians in the south cannot be considered as forming a compact population. It would be impossible to delimit their territory exactly until after the most minute ethnographic examination. To date we do not have a sufficiently detailed study. According to /24/ Derzhavin the latest statistics have enumerated in the guberniya of Kherson 57 linguistic groups, in Bessarabia, 41, and in the guberniya of Tavrida, 39. The dominant element, nevertheless, is Ukrainian.

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We reach the same conclusions for the provinces beyond the Dnepr, the Don, and the Volga. There are also many non-Russian elements and exact data and good ethnographic maps are lacking. On Russian maps--which are usually on a small scale--the Russian domain comprises the area between the Dnepr and the Don and stops at the Kuban (the Crimea being Tatar). In general the border begins on the shores of the Black Sea, at the town of Gagri below the Caucasus, crosses the mountains, curves around Pyatigorsk and Stavropol, draws near the left bank of the Don (there are 33.7 % Russians in the province of Terek), then skirts the Steppes of the Kirghiz and of the Kalmyk, and comes to the lower Volga, to the shores of the Caspian Sea and of the Terek. All along the Volga, from its mouth upwards, are situated numerous Russian towns and villages, cut off from each other by German, Finnish, and Tatar areas.

The Russian domain of the Volga cannot be delimited by a line; it is full of islands of allogenes which often interect one another These allogenic groups occupy a territory which extends approximately from the spot where the Volga bends towards the south from Saratov through Serdobsk, Morshansk and Murom to Nizhnii Novgoród (now Gor'kiy). To the north of the Volga the Russian population is compact;

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it extends to the lower reaches of the Onega and of the Ladoga, and further north there are numerous Russian colonies on the shores of the rivers and of the lakes; they are scattered in the midst of the a[illegible] allogenic populations.

Outside of this territory briefly outlined above, the Russians can be found in groups in certain cities of the Kingdom of Poland, in the interior of Hungary and of Slavonia and in Bulgaria in the colony of Tataritsa*, near Siliste (probably Silistria). They have been established there since the beginning of the eighteen century. At that period the Ataman Nekrasov, a devout Christian, came and settled in this region with his companions. They were called the Nekrasovtsi. As a result of pressure from the Rumanian authorities, the Russians settled in the Dobroudja began to emigrate to Bulgaria. However, in the delta of the Danube there still exist several Russian colonies. They are those of St. Georghe, of Letea, of Svistovka*, of Periprava*, and of Karaorman in the outskirts of Sulina. Another considerable Russian group is found at Tulcea* (5,621 Russians, 4,372 Rumanians, 4,018 Bulgars).

In Asia, the Russians mainly occupy Siberia. Their villages and their towns are located on the navigable waterways and along the new line of the Trans-Siberian Railway. From a statistical viewpoint Siberia is almost entirely Russian; /26/ but in reality it contains immense area which are uninhabited or occupied by the natives. As to the various regions, western Siberia (the region of the Ob and the Irtysh) is almost entirely Russian. The Russian population is concentrated in the south, on the upper Ob, the Irtysh and its tributaries.

Central Siberia (the basins of the Yenisey and of the Angara) contains fewer Russians. They are especially concentrated in the southern provinces, in the neighborhood of Minousinsk, of Krasnoyarsk, and of Irkutsk. The Lena or Yakut part of Siberia contains only 11% Russians. On the other hand, the province of the Amur, the seacoast, and the Russian section of Skhalin are Russian. It is estimated that in the guberniyas of Tobolsk and Tomsk there are 91% Russians; in the Yenisey guberniya and province of the Amur, 86.5%; in the Irkutsk guberniya, 73.6%; in Transbaikalia, 66.2%; along the seacoast 50.9%; on Sakhalin, 65.2%. In the guberniya of Yakutsk, in the north of Siberia, the population is mainly composed of Yakuts; Russians make up only 11% of it and live only in the towns. In central Asia their number is not considerable; 8.9% of the total.

*[In Dobroudja -- Analyst]

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population (25.7% in the towns and 6.6% in the country districts). The Russians are especially concentrated in the north: 33% in the province of Akmolinsk, 25% in that of the Ural, from 7.7% to 10% /27/ in the provinces of Semipalatinsk, Semirech'ye (or Dzhety-Su), Transcaspian, and Turgai; only 3% in that of Syr-Day'ya, 1.6% in that of Samarkand, and 0.6% in that of Fergana.

So far the Steppe of the Kirghiz contains no Russians.

Turkestan numbers 8.9% of them scattered in the large cities and in about one hundred fifty small towns located in the most fertile oases. The southernmost colony is that of Aleksivskoe, 125 kilometers from Herat.

Outside of European and Asiatic Russia, there are a great many Russian emigrants in the large cities of Europe, especially in the colonies of religious heretics in America, in Alaska, in Canada, particularly in the neighborhood of Yorktown, (1) as well as Ukrainians, especially in Brazil and in the Argentine Republic (province of Parana).

1. In 1899 and 1900 about 7,500 Russian Doukhobors settled near Yorktown, Saskatchewan, Canada. --Editor.

The Russians, furthermore, are very numerous in the principal cities of California, and of the States of Washington and Oregon.

Some Russian colonies of Cossacks have also been established in Asia Minor, in the neighborhood of Nicaea and of Sinope.

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S 5. Statistics. -- The territory of the Russian Empire, according to the census of 28 January 1897, contained a total of 83,933,567 Russians, that is to say 66.8% of the population. If we consider that, following Pokrovsky, the population /28/ increases each year by 1.5%, which means 1,250,000 Russians, the increase in the last four years would have amounted to at least 5 million. Therefore, we may venture to estimate for the year 1900 a total of 89 million Russians. If we add to this the Russians of Austria and of Hungary, in accordance with the census of 1900, we obtain the following totals:

In Russia and in Asia	89,000,000
In Austria	3,375,576
In Hungary	429,447
Total for 1900	92,805,023

But this total does not correspond with the facts. In the first place, the Hungarian census reduces the number of Russians. They are

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numbered en masse among the Slovaks or among the Magyars. Therefore it is necessary to increase this total, in accordance with the estimates of the Russians of Hungary themselves, by at least 150,000 individuals. Then one must take into account the Russians who live in various colonies and in the large cities of Europe to the number of at least 150,000, and, on the other hand, those settled overseas, which certainly would add up to more than a million. Russian statistics have figured that from 1890 to 1903 there were 700,000 emigrants to America, Africa and Australia. On the other hand, they have included 40,000 Jews in Galicia who stated that their customary language was Russian. From all indications, the number of Russians at the end of the last century may be evaluated at 94 million.

/29/ /For chart on page 29, see the following page of this manuscript./

/30/ The Russians attained this very large total very rapidly. We do not possess very old data on nationality, but we may base our statement upon the very rapid growth of the population of the Empire. The first census which dates from 1724, gives 14 million souls. Thus in the space of two hundred seventy-six years, to the year 1900, the population increased almost tenfold. In 1796, it was 36 million; in 1851, 69 million. In a half-century it had doubled. Moreover, the population increases much more rapidly in the cities than in the country districts. The ratio of increase between cities and country districts is 51 to 8.

We do not always have completely exact information relating to the various nationalities, especially with respect to the Russians. If we accept the fact of the overwhelming preponderance of the Russians, the figures which concern them frequently have only an approximate value. Throughout the Empire they make up two thirds of the entire population. The highest proportion is to be found in western Siberia (91% and 80.9% for all of Siberia). In European Russia, they represent 80.05%. The principal nucleus of their nation is the region located between the Dnepr, Chudskoye Ozero (Lake Chud'), and the Volga. There they constitute 90% of the total population. In five gubernyas they are below this figure (Saint-Petersburg, 82.5%; Saratov, 83.1%; Penza, 83.1%; Tavrida, 70.9%; Simbirsk, 68.2%). /31/ Twenty-two gubernyas exceed 90%. The gubernyas which are most Russian are those of Vladimir (99.8%), of Kursk, of Kaluga, of Kostroma, of Yaroslavl', of Tula, of Voronezh, of Ryazan', of Orel (more than 99%), of Khar'kov and of Smolensk (more than 98%). That of Moscow numbers 97%. In

1: Niederle--24 E-5 1911 f/6 Slavic Peoples f/6 Tsarist Russia R2

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The Nationalities of Russia

Regions	Russians	Poles	Turko-Tatars	Finns	Jews	Lithuanians	Germans	Kartvellens	Mountaineers	Armenians	Mongols	Various
European Russia	80.%	1.2%	4.9%	3.6%	4.0%	3.0%	1.4%	--	--	0.1%	0.2%	1.6%
Russian Poland	6.7%	71.8%	0.1%	0.1%	13.5%	13.5%	3.3%	--	--	---	--	0.2%
Finland	0.2%	--	--	86.7%	--	--	13.0%	--	--	--	--	0.1%
Total	71.5%	7.5%	4.4%	5.4%	4.7%	2.9%	2.0%	--	--	--	0.2%	1.4%
Caucasus	34.%	0.3%	20.2%	0.1%	0.4%	0.1%	0.6%	14.5%	11.7%	12.%	0.2%	5.9%
Siberia	81.%	0.5%	8.3%	1.1%	0.5%	0.2%	0.1%	--	--	--	6.2%	2.1%
Central Asia	8.9%	0.1%	85.5%	0.2%	0.1%	--	0.1%	--	--	0.1%	0.2%	4.8%
Total	37.3%	0.3%	39.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.1%	0.3%	5.9%	4.8%	4%	1.7%	4.5%
Grand Total	55.5%	6.2%	10.6%	4.5%	3.9%	2.4%	1.6%	1.1%	0.9%	0.9%	0.4%	2%

S.P. T.R. 162 the region of the Caucasus, the guberniya of the Kuban numbers 90.6%, and that of Stavropal 92% Russians.

S.P. T.R. 161 Density of the Population. -- If we exclude Poland, where the density is the greatest (75 inhabitants per square kilometer), the Russian population is expecially concentrated in the Black Earth region (58 inhabitants) and in the Ukraine beyond the Dnepr. The center of the Empire numbers only 43; Byelorussia and the Baltic Provinces, from 26 to 25; New Russia, 24; the region of the Volga, 17; the Ural, 12; and the northern regions, 1 inhabitant per square kilometer.

In the Middle Ages, the center of Russia, otherwise referred to as the Muscovite region, exceeded all of the others in density of population; but this region experienced very little growth before the year 1861. At that time, the emancipation of the serfs created completely new conditions. In the north, the density of population has remained static during the last two centuries. On the contrary, the regions of the south underwent very rapid changes.

/32/ Until the period of Peter the Great, these regions were hardly populated at all because of the perpetual warfare. The guberniya of Smolensk suffered for a very long time from the wars between Russians and Poles. It was from the time of Peter the Great, and especially from that of Catherine, that the population increased rapidly. Thus it increased tenfold in the guberniyas of Kazan and of Azov, while in the region of the Arctic Ocean or of the lakes, it only doubled or trebled. All of this is connected with the historical development and with the progress of colonization.

In accordance with the estimates of 1905, there were (1), 7.7 inhabitants per square verst in the entire Empire, in European Russia, 24.9; in Poland, 95.1; in Siberia, 0.6. The most densely inhabited section is the guberniya of Piotrkow in Poland (153 inhabitants), and the least thickly settled, the government of Yakutsk (0.11 per verst).

1. The verst equals 1.067 meters.

S.P. T.R. 162 Among the Russian-speaking inhabitants, Russia numbers 1.37% nobles and officials, 0.62% ecclesiastics, 0.39% bourgeois, 0.20% merchants; there are 7.38% city dwellers, 86.22% peasants, and 3.35% Cossacks. Among the Great Russians it is estimated that there are 70.35% who are farmers; among the Ukrainians 86.46%, and among

1: Niederle--26 E-5 1911 EK Slavic Peoples E16
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the Belorussians 89.93%.

Among the Russians of Austria, it is figured that there are /sic/ 93.3% /33/ farmers, 25% factory-workers, 1.7% tradesmen, (1) and 2.5% officials.

1. In eastern Galicia trade is for the most part in the hands of the Israelites. Translator.

The greater part of the Russian people live in the country, in villages which on the average number 200 souls. In the areas of the Volga and the Ural, the figure is less than 150 souls; in the Ukraine, the New Russia, and the central Black Earth district, from 400 to 300 souls. In the forest regions, for example in that of Moscow or in the northern part of the Ural, the figure does not exceed 160 souls; in Belorussia and in Lithuania, they are estimated to number from 50 to 100 souls, and in the Baltic Provinces, and 20 souls. In the fertile areas there are large and wealthy villages; in the forest regions, the people prefer the tiny hamlets, the oases of cultivation in the midst of deserts. There, where the villages are the smallest, one finds the largest number of inhabitants per dwelling, for example from 11 to 13 in the Baltic regions, compared with 6.6 in Russia as a whole.

From the standpoint of the sexes, the census of 1907 gives among the Russians 100 men for every 103.4 women. But this proportion varies greatly according to the regions. In general the figures for the country districts are very different from those for the towns: for instance the ratio of women to men in the country is 106.1, while that in the cities is only 85.9; this is /34/ a result of the migration of the men who go to the cities to find work. The differences between reions are very pronounced; of the 50 guberniyas in European Russia, there are 13, mostly, in the south which count a majority of men, 3 where there is a balance of the sexes, and 34 where women are predominant. This pertains especially to central Russia. The guberniya of Yaroslavl'--whose men migrate most frequently, especially to become peddlers--numbers as many as 132 women for every 100 men. In Moscow, there are only 75.5; in Petersburg, 82.6; in Odessa, 86.3.

In Galicia, 99.2 women are found for every 100 men; in Hungary, in the county of Marmaros, 101.1 women. In Russia, 55.9% of the men were unmarried, compared with 52.1% of the women; 40.28% of the men were married, compared with 39.42% of the women; 3.68% widowers, against 8.38% widows; 0.03% divorced men, compared with

S.P. T.R. 162 0.04% divorced women.

S.P. T.R 162 345 In the matter of religion, here are the principal figures for the Russian Empire:

Orthodox	95.48%
Old Believers	2.59%
Catholics and Armenians	1.78%
Protestants	0.5 %
Jews	0.8 %
Mohammedans	0.01%

In Russia, the concepts of Russia and of Orthodoxy are practically identical (except for the area of Kholm /35/ and for Byelorussia). In Austria and in Hungary, the Russians are for the greater part uniates (that is to say, united to the Church of Rome while preserving their own liturgical language and the custom of the marriage of their priests); only about 8% belong to the Eastern Church.

In the Kingdom of Poland, there were enumerated in 1897 78.8% Catholics, 4.4% Protestants, 14% Jews, and only 6.57% Orthodox (4.2% according to the census of 1906).

In the western guberniyas of the Empire, Chubinskii numbered even in 1870, 290,000 Ukrainian Catholics (in the guberniyas of Lublin and Siedliszcze) and he declared that, although they belonged to the Roman Church, they called themselves Russians.

Recently, in the Russian district of Kholm, a certain number of individuals considered to be Orthodox, following the edict concerning religious liberty (17 April 1905), declared themselves to be Caltholics. Frantsev estimates at 300,000 the number of conversions during the last three years. Thus the number of Ukrainian Catholics has considerably increased. On the other hand, there are some Catholic Byelorussians in Kurland, in the guberniyas of Vitebsk, Pskov, Suwalki, and Grodno, and in western Galicia there are many localities where a portion of the population is Catholic though claiming Russian as their mother tongue. Professor Floriinsky /36/ recently estimated the number of Russian Catholics at a million and a half.

S.P. T.R. 161 Movement of the Population. --The annual marriage rate, which especially permits an appreciation of the vitality of the nation, is higher in Russia than anywhere else. It is 9 per 1,000; the number of births is about 48 per 1,000 (3.4 % of which are

1: Niederle--28 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
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S.P. T.R 161 (illegitimate children). The death rate is 34 per 1,000. This is indeed a large number, but the number of births greatly surpasses it. The annual population increase is 1.5%, being about 2 million souls. The proportion is not the same in all the regions. Those in which the increase is the most considerable are New Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. Those in which it is the least are the Baltic region and the earea about Moscow. In European Russia--excluding Finland, Poland, and the Caucasus--the annual increase has been figured at 1.41%. In 1900, it rose as high as 1.83%.

S.P. T.R. 166 Emigration and immigration are for Russia phenomena of no importance. What is much more important is the movement of the population within the Empire. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a strong centrifugal movement towards the south and east was to be observed. Very large masses, especially from southern Russia, /37/ were moving constantly towards New Russia, the regions beyond the Volga, the southern Ural, Siberia, Turkestan, etc. The emigration of Great Russians towards the south is of special interest from the viewpoint of the Ukrainian problem.

S.P. T.R. 167 Emigration to overseas countries has been carried on mainly through German ports. It is particularly directed towards America. To the present it has been of very slight importance, if one considers the immense size of the nation. However, it has been increasing constantly. From 1893 to 1902, it was at the rate of 30,000 persons per year during the first five year period, and of 45,000 per year during the last five years; in 1903, it exceeded 72,000 persons. The greatest number of them migrated to North America (94.3% in 1903). The others went to Argentina (the Parana), to Africa (beginning in 1903) and to Canada.

S.P. T.R. 212 The education of the people is still only slightly developed. If one excludes Poland and Finland, there are to be found only about 22.9% literate (32.6% men and 13.7% women). In Poland, the proportion is 30.5% (34.2% for men, 26.8% for women). More than 30% are found in the Finnish guberniyas, and especially in those which have large cities, Esthonia (79%), Livonia (77.5%), Kurland (70.9%), St. Petersburg (55.1%), Moscow (40.2%), Kovno (41.9%), Warsaw (39.1%), Suwalki (37.4%), Yaroslavl' (36.2%), /38/ Plock (33.5%), the Black Sea guberniya (31.2%), Siedlec (30%), Piotrków (30.9%). In 24 guberniyas the figure is less than 20% and even less than 15% in several others (those of Penza and of Pskov).

1: Niederle--29 E-5 1911 EKSlavic Peoples E16
Tsarist Russia R2

S.P. T.R. 212 If one eliminates from the population the children below the age of nine, the number of literates rises to 41% for Poland and 30% for Russia. In 1897, in the area where Russian is spoken, 29.6% literate men and 9.34% women were estimated, which gives an average of 19.78%. In Austria, the Russians are also very poorly educated. The Austrian statistics of six years ago figured that there were only 21.8% literate persons among the Russians and Ruthenians. They, therefore, occupy the lowest rank among the Austrian Slavs, just as the Russians do among the civilized peoples of their Empire.

S.P. T.R. 619 S. 6. Differentiaton Within the Nation.--

The Russians, like the other great nations, have never formed a completely homogeneous people. From the first centuries of their history, a series of distinct and more or less divergent units appear, and, even after their grouping into a single political nation under the name of Russia, the former shadings of difference did not disappear. In part they cancelled each other out, they assumed new forms, a new development, /39/ and in some instances they became even more pronounced. This sharpening of differences became so pronounced during the last century that many people were unwilling to recognize a single Russian nation, but insisted that there were two nations: the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, and alongside them, a third national unit, less distinct it is true and less developed, the Belorussians.

000 I have explained above (S. 3)[1] how this tri-partition of the Russian realm took place. Putting aside for the moment the question of linguistics, I shall content myself with pointing out only what are today the internal and external affinities of these groups, wherein today lie the tendencies which, for political or scientific reasons, claim to make of them, instead of a single Russian nation, two peoples, the Great Russian and the Little Russian, otherwise called Ukrainian.

S.P. T.R. 197 The relationships of the three Russian groups have been studied particularly from a linguistic viewpoint. But it would be an error to believe that it is only a question of shades of dialect. There are verified differences in the domestic life of the people, in character and physical appearance, in historic traditions. However, language affords us with the element most susceptible of analysis, and it is from a linguistic point of view that the three groups may thus be distinguished:

1 [Cf. cit. 116, pp. 11-17 -- Analyst]

According to Sobolevskii and Karskii, the territory of Great

S.P. T.R. 197 Russia is separated from the Byelorussian area by a belt of intermediate dialects which /40/ runs across Opotchka and Velikye Luki in the guberniya of Pskov, passes through the guberniyas of Tver, Smolensk, and Chernigov; the southern portion of the guberniya of Tver, practically all of the guberniya of Smolensk, and the northern portion of the guberniya of Chernigov, bounded by the line of Rzhev, Briansk, Novgorod Seversk, and Chernigov, are purely or primarily Belorussian.

At Novgorod Seversk is located the junction, the point of contact where the Great Russian and Belorussian dialects meet the Ukrainian.

The Ukrainians and the Belorussians are separated by a line which runs from the Narev through Proujany, Luninets, to the Pripet River, and then follows this stream, except in the Mozyr area inhabited by the Belorussians, to the junction point which we just mentioned.

It is rather difficult to determine with precision the boundary between the Ukraine and Great Russia. It runs, roughly speaking, from Krolovets, crossing the southwestern portions of the guberniyas of Chernigov and Kursk in the direction of the city of Soudja; passing through Oboian and Stary-Oskol, it goes towards Korotoyak on the Don, runs along the Don, and then turns towards the Donets. The northern portion of the territory of the Don is inhabited by Great Russians, the southern portion is mixed. In the eastern part of the guberniya of Khar'kov there is a Great Russian island.

The Caucasus region is extremely variegated; the /41/ Great Russians occupy the territory of the Cossacks of the Terek and the basin of the Volga; they also colonized the greater part of Siberia where other nationalities may also be found. Besides, Great Russian colonies are scattered throughout the Ukraine; in turn, colonies of Ukrainians are to be found in the guberniyas of Saratov, Samara, Astrakhan, Vologda and beyond the Ural.

The Great Russians are advancing particularly in the direction of Khar'kov. This city belonged to the Ukrainians at the beginning of the nineteenth century; today it numbers 58% Great Russians and 25% Ukrainians.

S.P. T.R. 161 197 S 7.--It is extremely difficult to estimate the strength of the three groups, considering the manner in which the censuses have previously been made in the Russian Empire. According to the census of 1897, 55,667,469 inhabitants stated that they spoke Great Russian (but in what geographic areas?), 5,885,547 Belorussian, and 22,380,551

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Ukrainian. If we take into account the annual increase of 1.5% during the four following years, we will then obtain the following figures for the close of the year 1900:

Great Russians	(approx.)	59,000,000
Belorussians	(approx.)	6,200,000
Ukrainians	(approx.)	23,700,000

To the latter, one must add almost all the Russians /42/ of Austria-Hungary, that is 3,805,023 (leaving out the 40,000 Jews who state that they are Ukrainians), and 500,000 who live in foreign countries. We will then have for the close of the year 1900 a total of 28 million. But the Ukrainian statisticians declare that this figure is too low and estimate that it should be much larger. Thus, very recently, for the year 1905, Mr. Nechuj-Levitskyj figures--for the entire world--37,206,000 Ukrainians, 31,174,000 of whom are in European Russia. We cannot accept these figures, but will admit of a total of 30 million.

Gnatiuk, at the end of the last century, estimated 30 million; Hrushevskyj, in 1906, 34 million; Karsky, for 1903, conceded about 8 and a half million Belorussians.

S 8.--The dialectal and ethnographic differentiation is not confined to these three principal groups. Within each of them there are to be found smaller groups which bear historic names or popular nicknames.

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These differences appear especially among the Ukrainians, where not only do the philologists find new dialects, but where history and the people themselves mark out a whole series of names, where certain peoples (as for example the Gorals of the Carpathians) have so unusual a physiognomy that one asks oneself if they do not have a peculiar origin, perhaps non-Slavic.

Chubinskii, in his extremely valuable collection /43/ of ethnog ethnography, recognizes three types among the Ukrainians of southern Russia: the Polesian, the Ukrainian, the Podolo-Galician.

The first, that of the Poliechouks (Polexiani of the ancient chronicles), inhabitants of the Polesie (1), in the southern portion of the

1. Polesie, the region which skirts the forest. Tr:

districts of Kiyev, of Radomysl, in the Volhynia from the northeast to the river Goryn', in a portion of the gubernyas of Siedlec and of Grodno which make up the Podlasie.

1: Niederle--32 E-5 1911 E/6 Slavic Peoples E/6
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S.P. T.R. 101 197 The inhabitants of the district of Pinsk call themselves the Pintchouks. They live to the north of the Goryn' River, on both banks of the Styr', beyond the Turya and the Pripet, and to the north of the Pina connect up with the Podliachiens of the gubernia of Grodno.

S.P. T.R. C. 101 We find another Ukrainian type west of the Dnepr, in the gubernia of Kiyev, the central region of the Volhynia and the southwest of the Podolia. It is that of the Cossacks or Zaporozhians.

SP TR 197 They have presented and still present today an ethnographic oddity. There has been much discussion as to the origin of those fighting and trading associations which in the constant warfare against the Tatars and the Turks developed an ethnic individuality, especially from the point of view of their domestic life and social organization.

/44/ The ancient theories which represent them as being of foreign origin are certainly incorrect; it is certain that the Cossacks are of Russian origin. In accordance with the region in which their associations were founded and set up, they are distinguished today as Cossacks of the Kuban, of the Don, of the Terek, of the Ural, etc. Their types are different. Thus the Cossacks of the upper Don who speak Great Russian are blond, the Cossacks of the lower Don who speak Ukrainian are, in great majority, very dark. The census of 1905 reported, for European and Asiatic Russia, 3,700,000 Cossacks who live in the Cossack provinces of the Don, of Orenburg (Chkalov), of the Kuban, of the Terek, of Astrakhan, of the Amur, of Transbaikalia, of the Seacoast, of Akmolinsk, of Semipalatinsk, of the Ural. Aside from the Russian Cossacks, there are also allogenic Cossacks, for example the Buriat Cossacks of Transbaikalia, the Kalmuk Cossacks of the Don, the Turkish Cossacks of the territories of Orenburg (Chkalov and of the Ural, the Mordvinian Cossacks of the territories of Akmolinsk and of Orenburg (Chkalov).

S.P. T.R. 101 197 In addition to the names of Cossacks and of Zaporozhians, one could come across not so long age the names of Stepoviks for the inhabitants of the southern steppes, of Poberezhtsi (river-dwellers) for the inhabitants of the southern part of the present Podolia, and of Volyntsi for those of the western portion of the district of Berdichev (gubernia of Kiyev) and of certain sections of Podolia.

/45/ To a third type belong the inhabitants of western Volhynia and of Galicia: on the frontiers of Galicia and of Poland they are called Rusini or Rusniaks. In the region of the Carpathians they also have a multitude of local names: Bukovinians, Krainians, Hrivniaks, Opolanes,

S.P. T.R. 101 197 Galicians, L'vovians and others, derived from the name of the locality which they inhabit. The principal element are the Gorals (mountaineers, from the word gora, mountain) of the Carpathians, who are also called Verkhovintsi (from verkh, summit). Four principal tribes are distinguished among these Russians: in the west, the Lemki, on the two slopes of the Beskid mountains, especially in the districts of Sandets, Jaslo and Sanok; the Boiki, neighbors of the former, to the west of the San; the Tukholtsi, farther to the south, from the district of Sambor to the district of Stanislavov; and still further in the mountains, in the district of Kolomyja, of Stanislavov, in Bukovina, and in the Hungarian county of Marmaros, the Hutsuli (Huculi) are met with, who call themselves Christians, Rusniaks, or Russian people.

S.P. T.R. R. 101 197 Among the Russian population of the Bukovina, three types may be distinguished: the Podolians or Polianes, the Hutsuli and the Lipovani. The latter are religious heretics who left Russia in the eighteenth century.

S.P. T.R. R. [144] The Hutsuli are a very peculiar and interesting tribe, an enigma of Slavic ethnology. /46/ They have given rise to all sorts of hypotheses. Ivan Vagilevitch links them with the Turkish Ouzes, Koshkov to the Thracians or to the Scythians; more recently Volkov looked for their origins in the Caucasus. Some accept a strong intrusion of foreign elements into the primitive Slavic element, while others consider them to be Slavs of pure blood. They are remarkable for their fine stature, for the antiquity and the richness of their customs, for their artistic sense, for their picturesque costume, but also for their lack of intellectual culture which places them in the lowest rank among the Slavs. It is estimated that 93% of them are still illiterate. The name Hutsuli is probably of Rumanian origin (goc, plus the Rumanian article ul). The names Boiki and Lemki are surnames given by their neighbors because of their use of the words lem and boi. Vagilevitch has seen in the Lemki--without good reason, however,--the remains of vanished Celts. In 1890 Shukhevych estimated their number at 60,000. (1)

S.P. T.R. R. [212]

S.P. T.R. R. [161]

1. A. Sobolevsky found the names Hutsuli and Boiki again in the Gulatsi and the Butsi of the guberniya of Kiyev (district of Tcherkassk). And he used this connection to support his theory on the arrival of Carpathian Russians at Kiyev after the Tatar invasion.

S.P. T.R. 101 177 Among the Belorussians dialectical shadings and local names of tribes can also be found; for example, the Polianes in the district of Slonim, the Siekals or Sakals in that of /47/ Wolkowysk. Among the Great Russians, despite the immense size of the space occupied by them, intercourse has always remained easy because of the evenness of the ground; no considerable differences in speech nor types, as pronounced as among the Ukrainians, have established themselves. However, there are to be found among them also local names due most frequently to differences in dialect. Thus, in the guberniya of Voronezh one finds the Iaguny, the Kaguny*, the Tsukany*, the Shchekuni*, the Talagai*; in the government of Kursk, the Saiany. In the government of Kaluga, the inhabitants of the western section of the district of Mosal'sk and of the districts of Bryansk and of Trubchevsk (guberniya of Orel) call themselves Polieshi*, and the inhabitants of the eastern section of the district of Mosal'sk, the Polianes. The inhabitants of the north bank of the Desna are called the Zadesentsy (Transdesniens) by the Ukrainians. Likewise, many names are used which are derived from those of cities, Muscovites, Novgorodians, etc.).

S.P. T.R. 141 § 9.--This differentiation of types is partly confirmed by the anthropological method. The Ukrainians of the south, indeed, set themselves off from the Belorussians and the Great Russians, not only by their manner of wearing their hair and their beard, but even by their bodily structure. Thus, we find in the south more brachycephalics, with darker coloring and taller stature than among /48/ the Great Russians and the Belorussians. But, on the other hand, these groups themselves are of far from perfect uniformity. Quite the contrary. What is known up to the present in the matter of the physical study of the Russian types shows rather outstanding variations among local groups, variations which are greater than, for example, the average difference between the Great Russian, the Ukrainian, and the Belorussian groups.

In general, if we refer to the anthropological signs gathered by A. Ivanovsky, here is what we can ascertain:

Among the Russians, the average height is about 1.65 meters. Among the Great Russians, 51% are found to be shorter, and 49% taller than this; among the Belorussians, 36% shorter, 64% taller; among the Ukrainians, 47% shorter, 53% taller.

S.P. T.R. 142 In the matter of the color of the eyes and the hair, the Slavs of Russia belong for the most part to a mixed type. It is only among the Belorussians that the pure blond type dominates (48%, against 31%

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chestnut, and 2% dark). Among the Great Russians, the following proportions are found: 37%, 41%, 22%; among the Ukrainians, 30%, 42%, 28%. Thus the Ukrainians have a greater leaning towards the darker type; but there are considerable differences within the group; for example, the proportions in Volhynia, according to Kozhukov are, 42%, 29%, 29%.

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/49/ Among the Great Russians, the lightest in coloring are those of Tver and of Yaroslavl', the darkest, those of the eastern guberniyas. From the point of view of the cephalic index, there are found among the Great Russians 9% dolichocephalic, 19% mesocephalic, and 72% brachycephalic. The corresponding percentages found among the Ukrainians are: 12%, 16%, 72%. Among the Belorussians there percentages are: 13%, 23%, 64%. There are further important variations. Thus the Ukrainians of the north are mainly brachycephalic; but a very considerable portion of dolichocephalics is to be found at Voronezh, at Poltava, in Volhynia.

No section of Russia furnishes so many dolichocephalics and mesocephalics as the Volhynia, peopled by Ukrainians (31% and 34%).

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In the same way the Gorals of the Carpathians present a type very distinct from that of the inhabitants of the plain. But here are the same phenomena which we observe among their neighbors the Poles. A contributing factor to the confusion of types is, among the Great Russians, cross-breeding with the Finns of the Volga; and among the Ukrainians, cross-breeding with the Turko-Tatar peoples.

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S 10.--All of these groups, large and small, differ from one another. But no difference is more pronounced than that between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. The distinctions between the diverse tribes in the large groups /50/ are really only secondary. They are variations in dialect, in costume, in their manner of living. The difference between the Great Russians and the Belorussians is not more considerable than this, or at least appears not to be; the philologists are in agreement in stating that the Belorussians are a division of the Great Russians, or at least a very closely related branch.

Between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians the difference is greater. It exists not only in their speech, but in their physical and moral constitution, their character, temperament, popular songs,

S.P. T.R. 181 mores and customs. And this difference is further emphasized by their historical careers and in these latter years by their political divergences. These divergences go so far that they sometimes result in a rupture of S.P. T.R. 181 186 all of the ties of kinship. The representatives of the intellectual class among the Ukrainians are unwilling to consider themselves as Russians, as a nation of the same origin and of the same character as the Russians. They tear the unity of the Russian world into two segments, into two nations: the one located to the north is made upof the Great Russians, the Russians Kat'eksokhln, /among the foreigners/ otherwise called Rossiani, the Moskali or the Moskvichi. The others, the people of the south, are the Little Russians, the Yugorusi (1), or, /51/ according

1. Russians of the south.

to a more recent appellation, the Ukrainians.

S.P. T.R. 101 Up until now there is no agreement as to the names to be used. The Great Russians and the foreigners, conforming to tradition, most frequently use the expressions: Great Russians, Little Russians, bearing in mind the historic name of Little Russia (excepting Galicia and Vladimir). The appellation of Iugorusi is less frequently encountered (for example in Pypin and in Kostomarov). The Little Russians do not care for these two names and forsome time have preferred that of Ukrainians. The Galicians employ the term Rusin with the adjective 'ruski' opposed to Rossianin, 'rossisky' for the Great Russians. This name has been adopted beyond the Russian borders, but it has not been accepted within them. The Gorals of Galicia willingly call themselves Rusniaks. The Germans, following the Latin, use the form 'Ruthenian' S.P. T.R. 578 186 which also has been admitted into French. The conflicts between the two nationalities have engendered ironic and insulting appellations. Thus the Ukrainians call the Great Russians "Katsapy" (Goat-head, because of their beard) or Khazars, and the latter call the Ukrainians "Khokli" (from Khokhol, "top-knot," because of the manner in which the Cossacks formerly dressed their hair).

Thus there is conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. This interesting conflict has very old and quite /52/natural causes. The differentiation between the Russians of the north and of the south occurred a long time ago; it has developed little by little, but without pause. Furthermore, there have been grievances and misunderstandings for a very long time between Great Russia and the Ukraine, and their entire life has been completely distinct throughout

S.P. T.R. 578 186 centuries. However, formerly the conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, did not exist in its present day sense. On the contrary, the two parts had a sense of kinship, or even of unity, as may be seen in an examination of the motives for which Bohdan Khmelnitskyj gave himself to Moscow and to Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (in 1653), after detaching the Ukraine from Poland.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 The conflict[1] between the two Russian nations did not in fact break out until the Nineteenth Century.

Its basic causes were:

1. The efforts of the Ukrainians to create or to revive a language and a literature of their own.

2. A whole series of scientific discussions upon the question as to what were the connections between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, especially from a linguistic and an anthropological viewpoint.

Finally and above all:

3. The actual political and social status of the Ukrainians in the Empire and the general development in these latter years of social and democratic ideas.

/53/ Thus today the conflict is moving more and more from the literary and scientific field into the political field.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 538 The conflict began in 1798, when J.P. Kotljarevs'kji published in Ukrainian his Aeneid. From that date on there has been a great effort to create an indigenous literature. But these tendencies were quickly opposed by the government, which feared that this literary separatism might be prejudicial to national unity. And upon various occasions, especially in 1847, 1863, and 1876, it was forbidden to print or publish, save for a few rare exceptions, books in Ukrainian. But the result of these prohibitions was completely opposite from that which was intended. The tendencies toward literary emancipation asserted themselves so much the more strongly as they were more rigorously suppressed, and they found favorable soil in eastern Galicia, which belongs, as we know, to Austria.

S.P. T.R. 197 314 329 On the other hand, the conflict,[1] strengthened by the scientific discussions concerning the ties between the two nations, became aggravated. There were arguments about the antiquity of the Ukrainian idiom, especially in the Kiyev region, about the question of

[1] [Between Great Russians and Ukrainians, cf. ch. 116, pp. 35-37. Ed.]

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determining who had produced the earliest Russian annals and the first Russian literature in the State of Kiyev. These polemics took place especially between 1850 and 1860; they were marked by the works of Sreznevskii, of Lavrovskii, and particularly of Pogodin, who pretended to demonstrate that up to the fourteenth century /54/ Kiyev had been occupied by the Great Russians, the initiators of the history and the literature of the region, and that the Ukrainians had not come from the Carpathians until after the Tatar conquest. This theory found opponents among the historians of the Ukraine; it was revived later with much greater energy (in 1883) from a linguistic point of view by Sobolevskii, and refuted with no less vigor by the historians Dashkevich, Antonovitch, Grouchevsky, A. Iablononskii, and the philologists V. Jagić, A. Shakhmatov, A. Krymskyj, A. Kolessa, A. Loboda, etc.

Naturally, no one limited himself to the question of discovering when the Ukrainians first settled in Kiyev. They also studied the degrees of kinship of the two idioms. Was there only a single Russian language with two dialects, or must two different languages be recognized? These debates, in which the principal Russian and Slavic philologists participated, oddly favored the theory which tended to separate the two groups and to widen the chasm which was being dug between them.

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But these theoretical polemics were not confined to the linguistics with which they dealt more and more frequently, and with a constant recourse to scholarly apparatus. Maksimovich had already declared that not only two languages, but two national types must be recognized in Russia; but he did not clearly formulate his doctrine. It was Kostomarov who ventured to do this and /55/ who produced a veritable revolution. He was followed by an entire series of anthropologists.

Maksimovich had not succeeded in formulating a precise distinction: Kostomarov succeeded in this in the article entitled: "The two Russian nationalities" published by the review Osnova (the Basis) in 1861. In this he pointed out the differences of history, of language, of customs, of character, of physical appearance, and he laid down this theory: that there are not only two Russian languages, but also two nationalities which differ completely the one from the other, and which history alone has united into a single unit.

This theory of Kostomarov had great success; it was developed

1: Niederle--39 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples E16
Tsarist Russia R2

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and led to the following conclusion: Of the two nationalities only one, that of the Ukrainians, is purely Slav; the peoples who live to the north and to the east of the Dvina and the Dnepr are not Slavs, but Finns, Tatars, or Turani more or less affected by Slavic influences, whose entire organization, and whose absolutist govemment in particular, are Asiatic in origin and character.

This conclusion, which the inventors of the theory of the two nationalities had scarcely suspected, found favorable soil, in particular among the Polish victims of the ill-omened revolution of 1863. And it was through their emigration that the doctrine of the two Russias, the one Slavic, the other Turanian, was propagated. Among the propagators of this doctrine, let us mention only the /56/ names of Dushinskii and of his wife Severina Duchinska, of Buszczynski and of the French historian Henri Martin. (1)

1. Several times I have had the opportunity of expressing myself on these theories and on the misuse which Dushinskii and his disciples claim has been made of them. See especially La Revue des Cours letteraires (year 1868) and my Souvenirs d'um Slavophile (pp. 20-25, Paris, Hachette, 1905). Translator.

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This theory did not find as favorable soil among the Ukrainians; but it has been accepted in various ways, and it explains to us the epithet, Khazars, (2) which is sometimes given to the Great Russians;

2. The Khazars, formerly Kozares, a Scythian people according to the Russian Chronicle said to be by Nestor. See my translation of this chronicle (page 325). Translator.

this epithet apparently came from completely inaccurate ideas as to the origin of the Great Russians. The anthropologists have treated the question in a more scientific manner by indicating the considerable differences which exist between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. The Ukrainians are for the most part brachycephalic and of dark complexion, while the Great Russians are generally of light complexion; at the same time it is demonstrated that dark brachycephalic type is the pure Slavic type (Volkov, Taylor). But this theory, although it has a certain amount of data in its favor, cannot be considered as proven. There is another one, which considers the Belorussian and Great Russian type as the true type of the Slavs; and this theory has in its favor at least as many arguments to /57/ make it worthy of belief. And the differences that arise within each of the two groups

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S.P. T.R. 144 829 are frequently greater than those which exist between them. (1)

1. Furthermore, I am quite willing to admit the existence of two pre-European types in various localities within primitive Slavia. In the period when these two types were pure, there were not yet any Slavs in Europe. When the Slavs appeared, the two types had already crossed with each other; one of them predominated in a certain region the other, in another region. But the original one remained predominant; new arguments are constantly supporting this theory. (Note of the author).

S.P. T.R. 668 These, then, are the conditions in, and the influences under which, the conflicts burst forth, the result of which we see today. The intellectuals of the Ukraine flatly declare that they make up a distinct Slavic nation: and for this "Ukrainian" nation they demand all of the natural rights which may insure its preservation and development. For them the exercise of these rights should not be confined to securing schools in which the teaching is conducted in Ukrainian, or to the free expansion of their literature, but should extend to the recognition of their political autonomy. The moderate and practical patriots, bearing in mind the existing conditions, are content to demand autonomy within the Empire. The radicals are naturally more exigrent. They think that the present organization of the Russian State will not last. They count upon a dismemberment, they dream of the creation of an independent Ukraine, organized upon democratic and socialistic principles.

000 /58/ Should I venture to express frankly my opinion upon this conflict and upon the probable outcome of these tendencies? I am among those who believe it natural and equitable that the Russian government should satisfy the legitimate demands of the Ukrainians. But I do not hesitate in declaring that, despite the differences which have been exaggerated, there are so many common features in the history, the tradition, the faith, the language, and the culture of the two peoples--not to mention their common origin--that, to a distant and impartial observer, they are only two segments of a single and unique Russian people.

From the Slavic point of view, and even from the Russian point of view, we hope that this unity may be preserved in relation to outsiders and as far as possible in the political, literary, and linguistic life, while at the same time the needs and political demands of the two parties may be respected. We wish this at least in the field of fine literature. Until the close of the eighteenth century the language was a common one and the greatest writers of the nineteenth century have brought honor to the two groups.

1 [Great Russian - Ukrainian Conflict, cf. cot. nb, pp. 35-39 - Analyst]

000 Of course this unity must be the product of reciprocal agreement, of a mutual understanding, and not of constraint or of force. The form of this agreement will be discovered by the leaders of the two parties when the memory of oppressions and persecutions is erased. And then,--as we like to hope--a ground for agreement will be found for a union both internal and /59/ towards the foreigner, while the two individualities will be preserved, as Kostomarov already hoped for. Then perhaps the apt words of Gogol will be realized. He wrote in 1844 to Mrs. Smirnov: "May the different strengths of the two races develop in such a manner that, when unified, they may produce something exquisite for humanity."

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II
THE POLES

S.P. P. 101 S 11. Historical Introduction--The Poles constitute today the most important portion of the western group. They are the only people of whom it may be said that they have been established from time immemorial in the same region (between the Oder, the Carpathians, and the sea) and that they are the least remote from their cradle. They S.P. [97] have always occupied a central position from a geographic point of view, among the other Slav peoples, and the philologists assert that their language holds an analogous place among the Slavic idioms.

We know hardly anything about the ethnography of present-day Poland in antiquity. Even Ptolemy scarcely sheds any light upon the Poles. Many people would like to see the Poles in his Boulanes (Boulanes, but the preferable reading is Poulanes). Beginning with the ninth century of the Christian era, we have a little more light; but for want of documents we are unable to determine the boundaries of the Polish domain; on the other hand, we are not sufficiently informed /62/ of the character of certain tribes living upon the shores of the Baltic or to the southwest. At this period the Polish nation was probably not united; but it already stood out from the other Slavs and was designated by the name of Liakhs (or Lekhs). This is the name which they bear in the Kiyev Chronicle (1). Today,--if we lay aside the literary use of the

1. See my Chronique de Nestor, p. 328. Translator.

word Lekh,--it is used in practice only for the people who are settled in the plain of western Galicia, between the Biala, Vistula, and San

S.P. P. 101 Rivers, and the Carpathians. The Gorals also use this word to designate the country and people of Poland.

Towards the close of the tenth century, as far as we know, the Lekh people consisted of the following tribes:

The Polianes primitively settled on the Warta, the Notec (today in German, Netze) near the lake of Goplo and as far as the Oder.

The Vislanes on the upper Visla (Vistula).

The Mazovi on the two banks of the middle Vistula.

The Kuiavi at the bend of the Vistula, near Thorn.

The Slezani (Silesians) on the upper Oder and to the east as far as the other side of the Bobra. They included the tribes of the Didoshi, the Bobrani, the Bezunchani, the Opolani and the Holasici.

S.P. P. 101 175 /63/ What were the ties of kinship between the Polish tribes and the Slavs of the seacoast, the Pomoriani (1) (between the lower Vistula, the Oder and the Notec) and the Lutitsi to the west on the Varnava and the Elbe? It would be difficult to determine them. The old writer of the Kiyev annals, in the indications which he gives us of the country inhabited by the Poles, relates these peoples to the Lekhs. Here is what he says: "For these Slavs coming to settle on the Vistula called themselves Lekhs and among these Lekhs certain of them called themselves Polianes, Lekhs, some Lutitsi, some Mazovi, others Pomoriani."

1. It is from this name (po, along the, more, sea) that Pommern is derived, the German name of Pomerania now Germanized.

All these tribes subjected themselves to the Polianes of the center under the princes of the Piast dynasty and accepted their name. It is not known when this unification took place. We only know that the principal authors of it were the princes Mesek I (960-992) and Boleslav the Brave (992-1025).

SP. P. 175 648 Unity was not accomplished at the outset; it was achieved by the development of internal colonization.

At the beginning, the regions of Little Poland and of the Mazovia were sparsely inhabited. The foreign element which hastened this unification, was obviously the Germans against whom it was necessary to carry on warfare from the time when they subjugated and annihilated the Slavs of the Elbe (eleventh and twelfth centuries).

The struggle against the Germans exercised among the Poles, as among the Czechs, a considerable influence upon their internal and

* [Between the different Polish tribes, cf. Above and page 41, category 116 — Analyst]

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175 external development. From their primitive homeland located in the
648 basins of the Oder, of the Warta, and of the Vistula, they sought to spread out in all directions. But they encountered in the west the resistance of the Germans; they were unable to overcome it; they were even compelled to give way and they sought to assure their existence and expansion by constant fights and invasions against the Prussians, the Lithuanians, and the Russians. Obviously, the Poles clearly recognized that one of their first tasks was to maintain in the north a wide passageway to the sea and in the west, their frontier on the Oder, if not on the Elbe. Unfortunately all of the advantages, all of the conquests which they gained in this direction were of a purely ephemeral character. A terrible blow fell upon them through the Tatar invasion and through the battle of Legnica--/in German--Liegnitz/ (1241). It broke the bonds which united Silesia with Poland and threw this province into the arms of Germany, who began to Germanize it. Another check was the summons of the Teutonic Knights into the country of Chelm
P and of Loba (1226) which facilitated the Germanization of the seacoast.
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[563] Finally, let us point out the German colonization which the ecclesiastical or lay princes invoked, beginning with the thirteenth century, in Silesia, into Little Poland, Great Poland and Mazovie; these colonies did not become assimilated and remained completely German in language and customs. Thus a grave peril for Polish nationality was created and developed. "Exterminare idioma Polonicum" /exterminate the Polish language/ became the order of the day for the Germans on the western frontier. Beginning with the thirteenth century, the Polish nationality appeared to be gravely compromised.

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175 However, it succeeded in escaping from this peril.[1] The clergy
668 showed themselves to be highly patriotic; literature was born and exercised a happy influence upon all classes of society. The Hussite movement also exercised its influence in Poland against the Germans. The dynasty followed a national political line. It accomplished noteworthy successes,
P especially over the Teutonic Knights, who were defeated at Grunwald
SP in 1410. In truth, the provinces beyond the Oder and to the north
175 could not be saved. The Poles lost three-quarters of their primitive
648 668 domain; but what they lost in the west, they attempted to regain in the east, that is toward the northeast, and toward the southeast. This double direction was imposed upon them by the very nature of the terrain; in the center, the basin of the Pripet presented an inhospitable and insurmountable area; to the south rose the barrier of the Carpathians. The Polish flood had to direct itself on the one hand towards Lithuania,

1 [Germanization of the Polish nationality beginning with the 13th Century -- Analyst]

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on the other, towards the Ukraine, and this double march characterized a new phase of Polish history.

The offensive movement was begun at an early date, /66/ but it achieved no serious result until the Union of Lublin (1569) when Lithuania was rejoined to Poland together with a large section of southern Russia (see above in S. 3).*

Kazimir had already occupied Red Russia in 1340, and in 1370 the Galician area was detached from the political control of Kiyev.

In Lithuania Polish institutions and language gained the upper hand over the native institutions and language; the upper classes of society took on Polish ways, and Polish colonization penetrated into the country, especially in Polesia. The same occurred in Galician Russia, the Volhynia and Podolia. The Poles were unable to hold Russian Galicia except by making it a base of operations for invading the basins of the Dnestr and the Bug. In the fifteenth century they colonized Podolia and Volhynia, and carried on this enterprise through the sixteenth century. Bobrinskii (1) claims that at this period this

1. A contemporary Polish historian. See my Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire de Pologne in the 3d series of the Monde Slave (Paris, Hachette, 1902). Translator.

province was half Polish! To these attempts at colonization was joined a religious action, the "union" of Polish-Lithuanian Russia with Rome.

During that time the Russian princes, emancipated from the Tatar yoke, had formed at Moscow a new and formidable political center. They /67/ had undertaken to group about them all of the Russian countries. We do not need to explain here how this plan was carried out. Moscow naturally entered upon a struggle with Poland: the war at first had as its object the Lithuanian provinces, then the Ukraine and finally Poland proper. It went steadily against Poland and finally resulted in the three partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795.

These events naturally had an ominous influence upon the development of the Polish national group; the conquests of the Poles were annulled and with them all of the Polish colonization of Russian territory. The states which divided up the Polish domain among themselves had for some time the idea of annihilating the Polish nation. But the vital force of this nation, its great traditions and its high hopes for the

*[cf. E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, p. 16, category 116-Analyse]

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future, preserved it and even strengthened it so that its adversaries themselves had partially to renounce their intentions.

The struggle which the Polish national group has undergone for its existence since the fall of the Republic has been extremely painful and still is so today, especially the struggle against the Germans.

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When the Congress of Vienna in 1815 perpetuated and revised the partition, it annexed to Russia the Duchy of Warsaw and set up the realm which the Poles call "Kongressowka." It guaranteed to the Poles their nationality and their autonomy. /68/ At first they enjoyed these benefits; but beginning in 1830 the situation changed. The revolution of Warsaw was smothered in blood. An the anti-Polish reaction which already existed in Russia became only more pronounced. The unhappy revolution of 1863 brought about the enslavement and the misery of Poland. Russianization was carried out with eagerness, and it required a terrible blow struck at the governmental system--the unfortunate war with Japan--to permit Poland to breathe a little more freely. The advent of the constitutional regime and the institution of the Parliament provided her with the possibility of making known her miseries, and we can hope that at the present moment, they will, at least in the Russian Empire, receive satisfaction.

The situation in Prussia is more serious. There arose, before 1775, a new and intensive movement of German colonization, especially in the basin of the Netze, and, after the insurrection of 1830, a political evolution which tended very simply to Germanize the Polish element. The attempted insurrection of 1845 and the events of 1848 gave this policy an opportunity to assert itself. At the beginning neither force nor violence was used. The Prussian government was convinced that the Polish element would eliminate itself little by little. The census of 1870 proved the contrary. Bismark then had recourse to new methods. He strove to uproot the Polish nation and had /69/ recourse to the most violent means. Certainly, in Russia the Poles were not comfortable; but in the Empire such violent measures, such refined ones as the Prussians thought up had not been employed. What no nation had ever before attempted to do against another nation, the Germans now undertook against Poland. They sought to dispossess an entire people by the law of colonization (Ansiedelunggesetz), which placed at the disposal of the government one hundred million marks to purchase ground from the Poles and to establish German colonies there. Thanks be to God

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that up to the present all of these efforts have failed. At least, the results obtained are not in any manner in proportion to the pecuniary sacrifices. The law of expropriation voted in 1908 succeeded no better, and there is room to believe that all the efforts of the German "hakatists" (1) will break against the energetic resistance of the Polish people.

1. This name of Hakatists is given to a Prussian association founded in 1891 to colonize the routes to the east. This association was founded by Hansemann, Kennemann, and Tiedeman. It is from the initials of these three persons, H, K, T, that the word "hakatists" has been formed. (Translator).

Nevertheless, the situation of the Poles of Poznan and of Silesia remains a difficult one and there is no reason to hope that it will improve. The Prussian minister Von Arnim clearly stated in 1907 that they cannot be Germanized and that this is not being thought of. However, it is the goal towards which Prussia is steadily striving. And naturally the struggle /70/ of three and a half million souls against sixty million Germans can only be looked upon with anxiety.

And in fact Germanization is making serious progress among the Mazuri, in Silesia and Poznan, even though in certain places the Poles succeed in gaining the upper hand.

It is in Austria that the condition of the Poles is the most bearable. For the past forty years the former system of Germanization has been abandoned and the Polish nationality has developed in complete liberty; it even exercises a certain influence upon the destinies of the Empire and of the other nationalities.

000 S 12. The Domain of the Polish National Group.

We do not encounter as many difficulties in outlining this domain as we did in the case of the Russian domain. However, we do run into certain difficulties.

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Here again our principal criterion is the language.[1] It is upon the basis of the language that certain ethnographic maps have been drawn up in Prussia and in Austria. But the work has not always been done correctly. The latest census carried out in Prussia, has been based upon the mother tongue; but it is known that a great number of persons on the side of both the Poles and Germans have declared that they spoke

[1] [i.e. to determine the domain of the Polish national group.-- Analyst]

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the two languages. In such a case how can the majority be determined? And how can the nationality be determined in /71/ the localities in which these belinguals must decide which group is in the majority? In Austria, in place of the mother-tongue, the habitual language (Umgangsprache) has been taken as the criterion. I do not believe, however, that this process has caused any serious injustice to the Poles.

In Russia the results of the linguistic census have not been used to draw up the ethnographic map, and we are reduced to individual guesses. The first ethnographic map of Poland was drawn up by Safarik for his general map published in 1842. Since that time a certain number of attempts have been made; but the Poles do not yet have a good, complete ethnographic map. Only a few frontier areas which have been the object of a detailed investigation are known in detail.

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The Polish domain constitutes in its entirety an irregular square included between Jablunkov, (1) in the Carpathians, Ujscie on the

1. In Silesia.

Notec, Suwalki and Sanok. In the north it is penetrated by a Kashub enclave along the left bank of the Vistula, between Danzig and the lake of Leba.

The frontier line begins in the southeast at the sources of the Moravka, a tributary which flows into the Ostravica at its right bank, and reaches the Oder near Bohumin. This line is disputed by the Poles and the Czechs in the area of Teschen, which the Czechs call /72/ Tiesin and the Poles Cieszyn. The localities of this region are in dispute between the two nationalities (1) and the question of the

1. We here suppress the names of localities which have no interest at all for the French reader. (Translator).

schools gives rise particularly to conflicts of a purely local character. According to the latest statistics, the Czechs are diminishing in this region, while the Germans and the Poles are increasing. The mingling of Czech and of Polish produces a sort of mixed dialect; it is only to the west of Ostravica that pure Czech is spoken.

In the German Empire the Poles are settled partly in Silesia, but especially in Poznan (in the districts of Poznan-Posen, and of Bydgoszcz, in German Bromberg), in East Prussia (in the districts of Danzig-Gdansk and of Kwidzyn-Marienwerder) and in Prussian

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Mazovia. In the province of Poznan and in East Prussia this frontier is in fact not well known, it is strewed with German enclaves, and it is difficult to figure out. We have only German maps. If one figures on the basis of the percentage of Poles, according to the estimates of Parczewski one may consider as Polish (more than 80%) the districts of Odolanow, of Koscian, of Ostrzeszow, of Poznan in the western section of Pszczynsk, of Olesia*, of Skwierzyna. (1)

1. As late as 1790, the Poles were touching the outskirts of Breslau. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Oder was the frontier commencing at the mouth of the Nissa.

/73/ We are well acquainted with the Kashub country through the work of Ramult (see below). From the sea, the frontier describing the arc of a circle, runs from Oliwa and from Danzig (Gdansk) to Tczew (Dirschau), crosses the Vistula at Malbork (Marienburg) and goes towards Kwidzyn (Marienwerder). Here it follows the left bank of the Vistula as far as Chelmno (Kulm) where it crosses the river. Then it runs to Grudziadz (Graudenz), Goryn, Bagrationovsk (Eylau), Ostroda, Knys* and crosses the Prussian frontier in the direction of Suwalki. In this region the Germanization of the Mazovi and of the Lithuanians has made great progress. Formerly the Mazovian frontier on the north ran as far as Goldap where the Mazovi adjoin the Lithuanians; today a German wedge has penetrated between the two peoples and the Poles no longer border upon the Lithuanians except in the government of Suwalki.

Beyond the German frontier the Polish boundary skirts around Suwalki--according to Karsky's map--and goes toward Augustow (Stanislas Dobrzycki extends the Polish domain as far as Grodno), then it crosses the districts of Sokol and of Bialystok and runs toward Suraz on the Narew River. Then, according to Gloger, Zakrzewski and Frantsev, it runs towards Bielsk, Samaky*, Krasnystaw, Tomaszow, and then goes up to the north towards Tarnograd. It enters Galicia and goes toward the San near Radowa*, Tuchla*, and Radymno, then it follows the San as far as Sanok, and, across Rymanow, Dukla, /74/ Zmigrod, Gorlice, Gribow, it reaches Pivniczna at the Hungarian frontier. From there as far as the pass of Jablunkow it is officially the same as the Hungarian frontier. The Poles who live in the region of Spis, declared themselves at the last census, to be Slovaks (1).

1. In the region of Spis, the Poles are settled between Stara Lubovna Kezmarok and Smokovce, in that of Orava, to the north of

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Zubrohlav* and of Bobrova*, in that of Trencin at Cerna and at Skalita*. There also are Polish colonies in the region of Liptov and in the Slovak region of Zemplin*. In the Spis area, the Slovak Czambel has counted 51 Polish communes with 30,000 persons. Kazimir Krotoski raises this number to 50,000.

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Such is the compact whole of the Polish nation.

In the Kingdom of Poland the Poles form 71.85% of the total population. They are most numerous on the left bank of the Vistula: 73.5% in the guberniya of Warsaw, 84% in that of Kalisz, 87% in that of Kielce, 77% in that of Lomza, 72% in that of Piotrkow, 83% in that of Radom, and 81% in that of Plock, 66% in that of Siedlce, 63% in that of Lublin and 23% in that of Suwalki.

Besides this we find Poles in small groups in almost all of European Russia: 10% in the guberniya of Grodno, 8.2% in that of Vilna, 6.2% in the Volhynia, 9% in that of Kowno. There are sizeable colonies in the large cities, /75/ in Moscow, Petersburg, Kiyev. On the island of Sakhalin, a place of deportation, there are 5% of them.

They are numerous in eastern Galicia. There is in this entire province only one purely Russian district (that of Kossow) where there are less that 5% Poles, while there are 23 purely Polish districts. It is especially in the large Russian cities that the Poles are distributed. The cities which have the largest Polish population are in the Russian section of Galicia: L'vov (Lemberg) with 120,000 Poles, or 76% of the total, against 15,000 Russians, Bobrka, Ukrainian, Bubrka), Muszyna, Sanok, Lesko, Sambor, Przemysl, Rava Russkaya, Belz, Zholkva, Gorodok, Cieszanov, Stry, Kalush, Stanislav, Kolomyya, Ternopol, Gusyatin, Buchach, Sokal, Terebovlya, etc., etc. On the other hand, certain cities have a German majority, composed in fact of Israelites (Biala, Szczerzec, Dolina, Bolekhuv, Nadvornaya, Kossow*, Kuty, Zablotow, Brody).

Outside of Poland and of Russia there are important Polish colonies in Vienna (4,364), Berlin (26,000), Dresden, Bucharest, Paris. In Germany new Polish colonies are at present in the process of formation in Westphalia and in the country of the Rhine; at Mulheim in the Ruhr at Ruhrort, at Essen, at Dortmund, at Bochum, at Hattingen, and especially at Gelsenkirchen. These are colonies of workmen. They are continuously increasing in size. In 1890 statistics showed in these /76/ localities

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5,820 Poles; they reported 26,795 of them in 1900, and at the latest elections for the Parliament of Berlin, the Polish candidate Chocszewski obtained 27,000 votes.

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Outside of Europe, Poles have gone especially to the United States (particularly to Chicago, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York) and also to South America, particularly to Brazil (States of Parana, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande Do Sul, Sao Paulo), to Paraguay and to Argentina. In Brazil there are more than eighty colonies (80,000 souls). Parana is already called "New Poland."

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S 13. Statistics.--Just as it is impossible to define exactly the frontiers of the Polish nation, so the number of Poles cannot be determined with complete accuracy. Figures issued by national authorities differ considerably.

For the Kingdom of Poland itself Jean Bloch guesses at a population of a million and a quarter in the fourteenth century. For Bathory's century (16th) he estimates 3,058,000 Poles.

In 1882, Sulimierskii figured 12 million. E. Czynski in 1887, and A. Fircks in 1893 estimated 13 million. L. Straszewicz in 1900 figured from 18 to 19 million and in 1902 V. Czerkawski gave 21,111,347. But I do not consider his statistics as absolutely accurate and here are my estimates.

In the Russian Empire there were according to the census of 1897, 7,931,307 Poles, which is 8.3% of the total population. If we add to this figure the annual increase which, according to Kowalewski, is in the neighborhood of 1.5% per year, which would be 118,970 persons, we obtain for the end of the year 1900:

For the Russian Empire (with Asia), about	8,400,000
For Austria	4,259,150
For Germany (including the Mazuri and the Kashub)	3,450,200 (1)
For the rest of Europe (according to Czerkawski), about	55,000
For America (according to Czerkawski).	1,500,000
	17,664,350 (2)

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1. This number is approximate. The census of 1900 gave the following: 3,086,489 Poles, 142,069 Mazuri, 100,213 Kashub, or a total of 3,328,751. But it is necessary to add to this figure at least two-thirds of those who declare themselves to be bilingual (German and Polish, Mazuri or Kashub), which would be 121,450 out of 182,184.

2. Polish statistics of Czynski, of which the last edition appeared at the same time as the study of Mr. Niederle, gives a total of 20 million. Mr. Niederle accepts this figure.

The estimates of the number of Poles in America are extremely uncertain. Siemiradski and Valjavac figure more than a million and a half in North America and in 1900 the review Praca Polska ("Polish Labor") of Milwaukee estimated the number of Poles in America at three million. German statistics, on the other hand, /78/ have been unfair to the Poles. Thus, Ramult, in 1899 counted the Kashub in each locality and arrived at a total of 200,000 (the same as Tetzner). But, the official statistics of 1900 recognize only 100,000 of them. On the other hand, how many Polish-Slovaks should we estimate there? Karlowicz estimates them at 120,000; Czambel figures them at only 40,000. On the other hand, if we deduct, as it is proper to do, the Galician Jews who state that their language is Polish, but who are not Poles (there are estimated to be 621,636 in Galicia), we arrive at a total of 17 and one-half million, which today appears to be the most likely figure. If one follows Mr. Czynski, this figure may be increased to 20 million.

It is very difficult to make out statistics for the Polish nation, from other points of view, because it is divided among three states whose statistics are not always arranged on the basis of nationalities.

This observation applies especially to Russia where the largest segment of Poles is to be found--almost half of them. We have already made some comments upon this matter in the chapter devoted to Russia.[1] The most important figure is the coefficient of the annual population growth, 1.5%. In Germany, in the Polish territory, we find 1.4%. But what has diminished the rate of growth is on the one hand emigration and on the other hand denationalization.

With reference to the Poles of Galicia, /79/ we have more

[1] [Cf. section on statistics pp.22-29, E16 Slavic Peoples 1: Niederle, category 116 — Analyst]

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accessible date. The population increase for the entire province of Galicia between 1890 and 1900 was 16.7%. Of this number, according to Austrian statistics, the Poles furnished 14.52%, which would be an annual growth of 1.45%. (In this figure 15% Jews are included). The Russians contributed only 8.71%. In comparing these figures with previous ones we note the steady progress of the Poles. In 1851, 11.45% were estemated already in Cisleithania; in 1880, 14.86%; in 1890, 15.84%; in 1900, 16.59%. In Galicia, where the Poles are the masters of the country, their numbers increased by 14% in fifty years.

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In the matter of longevity, the rate is the same among the Poles as among the Galician Russians. The number of young people is above the average (30.4% being less than twenty years of age); the number of old people is very low; only 12% have passed fifty years of age.

The number of married persons is 32.3%. Among the Poles of Russia there have been enumerated 60.6% of unmarried men and 55.9% of unmarried women, 37% men and 36.3 % women married, 2.24% widowers and 7.64% widows, 0.05% men divorced, and 0.08% women divorced.

In the matter of the proportion of sexes, there are among the Poles of Galicia 1,049 women for every 1,000 men; in Russian Poland, the proportion is inverted, only 989 women. But it is evident that all of the soldiers were enumerated. /80/ The relationship of the two sexes, moreover, is a balanced one, save in the government of Lomza, where only 925 women were found for each 1,000 men.

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In the matter of religion, Catholicism is the characteristic religion of the Poles, as Orthodoxy is that of the Russians. There are no more Orthodox Poles, one might say, since the religious toleration was proclaimed in 1905. Old statistics, for example those of Lebedkine about 1860, stated that according to official documents there were 40,000 Orthodox Poles (uniates). There are also very few Poles who belong to the Evangelical church. They are to be found especially in Silesia and in the northern part of Prussia. On the other hand, the Mazuri of Prussia belong to the Evangelical church (96% in 1906), and this circumstance explains to us why they allow themselves to be easily Germanized. The Catholicism of the Poles is one of their strongest weapons against Germanization. In Austria only 83.14% Catholics

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are reported. This is explained by the fact that among those individuals who declared themselves to be Poles there were 14.7% Jews. There are 1.8% Protestants. Therefore, one may consider Catholic to be synonymous with Pole.

In Russian Poland the proportion is as follows: 78.8% Catholics; 4.7% Protestants; 14.05% Jews; and 6.57% Orthodox, or "old believers" of the Orthodox Church.

The Catholics here are concentrated on the /81/ left bank of the Vistula, where they are estimated at 70 to 80%. The guberniyas of Siedlec and of Lublin are the only ones in the kingdom where as few as 66 to 62% Catholics are to be found, if one believes the census of 1897. After the edict of religious tolerance of 17 April 1905 the proportions changed noticeably (see above in S 5), but we have no strictly precise data.

With respect to the Poles of Russia, here are the latest statistical results:

Orthodox and "old believers"	0.63%
Roman Catholics	98.26%
Protestants	0.51%
Jews	0.59%
Mohammedans	0.01%

Polish is, therefore, synonymous with Catholic. But it must be noted that among the Catholics there has recently developed a sect called Mariavites to which in 1906, 59,000 persons belonged. It is in the Russian section that the Polish population provides the largest contingent in the cities and large towns, 22.1%. Among these are found 1.9% nobles and officials, 0.8% clergy, 0.14% of honorary burgeois and of merchants, 23.5% bourgeois, 72.98% farmers. Among the Poles of Austria there are 65.6% laborers, 14.8% factory workers, 11.2% tradesmen, and 8.4% officials.

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From the point of view of public education the Poles still have far to go, not only in Russia and in Prussia, where the government has placed numerous obstacles in the way of the development of the schools, but also where they have for a long time enjoyed complete liberty, namely in Galicia. In this province statistics still report 40.8% illiterate. Furthermore it must be recognized that the Poles in Russia (notably the

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Polish women), despite all of the ill will of the government, are better educated than the Russians. Among the Russians there have been found 29.50% of the men and 9.34% of the women who are literate. Among the Poles the proportions are 34.78% and 29.40%.

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S 14. Differentiation.---We find also among the Poles rather considerable internal differences; but these are not reasons for dividing the nation into various nationalities. Moreover, the question has not been studied sufficiently, and not enough attention has been paid to it to enable one to distinguish from a scientific point of view the various Polish groups. Much material has been gathered together, especially, from the point of view of folklore, by Oscar Kolberg, more recently by Jan Karlowicz and others, in the review Wisla (The Vistula), and from an anthropological viewpoint by J. Majer, K. Kopernicki, I. Talko-Hrynczewicz, W. Olechnowicz, L. Rutkowski, A. Zakrzewski. The field of linguistics has been studied in recent times /83/ by St. Dobrzycki, J. Karlowicz and K. Nitsch, but up until the present these researches have not been gathered together and digested in a single study. The customary division into large and small groups is above all based upon historic tradition; a more scientific division will be a task for the future. The Polish nation is generally divided into the following groups:

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1. The Great-Polish group occupies Silesia, Poznan, and Prussia;
2. The Mazovian group lives to the east of the preceding one in the basins of the Vistula, of the Narew, and of the Bug;
3. The Little-Polish group is settled to the south on the upper Vistula, as far as the Carpathians and the San;
4. A fourth group is formed by the Kashub on the shore of the Baltic.

The Great-Polish group was the first to serve as a rallying point for the ancient tribes, evidently under the pressure of the German race, and its language has become dominant; it is the one which constitutes the local idiom.

On the contrary, Mazovia and Little-Poland, regions which were forested and less accessible, have retained more originality and local character.

Taking into account the names by which the people distinguish the tribes and the regions, the Polish ethnographers--Karlowicz, for example--distinguished particularly the following tribes:

1: Niederle--55 E-5 1911 EX Slavic Peoples E16
Poland EA1

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/84/ In Silesia the inhabitants of the mountains call themselves Gorali (1), those of the region of Jablunkow, Jablonkowiane or Jackowie;

1. Mountaineers. Gora means "mountain." Translator.

those of the central region, the Walachians, those of the plains Lakhi or Dolaci, those of the banks of the Vistula (in Polish, Wisla) Wislaci.

The Polish watermen who steer the rafts of logs down the Vistula have been known in German since the seventeenth century by the name of "Water Poles." In Poznan and in Prussia there are noted the Paluci (in the districts of Wagrowice* and of Szubin*) and, on the left bank of the Warta, beginning at the mouth of the Prosna, the Porzeczane (riverians). The region which extends from the lake of Goplo to the Vistula and to the Netze (districts of Inowraclaw, of Strzelin, and of Bydgoszcz or Bromberg) is called Prussian Kujavia includes the districts of Nieszawa and of Wroclawek.

The inhabitants of the district of Krobia on the frontier of Silesia and on the Orla River are called Chazaci or Lesniaci (foresters). In the Kingdom of Prussia, where the areas of Chelm and of Marienburg adjoin Kujavia and where Warmia (Ermeland) adjoins Mazovia, the Borowiaki and the Kociewiaki are settled. A little lower down, at the mouth of the Vistula, are found the Zulawi.

The Mazuri, from the northern frontier as far as Dzialdowo to the south and to the east as far as /85/ the Russian frontier, are called by their neighbors Tylosani (because they say tylo instead of tylko (1).

1. A Polish word which means, "only."

In Russian Poland derivations of place names are mainly used: Bojary, Borowiacy, Gryczanie, Kopieniacy, Koziari, Nadrzeczanie (river-dwellers), etc., etc.... The names of the principal tribes are those of the Kujaviens, of the Kurpie* in the areas called Green Pusta and White Pusta (the districts of Ostroleka, Kolys, Przasnysz, Makow, Ostrow, and Lomza), of the Ksienzacy in the former principality (Ksienstwo) of Lovicz, of the Mazowsze in the guberniyas of Suwalki, Lomza, Plock, Warsaw and Siedlce. The Polish Podlasie (country of forests) connects with the country of the Mazovians. Prussian statistics, we note this detail in passing, like to separate the Mazuri from the Poles because of their Reformed religion.

In Little Poland an infinity of local denominations are also met with, some of which we have already mentioned; they result from topographic peculiarities: Gorals (mountaineers), Zagorzane (beyond

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the mountain), Lakhi, Mazuri, Lasowci, etc...

The ethnographers also distinguish the Poles by regions: Kalisz, Piotrkow, Radom, Kielce, Lublin, Sandomierz, Cracovie (it is the latter which has the most beautiful native costumes).

/86/ All of these groups, despite their differences, have the sense of belonging to a single nation, especially since the Russian and German oppression has stirred up among them the idea of nationality and of union. Only the Mazuri of Prussia, whom their Lutheran religion separates from the Catholic mass, lean towards the Germans. They speak Polish, but they feel themselves to be Prussians and have realized the hopes of the Berlin statesmen, especially the ministers Studt and Amim. A German publicist, Tetzner, has said of them (1): "The Evangelical Mazuri is Prussian in body and soul and keeps completely about from the Catholic Pole."

1. Tetzner, Slaven in Deutschland, p. 133. Recently a Mazurian review printed in Gothic characters, but written in Polish, stated its sympathies for France. (Translator)

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I shall add here some notes relative to the anthropology of the Polish type.

The type of the gorals or mountaineers is markedly different from that of the inhabitants of the plain. The Gorals are of a medium height (1.681 meters), generally of a light or mixed complexion. (Talko Hryncewicz considers the light type to be the primitive Polish type). The greater part of them are brachycephalic (between 80.5 and 82.3%). As one moves away from the Carpathians and goes toward the north, the brachycephalic type gives way to the dolichocephalic.

The brachycephalics in Galicia represent 83%, in the department of Lublin /87/ 78% among the nobles, and 59% among the peasants; in the Sandomierz area 77%; at Plock, among the nobles 78%, 54% among peasants; at Lomza 68% to 63%; at Warsaw 57%.

The Goral, therefore, represents a special type among the Poles, as among their neighbors the Russians. In general, the complexion is fairer among the Poles of Galicia than among those of Warsaw.

But the proportions are entirely different in the east. The purest

S.P. P. 141 type is the Galician; the types of Lomza and of Lublin are very mixed. On the other hand, anthropological research has verified an interesting phenomenon, which is that the Polish nobility differ greatly from the rural type; they include more brachycephalics, are taller in height, less frequently have light-colored eyes. This seems in part to confirm the theory which assigns to them a special origin.

S.P. P. 144 According to Talko Hryncewicz, the Polish prototype is the mountaineer of the Carpathians.

The further that one withdraws from this region, the more the type changes and indicates admixtures. According to the latest researches of A. Ivanovskii, the Poles from a physical point of view demonstrate much affinity with, and resemblance to, the Great Russians. This fact is of interest in relation to the question of the affinity of the Great and of the Little Russians (Ukrainians).

S.P. P. 101 144 /88/ S 15.---The oddest of the Polish groups is that composed of the Kashubs and the Slowiency of the Leba. Many ethnographers (A. Hilferding, Zubaty, Ramult and Beaudouin de Courtenay) separate them from the Poles and associate them with the Slavs of Pomerania. Their Polish origin is advocated by I. Karlowicz, Bruckner, Krynski, etc... Lorentz saw in the Slowiency a branch independent from both the Kashubs and the Poles.

P S.P. 101 We have described in a very general way the territory occupied by the Kashubs. According to the studies of Ramult and Nadmorski, it extends along the left bank of the lower Vistula. It is bounded by a line which runs from Kamien (Kamin) through Czluchowo* (Schlochau*) Ferstnowo* (Forstenau*) toward Starzyn* (Starsen*) and from there by Bytow (Butow), Lemborg* to the lake of Zarnow*. Along the river the boundary runs towards Danzig (Gdansk) and from there straight through Skarszewy (Schoeneck), Leg, towards Kamien.

From this central nucleus a small compact island is detached, which is located on the shores of Lake Lebo at the mouth of the Leba and of the Lupa.

Along with the name Kashubs, the origin of which is unknown, one finds toward the east special names: Karwaci, Pomarency,

S.P. P. 101 Lyczacy, Kociewiacy, Borowiace, Krajniacy, and, on Lake Lebo, those of Kabaci, Lesacy, Belocy. But the most curious is that of Slowiency which /89/ evidently goes back to ancient times and which is found as early as 1586.

S.P. P. 161 The Kashubs are few in number. According to the official statistics of 1900 there were 100,213 of them.

According to earlier statistics of Ramult, there were 174,831 in their own territory, with a total of 200,000 in Europe and 130,000 in America (the United States, Canada, Brazil). As for religion, the majority are Catholics. Only 6% of the Slowiency are considered to be Protestant.

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000 Although the Kashubs are very few in number, there is no reason to despair of their prospects, for, on the one hand they live in an isolated region near the sea, and on the other hand they are constantly in close contact with the Polish element, who assist them in maintaining their position.

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/90/ /There is no page numbered 90./

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IV

THE SORBS OF LUSATIA

S.P. 101 S 16. Historical Introduction.--Of the powerful nation of Slavs who lived for centuries on the middle and lower Elbe, there now exist only an insignificant remnant, composed of the Slavs of the two Lusatias; it is the Slavic group which is the closest to the Czechs from the geographic and linguistic viewpoint.

In former times the Polabian Slavs (or those of the Elbe /Laba/) were settled in the basins of the Oder, of the Saale, and of the Elbe. We are able, with some reservations, however, to follow their trail as far as the first century of the Christian era. But those who accept the Slavic character of the cinerary tombs in Lusatia and Silesia, are able to go back at least as far as 1000 B.C. This is merely a matter of an archeological hypothesis; but it appears much more accurate to attribute the type of tombs found between the Vistula and the Elbe to the Slavs rather than to the Germans.

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101 At the period for which we possess somewhat more detailed historical data about them, the Polabian Slavs were divided into three great families:

1. The Obotrites in Mecklenburg, Lüneburg and Holstein (as far as the Varnava River), whence they penetrated into the Old Mark;

2. The Luticl or Veletiz between the Oder, the sea, the Varnava and the Elbe;

3. The Sorbs on the middle Elbe between the Verra*, the Havel, and the Bobrawa.

175 177 From the time when history records the presence of the Slavs on the Elbe, their history has been but a long struggle for existence; they carried on this struggle simultaneously against the German Empire and the Roman Church. The campaign undertaken by the Germans against the Polabian Slavs was at the same time of a political, national, and religious character. The Slavs resisted energetically, but the struggle was too unequal. The Germans had as allies the Danes, and upon occasion also the Polish and Czech prines. Furthermore, they were not in agreement among themselves.

Under Charlemagne and his immediate successors, the Germans achieved only insignificant victories.

The Saxon dynasty was more fortunate; the entire country of the Polabians fell into German hands. The conquest was accomplished by the /93/ Margraves. The Slavs were not only conquered, but were in a short time denationalized. Beginning with the twelfth century German colonization penetrated into their country; in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Germans were already superior in numbers, and by the fifteenth century only a few rare specimens of the Slav race were to be found.

On the island of Rugen* (Rouiana* in Slavic) the Slavs disappeared in 1404; on the Elbe towards the middle of the sixteenth century, they occupied only the districts of Luchow* and Danneberg*, the southern part of the district of Blekede*, a third of that of Ulzen*, and the northern section of the Old Mark (Altmark). Further to the east no more than a few remains were to be found in Mecklenburg, which was still rather thickly populated by Slavs in the thirteenth century (between the rivers Elde and Suda), and in Brandenburg in the district of Priegnitz (Brizan). But this rather sizeable group in Luneburg, was completely unable to maintain itself. In 1671 there were still Slavs

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177 there; about 1700 they were in great measure Germanized; the last Slav group was that of the Dravani (Drawaina) in the district of Luchow which even today is called Wendland, country of the Wends.

172A The Slavic language disappeared between 1750 and 1766. It was in 1751 that mass was celebrated in Slavic for the last time.[1]

161 In the years 1890-1900 the newspapers reported, according to A. Parczewski, that the census /94/ of 1890 had found 570 Slavs-Wends still in this region. But it was an error. The official census had indeed found in the Luchow area 570 Wends, but they spoke only German.

197 The Slavic tongue in this region has been dead for more than a century, as Mr. Muka reported without hesitation.[1] He was sent out as an investigator by the Academy of Sciences of Cracow.

000 However, the Slavic character is still found in great measure in the type and in the manner of life of the inhabitants of the Wendland.

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175 Originally the Sorbs of this region[2] occupied in a compact mass all of the country situated between the Saale, the Verra*, the Fulda, the upper Havel, and the Spree. They extended as far as Frankfort on the Oder, on the Lower Bobra, the Hvizda (Queis). The group included the so-called Sorbs between the Saale and the Elbe (1) then the Lusatians

1. These Sorbs are designated in Latin texts of the Middle Ages by the name Sorabes. (Translator)

on the middle Saale, and the Milczani on the upper Elster, the upper Spree and the Neisse. From the eleventh century on, the Germans began to penetrate into these regions; but they only came there in large numbers beginning with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At this period the Sorb national group began to diminish to the west of the Elbe; it finally succumbed as a result of the Thirty Years War. The situation was better in /95/ Upper and Lower Lusatia, united under the Bohemian crown. Unfortunately, in 1635 the Treaty of Prague ceded
175 the territory to the House of Saxony. The Sorbian national group
668 commenced to decline, especially in Lower Lusatia. Its decadence was not arrested until the nineteenth century by the literary renaissance which restored some energy to this small people.

Thanks to the efforts of a few patriots, the national conscience

2 [Wendland -- Analyst] 1 [Among the Polabian Slavs - Analyst]

175 was reawakened, literature revived, the Slavic tongue was introduced into the primary schools and the Germans of Saxony granted to their Sorbian fellow-citizens a tolerable modus vivendi. How long will this state of affairs endure? It is difficult to foretell.

177 Germanization is making great progress especially in Lower Lusatia, subjected to Prussians.

101 162 S 17. Boundary of the National Group.---In 1886 Muka established on his ethnographic map, the best which exists up until the present, this boundary by a line which began to the south of Lubja (Lobau), passed between Rychbach (Reichenbach) and Wosporg (Weissenbach*), ran to Nizka (Niesky*), Reczice* (Rietschen*), went toward Muzakow* (Muskau*) on the Neisse, then following the Neisse reached Barsc (Forst), ran to Gresna* (Griessen*), to Barklawa* (Baerenklau*), to the west of Gubna (Guben*). The line then went straight to the west by Luboraz* (Lieberose*), Mochow*, Waldow*, Bocklin* (Burglehne*) then toward the south through Lubnjow* (Lubbenau*), /96/ through Wotrowce* (Bischofsdof*), Kalama* (Kalan*), Rudna* (Reuden*) and Bukowina; then towards the southwest the boundary ran around Komorow* (Senftenber*), Rolana* (Ruhland*) on the Elster, went through Nadzicow* towards Kamence*, Elstra*, Biskupci* (Bischofswerda*), where it turned sharply to the east towards Velecin* (Wilthen*) on the Lubia*. Such was the outer boundary of the region in which the majority of the people spoke Sorbian; there was in this region an absolutely Sorbian territory in the neighborhood of Chotebuz* (Cottbus*) and of Grodk*. There were also numerous German islands.

On the map drawn up in 1902 by A. Czerny, the territory had diminished and the Germans had gained ground. Today the northern part of Lower Lusatia is separated from the southern part only by a straight line between Grodk* and Chotebuz* on the two banks of the Spree. However, Tetzner in his book wrongly indicates Lower Lusatia as forming only an island.

161 S 18. Statistics.--The figures in effect confirm that the number of Lusatians is diminishing. At about 1880-1884, Muka, travelling from village to village, had set the total number of Sorbs at 175,966. He counted 72,000 in Lower Lusatia and 103,000 in Upper Lusatia. The official statistics for 1900 numbered only 93,032 Sorbs, speaking only Sorbian. If one adds about 23,000 bilinguals speaking both Sorbian and

161 German, one arrives at the figure of 116,810 individuals, and, if this figure is corrected according to the estimates of Parczewski, of Swjela*, and of Muka, about 156,000 persons are obtained, a lamentable total for a people surrounded and penetrated from all sides by the German flood. What favors Germanization is the extent to which the Sorbs [177] are economically dependent upon the Germans: the military service, preaching in German, the absence of an intellectual class, their complete isolation. The Sorbs who resist most energetically are those of Upper Lusatia, whose intellectual center is at Bautzen (Budysin). In Saxony, of 297 communes called Wends (1), according to the census

1. The Sorbs of Lusatia are called Wends in German.

of 1900, there are in all 225 with a Slav majority, and only 7 entirely Slav.

167 We have no other data on the Lusatians or on their emigration. It appears that there are colonies in America (especially in Texas--Serbin (a town), which recalls the name of the nation, Giddingswenden (probably the town of Giddings), West (perhaps the town of West Point) Yewa (not located), Warda (a town), Burleson (a county) whose inhabitants left Europe towards the middle of the last century, and who still preserve the national tradition. There are also some in Australia (at Angerspark, at Adelaide near Melbourne). They are of more recent origin.

795 The great majority of the Sorbs are Lutherans; there are 15,000
162 Catholics, who live for the most part in the neighborhood of Budysin (Bautzen).

197 /98/ S 19. Differentiation.--Even though they are only a small
182 nation, the Sorbs are not unified from the linguistic point of view. The difference between the idioms of Upper and Lower Lusatia is so great that the common people have great difficulty in understanding one another and many linguists have recognized two distinct languages. There are in fact two literary languages founded upon the two dialects which are farthest apart (that of Kottbus and that of Bautzen) and two literatures. This duality creates a grave danger, the much more so as the two fractions are divided from a political viewpoint. Kottbus belongs to Prussia and Bautzen to Saxony. Aside from the language, the
101 two Lusatian groups differ from many viewpoints in matters of domestic
182 life and costume. According to Muka, the boundary between the two

S.P. 101 182 areas formerly ran from Zagan (Sagan) on the Bobrawa through Muzakov, Grodk, Kolany, Kupsk (Muckenberg), Wikow (Elsterwerda) towards Bielagora (Belgern) on the Elbe, and it has remained in conformity with this line in matters relating to the Sorb population.

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V

/99/ THE CZECHS AND THE SLOVAKS

S.P. C. 101 S 20.--Historical Introduction.---The Czechs also belong to the western branch, as well as the Slovaks, who, from more than one viewpoint, may be considered as forming only a single nation with them, even though fate has already separated them to a considerable degree and, judging by all appearances, should further enlarge this separation.

These two branches developed from a common center, which alongside the Polish and the Polabre center, was located somewhere to the north of the Sudeten Mountains and perhaps reached as far as Moravia; it is from this region that the ancestors of the Czechs and the Slovaks came into the regions where history verifies their presence.

S.P. C 174 [172] 101 They* came there from the north, perhaps all together in a single move, perhaps at various periods. The texts contain nothing about this; archaeology, while admitting the Slavic and particularly the Czech character of the cinerary tombs of the Lusatian type, can only conjecture that Bohemia and Moravia were occupied before the middle of the first century B.C. /100/ The cradle of the Czechs and the Slovaks is to be found further to the north, but, taking into account archaeological data, one may to a certain degree regard them as being indigenous to Bohemia and to Moravia. The same may be said for the branch settled in Hungary. Dr. Czambel chose to state in recent times that the Slovaks did not come with the Czechs, that they came by themselves and from another region, from the southeast,--all this in order to demonstrate that the Slovaks do not belong to the western group, but to the southern group. But this theory lacks foundation from the viewpoint of history and of philology. The linguistic kinship shows without argument that the Czechs and the Slovaks belong to the same group as the Sorbs of Lusatia, the

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* [The Czechs and Slovaks — Analyse]

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Poles, the Polabes, and that they carried out their migration at the same time as these.

The Czecho-Slovaks, after having crossed the Sudeten and the Carpathians, settled at first in the north of Bohemia, of Moravia, and of Slovakian Hungary; to the south there were settled Gallic, Illyro-Thracian tribes, later on also the Germanic peoples of the Marcomani and the Quadi. After the departure of these allogenes, the Slavs spread not only over the territory on which they are established today, but even much farther to the south. This applies to the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia and also to the Slovaks of Hungary; the latter still have numerous islands /101/ in the counties of Esztergom, of Budapest, to the south in those of Bars* and of Nograd, and positive indications prove that formerly they extended much farther toward the south in the areas in which they encountered colonies of Slovenes and Bulgars.

To the east, it is difficult to determine the ancient frontiers. Their delimitation by the Vah, the Hron, and the Tepla rests only upon hypotheses. However, we do know that the frontier in those days did not extend as far as today,--that is, almost as far as the Tisza. For the greater part of the western Slovaks are made up of Russians assimilated during the historic period. To the north the Polish Gorals (Mountaineers) had penetrated across the mountains in the regions of Trencin, of Orava and of Spis. In the north the frontier followed the Sudeten Mountains (the regions of Sluknov and Friedland were Sorbian (1)

1. Of course this refers to the Sorbs of Lusatia; see the preceding chapter. (Translator).

and composed the district of Zagožd*). In Silesia, the region of Opava was Czech. In the west, the Czechs, in the twelfth century, when their written history began were beginning to penetrate across the Bohemian Mountains (Boemerwald, in Czech, Sumava) as far as Bavaria and in the south even beyond the Danube. How far did they go into Pannonia? Did they indeed settle there, they or the ancestors of the Slovaks? This cannot be ascertained with certainty. /102/ In all likelihood, they went at least as far as Lake Balaton, as is vouched for by the history of the princes Pribina, Kocel, and Svatopluk. (1)

1. About these persons, consult my work on Cyrille et Methode (Paris, librairie Franck, 1868).

Like the other Slavic peoples, the Czechs at first did not form a single nation. We know little of the internal situation in Hungary

[cf. cat. 116, pp. 58-63 -- Analyst]

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and in Moravia, at the beginning of history. However, it appears very likely that the different groups which are still met with today, the Czechs properly speaking, the Hanaks, the Lahs, the Slovaks, and the Valachs existed in those days. But we do not know where the frontier between the Czechs and the Slovaks was located: was it on the lower and middle Morava, as Safarik would have it, or farther to the east?

We know more about the Czechs. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, we see leaving the forest bordering Germany, a whole series of tribes that appear among them: to the north from the sources of the Oharka, proceeding towards the east, the Sedlicany, the Lucany, the Lemuze, the Deczany, the Litomerice, the Psovany, the Charvaty (Czechs?); in the center, the Czechs; near them the Zliczany; and to the south in the area of Budejovice (Budweiss), the Dudlebi.

Very soon the Czechs became the most numerous and strongest of all of these tribes /103/; thanks to their central location, they soon dominated the other tribes and fused them into a single people. From the ninth century their name was used to designate the entire aggregation of tribes.

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Thus this nation was formed.* Settled in the watershed between the streams flowing to the north and those flowing to the south, near the source of the large rivers, protected by natural walls, it developed under excellent conditions. And, were it not for the errors of its princes, who through egoism caused serious damage to its prosperity and to its future, the history of this nation would have been entirely different from what it has been, and would occupy today a different position in the Slavic world from that which it now occupies.

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What caused it* a terrible blow was the German colonization in Bohemia and Moravia. In the south, the Germans, pushing forward along the Danube towards the east, thrust back the Czecho-Slovaks who were settled in this region. This was a completely natural movement and one which should not have caused any great harm to the development of the Czech national group, seeing that the Germans would soon come into collision with the Magyars on the Litava (Leitha).

What was particularly harmful to the Czechs was the German colonization summoned into the country by the national princes of the Premysls dynasty, Premysl Otakar I (1197-1230), Vaclav I (1230-1253)

*[Czechoslovakia — Analyst]

S.P. and especially Premysl Otakar II (1253-1278)
C. 175 and their successors; the nobility and the clergy, /104/ particularly
167 the monks, followed their example. As a result of this colonization, the Czech element found itself blockaded in the interior of the country by a belt of German cities and towns, a belt which continually drew tighter; at first below the Metallic Mountains and the Boehmerwald, then on the lower Elbe, then in the areas of Liberec (Reichenberg), Trutnov, Kladsko (Glatz) and in the region of the Jeseniky (Gesenke) Mountains. Moreover, German groups settled in the interior of the
S.P. country. From the thirteenth century Bohemia and Moravia became
[191] bilingual countries.

From the standpoint of area the German zone was neither wide nor compact; it formed itself especially in the clearings of the forests on the west and northwest.

S.P. In the fourteenth century, according to Professor Sedlaczek,
C. the frontier of the nations in Bohemia ran from Kynwart* toward Zdar*,
101 Kralupy, Chomutov (Komotau) which was German, toward Most, then
563 toward Duchcov and Decin. Bilina and Teplice were still Czech. Then the frontier ran to Benesov* which was German, to Jablonna*, crossed Mount Iestied* and reached the sources of the Jizera (Iser). From the fourteenth century Liberec (in German, Reichenberg) was German. The Germans were settled in the mountains beyond Vrchlaby* (today Hohenelbe) which was still Czech. Pilnikov (Pillnitz), Trutnow, Zacler, Stare Buky* were already German. Starkov* remained Czech, but the region of Brumov*, and the country of Kladsko /105/were Germanized. Olesnica and Rokytnice* were Czech. Beyond Policzka* and Litomysl* the situation was as it is today. At Nemecky Brod there was a German island; Jindrichuv Hradec was mixed, as well as Budejovice (Budweiss). Krumlov and Prachatice were mixed; the Kasperk Mountains were German; in the region of Domazlice the frontier was Czech. Klatovy was mixed, Tachov German.

S.P. Less is known about the German penetration into Moravia and
C. into Silesia. From the thirteenth century the greater part of the fortified
175 towns in Moravia have been German. In many of the cities, notably
167 at Brno and at Olomouc, from the thirteenth century on a German
S.P. bourgeoisie developed. The religious orders and the clergy contributed
[665] in summoning the Germans, especially Bishop Bruno who has been called the greatest Germanizer of Moravia. In the Teschen area the Czecho-Polish frontier has been the same from the fourteenth century

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to the present.

Slovakia, belonging to Hungary, was not spared by the German invasion. Germanization began to penetrate into the northern portion--perhaps Slovak--the Pannonia, beginning in the ninth century, as is attested by a celebrated text of 850: Conversio Bagoiarorum et Carantanorum. In the north of Hungary, from the twelfth century, the regents during the minority of Geza II (1141-1161) called a great number of Germans into the county of Spis to act as /106/ a counter-weight to the attraction which Poland was exerting upon the county of Zvolen. Following the example of these first colonists, the Germans, beginning in the thirteenth century, penetrated from the west into the counties of Bratislava and of Nitra, from the south into those of Bars and of Honta where they were not to be found before this period. This immigration increased particularly after the Tatar invasion of 1241. Hungary had been ravaged, and the kings,--notably Bela IV--called for new colonists. Thus, towards the end of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century, there was in Slovak territory no commune in which some German family was not established. The center and the base of German colonies aside from the towns of Spiess, was the association of mining towns with Kremnitz at their head. The sources mention in the first place Krupina, in 1238, then Banska Bystrica in 1255, and Nemecke Pravno in 1267. This state of things lasted until the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Two laws promulgated by the Diet in 1563 and in 1605 put an end to the privileges of the German towns and to the Germanic intrusion. Beginning with this period the Germans in the north of Hungary were Slovakized or Magyarized in turn. (Among the towns which again became Slovak may be cited Pukanec*, Nova Bana, Bela, Lubietova* and, to a considerable extent, Stiavnica and Banska Bystrica).

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Alongside the penetration of the frontier regions /107/ in Bohemia and Moldavia there should be pointed out, the influence beginning with the thirteenth century, of the German element upon the internal economy of the country, the customs, and the language. German almost assumed the role of an official language. German inhabitants received privileges. At court, among the nobility, in the towns, the German tongue played so important a role that some patriots, like Dalimil, (1) began to fear the ruin of the Bohemian language.

1: Niederle--68 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Czechoslovakia EB1

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1. Quite a long time ago I indicated the importance of this chronicler. See my Boheme pittoresque et historique (Paris, 1867).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century matters had gone so far that at the coronation of King John in 1311 the larger part of the people sang in German and the minority in Czech.

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Under Charles IV and his son Vaclav a reaction took place to the benefit of the Slavic element[1]. The nobility and the clergy took an interest in this. This evolution was crowned by the wars of the Hussites, who fought at the same time for Czech faith and Czech nationality. The Germans lost their influence in the towns or were completely driven out; the Czech language reassumed its place. Among the towns which became Slavic may be cited Zatec (Saaz), Litomerice (Leitmeritz), Usti nad Labem (Aussig), Dvur Kralove, Jaromer, Hradec Kralove, Nemecky Brod, Caslav, Kutna Hora, Pelhrimov, Susice, Budejovice, Kaplice, Stribro and Plzen, all of which were already Czech at the end of the fourteenth century.

/108/ At this time, in Bohemia, in Moravia, in Siberia, Czech became an official language. It was proclaimed to be the sole administrative language at Opava (Troppau) in 1431, at Tesin (Teschen) in 1434, in Moravia in 1480, in Bohemia in 1495. In short, in the course of the fifteenth century Bohemia and Moravia rapidly became Czech, the national consciousness grew stronger, all the more because germanization became weaker within the country and in the frontier districts. Nevertheless, this very brilliant period had no enduring results. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a portion of Czech territory was again germanized as a result of the introduction of Protestantism and through the efforts of the new dynasty. Then came a long period of wars and persecutions which desolated entire regions and was followed by the new influx of German colonists from Misnie*, Voigtland*, from Franconia and from the Palatinate. Thus, at the very moment when the Czech language became official within the kingdom, when the Czech literature was flourishing, a great section of Czech soil was lost.

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Then came the defeat of Bila Hora (1620) and the unhappy events which placed the Czech nation in the hands of a dynasty which was German and absolutist. In 1627 a new organization was imposed

1 [Against the influence of the German element upon the country - Analyst]

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upon the country; German acquired an importance which it never had before. Bohemia found herself engaged in a series of wars, of miseries, of sufferings which diminished to the /109/ lowest degree the numbers and the energy of the Czech nation and rendered it a prey to the immigrants whose number increased each day. Many families which were faithfully preserving the national tradition emigrated, many perished, many changed their nationality. Immense domains were confiscated and passed into the hands of foreigners. Many of the most distinguished German Protestant families also left the country.

Thus, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the German population increased and the Germanic belt which surrounded Bohemia became wider. At this moment the Czechs lost in the north the regions of Zlutice (Luditz), of Zatec (Saaz), where, however, the Czech tongue resisted until the end of the seventeenth century, then that of Postoloptry (1) (Postelberg), Teplice (Teplitz), Usti (Aussig), Bilina,

1. This name simply comes from the Latin "Apostolorum Porta." Translator.

Lovosice (Lobositz), (Litomerice was not germanized until the eighteenth century), Ceska Duba, Steti, Mimon, Vartemberk*. To the northeast they lost the districts of Rokytnice, Vrchlaby, Hostinne; to the west, those of Primda, Hostoun, Pobezovice (Ronsperg), Horsova Tyna*, Straze*, Bor, Plane*, as far as Manetin. The German area, as it was described in the years 1699-1701 by the Czech pilgrim Antonin Frozin, is practically identical with the German area of today. According to the studies of Slavik, as much may be said for /109/ Moravia at the end of the seventeenth century. In the last two hundred and fifty years, however, there have been some modifications in northern Moravia. The towns of Usov*, Unczov*, Zabreh and Stity (Silperk) have been germanized.

On the other hand, the national language, and with it the national consciousness of the Czechs, disappeared more and more under the governmental pressure. The nobility, the intellectual class, the bourgeoisie gave in one by one. In the eighteenth century the patriots despaired compaired completely of the future.

In 1790 Pelcel said that in fifty years it would be difficult to find a Czech; in 1810 Dobrovsky wrote to Kopitar the famous letter: "Causa gentis nostrae, nisi Deus adjuvet, plane desperata est". /"The cause of our country is, unless God helps, quite hopeless"/. And

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again in 1827 Jungmann in a moment of discouragement gave vent to this sad cry: "We have had the sad fate of being the witnesses and the accessories of the final annihilation of our mother tongue."

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Nevertheless, certain men succeeded in awakening the nation, in saving what might be saved. The history of the Czech literature since the second half of the eighteenth century shows us in an admirable fashion the work which a little group of men, obscure but impassioned, taken with a great idea, have been able to accomplish.

Aroused by the progress of liberalism in Europe, by the "Josephinism," they succeeded in reviving an interest in national affairs, in shaking the people out of their torpor, at first among the lowly ones who had preserved the language, then in the intellectual class. This Czech people, whose existence appeared doubtful one hundred years ago, of whom the Viennese educator Kindermann von Schulstein, basing himself upon the new scholastic program, had proclaimed the approaching disappearance, this Czech people, is today conscious of itself, it forms a compact mass of six and one-half million persons and constitutes an impregnable citadel against which the powerless efforts of the germanism bent upon the ruin of the Slavs come and break. There is only one thing to regret and that is that political conditions have prevented the union and assimilation of the two million Slovaks settled in northern Hungary.

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S 21. National Frontiers. --The compact mass of the Czechs and Slovaks are distributed among six administrative regions: in Austria, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, and the Duchy of Silesia, in Hungary, and, for a few segments, in Prussian Silesia.

The ethnographic boundary which separates the Slovaks from the other Czechs runs across Moravia; but the Slovaks of Moravia are so closely associated with the life of the Czech nation and are drawing so much closer to them each day that one may /112/ consider as the true boundary the political frontier which separates Moravia from Hungary. There, in the Carpathians, a wall stands which separates the two groups, Czechs and Slovaks, and unless unforeseen circumstances intervene, it is to be feared that their former unity will wind up in a dualism: Czechs on the one side, Slovaks on the other.

Thanks to a series of ethnographic studies, and also to the acute

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conflicts which are breaking out constantly along the Czecho-German frontier, we are very well acquainted with this boundary and it is the one which has been studied most among the Slav peoples. Beginning west of Novy Postrekov* near Domazlice it runs to the north of Klence*, goes around Stankov*, runs toward Manetin, goes around Rakovnik, passes west of Rouny, to Terezin (Theresienstadt) on the Elbe.

On the Oharka River the Czech element has penetrated recently into the industrial basins of Duchcov, of Most (Brux) and of Teplice (Teplitz). From Litomerice (Leitmeritz) the boundary follows in general the right bank of the Elbe, passes by Libechov*, by Bela* (Weiswasser*), runs up north towards Svetla*, passes by Skuhrov*, and reaches near the frontier the most northern Czech village, Paseky*; then it descends to the southeast in the direction of Jaromer and goes up towards Upice, where it passes into Prussian Silesia in which a dozen Czech villages may be counted. Then it runs south again, goes around the Orlice* Mountains and enters Moravia at Silperk*. In this province, the boundary /113/ through Pisarov*, Bludov*, Podstat*, meets the Silesian frontier, runs around Novy Jicin, goes up again to the Silesian frontier and runs towards Neplachovice* on the Prussian frontier. It goes into the interior of Prussian Silesia and reaches the Polish frontier (1) at Sulov* where it descends again towards the south-

1. We omit here a long enumeration of localities which it would be impossible to find except upon a detailed map.

west, towards Hodonin and follows the course of the Morava; then it runs to Dacice, to Chlumice*, to Suchodol*, to Kaplice where it goes up towards the northwest by Krumlov, Vimperk, Lusice*, and joins Postrekov*.

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In this Czech region[1] there is a certain number of German islands:

That of Budejovice (Budweiss) includes several communities. In the district about this city the number of Germans is diminishing greatly; Jihlava (Iglau) in Moravia; Brno (Brunn). That of Rousinov*, of Vyskov*, and of Olomouc (Ollmutz) in Moravia, and the largest, the most feared of all in the region of Lanskroun*, Mohelnice*, Moravska Trebova* (Moehrisch Trubau*), Svitau* and Brezov*, surrounded by Czech towns. The towns of Krumlov in Moravia, and of Hodonin also have a majority of Germans. (1) There are on the other /114/ hand

1 [Morava - Analyst]

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1. The following were the numbers of Czechs and of Germans in a certain number of the towns in 1900: Brno, 38,365 and 68,762; Olomouc (Olmutz), 6,798 and 13,982; Jihlava, 4,228 and 19,765; Znojmo, 1,854 and 14,014; Hodonin, 3,987 and 4,976; Krumlov, 879 and 1,233.

Czech islands, but rather weak ones, in Lower Austria and in Prussian Silesia, where one may find names which recall national traditions, such as those of Husinec, and of Podebrady, of Tabor Veliky and Tabor Maly., etc.

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On the other hand, the Czechs are very numerous in Vienna (more than 350,000), in Linz, Budapest (4,100), Berlin, Dresden (3,188), and Svitavy (Zwittau). They are still to be found in Galicia in the district of Zolkiew, in the Hungarian Banat, in Croatia-Slavonia (31,587 of them have been counted; they came mainly between 1880 and 1890). In Hungary many of the localities which are named Csehi recall the memory of former colonies. Some of them already are Slovakized. In Russia, in the Volhynia, beginning in 1868, colonies were established in the districts of Dubno*, Rovny*, Lutsk, Zhitomir, Ostrog, Vladimir, Glinsk*, Zdolbonov, and Kupichevo*--the last three are the most considerable--in the Crimea, at Bohemka and Czechobrod* and near Novorossiisk* at Kirilovka-Metodievka and Gliebovka*, in Poland at Kuczow*, Zelow*, Lodz. 50,385 Czechs have been counted in Russia, 50% of whom are in Volhynia, 4,978 in the government of Lodz, 3,360 in the Caucasus. In Bulgaria, there are Czech colonies at Voivodov* and at Brslianisi* near Plevna.

On the other hand, many Czechs have settled in the United States, notably in Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, the /115/ states of New York, Ohio, Texas, and Wisconsin; the number is estimated at half a million. In New Zealand there is near Auckland the Czecho-German colony of Puhoj (about 800 Czechs).

S 22. The region of the Slovaks is now very well known in Hungary. It starts at Devinska Nova Ves--near the place where the Morava empties into the Danube--runs along the Moravian frontier and that of Galicia (1) towards Stropkov (Hung., Sztropko) to the north

1. This line envelops a few Polish and Russian localities.

of Zemplen. From Stropkov it runs to Breznice, Papin*, V. Remety in the county of Uzhorod (Ungvar), reaches Huta*, the most eastern Slovak village, then it turns about towards the west through Lucenec, Levice, Vrable, whence it thrusts out a point towards the south as far as Nove

S.P. C. 101 Zamky, then touches Galanta, Bratislava, and returns to Devinska Nova Ves. (2)

2. As we have done previously, we have omitted here a certain number of localities which the reader would not find on the general maps.

In the interior of the Slovak country there are German islands in the counties of Nitra and of Turocz*, Bars*, Gemer*, and Spis (near Kezmarck and Gelnica). There are also Russian islands, Polish islands, and Magyar islands--especially between Vrable and Nitra on the north and at Abauj to the west of Kosice.

/116/ On the other hand, there are numerous Slovak islands in central and South Hungary, particularly in the counties of Esztergom (Gran) and of Budapest. These island--notably those of Kerepes* and of Pilis--are the remains of the former Slovak population. They are to be found further to the south in the counties of Bekes, of Backa (Hung: Bacska), and of Torontal*. The islands of Keresztur* and of Kocava* have been claimed by the Russian Gnatiuk for his nationality. But the Czech philologists (Pastrnek, Polivka), the Russian Sobolevskii and the Slovak Czambel have demonstrated that their inhabitants were originally from the counties of Zemplen and Sarys*.

In Slavonia, Stara Pazova is a Slovak colony; likewise in Srem (Hung: Szerem) there are Slovak colonies at Ilok, Sid and Zemun. In the Croat county of Virovitica, Punitovici* is in great part inhabited by Czechs and Slovaks.

An Evangelical Slovak colony has lately been established in Bulgaria, at Mitropolie, near Plevna.

Moreover, the largest Slovak city is Budapest where 25,000 have officially been counted, though there may actually be twice as many. There are 50,000 of them at Vienna. In recent times they have in great numbers emigrated to North America.

S.P. C. 161 S 23. Statistics.--The official censuses /117/ in the German sections of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Vienna--as for the Slovaks in Hungary--have generally been conducted to the detriment of the Czech nationals. Generally an unfair pressure is exerted upon the

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minor government employees to force them to declare their customary language to be German rather than Czech. Thus, if one wants to know the real size of the nation one always needs to rectify the official figures. In 1900 the Austrian statistics enumerated 5,955,397 Czechs (of whom 3,930,093 were in Bohemia, 1,727,270 in Moravia, 146,265 in Silesia, 132,968 in Lower Austria, including Vienna with 102,712. But M. A. Stepanek estimates the number of Czechs and Slovaks in this city at 385,000).

In 1890, the official census enumerated in Vienna 5.3% Czechs, and in 1900, 6.9%.

We may then figure as follows:

Official statistics of 1900	5,955,397
In the German Empire (approximate number) .	115,000
Slovaks in Hungary	2,019,641
Czechs in Hungary	50,000
Czechs and Slovaks in America (a guess). . . .	800,000
In Russia	55,000
In the rest of Europe	20,000
	9,015,038

On the basis of probable estimates, the number of Czechs may be increased by 200,000 or 300,000 for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and for Vienna, by 200,000 to 300,000; the number of Slovaks in Hungary by 150,000 or 200,000; but, on the other hand, one must deduct the Poles and Russians counted in the census as Slovaks. It may be estimated that there are several hundred thousand more in America, say about a million total for the Czechs and Slovaks combined. Thus, we obtain for the two groups a total of 10 million to 9,500,000 (even when deducting 100,000 Poles and Russians wrongly considered as Slovaks), say for the Czechs seven million and for the Slovaks of Hungary many more than two million (about 2,600,000). I should add that the Czechs in their area, --with the exceptions which I have noted--are generally of pure race and that, on the contrary, the Slovaks frequently have a Magyar admixture. The most Slovak county is that of Orava (97%), then that of Trecin (92.7%), that of Liptov (92.5%), and that of Zvolen (89.3%).

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Among the Czechs of Transleithania are found 1,056 women for each 1,000 men. We have no reliable data for the Slovaks. But,

S.P. 162 judging from the Hungarian statistics, the number of women also exceeds that of the men; for example, in the eleven counties of the west and of the center the proportion is 1,060 women per 1,000 men, for the civil population (1,050 women per 1,000 men when the army /119/ is included); in the east counties the proportion is 1,097 women per 1,000 men.

In the matter of longevity, if in recent times the Czechs, in comparison with the other Slavs of Cisleithania, have the fewest children, in contrast they attain the oldest age.

The number of individuals of twenty years of age is below the average (45.7%), but that of the old people is above the average (15.6% above fifty years of age).

Married persons represent 36.5%, which is a rather high figure. Only the Russians or Ruthenians have a higher percentage in Austria. In the purely Czech areas the mortality from 1881 to 1890 was 9.58%, from 1891 to 1900, 9.9% (among the Germans, 6.64% and 9.67%), giving a yearly average of 0.97%, which is below the average of the other nationalities. For the years 1890 to 1900 the absolute increase among the Czechs was only 8.28% for 1890-1900; for Austria, 9.4%.

S.P. 163 Therefore, the legend as to the low birth rate of the Czechs must be considered as incorrect if it is compared with that of their neighbors the Germans which from 1890 to 1900 was 36.3 for each 100 inhabitants. The Czech birthrate has decreased in relation to that of the Germans and, besides, it was never very much greater. On the other hand, among the Germans the infant death rate /120/ and the number of natural children is greater. (1)

1. Let us point out here that in Cisleithania, if the figures for 1851 are compared with those for 1900, the Slavs are increasing and the Germans are decreasing. Here is the table which has been drawn up by Mr. Zivansky and which indicates this increase. However, it must be accepted with certain reservations:

Years	1851	1857	1880	1890	1900	
Czechs	22.74	24.39	23.77	23.32	23.23	%
Poles	11.45	11.77	14.86	15.84	16.57	%
Russians	13.84	12.64	12.80	13.23	13.19	%
Slovenes	6.10	6.01	5.23	5.01	4.56	%

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Serbo-Croat.....	3.03	2.92	2.59	2.75	2.78	%

Slavs	57.18	57.73	59.25	60.15	60.44	%
Germans.....	36.12	34.71	36.75	36.95	35.78	%

(all the figures above are in percentages)

/Footnote continued from preceding page/
In Transleithania, including Croatia, M. Zivansky notes the following figures:

	1851	1880	1890	1900	
Magyars	36.5	41.2	42.8	45.4	%
Serbo-Croats.....	16.4	15.0	15.1	14.2	%
Slovaks	13.2	12.0	11.0	10.5	%
Russians.....	3.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	%
Romanians	17.0	15.4	14.9	14.5	%
Germans	10.3	12.5	12.1	11.1	%

Here it is the Slavs and Germans who are decreasing.

- - - - -

Likewise, among the Slovaks, according to the official statistics, the birth rate is not so good as it is thought to be. The birth rate among the Magyars is higher than among them; and marriages are more numerous on the plain than among the poor Slovak mountaineers.

Here the birth rate depends upon well-being. On the contrary, and for the same reason, the death rate is very high among the Slovaks. In short, according to the information gathered by E. Stodola, the /121/ population increase in 1900 was in comparison with the census of 1869, that is in thirty years, among the Slovaks only 20% and among the Magyars 34%. And furthermore the population increase among the Slovaks is diminished by emigration.

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Emigration is equally fatal to the Czechs and to the Slovaks. Among the Czechs, as a result of economic conditions, it is directed toward German industrial cities, especially toward Vienna, where, naturally, they easily lose their nationality. The movement

S.P. C. 167 of immigration of Germans among the Czechs is practically insignificant. On the contrary, in these ten last years 70,000 to 90,000 Slavs have left Bohemia. Formerly it was above all emigration to America which S.P. C. 167 161 weakened the Czechs. Today this movement has slowed down, but it is rather considerable among the Slovaks and it suffices to explain to us the very minor increase of the population group which in 1851 constituted 13% of the total population of Transleithania, in 1886, 12%, in 1890, 11%, and in 1900 only 10.5%. In these last thirty years, according to Stodola, there have emigrated from the 12 Slovak counties 307,000 persons--especially into America. Now, from 1850 to 1900, the total increase of the Magyars was 80%; these figures include, it is true, 25% other nationalities more or less Magyarized, which would make 1.6% a year; the increase /122/ of Slovaks has been only 0.66% a year.

S.P. C. 212 From the point of view of popular education and the restricted number of illiterates, the Czech national group holds the first rank among the Slav peoples. The Czechs are even superior to the Germans of Austria; for, according to the official statistics, there are in Bohemia 93.77% who know how to read and write, 91.84% among the Germans, 68.53% among the Slovenes, 47.52% among the Poles, and 21.87% among the Russians and Ruthenians.

In Hungary, in the purely Slovak counties, the number of illiterates is 32%; in the counties of the center where there are mixtures of Magyars and Russians, it is 42%.

S.P. C. 162 In the matter of professions, 43.1% of the Czechs devote themselves to agriculture, 36.5% to industry, 9.3% to commerce and the transportation business, 11.1% to public services. From the industrial viewpoint, only the Germans surpass the Czechs by two percentage points (38.5%); from the point of view of agriculture, the Czechs come after the Poles (65%), the Slovenes (75%), the Serbo-Croats 89%, and the Russians of Galicia (63%).

S.P. C. 75 162 In the matter of religion, the Czechs are for the most part Catholics (96.15%). It is figured that there are 2.4% Protestants. Among the Slovaks of Hungary the proportions are no longer the same There are figured to be 70.2% /123/ Catholics, 5% uniates, 23% Protestants of the Augsburg confession.

1: Niederle--78 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples E1
czechoslovakia EB1

S.P. c. 163 162 In Bohemia 50,000 Jews declared themselves to be Czechs, and in Moravia 6,792; 40,521 in Bohemia and 34,261 in Moravia declared that they were Germans. Hungary actually possesses one-tenth of the Jews of the entire world, and they are increasing more rapidly than the other national groups (14.8%). Almost all of them claim that they are Magyars.

S.P. c. 177 668 In studying the history and the ethnography of the Czecho-Slovaks, one sees that the Czechs began by losing much more territory than they gained. But this unfortunate situation has ceased; the national consciousness has developed; the spirit of an entire people has set up a solid barrier against the Germanic invasion. Certain losses are still inevitable, but they can be retrieved. The most threatened section is made up of the frontier of northern Moravia where the Germans today are concentrating their strength. They wish to unite their compact masses with the islands of Lanskroun, Zabreh, Olomouc and to cut Bohemia from Moravia. It is here that the Czech nation should especially think of acting and defending itself.

S.P. c. 161 Moreover, the increase of the Czechs with respect to that of the Germans is good. During the last ten years the Czechs have increased by 8.49% and the Germans only by 1.96%.

/124/ In the German region the Czechs have increased by 0.1% and in the Czech region the Germans gave decreased by 0.5%. The least favored region from a Czech viewpoint is that of Moravska Ostrava (Mochrisch Ostrau), where the Czechs are greatly decreasing.

000 It is important to reinforce the Czech element upon the frontier, to raise Czech capital in opposition to German money, to set up Czech schools as opposed to German schools, and, in order to stand against all assaults, to strengthen the national consciousness. It is necessary to build up the Czech element from an economic and physical viewpoint, to improve the general well-being, to increase the means of exchanging ideas.

In brief, the progress of the Germans upon the frontier has been so insignificant for the past century, that it will still be hundreds of years before it becomes a cause of concern.

What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing

S.P. C. 166 161 What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing population to the profit of the German sections. (In Moravia it is completely the contrary). In 1890 33.46% of the Czechs in Bohemia were living in German areas; in 1900 there were already 34.61% of them. During this ten year period the birth rate in the German sections was 8.1% for the Germans, and only 4.8% among the Czechs of the Czech sections. These phenomena are explained by the importance of German industry which attracts the Czechs into the German areas.

S.P. C. 48 177 Already the Germans--at least /125/ the sensible ones--recognize that it is impossible to Germanize the Czechs. The chauvinists alone still dared to hope for it, especially those who consider Bohemia as a lock which one can burst asunder in order to open to the German race an access to the Adriatic. But they are fooling themselves, as are those who believe that the Poles of the Kindom of Prussia can be denationalized.

S.P. C. 101 The situation of the Slovaks in Hungary is not nearly so good; they are deprived of all political rights and, following the example of what is happening in Prussia, they are being threatened with expropriation. Nevertheless, they continue to stand against the Magyars within their ancient boundaries, they give way only very slightly within these boundaries, and, were it not for the Magyarization which is being energetically imposed upon the nation, especially upon the upper classes, and for a rather considerable emigration, the people would be able to hold their own, all the more since they are constantly assimilating Polish and Russian elements in the north and east of their territory.

000 When in 1900 I drew up my ethnographic map for the Slovaks, the Russians protested against the figures which the statistics showed to their detriment. It has been demonstrated that the progress of the Slovaks had not been as rapid as I had thought, but it exists nevertheless. All of eastern Slovakia is nothing but Russia which has been Slovakized, and this assimilation is continuing.

S.P. C. 178 [144] /126/ S 24. Differentiation. --The primitive differentiation of the tribes has left no important trace among the Czechs. All of the shades of difference have been leveled off by time and those which relate to the physical aspects, to the languages, to costume in these latter days, have almost entirely disappeared.

S.P. C. 178 have almost entirely disappeared. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, modern civilization, the school, the obligatory military service, and similar factors have unified them more and more. It is only in Moravia that there still is some slight variety, but it will disappear even there.

S.P. C. 197 101 184 Three principal dialects are recognized in Bohemia: those of the southwest, of the center, and of the northeast. But they do not afford accentuated characteristics which render them immediately recognizable. In contrast, here and there ethnographic islands are met with, which, from the point of view of language and of costume afford special interest and are distinguished by particular names. Thus, not so long ago in the west the area of Plzen and in the east that of Litomysl with the dialect of Orlice had a special physiognomy.

Likewise in the southeast the Blataki (from Blato, swamp, lake, in the area located between Sobieslav* and Trebon*) can be distinguished, and in the region southwest of the Sumava, the Chodes*, the most typical of all of the Czech tribes (1), which were /127/

1. A few notes on the Chodes will be found in my volume, Le Monde slave (2d edition, Paris, 1897, p. 200). Translator.

formerly settled between Domazlice and Tachov, and which are now concentrated around Domazlice, the Tachov area having been partly Germanized. It is in the area of Mount Rip that the true type of Czech peasant is to be found.

The odd character of the Chodes has given rise to the most diverse theories regarding their origin. Formerly Paul Stransky*, and later Ruffer, Erben, Grabowski, suggested that they were Poles settled as colonists by Bretislav I. But their dialect offers not the slightest trace of Polish influence. The uniqueness of the Chodes is explained sufficiently by the mountainous and isolated region which they occupy, by their traditions and the privileges which they have enjoyed since the fourteenth century as guardians of the frontiers.

The origiality of the primitive tribes is better preserved in Moravia. There we may very easily distinguish three different types, not only by dialect, but by physical and ethnographic details, particularly by the costume; even more, the people themselves are conscious of these differences and glad to affirm them. Up until now the things which have been most clearly recognized are the

SP C 197 101 184 dialect and the costume. The other signs of differentiation have not been studied from a scientific viewpoint. We have noted in the first place, that in the mountain regions of Bohemia and of Moravia there exists a purely Czech element which in the south borders upon German territory.

/128/ In the northeast of Moravia and of Silesia the Lasi are met with (their country is called Lassko); they occupy the region of the Opava and the Czech section of the Tesin (Teschen) area, and in Moravia the area in which are situated the towns of Pribor, Brusperk*, Moravska, Ostrava, Frydlant, etc. The name of Lasi, furthermore, is not commonly used among the people. One finds alongside it those of Valasi* and other local names, Horale*, Kozloviane*, Dulani*, etc. The dialect of these Lasi bears strong traces of Polish influence.

The Valasi, properly speaking, are settled to the south of the Lasi in the region of Vsetin. From a linguistic viewpoint their idiom is very close to that of the Slovaks. But the people distinguish themselves very definitely from the latter, and their dress is completely different.

They are a group of purely Slovak origin who have been given the name of the Rumanian Walachians, who from the eleventh to the twelfth centuries moved into the Little Carpathians and were assimilated by the natives.

The most unusual tribe is that of the Moravian Slovaks, formerly identical with the Slovaks of Hungary, but who are today entirely different from them in life and in customs. In Moravia there remains only a small group of 18 villages which preserves the Hungarian character.

C [292] Among the Slovaks of Moravia, the national costume still persists in all its brilliance; it /129/ is so varied that an ethnographer has been able to distinguish 28 absolutely different types.

SP C 101 184 Pure-blooded Slovaks occupy the southeast corner of Moravia. To their groups are attached three former Croatian villages, which they have assimilated.

All the rest of Moravia belongs to the Hanaks*. Just as the Slovaks are lively and cheerful, the Hanaks are calm and apathetic. Their center is located on the river Hana, a tributary of the Morava which gives them their name.

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Their principal towns are: Prerov, Olomouc (Ollmutz) and Prostejov. They are divided into the Red Hanaks and the Yellow Hanaks, according to the color of their breeches. Various tribes are recognized among them: those of the Baniaks*, of the Blataks*, of the Zabeczaks*, of the Moravicks*, names which refer to certain details of topography.

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The Slovak territory can be divided up only on a theoretical basis. From the dialectological viewpoint, it divides itself into three areas: that of the west on the Nitra and the Vah, that of the center (upon the Hron and upper Vah), that of the east which reaches from Gemer* and Liptov as far as the national frontier. The inhabitants of this area are considered by many ethnographers as Slovakized Russians, and it is a fact that in the counties of Spis, of Sarys*, of Zemplin and of Ujgorod (Ungvar) the Russians are becoming more and /130/ more Slovakized. One of the most remarkable of these groups is that of the Sotaks* in the county of Zemplin.

They are so called because they say so instead of tso /co, what/ and have nothing to do with the Satagues* of Jordanes.

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Let us also mention as local names those of the Magurani* in the county of Spis, of the Trpaci* in that of Niredhazy*. Among the Slovak groups, the most unusual is that of the Detva, in the county of Zvolen: a Hungarian ethnographer, O. Hermann, chose to see in the Detvanci colonists from Hercegovina, but he is mistaken.

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The ancient ethnographers, and, following them, many modern books, indicate as forming special tribes those persons who work as peddlers, broom-makers, galziers, etc., who merely represent nomadic types common to all nationalities.

However, representatives of certain industries are natives of certain regions, for example, the dratenici, sellers of articles made from iron wire, are natives of the county of Trencsin, etc. (1)

1. Likewise in France, certain artisans are especially natives of the Creuse, the Auvergne, of Savoy, etc. Translator.

S.P.C. 184

What is of much greater interest from the Czech viewpoint than these local shades of difference, is the distinction which exists between the /131/ Czechs and the Slovaks of Hungary. This distinction arose a long time ago; it has been sanctioned by a long separation; the

S.P.C. 184 Slovaks broke away from the Bohemian crown in 1031; despite the relations which they have maintained since that time with the Czechs, and many attempts to bring them more closely together, the separation persists and, except for an unexpected miracle, it will finally lead to the division of the formerly single nationality into two different nations.

S.P.C. 175 182 [197] During long centuries, the Czechs and the Slovaks of Hungary, even though they spoke different dialects, had neither the same costumes, nor the same customs, and were living under different sovereigns and in different states, were nevertheless not conscious of these differences. Their literary representations proclaimed the unity of their language and rejoiced in it.

Attempts have been made in these latter days to demonstrate that the Slovaks were of a non-Czech origin, that they have merely been Czechized by the influence of religious literature, and that the divergences which have recently occurred were only a return toward an ancient state of affairs.

S.P.C. [197] This thesis, which was that of Czambel, recently deceased, is not sufficiently well-founded. What is certain, on the contrary, is that the Slovaks and the Czechs at the outset formed an ethnic and linguistic unit with some /132/ dialectal differences, a unit which occupied the region located to the south of the Sudeten and Carpathian mountains. But this common domain was divided by the Carpathians into two regions, one of which had its center to the west, the other to the east. These geographic conditions gave birth to two political organisms. The Danube, which was their natural bond, fell into the hands of the Germans. In 1631 the Slovak areas were detached from Bohemia and from Moravia. The religious and literary ties between the two groups in no wise succeeded in reuniting the broken bonds.

The differences between the two peoples grew more and more pronounced. Among the upper classes the idea developed that they belonged to different states, to another fatherland, that they had a different ideal of autonomy. These ideas were expressed for the first time in 1787 and towards the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, at the period when the Slovak literature broke away from the Czech literature.

Beginning with this period the Czechs had to reckon with this

S.P. C. 175 tendency, which replaced the once purely theoretical unity of the two groups by two units, akin no doubt, but independent of one another, which assigned to the Slovaks a special place in the sequence of Slav peoples.

000 The history, the internal differentiation, the political life had sufficiently prepared the ground /133/ for these events. Have they taken place in a way favorable to the future of the Slovaks? It is difficult and premature to solve this question today. We have only to recognize and to respect the individuality of the Slovaks and to hope that they may remain faithful to the feeling of solidarity and of moral unity of their group with the Czech nation.

S.P. C. 141 From a physical viewpoint, according to the latest research, the characteristic traits of the Czechs are that they are of medium height (169.2 centimeters for the men, 157.3 centimeters for the women) and very well proportioned; a rather large cranial capacity; with a rather round skull (index 83.3); an oval face of average proportions; the hair is brown or dark blond; the eyes usually light in color.

The brachycephalics are in the majority; among 100 skulls, are found 1% subdolichocephalic, 13.5% mesocephalic, 56.5% subbrachycephalic and 29% brachy--and ultra-brachycephalic. Up to the present it has been impossible to demonstrate differences by localities.

S.P. C. 142 Statistics drawn up in 1880 showed that among 100 children, 38.17% had blue eyes, 30.86% grey eyes, 30.70% brown eyes; 44.04% blond hair and 55.75% brown or black hair. The light type (blue eyes and blond hair) is represented in Bohemia by 18.3%, in Moravia by 15.9%; the dark type (brown eyes, brown or black hair) /134/ by 23.4% in Bohemia, and 23.6% in Moravia. Moreover, the crossing of types darkens the complexions, as may be verified by the statistics prepared for the ethnographic exhibition of 1895. (1) This indicates among the adults 75% with dark hair.

1. About this exhibition, which I had the good fortune to visit, see my volume Russes et Slaves (2d series, Paris, Hachette, 1896, p. 340 ff.) Mr. Niederle was one of the principal organizers of this exhibition. Translator.

000 The outcome of all of this is that the Czech type does not

1: Niederle--85 E-5 1911 E/C Slavic Peoples E/C
Czechoslovakia E/C
Slovenes EF7

S.R. C. 144 142 The outcome of all this is that the Czech type does not actually form a unique type. This circumstance is still more striking if one considers the diffusion of certain characteristics, for example, complexion. Thus the light type (blue eyes and blond hair) is found in the center of Bohemia and Moravia only in a ratio of 14%; in the mountainous sections it reaches from 20 to 25%, and in certain frontier regions where the Germans are in the majority in the northeast, it exceeds 30%. In contrast, we find in these regions 20 to 25% of the dark type; the proportion exceeds more than 25% in the mountainous regions of the Podripsko and of the Podbrdsko; but on the Czecho-Moravian plateau in certain neighborhoods it reaches only between 11 and 15%.

/135/ VI

THE SLOVENES

S.R. Sl. 101 174 S 25. Historical Introduction.--The Slovenes represent the southwestern fraction of the southern Slavs. They are the last remains of a formerly powerful group which occupied at the beginning of the Middle Ages the regions included between the bend of the Danube and the Adriatic pathway and which penetrated deeply into the Alpine regions. (1)

1. Sclaueni, Stlaueni, Sklavenoi, Sthlauenoi of the ancient texts. The word Slovene (in the language of the country Slovenec, Slovenka, in German--Slowenen) has become popular since the period of national renaissance. The Germans frequently use the designations Winden, Windisch, which may be found in many of the topographic names.

It is not known at what period the Slavs appeared for the first time in these regions. The indications, unfortunately extremely uncertain, seem to point to their having crossed the Danube at about the beginning of the Christian era, and to have appeared in the regions of Lake Balaton (Plattensee) and of the Sava. But substantial historical and archeological evidence is lacking.

/136/ One hears it affirmed constantly that the Slavs are the original races in the region of the Alps; these are vain statements. In these countries before the Christian era there lived the Ligurians, the Illyrian, Rhaetian, and Gallic tribes and some survivors of non-Aryan tribes.

Sl. S.R. 101 What is certain is that, from the end of the sixth century, this

1: Niederle--86 E-5 1911 E/C Slavic Peoples E/C
Slovenes EF7

S.P. Sl. 175 101 What is curious is that from the end of the 5th century, this region was flooded with Slavs. In the year 551 Jordanes did not yet know of them, for he drew the frontier of the Slavs from the Vistula to the lower Drava. In 595 Thassilo, Duke of Bavaria, was already fighting the Slavs in the area of the Korutania (Carinthia); in the year 600, we know that they threatened Italy. Evidently it was the departure of the Lombards for Italy which facilitiated the expansion of the Slavs.

At the beginning of this expansion they settled upon very extensive areas; but their groups were not very dense and they did not occupy all of the territory. To the east and to the north they had the Danube as their frontier--onto the right bank of which the Czechs crossed in certain localities--to the west, a line running from Linz through Wels, Dachstein, Tauern, Dreiherrenspitze and from there through the western corner of the Tyrol, as far as Innichen and Udine.

Thus they occupied the southern half of Lower Austria, all of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the territories of Gradiska and of Gorica (Goritz), the region of Lienz in the Tyrol, that is to say the east part of the Pusterthal, the Langau of Salzburg /137/ and the southeastern portion of Upper Austria. We are assured of this by the topographic nomenclature, by the ancient name of Sclavinia, and by a series of documents directly relating to the Slavic colonies. In this territory the sources mention very strong ancient tribes, such as those of the Dulebi, of the Suselci*, of the Stodoranes* alongside the Croatian colonies.

S.P. Sl. 175 At the outset of their history the Slovenes fell under the yoke of the Avars. They were freed from it by Samo (623-658). On the contrary, they were unable to resist for long the attacks of the Germans from Bavaria; their chiefs had to become the vassals of Bavaria (745-772). Then they were subjugated by the Franks (788) and by the Friuli. Sl. [775] Their country was invaded by German colonies, which systematically sought to Germanize it. The Catholic Church played the principal role in this policy of Germanization. This work was carried on at the same time by the diocese of Salzburg and by that of Aquileia. The conversion to Christianity almost always redounded to the profit of Germany. The Slav diocese of Great Moravia did not endure long (1) and exercised slight influence.

1. About this diocese, see my book on La conversion des Slaves au christianisme, ch. vi ff. Translator.

1 [the region of the Alps -- Analyst]

1: Niederle--87 E-5 1911 EKSlavic PeoplesE16
Slovenes EF7

S.P. Sl. 175 Beginning from the eight century the Alpine Slavs, who had occasionally crossed over the frontiers which we mentioned earlier, began /138/ to withdraw, especially in the north between Carinthia and the Danube, in the region called the East Mark (Ostmark). There in the north, German colonization established itself firmly upon the Danube, then upon the Leitha and upon the Mura, in the neighborhood of Celovec (Klagenfurt) and on the upper Drava. However, it scarcely descended at all along the course of this river. Then it penetrated to the banks of Lake Balaton (Plattensee), and, except for the arrival of the Magyars and the defeat of the Bavarians in 907, Germanization certainly would have invaded all of Panonia and the basin of the basin of the Drava.

The German frontier today would not be on the upper Raab, but on the lower Sava. The Magyars prevented this expansion, but in turn, they subjugated all the Slovenes--except a few groups. Moreover, the rapidity with which the Alpine areas were Germanized is explained by various circumstances. The Slavs were never very numerous in the Alpine regions of the East Mark (Ostmark). They lived in groups which were isolated and from the outset mingled with German groups.

In the texts having to do with the establishment of the churches founded by the Slavic prince Pribina and consecrated by Liufram, bishop of Salzburg (850), we find fifteen names of Slavic chiefs and fifteen names of German chiefs and we read an entire list of names of German localities. In this region the Slavs were never /139/ very strong nor very compact; thus, we must not be surprised to see them disappear in Austria proper, beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Evidently they did not exist in compact masses exept in the south, in Carantania, that is to say in southern Styria, in Carinthia, and in Carnolia, areas where they have maintained themselves until the present.

S.P. Sl. 101 S 26. Territorial Boundaries.--Today the Slovene country includes: 1) the entire Duchy of Carnolia (except the German island of Kocevje /Gottschee/), the north of Istria, Gorica /Hung: Kerrce/, the region of Udine in the Friul, the southeast part of Carinthia, southern Styria and a small section of eastern Hungary (the two counties of Vas* and Zalad*).

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Leaving the sea near Trieste, the boundary of the Slovene national group runs to Divina (Duino), Montefalcone, Gradiska, Kormin* (Cormons*), then it goes into Italy, includes the area to the east of Cedad*, Tarcenta*, Resia and comes back to the frontier of the Austrian State at Kanin*, then it runs to Potabl* (Pontafel*, in Italian, Pontebba*), Saint-Hermagoras, Dobracz* and Villach (Slovenian; Beljak) which is for the greater part German. It crosses the Drava, passes near Lake Vrbsky (Worthersee), near Kostanje (Kostenberg), Blatograd (Moosburg), Kamsky Grad (Kamberg), then it runs to Krka (Gurk), goes towards Djekse (Diex), Kerczanie (Grentschach), Grebin* (Griffen), /140/ Ruda* (Ruden*), Led* (Lis*), Labod* (Lavamund), Pernice* (Pernitzen*), St-Iernej*, St-Pancrace*, and Arfels*, which is German.

Fifty years ago the outskirts of this town were still Slovenian. Today they are Germanized. The right bank of the Mura from Svecane to Radgona (Radkersbourg) is also Germanized. At Radgona the boundary crosses over the Drava and goes past Potrna, Zenkova and Gorica (Hung: Kerrce) towards Hungary. There it follows the frontier as far as Serdica (Szerghaza in Magyar), goes to Saint-Gothard (Hungarianian, Szentgotthard) which is German, and reaches the Raab (Hungarian, Raba). Then it turns south, crosses Bergelin, Salovce, Krizevce (in Magyar, Tot Keresztur), Berkevce, Falkovce (Urdomb), Ladomir, Bukovnice (Bakonak), Velika Palina, crosses the Mura at Gornia Bistrica, leaves on the right some Croatian localities and then follows the political frontier of Croatia, of Styria, and of Carnolia. There the line descends to the south towards Istria, and again reaches the seacoast.

S.P. Sl. 101 162

Certain philologists attach to the Slovenes the inhabitants of the Croatian counties of Varazdin and of Zagreb (German; Agram). In the census of 1900 in which the Slovenes were still counted, 17,342 of them were reported, especially in the zupaniates or counties of Varazdin and of Zagreb (Agram). But they were scattered in the midst of the Croat population.

There is still a Slovenian island in Hungary in the county of Somogy, in the borough of Tarany, /141/ where in 1900 there were enumerated 1,597 Slovenes against 764 Magyars. Certain small islands are to be found in the interior of Istria. On the contrary, there are,

S.P. Sl. 101 162 particularly to the north and to the east, numerous German islands; we have already mentioned the German group at Kocevje (Gottschee), which includes a considerable number of localities.

S.P. Sl. 162 177 Furthermore, the northern frontier, and also that which touches Hungary, are gravely threatened. In Carinthia and in Styria the Germans have taken over the official functions and the schools, and, thanks to their efforts, the number of Slovenes is diminishing considerably. In Carinthia 101,050 Slovenes were reported in 1890; in 1900 the figure was reduced to 90,495 and it is to be feared that the coming generation will be completely Germanized. In Styria, in 1850, 643,194 Germans were enumerated as compared with 363,750 Slovenes; in 1900 there were 902,343 Germans against 409,521 Slovenes. Thus in a half-century the number of Germans had increased by 40.5% and that of the Slovenes only 12.5%. These figures, as we shall explain farther along, are not completely reliable. However, it is impossible to deny a serious decrease in the number of Slovenes in all the areas in which they live.[1] Refer above in Section 23 to the table of the birth rate of Slav peoples which shows 6.1% for the Slovenes in 1880, 5.23% in 1890, and only 4.65% for the year 1900.

The most threatened frontier is that of /142/ Carinthia and Styria between Arvez* and Radgona (German; Radkersburg) where the Slovenes are withdrawing constantly on the south side and are maintaining themselves only in the mountains. In Hungary they are being rapidly Magyarized, notably in the county of Zelezna (Vas). Furthermore, even in Carnolia, they are increasing very slightly, as will be indicated later.

S.P. Sl. 161 S 27. Statistics.--Along with the Sorbs of Lusatia, the Slovenes constitute the smallest Slavic people and also the most threatened one. They are strangled between the Germans, the Italians, and the Magyars, furthermore, their birth rate is almost insignificant.

In Austria the following figures were counted:

In 1880	1,140,504
In 1890	1,176,672
In 1900	1,192,780

In Hungary, in 1890, there were counted 94,992 (including

[1] [cf. E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, category 11C, pp. 75-76, foot note 1 — Analyst]

S.P. Sl. 161

20,987 for Croatia and Slavonia). In 1900 the statistics omitted them. Between 1890 and 1900 the total increase for all of Austria was 9.4%, while that for the Slovenes was only 1.37%.

The following is the general total of Slovenes for the year 1900:

In Austria	1,199,786
In Italy	35,000
In Hungary and Croatia	102,000
In America	100,000
Other countries	20,000
	1,456,786

/143/ Tsteniak, who lowers the total for Hungary, numbered them at 1,416,580; Klima, at 1,444,364. The figures which we give probably require some corrections for Cisleithania.

Thus, in Carinthia, the specialists count 40,000 more of them than the official statistics. For Trieste and the surrounding area the statistics for 1900 give only 16% Slovenes against 77% Italians. But, at the time of the 1907 elections the Slovene candidates received more votes than the Italians. One of them was even elected. We may venture then to estimate the number of Slovenes at a million and a half.

S.P. Sl. 182

Even though they may be few in number, the Slovenes do not have to fear the loss of their nationality, for they have an entire province to themselves, Carniola; this was sufficient to enable them to succeed in reinforcing their sense of nationality and to develop a public educational system. Their political situation is very important for the Slav race; it is they who prevent the Germans from linking the Adriatic with the North Sea. (1)

1. I have already expressed these ideas in 1868 in an article published by La Revue moderne and reprinted in my volume Le Monde slave (2d ed., p. 43, Hachetter, 1897) Translator.

S.P. Sl. 212 S.P. Sl. 162

In the matter of education, the Slovenes in Austria are ahead of the Poles, the Russians, the Serbo-Croats. They have only 23.9% illiterates. The ratio of the two sexes is 1,032 women for each 1,000 men (1,098 in Carnolia). From the point of view of age it is figured /144/ that they have only 45.8% below twenty years of age; but in contrast 18.9% are above fifty years of age; the proportion of married persons is 32.2, which is below normal.

000 In the matter of thebirth rate, during these latter years it has

S.P. Sl. 168 181 167 In the matter of the birth rate during these latter years it has been very low in Carniola: between 1890 and 1900, 1.84%; the birth-rate for Austria taken all together is 9.44%. Between 1880 and 1890 the coefficient was 9.44%. For all of the Slovenes taken together the coefficient is only 1.37%.

Therefore, the development of the nation appears to be arrested. This phenomenon is due in part to denationalization, in part to emigration, and in part to inexact census figures.

S.P. Sl. 162 [195] From the religious viewpoint the Slovenes are almost entirely Catholics (99.9%). In respect to occupations, 75.4% devote themselves to farming, 13.4% to industry, 3.5% to trade, and 7.7% to public services.

S.P. Sl. 197 101 S 28. Differentiation.--From a linguistic viewpoint there are rather numerous differences; but they are not very deep (see what is said further along regarding the dialectology of the southern Slavs). To designate the various groups within the nation, the Slovenes usually give themselves geographic names, borrowed from their political boundaries: Kranjci (Carniolians), Primorci /145/ (people of the seacoast), Korosci (Carinthians), Goricani (Goricians), Styrians, or names of an even more local character, borrowed from the orography and the hydrography. In Styria there are singled out the Pohorianci, the Polianci of the Mura and of the Drava, the Halozanes, in Carniola the Gorenici (people from above), Dolenici (people from below), and the Notranjci who speak different dialects. To the north of the Mura, the Prekmurci (Transmurians) present an interesting type. In the north-west of Istria the Savrini or Bresavi are also pure-blooded Slovenes, as are the Berkini in the north of Istria. On the contrary the Fucki in the outskirts of the town of Buzet (Pinguente) and the Cici are Croats of the kaikavski and cakavski dialects. (1) Likewise, the White

1. Although certain philologists attach the Kaikavci of Croatia to the Slovenes, we relegate them to the next chapter; they consider themselves to be Croats.

Krainici--so called from their costume--who are settled between Kocevje and the Kupa River are also of the kaikavski dialect.

A very interesting group, particularly studied by Professor Beaudoin de Courtenay (2), is the group of Resians established in the

2. A Pole, despite his French name, Mr. Beaudoin de Courtenay today lives in St. Petersburg. Translator.

Friul, in the neighborhood of Udine. They[1] are crossed with /146/ Serbo-Croatian blood and perhaps with another, which explains why their language is divided into four dialects. These Slavs of the Friul are settled in eight purely Slovenian communes of the district of San Pietro, in three communes and several mixed localities of the districts of Taranto, Cividale, Gemona and in the purely Slavic commune of Resia (district of Moggio--German, Reschenscheideeck). Beaudoin de Courtenay estimates that the Slavs of the districts of Gemona and of Tarcento are Serbo-Croats, those of Stara Gora and of Cividale are Slovenes; according to him the inhabitants of the district of San Pietro are Slovenes crossed with Croats and Resians, the product of the mixture of a non-Aryan people with the primitive Slavs.

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VII

THE CROATS AND THE SERBS

S 29. Historical Introduction. --The Croats and the Serbs belong like the Slovenes and the Bulgars to the south Slav or Yugo-Slav family (1). They formed at the outset a single group, which

1. Yugo means south. Translator.

history has divided into two sections, into two nations, the Serbs and the Croats. Both of these two nations, even though they are conscious of their kinship, lay claim to an autonomous life.

Even formerly there existed distinctions between the various sections of the future Serb unit and the future Croat unit. But these distinctions were not deep ones. They consisted of dialectic shades of difference, the organization into different tribes, distinct political outlooks, etc.

At the beginning we find ourselves in the presence of an aggregati of tribes belonging to a single group, belonging to a single linguistic type with very slight differences; this group left its early homeland in the region of the /148/ Carpathians, moved towards the Danube, then the Dra the Sava and the Balkan peninsula. The various tribes settled over a considerable extent of territory, without geographic unity; they were separated by the mountains; they communicated with each other with

[1] [i.e. Resians in the Friul -- Analyst]

S.P. Cr. 86 174 [101] difficulty. They isolated themselves from one another, they were concentrated in different political groups, they assimilated the debris of the autochtonous nations. In the northwest the Croat area in the largest sense of the word took shape--bounded in the tenth century by the sea as far as the mouth of the Cetina (Tsetinia), established on the Kupa and the Drava--the location of the frontier along the Bosnian side is not clearly known; and on the other hand the Serbian area in the largest sense of the word included everything to the east of Croatia as far as the Shara mountains (Shar-Planina) and the region of the Morava. To this Serbian region Constantin Porphyrogenetos added the maritime tribes of the south between the Cetina (Tsetinia) and the Piva, Scutari (Skadar) and Durazzo (Drac). But originally these regions did not belong to the Serbs. At what epoch did the Serbo-Croats occupy this territory? We do not know exactly.

Certain families, perhaps even tribes, crossed the Danube before the fifth century, but the total immigration did not take place before the fifth or sixth centuries. What we may affirm is that they did not come in the seventh century in the reign of Heraclius (about 630-640), as is recounted by Constantin /149/ Porphyrogenetos according to tradition; they took part in the general immigration movement of the Slavs towards the Balkan peninsula in the fifth and sixth centuries.

S.P. Cr. 86 101 175 From the very beginning the history of these Slavs, conditioned by geographic influences, followed two different currents. The tribes of the northwest, settled in favorable conditions near the sea, were the first to form a sizeable state (perhaps from the seventh century, but especially during the ninth and tenth centuries). They gave to it the name of Croatia, the origin of which is not known and of which no satisfactory explanation exists.

The tribes of the south and of the east were a long way from the sea; they inhabited a mountainous and poor region; they did not develop a political life until later on, towards the tenth or eleventh century. They grouped themselves about the tribe of the Serbs which originally was settled on the Tara, Lim, and Ibar Rivers. It is in Novi Pazar (ancient Rascia) that the word Srbia is first met with. This name spread throughout the region of the southwest which was detached from the Croat national unit. From that time two political entities developed side by side, often even in combat with each other; and political divorce finally took place when Croatia in 1102 became

SP CR Sb 101 175 attached to the Hungarian crown. In 1526 it passed, with that crown, under the scepter of the Hapsburgs.

SP CR Sb 175 150 The Serbs on their side were getting ready in the twelfth century for the most brilliant period of their history, a period inaugurated by the great zupan Stevan Nemanji (1168-1196). The breach widened still further when the two groups found themselves separated from a religious viewpoint. The Croats, as a result of their political ties with the pope, had received from Rome the royal crown, the liturgy, and the Catholic hierarchy. The Serbs, on the other hand, had received from Byzantium Christianity and also antocephalous church, at the time of Archbishop Sava, brother of the first crowned Tsar, Stevan. This double ecclesiastical influence deeply penetrated into the entire national life and manifested itself in the literature.

CR Sb 212 181 While the Croats used the Roman alphabet, the Serbs used the cyrillic alphabet. The former followed Latin culture; the latter Byzantine culture.

Sb 175 668 Serbian power was destroyed by the Turks at the battle of Kosovo (1389); but they did not draw any nearer to the Croats. Subject to the Osmanlis, they preserved their national character, they again recruited their energy, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, after the insurrections of 1804 and of 1815, they regained little by little their political autonomy.

The Principality of Serbia appeared as a solid nucleus ready to gather together all of the Serbian elements of the Balkans into a new national unit.

Sb CR 175 668 /151/ During this time the Croats unfortunately exhausted their strength in perpetual warfare against the Turks and in struggles for either internal independence or for the dynasty. Recently both the Serbian government and the Austrian government have equally disappointed the hopes of the Serbo-Croatian nation.

Recently the annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina to Austria has completely nullified the dreams of a Great Serbia.

000 This political situation has exercised a profound influence, not

7 [from the 12th - 19th centuries -- A. Nahyot]

000 only upon the internal situation of the two sections originally unified, but also upon their mutual relations.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 668 191 There indeed developed between 1830 and 1840 a movement called Illyrian, which sought to unite them,[1] but it had no other results than to unify the literary language for which the dialect called stokavski was adopted. But from the political viewpoint, each of the two sections, despite the original unity of their language, differentiated only by dialectical shadings, followed its own course.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 175 167 Their[2] development has been particularly hindered by exterior circumstances. At first there were the Turkish invasions and the servitude which followed them. Many of the groups emigrated from their ancient homes to seek a more certain asylum. At the outset, Sb [361] Serbian colonization went upstream on the Morava, towards the south. The first centers, the first /152/ capitals were Novi Pazar, Pristina, Prizren, and Skoplje.

But the arrival of the Turks completely displaced the movement. Beginning with the sixteenth century, the Croats went back towards the north, and the Serbs did so even more. To escape from the Turkish oppression, Croat colonies were established in Hungary, in the region situated between the middle reaches of the Raab, the lake of Ferto-Tava (Neusiedler Lake), Bratislava and Vienna. Some even pushed as far as into Moravia and the interior of Hungary.

S.P. Sb. 175 167 These migrations greatly modified the type of the primitive Serbian population. From the regions which formerly had been the home and center of the nation, from Kosovo Polje, from Old Serbia, hundreds of thousands of men came forth to establish themselves in the relatively peaceful regions of Austria-Hungary.

This movement began at the end of the fourteenth century, after the battle of Kosovo (1389) and the conquest of Skoplje by the Turks (1391), after which the Turks began to march towards the region of Lom, Bosnia, and the country of Khum, and finally towards the north. The Serbs then had to withdraw towards the Danube and move their Sb center towards Krusevac and finally towards Smederevo (Semendria). [682] In 1459, the Turks definitely abolished Serbia, and in 1463, Bosnia. The Serbs then began to cross in great masses to the other side of the

[1] [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Analys.]

Danube and of the Sava. Towards 1481, 50,000 of them emigrated /153/ form the region of Krusevac, and these migrations were repeated several times from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, especially after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna, in 1683, and after the treaty of Karlovci (Karlowitz) in 1699, as a result of which the Turks were compelled definitely to give up Hungary and Transylvania. The Serb colonization was favorably regarded by Austria, and the Court of Vienna did not hesitate to promise liberties and privileges, of which only very few were later realized. Also, on numerous occasions, notably in 1750 and 1752, the Serbs left the Austrian State and went to settle in Russia, in New Serbia, of which we shall speak later on.[1]

SP Sb 175 167

From the outset of the fifteenth century, we find Serb colonies in the island of Czeplo, then later in Srem (Syrmien), Backa (Baczka), the country of Torontal and of Timisoara (Temesvar). The great migration into these countries took place in 1690, under the leadership of Arseniye III Tsmoievitch, patriarch of Ipek (Petch), who led, it is said, 80,000 persons; another took place in 1737 under the leadership of Arseniye Iovanovitch. In Styria, there were Serb colonies near Ptuj from the sixteenth century. The original Slavic domain of ancient Serbia was depopulated to such an extent that it was occupied by Albanian refugees; we can testify even today to the existence of this Albanian wedge which becomes sharper every day, which penetrates into the very heart of ancient Serbia, as far as Kosovo Polje, and which thrusts its point as far as the present kingdom. /154/ Today the region of Kosovo Polje is called Arnautluk (the country of the Arnaut or Albanians) and, according to the information furnished by Nusic, there are very few villages which do not contain Albanians, and there are some which have no Serbs at all, even though they bear Serbian names. Three quarter of the population is made up of Albanianized Serbs. A few years ago the Albanians were even settled in the Principality of Serbia, on the Toplica, Jablanica, and Morava Rivers; they left after the war of 1878 and the region has again been occupied by the Serbs. In 1900 only 2,151 Albanians were counted in Serbia, almost all of them in the district of Vranie, where 205,000 Serbs are found alongside them.

SP Sb 167 563

This withdrawal of the Serb national group toward the north was the result of the Turkish wars, and it is only during the past few

SP Sb 167 175

1 [cf. cat. 11b, p.101 -- Analyst]

years that Serbia has recognized how much she has lost and how little she has gained: for the region of Novi Pazar and of Kosovo is the keystone of her future. The Albanian question is a vital question to Serbia. S.P. SB. 167 175 000

Furthermore, in the Serbian section of the Balkan peninsula, there have been many internal migrations between the different regions, migrations which recently have been studied by Mr. Cvijic. In these movements Serbia played a passive role; an active role was played by Hercegovina, by Montenegro, and by a portion of Macedonia. S.P. SB. 166

/155/ If the Serbs in the southwest withdrew before the Albanians, in the northeast they withdrew before the Rumanians. This is what is found not only in the Hungarian Banat, where a great number of Rumanian villages bear Serb names, but also in the Kingdom of Serbia where, at a bend of the Danube, between Milonovac and Zajecar, the Rumanians have penetrated in compact masses and where the Serbs have been unable to absorb them. It even appears, according to Mr. Resetar, that they are increasing in numbers, even though the official statistics try to diminish their number. For 1900, 89,873 of them[1] were enumerated; but there were also 32,556 bilingual persons speaking Serbian. To compensate for these losses, one may point out the success of the Serbo-Croat national group in Dalmatia, where the sea-coast which previously was Roman, is rapidly becoming Slavisized. This Slavisation did not take place immediately upon the arrival of the Slavs in Roman Dalmatia, but was the result of a long process which in part Slavisized the Romans and in part forced them to migrate. It was only in the Seventeenth Century that the Romans disappeared,[2] and a few vestiges of their former tongue remained as a sort of slang in the island of Krk (Veglia) until the end of the nineteenth century. S.P. SB. 563 167 S.B. [191] SB 167 S.B. C. [191]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Split (Spalato) and Dubrovnik (Ragusa) were already Slavic. At the time of the Turkish invasions the Adriatic seacoast was first depopulated, then colonized again. From the neighborhood of Zadar (Zara) Slav colonies crossed into southern Italy /156/ where their descendants can still be found today. We shall speak of them in a short while. S.P. C.r. SB. 175 167

On the western frontier of Serbia between the Morava, the Timok, and the Pirot, there was for a long time a transitional zone S.P. SB

[1] [Rumanians in the Kingdom of Serbia--Analyst] 563

[2] [Along the Dalmation coast--Analyst] 167

S.P. Sb. 163 167

between Serb territory and Bulgar territory. The nationality of the inhabitants of this region has been for a long time a matter of controversy. But since the Serbs have occupied it and have brought to it their civilization, it can no longer be differentiated from the Serbian group. According to Mr. O. Brosh, an analogous phenomenon occurred in the south, in the section of Serbian territory called Old Serbia.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101

S 30. Territorial Boundaries.--

The Serbo-Croats are divided today among several states. The Croats belong entirely to Austria-Hungary. In fact, they occupy the Slavic section of Istria and of the seacoast, a section of Dalmatia and of Bosnia, all of Croatia and Slavonia, with the exception of Srem (Syrmien), and are scattered besides in western Hungary. The Serbs have their principal nucleus in the Balkan peninsula. They are settled in the independent kingdom, in Bosnia-Hercegovina annexed to Austria, and in a section of Dalmatia, in the independent principality of Montenegro, in the northern sections of the Turkish vilayets of Scutari (Skadar) and of Skoplje, in the north of Slavonia, and they /157/ form sizeable islands in South Hungary.

Because of the great size of the area over which they are scattered, their boundary is poorly defined and it is difficult to trace its outline. It is still more difficult to trace the boundary which separates the Serbs from the Croats. This is how one could mark it approximately: It starts out at the little stream of Dragonja and from the Croat town of Buzet (Pinguente), where the Croats of the two dialects kaikavski and cakavski meet the Slovenes and the Italians; then the border runs down to the south and passes into Istria through Beram (Vermo), Vodnjan (Dignano), and reaches Pula (Pola), then it follows the seashore of the Adriatic as far as the Bojana, which runs into the lake of Skadar (Scutari). Certain cities, Rijeka (Fiume), Zadar (Zara) are in great measure inhabited by the Italians. On the other hand, Sibenik, Trogir (Trau), Split (Spalato) are Slav. However, there are in the Kvarner (Quarnero) Islands some Italian localities.

S.P. Cr. [197]

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From the Bojana the line which separates the Serbs from the Albanians runs through the middle of the lake of Skadar (Scutari) and passes to the south of the frontier of Montenegro through Sutorman, Vila, Gusinje, Plav, near Pec /Ipek/, then below Djakovica, Prizren, it reaches Mount Chardagh and Mount Karadagh and comes to Vranje

S.P. Sb. 101

on the Morava. (1) Thus, as we already have pointed out, in the

1. The Serbs claim for their national group the area of Tetovo, Skoplje, and Kumanovo. They draw the boundary of their language /158/ through the Chardagh and then run it towards Tetovo, Skoplje, Kratovo; some of them even run it towards Kyustendil, Radomir, Iskets, Berkovica, Belogradchik, Kula, and Bryagovo (for example, Belic on his recent map). Mr. Resetar has the southern boundary start from Ulcinj and runs it the length of Montenegro (Plav and Gusinje are mixed localities), then from the Albanian Alps to the point where the two Drim (Drin) Rivers run together. The western boundary, if only the pure Serbian dialect is considered, goes from Janjevo in Old Serbia as far as the point where the two Morava Rivers run together, at Stalac, then it runs towards Bukovik, Rtanj, Toupijnitsa near Zaitchar and the Timok, which it follows to the Danube; the region of Vranje-Pirot presents certain characteristics of the Bulgar dialect in its language; but one may, as a consequence of political circumstances, consider it as a Serbian region.

region of Novi Pazar and of Kosovo, the Albanian element has made such progress that it now reaches as far as Prepolie, Sienitsa, Novi Pazar, Mitrovica.

From Kraina, the Serbian boundary runs toward Pirot, Zajecar and the Danube. It crosses that stream at Dolnji-Milanovacs and enters the Hungarian plain at Svinitsa, where at the outset it runs along the Danube. Then at the level of Stara Moldava, it turns again towards the north. After that it is not possible to draw a line, because, in these regions the Serbs and Croats do not live in compact masses. but form a series of islands of varying sizes in the southern section of the county of Krasso-Szoreny*, in the entire county of Timisoara (Temesvar) and of Torontal*, the southern section of Backa, the east of the county of Baranja, the south of the county of Szomod*, the west of that of Heves, of Soprony (Pressbourg) and of Mosony.

/159/ In southern Hungary the area situated between Feertemplom, Vrsac (Versec), Venga, Timisoara (Temesvar), Arad, Szeged, and Sombor is considerably populated with Serbs.

The boundary of Serbian territory, as far as one may make it

S.P. Sb. 101 make it out, starts from Stara-Moldava and passes through the villages or towns of Kroupica, Subotica, Izbiste, Aulma*, Dolova*, Dobrica, Roudna, Srpski Modosh, Srpska Boka, Srpska-Neuzina, Bokosh, Orlovat (Orlod), Perlez*, Veliki Beckerek (or Zrenjanin or Petrovgrad). Petrovgrad, Melenci, Curug, Nadal*, Turia (Torja), Sentomash, Despot, Sentivan (Szent-Ivan), Paraga*, Tovarichovo*, Deronie*, Vaiska and Sonta (Szond) on the Danube. Then it is necessary to point out a certain number of Serbian islands, especially the rather large group of the county of Torontal, to the east of Senta (Zenta), as far as Velika Kikinda, and a certain number of islands, for example that of Krasso, in the county of the same name, others in that of Timisoara, in Backa, around Sombor (Zombor), and even in the county of Budapest and, beyond the Danube, islands in the outskirts of Mohacs. Here the Croatian domain begins, represented by a few islands in Magyar and German areas, between Pecs and Mohacs. The compact group of Croats starts in the south of the county of Szomod, at Stara (Sztara) on the Drava. At the beginning it forms a group of communes along the river, then another group in the county of Szalad*, where the Croat tongue is spoken to the north of the Mura, and it extends as far as Kanjiza, on the frontier of Styria.

S.P. Cr. 101

/160/ A long chain of Croat villages stretches out in the counties of Vas, of Soprony and of Moson, between the frontier of Hungary and the middle course of the Raab, as far as the Leitha and the Danube. These villages are divided between four principal groups. The Croat colonies have even crossed the Leitha and the Danube and penetrated as far as the outskirts of Pozony, as far as the lower Morava, on the banks of which a few of them have been Slovakized.

S.P. Cr. [177]

In 1900, 1,560 Croats were enumerated in this area. They descend from the colonists brought in by General Christoph Teufenbach.

The Croat boundary then runs down from Kanisza towards the south, the length of the frontier of Styria and Carniola, as far as the northeast corner of Istria, and it rejoins, by way of Podgrad (Castelnuovo), Soczergy and Rakitovicza, the Dragonja (Dragongna) River from which we started a short while ago.

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We find other Serb and Croat colonies outside of this compact region. In the first place many of them are found in Albanian country, notably in Old Serbia which is becoming re-Serbianized more and

S.P. Cr. 101 more, and also in Macedonia. Regarding this province, we are unable, because of the contradictory character of our information and of the brevity of this book, to furnish detailed data. Some Serbs live in the regions of Tetovo, of Kumanovo, of Skoplje.

S.P. Cr. 101 167 Aside from the Serb and Croat groups which /161/ may live in the principal cities of Europe, there are also colonies in Italy, in Russia, and in America.

S.P. Cr. 101 167 In Italy, as a result of the Turkish invasions, Croats settled in the Udine area where they became mixed with the Slovenes (see Section 28) and also in the Abruzzi. There they still exist today in the district of Molise and in the province of Campobasso where there are still three villages today: Acqua Viva Colla Croce (Cruc), San Felice Slavo, Montemitro (Mundimitar). There are about 5,000 persons. Italian statistics do not count individuals, but families. The three communes which we have just named are the remains of a large Slavic area which stretched as far as the province of Chieti. These Croats are the descendants of the emigrants who came in the sixteenth century from the seacoast of Dalmatia, between Makarska and the Naretva (Narenta).

S.P. Sb. 101 167 Between the years 1750 and 1752, a great number of Serbs, discontented with the behavior of the Austrian government, migrated to Russia. They settled in the northern section of the gubemiya of Kherson, in the districts of Yelizavetgrad (now Kirovograd) and of Alexandrovo, and the city of Yelizavetgrad was their principal stronghold. Founded in 1756, it was at first called Fort Saint Elisabeth. The region was named New Serbia. In the northeast of the gubernia of Ekaterinoslav, another area was called Slaviano-Serbia. It was located between the northern Don, the /162/ Bakhmut (now Artemovsk), and the Lugan. But these Serbs, whose religion was the same as that of the Russians, were completely Russianized and were not reported separately in the Russian statistics. In 1842 Safarik still showed them on his ethnographic map. Mr. Florinskii, in his recent work, estimates their number at 9,000; but he adds that they have almost entirely forgotten their original language.

S.P. Cr. 167 In recent times, many Croats of Austria-Hungary have emigrated to America; American statistics confound them with the Slovenes and

One, for example, for the year 1905 a total of 35,000.

1 [cf. E16 Slavic peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 91-92, category 116 - Analyst]

000 give, for example, for the year 1905, a total of 35,000.

S.P. 56 167

The number of Serb emigrants is not so large. They settle especially in the cities of North America. There have also been, for the past thirty years, colonists in New Zealand and in the Auckland Islands.

S.P. 56 162

It is very difficult to determine the boundary between the Serbs and the Croats. In Hungary, as we have already said, it begins at Stara, on the Drava. But the official statistics of Croatia and Slavonia do not distinguish between Serbs and Croats. It is the same in Cisleithania and we do not have the required information. One may, to a certain degree, take advantage of the statistics showing religious adherence and of the new map of Dr. Vasa Ruvarac. But this map gives only the division by districts and besides, as we /163/ have previously mentioned, religion itself is not an absolute indication.

S.P. 56 161

S 31. Statistics.---It is very difficult, if not impossible, to give statistics about the Croats and Serbs, either all together, or taken separately. For the Turkish area we have no certain census and we are reduced to the guesses of individual Serbs or Bulgars, who, pursuing the tendencies which statisticians adopt, differ from one another to an unusual degree. (1) For Istria, the seacoast, Dalmatia,

1. In 1889, the Serb S. Gropcevic figured that in Old Serbia and in Macedonia there were 2,048,000 Serbs and 57,600 Bulgars. In 1900, the Bulgar Kancov figured 700 Serbs and 1,180,000 Bulgars.

Bosnia and Hercegovina, we do not have a distinction made between Serbs and Croats. Such distinction is found only in the Hungarian statistics. On the other hand, as will be seen further on, we assign to the Bulgars the population of Macedonia, properly speaking, south of Sofia. The following gives the approximate numbers of Serbs and of Croats in 1900:

Austria	711,382
Croatia and Slavonia	2,101,580
Hungary, approx.	700,000
Rieka (Fiume)	13,929
Bosnia-Hercegovinia (according to /164/ the census of 1905), approx.	1,650,000
Montenegro, approx.	350,000

1: Niederle--103 E-5 1911 EK Slavic Peoples EK

Serbs EF6 Croats EF4

S.P. Cr. Sb. 161

Kingdom of Serbia	2,298,551
Old Serbia and Macedonia, approx. . . .	300,000
Vilayet of Skadar (Scutari) and Albania, approx.	100,000
Italy	5,000
Russia	3,000
America and other countries.	300,000
Total	8,533,442

We should add one detail. In Hungary, the official statistics enumerated, in 1900, 2,730,749 Serbo-Croats; but the Sokci, Bunievci and Krasovani (1) Catholics were counted separately. They were

1. These names will be explained further on.

carried with other nationalities under the heading: various languages. We can, with the Serbian almanac of the Matica of Novi Sad for 1903, figure on 108,267 of them and add this number to the Serbo-Croats. Professor Cintula* arrived at a similar evaluation (between 105,000 and 110,000).

In Bosnia and Hercegovina, an official census was held in 1895, in Montenegro, at the end of the year 1896; by taking into account the annual increase, one may arrive at approximate results. I have been unable to secure official results for Montenegro. I have written several times, but my letters have remained without reply.

For Old Serbia and Macedonia, it is now impossible /165/ to give an exact total. I have accepted that of 300,000, basing this upon the latest information which we have upon the Serbs (including the Mohammedan Serbs) in the region of Novi Pazar, Kosovo Pole, Metohija and the bishopric of Skoplje. A Serbian almanac raises this figure to a million. The evaluation of Hilmi Pasha (1905), who estimated in Macedonia 600,000 Serbs and 170,000 Bulgars among the entire mass of population, is evidently erroneous.

For the vilayet of Skadar (Scutari), Bianchi figured, twenty years ago, 70,000 Serbs.

In the matter of the distribution of the Serbs and the Croats, the Hungarian statistics for 1900 placed in Hungary 188,552 Croats, 434,641 Serbs; in Croatia-Slavonia, 1,478,000 Croats, and 610,909

S.P. Cr. Sb. 164

Serbs, or a total of 1,667,377 Croats and 1,045,550 Serbs, while leaving out the Sokci, the Bunievci and the Krasovani, which the Serbian almanac, of which we have spoken above, assigned to the Serbs. The same almanac assigned to the Serbs the Catholics of Bosnia-Hercegovina (334,000). It also found 100,000 Serbs in Austrian Dalmatia.

According to these Serbian statistics, there are in Europe a maximum of 2,300,000 Croats. But the Croats figure otherwise, and in assigning to themselves the Bosnian, Bunievci, and Krasovani Catholics, they arrive at a total of 2,700,000 for Europe. Since statistics in Croatia and /166/ in Cisleithania make no distinction between the two nationalities, it is impossible to make any positive statement.

The Academician Jagic (1) secured from the patriarchate of

1. Formerly professor at the University of Vienna, corresponding member of the Academie des Inscriptions. For his works see the Journal des Lavants for 1908.

Karlovci official data from which he concluded that the number of Orthodox Serbs of Hungary and Croatia is 1,149,314. This total comes within about 100,000 of being what the Hungarian statistics have indicated.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 163

The increase of the Serbs and the Croats in Hungary, as far as we may judge from the statistics, is taking place in a very unequal manner. It is in Istria that the Croats have the lowest birth rate; they are withdrawing before the Italians. (2) In 1851, they made up 57.36%

2. One must never forget that the official censuses are made up to the benefit of the Italians and consequently are unfavorable to the Croats.

of the population; in 1906, this figure fell to 42.58%. In contrast, the Croats of Dalmatia, who were numbered at 378,676 in 1851, had increased to a total of 562,000 in 1900. They represented 96.1% of the total population a half-century ago. Today they represent 96.6%.

For the decade ending in1890, the increase in Istria was 8.64%; in Dalmatia, 12.58%. If we consider only the national group, we find the Serbo-Croats of Austria /167/ an increase of 10.3% in ten years, or 1.03% per year. This is, after the Poles, the highest rate in the Empire. In Croatia and in Slavonia, the gross increase was 1.04%;

S.P. Cr. 2. 163 the net increase 0.98%.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, the rate, for a period of ten years, was still greater; gross total, 14.8%, net total, 14.2%, otherwise speaking, the birth rate exceeded the death rate by 1.48%. During these latter years, one notes a much more considerable increase but it results from the large number of migrations of persons fleeing from the Turkish territory. The same may be said for Bosnia and Hercegovina, where, as a result of immigration, an abnormal increase was produced at the end of the last century (from 1879 to 1895, 2.13% on an average). Between 1901 and 1904, the increase was only 0.95% per year.

In the north, the Croats and the Serbs are threatened by the Magyars in Hungary and by the Germans in Croatia. The Magyars and the Germans are greatly increasing in number in Croatia. In the space of ten years, from 1880 to 1890, the Serbo-Croats in this province increased by 12.23%, the Germans by 41.3%, the Magyars by 66.1%. In the years 1890 to 1900, the Slavs increased by 8.96%, the Germans by 13.12%, the Magyars by 30.3%. Thus, between 1880 and 1900, the relative number /168/ of Slavs decreased from 90.48% to 87.22%; that of the Germans increased from 4.4% to 5.53%, that of the Magyars from 2.19% to 3.74%.

000 This state of affairs is not yet very serious, but nevertheless it gives rise to concern about the future.

S.P. Cr. 2. 167 The Serbs and the Croats should agree to resist with a common front, all the more as their birth rate is weak, weaker in the areas inhabited solely by them than in the areas with mixed population and as they are constantly diminished by emigration. Between 1880 and 1900 this took away from them more than 100,000 souls and in these recent times the Croats have emigrated in rather large numbers into the two sections of America.

S.P. Sb. 795 162 We have already pointed out the decrease in the numbers of Serbs in the area of Novi Pazar and Kosovo. Alongside the Orthodox Serbs there are to be found today in this zone many Albanianized Mohammedan Serbs--notably of the tribes of the Gash and of the Berish, also 6,000 Cherkessians who settled there in the years 1858-1862. In this zone there are no Turks properly speaking.

S.P. [163]

S.P. Sl. 75 162

According to Turkish statistics, in the plain of Kosovo, that is to say in the kazas of Pristina, Vucitrn and Mitrovia, there are 80,000 Mohammedans and 22,000 Orthodox; according to private Serbian statistics there are only 1,956 Serb homes with 14,000 persons. Kancov in 1901 counted at Novi Pazar, Kosovo, and Metokhia, 250,000 Albanians, 100,000 Serbs, and 90,000 Bosnians /169/ who spoke Serbian, while being Mohammedans and enemies of the Serbs.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 161

In the matter of population density, the areas occupied by the Croats and the Serbs are particularly well divided. In Montenegro, it is figured that there are 18 persons per square kilometer, in Bosnia-Hercegovina 30.7, in Dalmatia 46, in Serbia 51.6, in Croatia-Slavonia 56.8, in Istria 69, at Gorica 80, on the seacoast 95. The ratio between the two sexes is particularly interesting. In comparison with other Austrian areas the masculine sex is much more numerous; but the proportions vary according to the areas. Thus for each 1,000 men there are in Dalmatia 976 women, in Istria 933, at Gorica 970, along the seacoast 973, in Serbia 945.6, in Bosnia 893.4, in Montenegro, 882. On the average, throughout the Austrian territory, for every 1,000 men there are 974 women. In Croatia-Slavonia the number is 988, and if we count only the men--leaving out the army--the figure rises to 1,011. Vrbanic gives for 1,000 men 963 women, and he explains the reasons for this ratio. Many more males than females are born here, and during the early part of life there are fewer who die than in the rest of Europe. During the first year the number of deaths is 8.3% for Bulgaria, 21.2% for Croatia, 16.3% for Serbia.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162

Vrbanic gathered in 1896 very interesting data /170/ on the birth rate of the southern Slavs, notably the Serbo-Croats. It is true that they are based upon anterior facts, but they are still of interest.

He finds 40% of the people married among the Serbo-Croats. Serbia especially presents unusual figures.

According to the statistics of 1900 there are only 25.4% unmarried and 67.7 married; 36% of the men and 57% of the women are married before the age of twenty years. Among the Serbo-Croats of Austria, the unmarried are estimated at 58.6% and married persons only at 35.4%. In Croatia-Slavonia, in 1900, above the age of fifteen, 30% of the men were unmarried, and 22.7 of the women, and 63.7% and 64.5% were married. In Serbia, the number of births is 44.45

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1: Niederle--107 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Serbs E16
Croats E14

S.P. Cr. Sb. 163 In Serbia the number of births is 44.45 per 1,000; in Croatia, 44.18; in Damatia, 38.39; in Istria 37.43. In Bulgaria the rate is only 36.36. But if we take into consideration only the legal marriages, we ascertain that for every 1,000 women there were 290 births at Gorica, 273 in Istria, 257 in Dalmatia, 215 in Serbia (same figure in Bulgaria). This is a relatively low birth rate, and, in Serbia and Croatia, the lowest in Europe. Thus it seems that the large number of births depends only upon the number of marriages and not upon fecundity.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 165 /171/ According to Vrbanic the death rate is 30.24 per 1,000 in Croatia, 27.79 in Istria, 27.16 at Gorica, 25.67 in Serbia, 24.38 in Dalmatia. (It is only 18.00 in Bulgaria). The death rate is then higher in Serbia than in Bulgaria. In Bulgaria, in fact, far fewer infants died during their first year (8.3% only, 16.3% in Serbia, 15.4% in Dalmatia, 21.2% in Croatia). The rate of increase through births is, then, 1.83% for Bulgaria, 1.87% for Serbia, 1.4% for Dalmatia, 1.39% for Croatia, 0.98% for Gorica, 0.96% for Istria, which gives an average for the southern Slavs of 1.57%.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162 195 Religion is one of the principal marks which distinguish the Croats from the Serbs: the Croats are Catholics, the Serbs Orthodox and Mohammedans. But this is not an absolute indication. There are Orthodox who consider themselves to be Croats. Thus the latest Croat statistics give 2,075 more Orthodox than the Serbs who were enumerated (616,518 Orthodox against 614,543 Serbs). And there also are numerous Catholics who consider themselves to be Serbs or who are claimed by the Serbs. Such are, for example, the Catholics of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and of the Gulf of Kotor (Cattaro), or the Sokci, the Bunievci and the Krasovani of Hungary.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, Serb means Orthodox. There are 98.7% Orthodox, /172/ 0.40% Catholic, 0.60% Mohammedan. In 1895 there were 548,632 Serbian Mohammedans in Bosnia-Hercegovina (that is 34.9% of the population). But it must be stated that they are decreasing through emigration. Official statistics have, between 1883 and 1905, given 32,625 emigrants of whom 30,434 were Mohammedan. In Bosnia and Hercegovina there were reported 637,246 Orthodox (that is 42.9% of the total population), and 334,142 (21.3%) Catholic. (1)

S.P. Cr. Sb. [167]

1. In Bosnia-Hercegovina the Mohammedans are in the majority at Saraievo and in 12 districts, the Orthodox in 25, the Catholics

S.P. Cr. Sb. 75 162

in 12. During the first years which followed the Austrian occupation, emigration was quite considerable; it still continues, but it is slowing down. The official figures for 1906 give 590,900 Mohammedans, 760,000 Orthodox, and 360,000 Catholics. Mr. Florinskii figures for the entire Balkens 820,000 Mohammedan Serbs.

In Dalmatia in 1900 there were 96,279 Orthodox, 496,778 Catholics which gives 16.2% and 83.6%. The other Austrian areas are Catholic (Istria 99.6%, the seacoast 98.5%). In Croatia and in Slavonia there are 1,721,416 Catholics, and 616,518 Orthodox, that is 71.2% and 25.5%. The total figures for the censuses of Budapest and Zagreb are not completely in accord, but the proportion remains the same. In Montenegro, according to Vrbanic, there are 87.5% Orthodox, 3.1% Catholics, and 9.3% Mohammedans whom Vrbanic considers as Slavs.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 212

From the viewpoint of education /173/ the Serbo-Croats are very much behind. Throughout Austrian territory the number of illiterates reaches 74.14%, in Croatia 54.4% and even 56%, if one is to believe the Hungarian statistics. It is especially Dalmatia which is backward. In 1900, 64.8% of the men and 86.6% of the women did not know how to read or write. Teaching is also greatly neglected in Istria and still more in the Balkan countries about which we do not have any documentation except in the Serbian statistics. There are in Serbia only 21.3% literate (55% in the towns and 15% in the villages).

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162

With regard to occupations, the Serbs and the Croats are primarily an agricultural people. In Istria and in Dalmatia there are 86.9% farmers (industry 4.6%, commerce 3.8%, public services 4.7%). In Bosnia-Hercegovina 88.34%. In the Kingdom of Serbia 85.23% of the population devote themselves to agriculture and to raising cattle.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 578

S 32. Internal Differentiation.--The Serbs and the Croats do not differ greatly either from the physical viewpoint, or from that of linguistics or in the manner of living. Differences have been created solely by the political situation, by religion, and by literature. There are, however, certain shades of differences and certain special groups which we mentioned a short time ago.*

S.P. Cr. Sb. 144

From the anthropological viewpoint there is, a far as we know at present, a much greater /174/ difference between the Serbo-Croats and the other Slavs than between the Serbs and the Croats.

* [cf. cit, 116, pp. 92-95, pp. 105-106, p. 107--Analyst]

and the other Slavs than between the Serbs and the Croats. The two groups[1] coincide in the matter of the zadruga (communal holding of rural property), and in matters where considerable differences are to be noted, for example in the arrangement of houses, the boundary line of difference does not coincide with the Serbo-Croat frontier. The Roman type with a single hearth predominates in Montenegro, while in Dalmatia, in Hercegovina, and in the other areas the High German type with two hearths predominates.

According to Weissbach, the Serbo-Croats present the following characteristics: tall stature, strong preponderance of the dark type, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, strongly brachycephalic and of an extremely large cranial capacity. The cephalic index is an average of 84 (85.7 among the Bosnians and the Croats of today). The cranial capacity is 1,524. There are 93.5% brachycephalics and 6% mesocephalics. Weissbach concluded that the Serbs and Croats should be considered as forming one and the same people. Recently Mr. Zupanic declared that physical differences exist between the two national groups; but it is uncertain, at the present stage of the science, whether his statement can be justified. From the language point of view, the south Slav group in the west splits up as follows: the Čakavci (1) being identified with /175/ the Croats, the Stokavci with the Serbs, and the Kajkavci with the Slovenes. Miklosic still distinguishes a Serbian tongue and a Croatian tongue. But it is proven today that this distinction has no basis.'

1. These groups are thus named on the basis of the manner in which they say or pronounce the relative pronoun. /rather, pronominal word ca, sto, kaj, meaning "what". Editor./

Nevertheless, we should point out some dialectical shadings which are not in accordance with the political distinctions. Alongside the two great dialects of Stokavci and Čakavci, there are other transitional dialects: the Kaikavski of the west, toward the Slovenes, the dialect of Prizren or of Timok, otherwise called "Old Serb", and the Svrljiski dialect to the east toward the Bulgars. Several eminent philologists, notably Belic, relate the Kaikavstina to the Slovene tongue. According to the recent studies of Mr. Resetar, the Kaikav territory is separated from the other two by a line which starts from Turnovac, on the Drava, reaches Virovitica, runs around Bjelovar, goes to Trnovitica, Jasenovac on the Sava, follows the Sava as far as Belaj, then runs to Trzic, Plaski, Brlog, Nin (Nona) and Zadar (Zara).

1 [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Analyst]

SP. Sl. 177 101

Towards the south, the Kajkavci have penetrated into certain localities in the territory of the Čakavci. Čakavci was spoken on the seacoast at one time, as ancient documents attest. Here is how this change of dialect is explained: at the moment of the Turkish invasions the inhabitants emigrated en masse towards the north and when they returned later on they had learned to speak Kajkavci. Those who speak the purest /176/ Kajkavski live between Zagreb (Agram), Varazdin, and Krizevac.

The territory of the Čakavci today comprises the greater part of the Adriatic islands, some Dalmatian villages, and the Croatian seacoast as far as the Kupa River.

The most extensive dialect is the Stokavski: in the area located between Vidin, Sofia, and Kyustendil, it is changing under the influence of the Bulgar dialects, and in the southwest, between Vranje and Prizren, under the influence of the Macedonian dialects. There is a whole group of types of speech still little studied, which by certain signs are akin to the Serb group, by others to the Bulgar group, which have been the subject of numerous discussions among philologists and among statesmen. This transitional region of the dialect which Belic calls the dialect of Timok and of Prizren, begins at the Danube at the mouth of the Timok, runs up towards the districts of Nis and of Vranje, Krusevac and Prizren; it divides itself into sub-dialects which bear the name of these localities. According to Belic and Resetar, the eastern frontier of this dialect starts at Ulcinj, goes through Prizren, Janjevo, Prokuplje, Stalac, Zaicar, and returns again to the mouth of the Timok on the Danube.

The secondary groups are composed of the Bunjevci, especially the Sokci in the Backa. We know very little about their origins and not very much more about their political character. They are claimed equally by the Croats and the Serbs. /177/ The Bunievci speak the Stokavski dialect. Another colony is settled in the county of Krasso on the upper course of the Karas (about 7,500 persons). The former ethnographers, Czoernig, Schwicker, Hunfalvy, Dobrovsky, Miklosich, and Drinov, took them for Bulgars. L. Miletic proved recently that their language and their origin are equally Serbian, that their language belongs to the Stokavski dialect, but that it is rather different from that of the Serbs of the Banat. Syrku was mistaken when he pretended

Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

S.P. Sr. 177 101 to see them as an entirely independent tribe. All are Catholics. No one knows when they arrived. But they probably have been here since the fifteenth century. The latest statistics show them partly as Serbs, partly as Croats, and the Croats also claim them.

Here are still a few other groups. The purely Kajkavski inhabitants of the zupaniate (1) of Zagreb in the western region, between

1. Prefecture.

Samobor and Zumberk, call themselves Prigorci (mountaineers), those who live near the sources of the Kupa, Brajci; one also finds in the neighborhood of Zagreb the names of Berzjaci, Puhovci.

Istria is especially interesting from the viewpoint of such groups. In the north one first meets the Fuckovci who speak Kajkavski and who are so called because of the whistling manner /178/ in which they speak; to the south are the Cicovci, descendants of a Bosnian colony which came in 1532; in the southeast the old Istrian Cakavci distinguish themselves clearly from the later Stokavci colonists who came from Dalmatia and from the ancient Romans, called Vlasi or Morlaci by their neighbors. In Istria, the Rumanians /Romans?/ still maintain themselves in the villages of Zejani, Brda, Grobnik, Iesenovik, Sutnjevica, Lelaj and Nova-Ves. According to the latest statistics the pure-blooded Rumanians form three groups, one of 389, another of 516, the third of 217 persons.

S.P. Sr. [563]

S.P. Sb. 101 In Serbia a large number of local names has sprung up, borrowed from those of rivers, of mountains, of areas, and of towns. (1) Their

1. We shall not translate them. Translator.

origin is not difficult to trace. In Hungary the ancient name of Rasciens, inhabitants of the Raska, an ancient Serbian province has been kept for the Orthodox Serbs.

Local names have developed also in Bosnia from the names of towns and areas. (2)

S.P. Sb. [563]

2. There are in Bosnia a few groups of Roman origin, who still speak a Romance language. But the greater part declare themselves to be Serbs. They are called Cincari, Achani.

S.P. M. 101 Montenegro has preserved the former division into tribes, whose names are still known by the people. Beginning in the north, one

S.P. M. 101 finds the Hercegovinians who came from Hercegovina; then to /179/ the northeast the Brda (1) and between the sea and the lake of Skadar

1. This word in Serbian means "mountains." Translator.

(Scutari) the Crna Gora (Black Mountain), so-called, with the Krajna. In Montenegrin Hercegovina there are seven tribes: Grahovo, the Banjani, Opushna, Rudina, Nikticke Rudine, Nikticka Zupa, Piva, Drobnjaci, Saranci. In the region of Brda there live seven tribes which are, beginning from the west: (2) the Bjelopavlici, the Piperi, the

S.P. M. [144]

2. According to Hassert and Kovacevic, the Kuci are of the Albanian race, according to Erdelianovic, of the Serbian race. A certain number of them, the Drekanovici, present a strong mixture of Albanian blood. Erdelianovic considers certain among them (the Boukimirs) as Slavisized Romans.

Bratonozici, the Kuteki, the Vasojevici, the Moracani, the Rovcani. In ancient Montenegro four nahias are distinguished, each of which is divided into tribes: the nahia of Katun (Cetiniani, or people of Cetinie, Njeguchi, Zeknici, Couce, Kcevo, Ozrinici, Bielice, Komani, Zasarcani, Pjeshivtsi, Lukovo), the nahia Ljeshanska (Zecani), the nahia of Rieka (Cekliniani, Liubotinjani); the nahia of Crmnitsa contains a whole series of little tribes called "brotherhoods." In an area which was previously Serbian there are settled today Albanian and Serbian Mohammedans whose principal tribes are those of the Mrkojevici and of the Mikulici, close to Antivari (Bar).

S.P. M. [668]

According to Zanetov, there is still another special tribe, that /180/ of Siren, on the upper reaches of the Lim and of the Bosnian Bistrica.

000 We have attempted to show the respective situations of the Croats and the Serbs, the difference in their political development despite their close kinship, the divergent tendencies, which, as a result of their historic traditions, they both follow with a view to assuring their future.

S.P. 578 Cr. 34. 186 Up to the present, numerous conflicts have occurred between these two groups,[1] and one would be mistaken in believing that the relative calm which prevails today is a guarantee of tolerance and peace. Leaving aside the double ideal of a great Croatia and a great Serbia, an contradictory ideal if there ever was one, we run into an entire series of delicate questions, of conflicts which are constantly aggravated. They are met with in Croatia-Slavonia, in Dalmatia

[1] [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Analyst]

S.P. 578 Cr. 3b. 186

(for example Dubrovnik (Ragusa), and especially in Bosnia. This province is truly an apple of discord between these two national groups. Here the Austrian government is attempting to do things somewhat by chance without having a clearly defined idea regarding nationality.

000 What will come of this? What will happen to the country after the annexation? What will be the new relations between Croats and Serbs? We cannot yet tell today.

From the viewpoint of science and of the Slav idea, one should at least proceed with honesty and not shut one's eyes to the true facts. At the outset it would be necessary to determine through an accurate census the relative situation of the Serbs and the Croats and to treat with justice all of the national and political groups. Furthermore, it will no longer be necessary to invent a third Croato-Serbian nation, the Bosnian (1) nation, as was conceived of by the

1. Certainly, the concept of a Bosnian nation existed before. One may read in the twelfth century chronicle of Kinnamos: "Bosthna...ethos idia para taute zon," (Bosnia...is a nation living by itself), and one often finds that the Bosnians are considered to be a nation. But this designation, which was based upon political considerations, is no longer justified.

Kallay government a few years ago. Moreover, this innovation was in no wise successful. Since 1907, the official designation "Bosnian" has been replaced by the correct designation "Serbo-Croat."

VIII
THE BULGARS

S.P. B. 101

S 33. Historical Introduction. ---The last Slav people produced by the differentiation of the South-Slav group, is the Bulgars.

Almost all of them live on the Balkan peninsula.

S.P. B. 101 174

Like the other South-Slavs they had their cradle much farther north, somewhere, near the Carpathians, in the vicinity of the Russians. Between the third and the fifth century, they abandoned the Carpathians, began to push through the Thracian and Scytho-Sarmatian tribes, towards the lower Danube, and in the sixth century reached the Balkans. At this time the Slavic tribes of the Peninsula did not have a common ethnic name. They were called Slavs like their neighbors the Serbs

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and the Slovenes and they did not form a united group. Still in the seventh and eighth centuries we find in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula an entire series of tribes very slightly united to each other, the Sieveriens and seven anonymous tribes in the north of the present Bulgaria, the Rumeliot Slavs, then the Druguvicnes, /183/ the Smoliani, the Strumenci, the Rynchini*, the Sagudati*, the Berziti in Macedonia. It is evidently to these latter that the Slavs who pushed into Greece and into the Archipelago are related from the linguistic viewpoint, the Velegezites, the Vajuniti, the Milingi, and the Iezerci. Towards this period a union began to develop, but under foreign pressure. In 679 under the leadership of Asparukh a certain number of Bulgars from the Volga--of Turkish origin--crossed the Danube and penetrated into the Dobrudja as far as Varna; they subjugated the neighboring Slavic tribes, unified them, and little by little unified all of the Slavs of the center of the Peninsula.

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On the other hand, the Bulgars of the Volga, who were relatively few in number, became themselves assimilated very quickly with the Slav element and merged with it. (1)

1. Zanetov and Skorpil thought that they found the remains of these ancient Bulgars among the Gagauz (see further on) and among the Turks of Deliorman between Silistra, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), Varna and Rushchouk, whom their Bulgar neighbors called Gadjaly. Mochkov came out against their hypotheses.

Their name alone, which was given to the new state and to its people, recalls the memory of this element of foreign race. Besides the Bulgars have basically always been Slavs, even though they have not hesitated to assimilate foreign elements. Among these elements, along with the Turkish Bulgars, one must cite the remains of the ancient Thracians, the Germans, /185/ especially the Goths, Turks, and Avars, to whom were added later on other Asiatic elements; the Poles, the Cumaeans, the Oguzes, gypsies, and finally the Osmanli Turks.

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The Bulgarian Empire, beginning with the reign of Simeon (893-927) acquired a considerable area; it grew by means of the constant warfare with Byzantines on the one hand and with the Serbs, on the other. The Slavs who belonged to its most remote frontiers at

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the period when the seat of the Tsar and of the Patriarch was at Ochrida (1), felt themselves to be even more Bulgarian the further

1. Today in Macedonia. Translator.

they were removed from the ancient homeland of the nation; they retained this more or less strong sense of solidarity, on the one side against the Serbs whose empire confined them to their region, on the other side against the Osmanli Turks. In 1393 the Turks captured Trnovo; in 1396 after the victory of Nicopolis they achieved the conquest of Bulgaria. The country remained enslaved until the years 1876-1878 when the intervention of Russia gave her back her freedom and independence. The area between the Danube and the Stara Planina (Balkan Mountains) was the first to be freed; in 1885 a peaceful revolution annexed the Bulgarian Rumelia to her, as far as Mount Dospat, to the course of the Arda, the Sakar Planina (Sakar Balkan Mountains) and the Gulf of Burgas. The section of the Bulgars who form a compact group in Macedonia /186/ have vainly been waiting up to the present for their deliverance and for the end of a situation which, despite the efforts of the Powers, still remains a very painful one.

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Such is the political history of the Bulgar people. The development of the nation has furthermore been hindered by perpetual troubles, by disturbances, by the displacements of ethnic groups. When the Greeks again took possession of their ancient domain the Slav colonies of the south had to return north, the Slavs of Greece were completely assimilated during the course of the Middle Ages. But the most serious catastrophe was the Turkish invasion.

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When the Turks penetrated into the peninsula, under the reign of Murad I, they settled in the region of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and of Zagora; in the reign of Bajazet I they settled between Plovdiv and the Balkans and then remained in the basin of the Marica, especially in its lower areas, until the nineteenth century. This would follow from the information furnished in 1819 by Pope Constantine and from the nomenclature of the area which is essentially Turkish (names of villages, fields, streams, woods, pastures, hills, etc.). Of 52 villages of the district of Shirpan only two have non-Turkic names, and only three in the district of Seimen (now Marica). Another center of Turkish colonization was the eastern portion of northern Bulgaria, especially the Dobrudja, which became a desert in the fifteenth /187/ century.

1: Niederle--116 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples F16
Bulgaria EE1

S.P. 8. 175 167 In this region, before the arrival of the Turks, there were settled a large number of Pecheneg, Uzi, and Cumaeans (whose descendants are today called Gagauz) and later on the Tatars.

It seems that the earliest Turkish colonization took place in the region of Deliorman towards the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and later on at Tuzluk and at Gerilovo. The Ragusan Pavle Gjordjic, who traveled in these areas, reported a numerous Turkish population at Gerilovo*, at Deliorman, and in the Dobrudja. These areas were not completely assimilated by the Turks until the seventeenth century, and in the case of Gerilovo*, not until the eighteenth century. But many Turkish villages still retain their Slavic names.

All this Turkish colonization in the northeast of Bulgaria evidently had as an object the securing of passageways of the Balkans, especially after the defeats suffered in the war against King Wladyslaw of Poland in 1443.

S.P. 8. 101 167 Of the original Slav population[1] there remain only a few rare traces near Provadiya, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), and Razgrad. Also in the sixteenth century a great number of Turks, Yurvks*, and Koniars* came from Asia to settle in certain parts of Thrace and of Macedonia.

S.P. 8 101 166 The old Slavic Bulgars, after the arrival of the Turks, naturally withdrew into the mountainous regions. In the sixteenth century their boundary was formed by the towns of Devna*, Monastir (now Bitolj), Krivnia*, Ravna*, Nenovo*, /188/ Nevcha*, Kaludjerica, Divdiedovo*, Novo Selo, or, in other words, the line from Varna (now Stalin) to Shumla (now Kolarovgrad). But towards the south the Slav element soon began again to take over and regain the terrian. The Osmanlis perished little by little in the perpetual wars and were not replaced by new colonists. On the other hand, new Bulgars arrived from the northern areas (Lovech, Nikopol), a scene of constant troubles and danger.

S.P. 8. 175 167 It was on the banks of the Danube that the principal wars were fought and the Slavs moved away from there in all directions. Upon this emigration movement which is a very old one, we have no documentation until after the seventeenth century. Thus we know that in the course of the year 1741 Bulgar colonies went to settle in the Banat of Temesvar where their descendants are still established at Vinga, and Benesov*. From 1752 to 1754 a great number of Bulgars

[1 i.e. in northeast Bulgaria--Analyst]

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and of Gagauz moved into southern Russia, others in 1787-91; during the wars from 1801 to 1812 a very large number came particularly from Vidin to settle in Bessarabia. This emigration was repeated after the war of 1828-1829. In 1821 there were counted in Bessarabia 1,735 Bulgar families with a total of 38,000 persons; in 1829, 4,400 families arrived or about 270,000 souls. Then came the reaction. During the fifty years of peace which followed, many families returned to their own country despite the miseries which they had to undergo. /189/ In 1833, 900 families came back from Bessarabia. On the other hand, from the Balkan regions many of the Bulgars came down to the plain, especially to Rustchuk, the Dobrudja, the country located between Adrianopol (Edirne--Bulg, Odrin) and Burgas, between Shirpan and Stara Zagora, to the outskirts of Kavkalii (now Topolovgrad), of Kyzil Agach*, of Tambol and, under the peaceful reign of Mahmud II, as far as the ouskirts of Rodosto (now Tekirdag), of Derkos* and of Constantinople.

The war of 1877-78 resulted in new movements whose consequences can still be felt today. At the outset of this campaign the Bulgars fled en masse from Stara Zagora, from Kazanlik, from Gjopsa, from Zlatitsa into the country to the north and did not return to their homes until the Russians advanced to the south. In other areas the Turks and the Cherkess evacuated villages which they had occupied for a very long period; the former emigrated through fear of the Russians; the latter did so later on because they were unable to adjust themselves to the new order of things. Mr. Jirecek, historian of the Bulgars, estimates at 100,000 the number of Turks who emigrated from 1878 to 1884. They were replaced by Bulgars who came from Rumelia or from Macedonia, which the Treaty of Berlin retained under Turkish domination.

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On the other hand, emigrants came back from Romania, Bessarabia the Taurida, and Asia Minor and settled in the neighborhood of Svishtov, Varna (now Stalin), and Tuzluk*. With the Macedonians /189/ continuing to move in without interruption, Mr. Jirecek offers figures which give an idea of the changes effected in the population. In 1896, among 338 Christian localities in the dioceses of Varna (now Stalin) and Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), 135 since the war had an entirely new population. There remained only rare traces of the previous generation. On the other hand, according to Miletic, the

S.P. B. 167 previous Bulgar population did not date back further than one hundred and twenty years.

To the west of the Iantra* there are very few old villages and many new ones founded by the immigrants who have come from the areas of Lovech and of Sevlievo. These new populations were distinguished from the old ones by traditions, costume, and especially by dialect. On the other hand, there were many new immigrants to the south of the Balkans in the areas of Burgas, Aitos, and Yambol.

ooo Therefore, the Bulgar country has been the theater of perpetual movements, and definitive order will not be reestablished there until the Macedonian question has been finally resolved. However, the solution of the Macedonian problem is constantly delayed by the neighboring powers.

S.P. B 101 S 34. Territory Occupied by the Bulgars. ---It is bounded on the north by the Danube, from Cherna Voda to Vidin and then by a line which runs from Vidin through Tsar-Petrovo, Boinitsa and Shchichintsi, to the Serbian frontier. From this line at Vidin there runs off a narrow section which goes up as far as Novo Selo on the Danube. The western boundary follows the Timok which serves as the political frontier between Serbia and Bulgaria. But the philologists are not in agreement upon the characteristics of the intermediate dialect of the area of Pirot-Vranje. Belic assigns it to Serbian, Tsonev to Bulgarian and considers only as intermediate the dialect of the Morava and the Resava. As we have already explained, in the basin of the Timok, in the area of Pirot, Nish, Vranje and Prizren a dialect intermediate between Serbian and Bulgarian is spoken. But, leaving aside the dialectic shadings which are of no importance from the viewpoint of nationality, and bearing in mind the other factors which determine national consciousness, it cannot be said that the boundary of the Bulgar national group follows the Timok and runs up towards Nich and Vranje, as Tsonev would have it, but that it starts from Veliki Izvor on the Timok, that it follows the ridge of the Stara Planina (Mountains), otherwise known as the political frontier, as far as Mount Kom; then it passes between Pirot and Caribrod (now Dimitrovgrad), crosses the Ruia Planina (Mountains), passes near Vlasina and reaches the upper Morava at Vranje. Then it follows the road from Nich to Skoplje, runs around that city and runs across the eastern spurs of Mount Chardagh towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra).

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Along this very little-known line, the territory of the Bulgars and of their neighbors the Serbs is penetrated in a south-westerly direction by an Albanian wedge. From Vranje to Kumanovo, /192/ from Skoplje to Tetovo there are to be found a great number of Slav villages more or less Albanianized. It is difficult in these regions to draw a very clear boundary.

Towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra) the Bulgar frontier turns towards the south and follows the left bank of the Black Drin in the direction of Lake Ochrida, which it partially circles, then follows the Devol River, Lake Malik, reaches the city of Koritsa and finally that of Kostur (now Kastoria). The outskirts of Kostur are still Bulgarian as far as Krupishte* on the Aliakmon River (Mac., Bistritsa). Here the boundary turns toward the northeast, towards Lake Osyrovon (now Vegoritis), then it runs to Voden (now Edhessa) towards the lower course of the Aliakmon and reaches the Gulf of Salonika, which it follows to that city.

The outskirts of Salonika are Slav. Beyond that city the boundary runs across the plain of Lankadas toward the Chalcidice, goes through Visoka, Zarovo, Sukho, Njegovan as far as the confluence of the Struma and Lake Takhin* and towards Seres (now Serrai) where it encounters Greek, Turk, and Bulgar populations. From Serrai, according to Tsanov[1] the boundary follows a broken line, poorly known as to its details, which crosses through Turkish Rumelia, reaches Dimotika (now Didymoteikhon) of the lower Maritsa, then through Uzunkopru, Babaeski, Corlu, and Kataldja*, it runs as far as the outskirts of Constantinople.

The western[1] boundary of the Bulgar national group is formed by the shore of the Black Sea as far as the Danube.

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But the boundary drawn by Tsonev does not outline /193/ a compact population but only the extreme limit of Bulgar groups in the Balkan peninsula. Already the most southern sections of the districts of Philippopolis and Stara Zagora are more sparsely peopled by Bulgars I cannot speak, for want of exact information, of the ethnographic conditions in Turkish Rumelia. On the other hand, we know that the regions located between the Iantra and the sea are more sparsely populated with Bulgars.

Thirty years ago this region was populated by a majority of

[1] [SIC - Analyst]

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Mohammedans. A few districts were even purely Turkish, notably that of Khaskovo, near Silistra which contains only 6% Bulgars, that of Omortag (formerly Osman Pazar) (12.5%), that of Bazaurt (14%), that of Kemanlar (now Isperikh) (19%), that of Shumla (now Kolarovgrad) (24.3%). The Bulgars were the most numerous in the districts of Kesarevo (59%) and of Ruse (59%). In these regions they had a majority only in the towns. According to Sarafov, there were 482,000 Bulgars in this region in 1881. In 1888 there were more than 443,000 of them. In 1900 there were 417,694 Turks, 9,824 Gagauz and 18,079 Tatars in the districts of Ruse, Varna, Shumla, and Trnovo.

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According to Iurkevich the number of Turks in all of Bulgaria has diminished since 1888 by 12.5%. Thus the situation has noticeably improved in favor of the Bulgars.

/194/ According to the census of 1900 the following is the situation relative to the Turks and the Bulgars:

District of Ruse: 153,730 Turks (without the Gagauz and the Tatars) and 175,216 Bulgars.
District of Pleven: 12,261 Turks and 270,010 Bulgars.
District of Trnovo: 25,180 Turks and 366,687 Bulgars.
District of Vidin: 4,444 Turks and 142,975 Bulgars.
District of Shumla: 130,975 Turks and 108,579 Bulgars.
District of Varna: 107,839 Turks and 131,325 Bulgars (making a total of 433,779 Turks and 1,194,943 Bulgars).

The districts which present the most compact masses of Turks are those of Balchik, Varna, Bobrich (now Tolbukhin), Kurtbunar, and Provadiya in the districts of Varna; those of Eski Dzhumaya (now Targovishte), Osman Pazar (now Omortag), Popovo, Preslav, and Shumla in the district of Shumla; Elena, Svichtov, and Sevlievo in the district of Trnovo; Biela, Razgrad, Ruse, Silistra, and Tutrakan in the district of Ruse. The district of Burgas contained in 1900, 37,041 Turks, 39,652 Greeks and 218,189 Bulgars; that of Starazagora, 31,379 Turks along with 350,380 Bulgars. That of Plovdiv (or Philippopolis 24,886 Turks against 313,847 Bulgars (without the Pomaks) (1). In

1. On the Pomaks, see the following section.

/195/ /for the table on this page see the next manuscript page/

this region /196/ the Turks live especially in the arrondissements of Karlovo, Peshtera, Plovdiv (Philippopolis), Stanimaka (now Asenovgrad),

1: Niederle--121 E-5 1911 F/(Slavic Peoples F/10 Bulgaria E61

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The Principal National Groups In Bulgaria In 1900

Districts	Bulgars	Pomaks	Serbs	Turks	Gagauz	Tatars	Greeks	Gypsies	Rumanians
I Burgas. . . .	218,189	3	26	37,041	28	132	39,152	10,985	29
II Varna. . . .	131,325	37	43	107,839	9,809	11,329	7,720	9,000	752
III Vidin. . . .	142,975	24	398	4,444	2	20	163	5,686	39,977
IV Vratsa. . . .	230,536	631	145	2,039	--	109	45	9,081	12,225
V. Kustendil. .	191,477	--	8	599	--	--	82	1,605	141
VI Plovidiv. . . (Philippopolis)	313,847	17,055	57	24,886	1	31	14,880	11,146	115
VII Pleven. . . .	270,010	2,837	133	12,261	2	510	46	7,277	9,752
VIII Ruse.	175,216	10	62	153,730	6	3,919	697	8,403	5,697
IX Sofia.	365,364	30	545	874	--	1	845	5,838	286
X St. Zagora. .	350,380	2	12	31,379	5	2	2,720	7,823	12
XI Trnovo. . . .	366,837	13	67	25,180	3	173	122	5,206	1,841
XII Shumen. . . .	108,579	2	20	130,945	6	2,658	230	7,513	196
Total	2,964,735	20,644	1,516	531,217	9,862	18,884	66,702	89,563	71,023

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Kazanluk, Kharmanli, Khaskovo, Aytos, Pomorie, Karnobat, and Sliven. Detailed figures will be found in the table above.

Along with the Turks the Tatars are likewise diminishing, except in the region of Varna where they are increasing. After them come the Gagauz, Christian descendants of the ancient Turko-Tatar invaders.

The Greeks, as is to be expected, are particularly settled on the shore of the Black Sea, notably in the region of Burgas, and in the interior areas around Plóviv (Philoppopolis), especially in the sector of Stanimaka (Asenougrad)--this town is today Greek--to the west of Kyzyl Agach, at Kavakla and in its neighborhood. Along the coast, the most northern Greek colony is Novo Selo near Varna; among the Greek towns we should also mention Mesembria (now Nesebur), Pomorie, Sozopol, and partly Burgas.

The Jews and the Armenians nowhere form compact groups. The gypsies are numerous, but they are scattered throughout the Kingdom.

In the mountainous regions they sometimes form the majority of the population, for example in the outskirts of Elena and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). There are very few Serbs according to the latest information (in all 1,516). This is the result of the intensive /197/ development of the Bulgars and also of the conflicts of the past thirty years. On the contrary, the Rumanians are grouped in compact masses along the Danube, especially between the confluence of the Timok and Vidin, and between the confluence of the Dolni (Cibur) and Svishtov. A majority of Rumanians are also to be found at Tutrakan, and in the interior of the country at Serbenica (now Sofronievo) near Byala Slatina and at Debovo near Nikopol. The Tsintsar (1) are to be

1. Name given to the Rumanians in the peninsula.

found in the outskirts of Sofia and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). We have spoken above of the Russian and Czech colonies of Voivodova*, Gorna*, Metropolis* and Breslianitsi*.

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Outside of the region which we have just studied, we still meet groups of Bulgars beyond the Danube. These are the colonies which came in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The

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previous colonies have been absorbed by the Magyar and Rumanian elements. They date from the thirteenth century; they were the Bulgars of Brasso (Brasov now Stalin), of Nagy and of Kis Csegerd* (near Blasendorf), of Baumgart (Bongard) and of Reussdorfchen (Roszczur) in the outskirts of Sibin. They are today completely Rumanianized. In former times they were sometimes considered as being Serbs, sometimes as Slovenes. Their Bulgar nationality was demonstrated by Professor Miletic. They were Catholics. There still are in southern Hungary--/198/--in the Banat--the colonies of Vinga, between Avad and Temesvar (now Timisoara), Brestie near Vrsac and Stary Beshenov near Szegedin. These colonies date from 1747; they are also Catholic. There are also a great number of Bulgar colonies in southern Walachia. Weigand estimates the number at fifty, with a population of fifty thousand persons. They are established around Dolz (12 hamlets), Olenitsa (2), Teleorman (now Rosiorii-de-Vede) (5), Vlaska* (7), Ialomica* (3), Ilfov* (22). The largest are those of Afumatz* and of Kisele Sirbi*. There are in addition many Bulgars in the cities of Galati, Braila, Bucharest, Buzan, Olenitsa, Giurgiu (Bulg., Giurgevo), Craiova and Ploesti, who are estimated to number from five to seven thousand.

In Russia, the Bulgars settled towards the middle of the eighth century. They are mentioned from this period as at Chesma, on the river Visa* and Schinusha*. It was after the year 1769 that the principal immigration took place. Bulgar colonies established themselves alongside Serb colonies on the upper reaches of the Ingul and the Ingulka (1). They have disappeared by this time. On the contrary,

1. Tributaries of the Bug and of the Dnepr.

compact groups have remained in Bessarabia; they have been strongly mixed with Turkish elements. They are to be found especially in the districts of Akkerman (now Belgorod-Dnestrovski), Izmail, and Bendery. They are to be found also in the guberniya of Kherson, near Odessa and Nikolayev and in the guberniya /199/ of Tavrida (districts of Berdyansk--(now Osipenko)--and of Feodosiya). The statistics for the year 1897 still counted 172,659 Bulgars: for Bessarabia 103,225, for the guberniya of Kherson 25,685, for the Tavrida 41,260. In this guberniya they are being rapidly assimilated. According to Moshkov, the official statistics also included among the Bulgars the Gagauz, whose number is estimated to be 70,000, grouped around Komrat, in the district of Bendery.

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In Asia Minor, the Bulgar colonies are found principally in the outskirts of Bruss (now Bursa), a portion in a whole group of communes about the little city of Mikhailich (now Karacabey), another portion, around Kodjebunar*, Suiout*, Kobash, Toibelen*, Novo Selo*, Mandra*, Khaladjebair*, and Kilik*. There are also a few communes, occupied especially by shepherds, on the seashore and about Kyzdervent*, not far from Scutari (Skadar). Kantchov* counts here about twenty Bulgarian communes.

In recent times American statistics also attest to the presence of Bulgar immigrants; but they are mixed with the Serbs in such a way that it is difficult to arrive at correct totals. There should be about 50,000. Valjavec estimates them at 4,000, but this total is obviously too low.

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S 37. Statistics.--In view of the fact that the exact number /200/ of Slavs in Turkey proper is not known, it is very difficult to give absolutely exact statistics for the Bulgars. One can only make guesses and, for the balance, refer to the official statistics of the realm which unfortunately are very brief.

At the end of the year 1900 the total strength of the Bulgars should be broken up as follows:

Bulgaria proper (according to the census of 31 December 1900)	2,885,379
Turkish Rumelia, Albania, Constantinople, Asia Minor	600,000
Macedonia (according to Kanchov)	1,200,000
Rumania with the Dobrudja	180,000
Other countries	50,000
Total	4,915,379

In Bulgaria there were, according to the latest statistics, 2,684,735 Bulgars and 20,664 Pomaks; let us not forget that the Bulgarian statistics combine mother tongue and national group. In Rumania, the official statistics do not recognize the native Bulgars; they consider them to be Rumanians and list separately only 7,810 Bulgars as foreign subjects. As we have mentioned above, Weigand estimates the natives at 50,000; Kanchov figures the number of Bulgars in the Dobrudja at 40,000, Ishirkov at 30,000. In Hungary there were

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in 1900 about 12,000 (according to V. Cintula). In 1891 the statistics numbered them at /201/ 23,000; but it confused other Slavs with the Bulgars, for example the Serbs of Krasso.

In America, Valjavec figured on 4,000 Bulgars, but obviously this is too few, for in the most recent statistics the Bulgars are always placed with the Serbs. We have seen that in Russia statistics for 1897 enumerated 172,659.

It is in Turkey that estimates are most difficult. For Macedonia I have followed the figures of Kanchov, in regard to his opinion upon the Macedonian problem.

Cvijic has estimated the number of Slavs in the vilayets of Kosovo, of Salonica, and of Bitolj to be 1,300,000 (450,000; 500,000; 340,000). Brankov and Skopalski have figured on 1,172,000 Bulgars; in Turkish Rumelia I have counted the Pomaks among the Bulgars. In the vilayet of Adrianople, Mach estimated the number of Bulgars at 370,000 of the Orthodox religion and 115,000 of the Mohammedan religion.

S.P. B. 161 795

According to a census conducted by Hilmi Pasha and reported by M. Rene Pinon (of which the results are far from being exact), there were in the vilayet of Kosovo 164,476 Patriarchists, 184,912 Exarchists (1), 420,388 Mohammedans; in the vilayet of Bitolj, 309,759 Greek

1. Spiritual subjects of the Bulgarian Exarch of Constantinople, otherwise Bulgars.

Patriarchists, /202/ 11,301 Rumanians, 8,461 Serbs, 178,527 Exarchists, 509,307 Mohammedans; in the vilayet of Salonica, 311,982 Greek Patriarchists, 24,377 Rumanians, 244,723 Exarchists, 531,431 Mohammedans. For these three vilayets, Monsieur Pinon, accepting the old statistics of certain districts, gave a total of 3,267,265 souls, of whom 1,795,359 were Mohammedans and only about 600,000 Bulgarian Exarchists. He counted 850,000 Greek, Rumanian, and Serbian Patriarchists; but of this number the Serbs make up only a very insignificant total.

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Other statistical data, for well known reasons, can be applied only to the Bulgars of the Kingdom. This is the only country which provides statistical data. We shall study them here on the basis of the work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

000 work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

S.P. B. 163 [162] He[1] presents the following results:

Among the Bulgars the number of men is 1,000 for every 965 women; the males show an excess of births of 54.2%; the ratio between single persons to married persons is for men, 53%; for women 41.9% (4.4% widowers). The birth rate is 36.36 per 1,000; it is below that of the Serbs; on the contrary, the death rate is less than among these, only 18. (compare the figures given above in Section 31). In Bulgaria S.P. B. [165] very few infants die during the first year. They have the lowest infant mortality of any among the South-Slavs /203/ (8.3% only, against 15.4% in Dalmatia, 16.3% in Serbia, 21.2% in Croatia). As a result of this peculiarity, the coefficient of the excess of births over deaths is, if Jirecek is to be believed, as favorable as in Serbia, it represents 1.83. For the years 1881-1887, Sarafov found an increase of 1.85 (during this period there were born 100 boys for 89.7 girls); for the period 1890-1900, the coefficient was, it seems, slightly less. More recently, Iurkevich suggested the figure of 1.5 for the north of Bulgaria and of 1.2 for the south.

S.P. B. 161 According to Popov, the population density is 38.8 inhabitants per square kilometer.

S.P. B. 795 From the religious viewpoint the Bulgars belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. They have a church of their own whose head, called The Exarch, lives at Orta-koi (now Ivailovgrad) near Constantinople. Along with the Orthodox majority, one finds two dissident groups. The first of these is the Catholic Bulgars, or Paulitians (Pavlikiani). They speak the eastern dialect and live in the districts of Nikopol, of Svishtov, in seven villages in the outskirts of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There is also a Catholic community at Berdavski Geran, near Byala Slatina, and another, that of Gostilia, near Oryakhovo (district of Vratsa). All of them originated in the region of Plovdiv or Philippopolis, which was formerly their center. They formerly composed a whole series of communities between Plovdiv and /204/ Nikopol. It is from these that there came the colonies of Bulgars who settled in Hungary (Vinga, Besenov), and who are Catholics.

S.P. B. 795 101 Another rather sizeable section is composed of the Bulgars who, under Turkish domination, embraced Islam. They are called Pomaks.

[1] [i.e. Vrbanic. cf. cat. 116, p. 125--Analyst]

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They have settled by preference in the Rhodope (Grk., Rodope), where they constitute a rather large group between Plovdiv and Salonica. They are met with here and there to the north of the Balkans in the region of Lovech, Pleven (Plevna), especially between the Vid and Panega Rivers, to the south of Pleven. In the Kingdom of Bulgaria their number has greatly diminished; for, as a result of their Turkish sympathies, they have since 1878 been in perpetual conflict with the other Bulgars. The latest statistics numbered 20,644 of them in Bulgaria, of whom 17,055 were in the district of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and 2,837 in that of Pleven.

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From the viewpoint of education, the Bulgars are not very much advanced, which is explained by the difficult conditions in which they have lived, deprived of all the advantages of civilization. They are now making an effort to make up for lost time. According to the latest statistics the number of literate persons in the principality was an average of 28.4%. The districts may be placed in the following order:

Ruse 38.5%; Shumla 35.9%; Varna 34%; Trnovo /205/ 34%; Plovdiv (Philippopolis) 29.6%; Burgas 29.4%; Sofia 28.8%; Stara Zagora 28.3%; Pleven 23.1%; Kustendil 20.1%; Vidin 19.8%; Vratsa 19%. The highest degree of education is found naturally in the regions of the great cities: 60% at Sofia, Ruse, and Varna; 49% at Plovdiv; 47% at Kotel and at Shumla; 37% at Kazanluk. The least literate areas are those of Radomir (20%), Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad) (19%), Kyzilagatch (19%), Berkovitsa (16%), Kula (14%), Belogradchik (13%), Ferdinandovo (13%).

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S 38. Internal Differentation.--The Bulgars are divided into three groups from the point of view of language.

1). That of the western dialect: it is bounded on the east by a line which starts from the confluence of the Vid and the Danube and runs towards Salonica across the regions of Nikopol, Pleven, Lovech, Teteven, Pirdop, Novo Selo, Panagyurishte, Ikhtiman, Chepino, Rezlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Seres, and Salonica.

2). The eastern group is divided into two branches:

A. That of the northeast where the people bear the general name of Zagortsi (Mountaineers), or Khertsoi*, or Poliantsi*.

B. That of the southeast, or branch of the Rhodope, whose

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representatives are called the Ruptsi, the Rupalani; their nucleus is located between Stanimaka /206/ and the sources of the Arda in the area called Rupchos. The boundary between these two eastern groups is given as the chain of the Balkans and of the Sredna Gora (central chain). But this boundary is crossed alternately by the two dialects. The other limits thought up by the philologists are not in very close agreement with each other and it is impossible to decide which is the most accurate. Tsonev draws a line from Burgas through Yambol and Stara Zagora to Pazardzhik; Miletic, from Adrianople to Plovdiv along the Maritsa (with spear-heads towards Chirpin and Kotel).

To the west the dialect of the Rupci goes as far as Chepino. Evidently, before the invasion they reached as far as the Balkans and to the Sredna Gora and constituted the most powerful southern tribe. There is no agreement either regarding the boundaries of the western dialect. According to Miletic it runs as far as Pazardzhik (in the region of Schopi*).

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Among the Bulgars of the three groups, there exist many secondary groups provided with special names and distinguished by customs, traditions, local names or dialects. Thus the inhabitants of the mountainous regions of the Balkans are generally called Balkantsi, those of the Rhodope Mountains (in Bulgarian Rodopska Planina) Planintsi (1),

1. Planina means "mountain" in Bulgarian. Translator.

those of the valleys of Sofia, of Kustendil, of Kratovo, Poliantsi, Poltsi, and Polchene. (2)

2. Pole means "field". Translator.

/207/ The Bulgars of the south call the Bulgars of the north the Zagortsi (the people across the mountains), and the Bulgars of the north call them the Otvedentsi (the separated ones). But we find Zagortsi from the north in the neighborhood of Aitos and of Burgas. Miletic notes from the east to the west the following designations borrowed from the names of localities: Erkechani (Erkech) (now Kozichino), Golichani (Golica), Chengentsi (Chenge), Richani (Rich), Kotlentsi (Kotel), Tichani (Titsa), Bebrovtsi, Bebroveni (Bebrovo), etc. The people from Rumelia receive surnames borrowed from their place of origin: Odrintsi (from Odrin or Adrianople), Yamboltsi (from Yambol), Starozagortsi (from Stara Zagora), etc.

In Bulgarian Macedonia one encounters an infinite number of

S.P. B. 101

local designations. The peoples are called Mervatsi who are settled between the Struma and the Rhodope Mountains in the area of Serrai, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Melnik, Drama, Nevrokop (now Delchev) and Bratsigovo. In western Macedonia there is a region called Mala Reka, "The Little River," whose inhabitants have received the name of Miak*. They call the inhabitants of Kichevo, Bitolia, Prilep and Tito Veles the Brsiak: (compare the Greek Bersetai). Among the other Macedonian names, Kanchov mentions the Esti on the right bank of the Black Drin, the Kekovtsi in the region of Popolie, the Pulivakovtsi in the western part of the plain of Salonica, the Ketskari, the Uliufs. Let us also mention /208/ the Touriaki and the Torlaki whose name is also applied by the inhabitants of Sofia to the inhabitants of the regions of Pirot and of Tsaribrod, the Tokuntsi, the Niniovtsi, the Marachi between the Osem and the Isker (now Sibir), etc.

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The Mohammedan Bulgars who live near the sources of the Arda are called Ashrians; this name comes from the ancient form Agariane, the children of Agar (1); between the Dospat and the Mesta are found the Tseshtentsi and, below the Chardagh, the Torbechi.

1. On this name see the index of my Chronicle supposedly by Nestor. Translator.

S.P. B. 101

We have spoken above (Section 33)[1] of the names of the old Bulgars. An enigmatic appellation is also given them. They are called the Khrisoi, and this word generally means an uncouth man, a rustic. They are spread out between the Black Sea and the Isker (now Sibir) and also in the region of Vidin and to the south as far as the Starndja Planina (Mountains). They speak the dialect of the northeast and may be distinguished by their special costume. Likewise, the costume of the women is distinguished by the somber color of the woolen gown called sukman.

The immigrants from the Balkans who come into the regions of Shumen, or Razgrad, and of Ruse are called by the natives "The Blacks," because of the color of their breeches. In western Bulgaria "the wearers of white" and "the wearers of black" are distinguished. Other sobriquets are due to the cut of the breeches.

We owe special mention to the Schopi. They inhabit especially the mountainous region of Kustendil, Kratovo, Radomir, Breznik and

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 113-118 -- Analyst]

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S.P.
B Sofia. According to Broch they start directly on the Serbian frontier,
101 at Kriva Feia, to the east of Varna, and are distinguished from the other Bulgars by their costume (white breeches) and their physignomy. Some observers see in them an ancient Slavified Thracian tribe, the Sapaioi. Thus some people have found in the name of the Ruptsi the former Greek name of Merope, which has lost its first unaccented syllable.

Moreover, the Bulgars of the east call even the inhabitants of Vratsa and of Trun, by the name of Schopi even though they themselves do not use the name. If one were to believe Miletic, it is in the the village of Mechka, on the road from Nikopol to Pleven, that the Khrtsoi stop and the Schopi begin. Formerly the Schopi did not cross Isker (now Sibir).

B
563
101 Let us again mention that in the various sections of Bulgaria there exist communes which are called Arnaut, or in other words Albanian (Arnaoutlar), for example in the districts of Varna, Provadia, Razgrad, and Kermen. The inhabitants of these villages are partly of an origin neither Slavo-Albanian nor Greek. They are called the Arnaut because they came from Macedonia, notably from the regions of Kostur and of Voden. Such are the pretended Arnaut of Silistria, /210/ Razgrad, and Bratsigovo. On the contrary, the often repeated thesis which attributes a Slavic origin to the Tsakoniens and to the Mainotes of southern Greece must be considered to be without foundation.

[B
795] In the northeastern section of Bulgaria live the Gagauz. They are Christians who speak Turkish. A certain number of Gagauz speak Bulgarian and declare that they are Bulgars. Some persons consider them to be the descendants of Turkized Bulgars.

The Gagauz of the coast are settled at Varna and in some communes at Kestrich, Kara-Hussein, Djevizliji, Djaperliji, Ala Klise, Giaur-Suiutchuk, Eni Kioi, Kavarna, and Biela. The Bulgarian Gagauz are settled in several communes in the outskirts of Varna and of Provadia and especially in the village of Beidaut in the Dobrudja. There is no agreement as to the origin of the Gagauz. Jirecek considers them as the descendants of the Cumaeans, Mochov as the Karakalpak of the Russian chroniclers, Zanetov as the ancient Bulgars of the Volga.

B
101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz to be found also in Bessarabia, in the

B. 101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz are to be found also in Bessarabia, in the district of Benderj, where they are concentrated in the outskirts of Komrat. Mochov estimates their number at 70,000; but in the official statistics they are considered to be Bulgars. According to Zanetov the Bulgarian Slavs of Bessarabia should be called Tukani.

S.P. B. MI [197] /211/ From an anthropological viewpoint, the best documented specialist, Mr. Vatev distinguishes a certain number of groups in the Bulgar nation. But up to the present these groups have not coincided with the linguistic groups. What is certain is that the east differs from the west, noticeably from the region of Sofia and of Macedonia, and that the south offers characteristic traits.

Basing himself upon the measurements of 320,000 school children, 36,000 soldiers and 1,330 skulls, he arrived at the following conclusions regarding the Bulgarian type:

This type is of medium height: 1.665 millimeters for the men, 1,567 millimeters for the women; dark complexion predominates (50 % against 5% light blond; the remainder mixed). But it must be noted that the dark complexion predominates in the east, while in the west and in Macedonia, which formerly was the center of the Balkan Slavs, the dark type is still rare. The Bulgars have a regular nose, high eye sockets, and an erect head. As to the shape, there are 77% mesocephalics (index 75-80). The average index among the soldiers is 79.65 (in Macedonia 79.45) and among the skulls 77.97.

The dolichocephalic types are found especially in the south, the brachycephalic in the west; in the south of Macedonia the average index exceeds 85.

S.P. C.M. 101 648 S 39. The Slavs of Macedonia.---As we have already mentioned, the Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia are claimed /212/ by both the Serbs and the Bulgars.

Let us note at the outset that it is not well known where Macedonia and Old Serbia begin and end. Thus, the Bulgars attach to Macedonia the regions of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Koumanovo; on the other hand, the Serbs attach Skoplje and Tetovo to Old Serbia; some of them lay claim even to Prilep, Bitolia, Ochrida, and Veles; all of these claims, of course, have a political objective.

Macedonia and Old Serbia represent the country bounded, roughly

S.P. C.M. 101 L48

speaking, on the west by Lake Ochrida, the Drin, and the Chardagh, on the north by the frontier of Serbia, by mounts Osog and Rilo, and on the east by the Mesta River (Kara Su in Turkish). Both Serbs and Bulgars claim these two provinces. In this conflict the scholars of the two sides have not always been able to refrain from showing a certain amount of favoritism; some foreign scholars, Slav and non-Slav, especially Russian, have taken a more objective position in this argument and a third theory has been developed according to which the Slavs of Macedonia are neither Serbs nor Bulgars, but a special people. Such was for example the point of view of P. Draganov, in 1887, and it was this idea that prompted the Slavic Benevolent Society of St. Petersburg to publish the ethnographic map of the Balkans worked out by Komarov and Zarianko, and this theory has been defended /213/ by an eminent Serbian ethnographer, Tsviitch. (1)

1. See on this question our study upon l'Expansion des langues slaves (Le Monde Slave, 1st vol., Paris, Hachette, 1897, p. 309). Translator.

The historians have occupied themselves with the relationship of Macedonia with the Serbian and Bulgarian states; the ethnographers have compared the folklore of the Slavs of Macedonia with that of the Serbs and of the Bulgars; finally, the philologists have gone to great trouble to study the traits characteristic of the Macedonian dialects and to see to which of the neighboring idioms they are related. This struggle has brought forth a whole scientific leterature; but it is not ended and it will not be for a long time to come, because it is not a matter of scientific questions, but above all of politics.

S.P. C.M. L48

And from a political viewpoint reasons are always to be found for keeping solution in abeyance. The Serbs need the sea and Austria has prevented their access to the Adriatic by taking Bosnia-Hercegovina from them; from that moment they turn their covetous glances towards the Archipelago, especially towards the mouth of the Vardar, towards Salonica, and for this reason they are making every effort to demonstrate that Macedonia belongs to their nation.

On the other hand, the Bulgars do not wish to disavow what today is a fact, proved by past centuries, that is, the close /214/ interdependence of Macedonia and Bulgaria. In addition to these two principal claimants, other States, Greece and Rumania assert grossly

S.P. C.M. 648 exaggerated claims, without counting Turkey which is today the proprietor of the contested territory, without speaking of the Great Powers, especially Russia, Italy, and Austria, who have their eye on Macedonia.

000 From all of this whirlpool of literary, political, and scientific endeavors, a disinterested observer can draw today only these obvious conclusions:

S.P. C.M. 181 1). The Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia represent a people whose national consciousness is not yet completely and equally developed, if we compare them with the two neighboring nations. However, it is beyond doubt that the largest portion of this people S.P. C.M. [795] feel themselves and proclaim themselves to be Bulgars, that they belong to the independent Bulgarian Church, whose head is the Exarch resident at Ortakioi. (1) On the other hand, it is certain that the

1. According to Brankov, there are in Macedonia 77% Exarchists and 23% Patriarchists. According to Hilmi, the proportion is entirely different. See above in Section 37.[1]

name Bulgars is an historic name in these regions and that it has not been brought in through the religious propaganda of these recent years. Even though these regions were once annexed to the Serbian State, yet the name Serb has not taken root among the people. This is why in recent times the Bulgarian propoganda, both ecclesiastical and political, has found a very deep response throughout the country; Serbian propoganda has a chance of future success only in the northern region which is in contact with the Serbian Kingdom and has direct dealings with it; this region is Old Serbia.

S.P. C.M. 197 2). From a philological point of view it is true that the language of the Slavs of Macedonia presents an aggregation of local dialects rather distinct from one another. They form a sort of idiom which is intermediate between the Serbian stokavski and the Bulgarian language proper. (1) But taken altogether and in certain details it is much more

1. See Section 32, above.[2]

S.P. C.M. [194] [193] closely related to the Bulgarian than to the Serbian. These special traits are the use of the postpositive article (used after the substantive), the loss of declension and the retention of the nasals. Only the dialect of the northern region is more closely related to the dialect group of Vranje, Nish, Timok, which Profesessor Belic assigns to the domain of the Serbian language, but certain philologists do not agree with him.

For these reasons I have, as may be seen above, and on the map which accompanies this book, assigned the Slavs of Macedonia to the Bulgars, while recognizing that there are in Old Serbia a majority of families who claim to belong to the Serbian nations.

S.P. C.M. 181

3). Moreover, it is certain that this question of deciding whether Macedonia is Serbian or Bulgarian cannot be resolved by secondary linguistic and ethnographic indications, /216/ for example the custom of celebrating the festival called Slava (1), but by other

1. Annual festival during which the word slava "glory" is frequently repeated, which gives it its name. Translator.

factors, such as historical tradition, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, political ideas and tendencies. But, even from this viewpoint, Macedonia is not tranquil; it is the scene of incessant agitation. Such agitation is carried on by means of political propaganda, by money, through the school, and through the church by both Bulgar and Serb. At the point to which all of these efforts are concentrated they may make of the least conscientious individual a Serb or a Bulgar, despite the dealect which he speaks. All of these factors continue to operate and they will not stop while Macedonia and Old Serbia are outside of the direct control of either Serbia or Bulgaria. The State which may be the first to occupy the region for a long period will be the first one to give it a character.

Today Macedonia is Bulgarian; but it is still a question of power and of the future, a question whether it will always remain Bulgarian, or will be Serbianized in part. The natural solution would be for Old Serbia to be assigned to the Serbs and Macedonia to the Bulgars. The relations of these two peoples would then be placed in order and their national development assured. But will such a political and national solution be arrived at for the Macedonian problem? It seems very doubtful.

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SUMMARY

Total Figures for the Slavs.

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S 40.---For the year 1900 I have estimated the total figure for the Slavs at 137 or 138 million. After having revised my estimates in 1908, I arrived at a figure of 139 million, the details of which are

S.R. 161

as follows:

Russians	approx.	94,000,000
Poles	"	20,000,000
Sorbs of Lusatia.	"	150,000
Czechs and Slovaks.	"	9,800,000
Slovenes	"	1,500,000
Serbo-Croats.	"	8,550,000
Bulgars	"	5,000,000
Total	1900.	139,000,000

This total is only an estimated figure, for, as has been seen for each nation individually, one can very rarely give an absolute guarantee for the number of Slav subjects, especially in the Balkan peninsula, and also in Germany and in Austro-Hungary. The figures for the colonists settled outside of Europe is entirely a matter of conjecture.

/218/ As anmatter of comparison, I recall that Langhans in 1900 figured the total number of Germans in the entire world to be 85 million, in 1904, Henoch, 82 million (of whom 69,663,000 were in Europe, 11,600,000 in America), a total lower than that of the Russians alone. Professor Florinskii of Kyev, at the close of the year 1906, arrived at a total of 148,521,000. If we take my figures as a base, and add to them a yearly increase of 1.4%, we shall obtain for the year 1910 a total of 158 to 159 million.

• • •

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113, 101, 162 White Russians RC2

[For ethnographic territory and frontiers of the Russian nation which includes Ukrainians, White Russians and Great Russians, population statistics and estimates which contain data on education, religious denominations, birth and death rates etc., see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 18-29, category 116]

113, 141, 197 White Russians RC2

[For physical anthropology and linquistic data concerning the Ukrainians, Great Russian and White Russians, see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 29-35, category 116]

113, 101, 167, 175 White Russians RC2

[For general historical development of slavic peoples which later became grouped under the Great Russian, Ukrainian and White Russian designations, their early movements, tribal names and historical development, see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 11-17, category 116]

113, 101, 162 Ukrainians RD4

[For ethnographic territory and frontiers of the Russian nation which includes Ukrainians, White Russians and Great Russians, population statistics and estimates which contain data on education, religious denominations, birth and death rates etc., see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 18-29, category 116]

113, 101, 167, 175 Ukrainians RD4

[For general historical development of slavic peoples which later became grouped under the Great Russian, Ukrainian and White Russian designations, their early movements, tribal names and historical development, see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 11-17, category 116]

113, 181, 668, 829 Ukrainians RD4

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113, 141, 197 Ukainians RD4

[For physical anthropology and linguistic data concerning the Ukrainians, Great Russians and White Russians, see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 29-35, category 116]

113, 668, 648 Serbs EF6

[For a discussion of Serbian political activities in Macedonia in 1911, and Serb-Bulgar relations concerning the Macedonian question, see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, category 116, pp. 131-134].

113, 101 Prehistoric Russia RA3

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113, 141, 197 Great Russians RF2

[For physical anthropology and linguistic data concerning the Ukrainians, Great Russians and White Russians, see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 29-35, category 116]

113, 101, 167, 175 Great Russians RF2

[For general historical development of slavic peoples which later became grouped under the Great Russian, Ukrainian and White Russian designations, their early movements, tribal names and historical development, see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 11-17, category 116]

113, 181, 668, 829 Great Russians RF2

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113, 101, 162 Great Russians RF2

[For ethnographic territory and frontiers of the Russian nation which includes Ukrainians, White Russians and Great Russians, population statistics and estimates which contain data on education, religious denominations, birth and death rates etc., see E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 18-29, category 116]

1: Niederle Slavic Peoples

La Race Slave

Statistique
Démographie — Anthropologie

PAR

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Évreux, imprimerie Ch. Hérissey, Paul Hérissey, succr

PRÉFACE

I

Depuis que l'Allemagne unifiée a pris dans le centre de l'Europe une situation prépondérante, les destinées de la race slave sont devenues solidaires des nôtres. Si cette race réussit à tenir en échec l'expansion germanique vers l'est et vers le sud, autrement dit vers la Méditerranée, nous pouvons espérer maintenir notre situation du côté des Vosges et — qui sait ? la rétablir peut-être sur le Rhin. Si elle succombe définitivement dans la lutte, l'avenir de la nation française est irrémédiablement compromis.

L'alliance franco-russe a été la conséquence naturelle d'un état de choses dont pendant trop longtemps nos hommes d'Etat n'avaient point soupçonné la gravité.

Mais les Russes ne sont pas les seuls représentants de cette race slave qui s'étend de l'Océan Pacifique à l'Adriatique. A côté des Polonais, si longtemps populaires chez nous, d'une popularité qui leur a été fatale, en les excitant à des luttes sans issue, il y a toute

une série de populations qui s'étendent des Carpates à l'Adriatique et qui n'ont guère lieu d'être satisfaites de leur destinée actuelle. Ces peuples n'ont pas seulement à lutter contre les ambitions allemandes ; ils se débattent encore contre celles des Magyares, des Hellènes, des Osmanlis. Et nous avons le plus grand intérêt à savoir quelle force ils représentent, quelles peuvent être leurs chances d'avenir.

Parmi les innombrables publications dont ils ont été l'objet dans ces derniers temps, il n'en est aucune qui offre un intérêt scientifique aussi sérieux que celle dont nous présentons aujourd'hui la traduction. Elle est le fruit d'un travail poursuivi sans relâche pendant de longues années par un savant de premier ordre.

L'auteur appartient à cette nation tchèque qui marche à l'avant-garde des peuples slaves et qui a donné à la science tant d'hommes remarquables sur lesquels j'ai eu à diverses reprises l'occasion d'appeler l'attention de mes compatriotes[1].

Fils d'un helléniste distingué, enlevé trop tôt à la science et à l'enseignement, M. Lubor Niederle est né à Klatovy en 1865. Il s'est de fort bonne heure intéressé aux études anthropologiques. Comme cette branche de

1. Voir notamment mes études sur l'historien François Palacky

la science n'était point représentée à l'Université de Prague, il est allé l'étudier à Munich et à Paris. Après avoir visité les principaux musées de l'Occident il s'est rendu en Russie et à dater de 1893, il s'est particulièrement consacré à l'ethnographie, à l'archéologie et à l'anthropologie slave. Il a contribué à la fondation d'une revue intitulée *Le Peuple tchèque* qui paraît depuis 1891, et qui est actuellement dirigée par son éminent collègue M. Zibrt. M. Niederle a été l'un des organisateurs de l'exposition ethnographique tchèque slovaque qui a eu lieu à Prague en 1895. J'ai eu la bonne fortune de visiter cette exposition si intéressante et on en trouvera le compte rendu dans un de mes volumes[1].

Les collections réunies pour cette exposition ont été le point de départ d'un musée ethnographique dont M. Niederle a été le premier conservateur et qui, après avoir été provisoirement abrité chez un généreux Mécène, le comte Sylva Taroucca, a trouvé

(*Etudes slaves*, tome II), sur le poète Kollar (*Russes et Slaves*, tome I), sur Vacslav Hanka (*Journal des Savants*, 1907), sur Vacslav Tomek (*ib.*, 1908), sur Ladislav Rieger (*Correspondant*, 1909)- sur Schaffarik (*Journal des Savants*, 1910), *Paris et Prague* (*Nouvelle Revue*, 1908) et ma monographie de *Prague*. (Collection des Villes d'art.)

1. *Russes et Slaves* (3e vol., p. 340-357, librairie Hachette, 1896. Sur le Musée ethnographique, voir le chapitre II de *Prague*.

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un asile définitif dans une villa naguère occupée par la famille Kinsky.

En 1890, M. Niederle a été nommé professeur d'ethnologie et de préhistoire à l'Université tchèque. Nul n'était plus apte que lui à occuper cette chaire.

Dès l'année 1889 il avait commencé à publier quelques essais anthropologiques en langue tchèque. En 1894 il fit paraître dans la même langue un volume sur *L'humanité préhistorique, notamment dans les pays slaves*, qui a été traduit en russe et en polonais. Puis il entreprit un vaste ouvrage destiné à remplacer *les Antiquités slaves* de Schaffarik et portant le même titre. Deux volumes de ce travail ont été publiés de 1902 à 1910. D'autre part M. Niederle consacrait aux Slovaques une monographie considérable. Enfin il résumait l'ensemble de ses recherches sur les peuples slaves dans le volume dont nous donnons ici la traduction. Ce volume n'est que le développement d'un article publié peu de temps auparavant dans l'Encyclopédie tchèque publiée à Prague par la librairie Otto.

II

Ce n'est guère qu'au XIXe siècle que l'on a commencé à s'occuper sérieusement de la sta-

tistique des peuples slaves. En 1826, Schaffarik[1] dans son *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature des peuples slaves* essaya d'établir le recensement de la race. Il arrivait à un total de 55.270.000 âmes. Il était d'ailleurs assez mal documenté sur un certain nombre de questions. En Russie il confondait les Petits-Russes et les Grands-Russes et n'évaluait les Ruthènes — comme on disait alors, — qu'à environ trois millions. Il soupçonnait à peine l'existence des Bulgares. Voici quelles étaient ses évaluations :

Russes	32.000.000
Petits-Russes	3.000.000
Bulgares	600.000
Serbes en Turquie	800.000
— en Hongrie	350.000
Bosniaques	350.000
Monténégrins	60.000
Slavoniens	253.000
Dalmates	380.000
Croates	730.000
Slovènes	800.000
Tchèques	3.700.000
Polonais	10.000.000
Serbes de Lusace	200.000

Dans son Ethnographie slave publiée en 1842, il arrivait à un total de 78 millions.

En 1868, en me fondant sur les recherches de Schaffarik et sur celles que l'historien russe Pypine avait résumées dans la première

1. Voir la note de la p. III.

édition de son *Histoire des littératures slaves*, j'ai, dans mon ouvrage sur *Cyrille et Méthode et la Conversion des Slaves au Christianisme*, présenté les chiffres suivants :

Grands-Russes	34.000.000
Petits-Russes	12.000.000
Russes blancs	4.000.000
Slaves méridionaux (sur lesquels 5 millions de Bulgares).	11.400.000
Tchécoslovaques	8.000.000
Polonais	10.000.000
Serbes de Lusace	150.000

Depuis, j'ai eu l'occasion de revenir sur la question dans un travail publié à propos du livre d'un savant russe, feu Boudilovitch sur *l'Expansion des langues slaves*[1]. Je constatais qu'un géographe russe, M. Zarianko, pour l'année 1891 était arrivé à un total de 101.724.000 tandis que la statistique dressée par M. Schrader dans son Atlas ne donnait que 97 millions.

En 1905 M. Niederle reprit l'enquête pour un article destiné à l'Encyclopédie tchèque et arrivait au chiffre de 138.500.000 âmes.

Vers la même époque un savant russe, slaviste distingué, professeur à l'Université de Kiev, M. Florinsky, étudiait de son côté la statistique des peuples slaves et publiait

1. Voir le *Monde slave* (2e édit., Hachette, 1897).

le résultat de ses recherches dans un volume édité à Kiev en 1907 sous ce titre *La Race slave*. Voici ses chiffres :

Grands-Russes	65.000.000
Petits-Russes	31.000.000
Russes blancs	7.000.000
Bulgares	5.400.000
Serbocroates	9.000.000
Tchèques	6.641.000
Slovaques	2.600.000
Polonais	20.000.000
Kachoubes	355.000
Serbes de Lusace	150.000

soit en chiffres ronds 148 millions.

M. Florinsky estime que, la natalité annuelle de la race étant de 1,7 p. 100, elle augmente chaque année de 2.500.000 individus. Elle devra donc avec ce coefficient présenter un total de 186 millions pour l'année 1915, et de 200 millions pour l'année 1920.

Parmi les problèmes que M. Florinsky avait à résoudre, l'un des plus délicats était celui de l'ethnographie macédonienne. Le conflit auquel la Macédoine a donné lieu depuis un quart de siècle, entre les Serbes et les Bulgares, avait fort embarrassé certains publicistes russes désireux de ne s'aliéner ni l'une ni l'autre des deux parties.

Dans une carte publiée en 1889, le géographe russe M. Zarianko avait, conformément à tous les précédents, adjugé la Macédoine aux

Bulgares. Epouvanté des réclamations des Serbes qui cherchent en Macédoine des compensations pour la perte de la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, M. Zarianko dans une édition ultérieure eut l'idée de donner à la Macédoine un lavis particulier, attendu que c'était, disait-il, un pays dont la nationalité n'était pas encore étudiée. Depuis ce temps-là les ethnographes ont eu le temps de se documenter et voici en quels termes M. Florinsky rendait son arrêt en 1908 :

« Il me semble, disait-il, qu'il n'y a point de raison suffisante pour faire des Macédoniens un groupe ethnographique spécial. Pour décider de la répartition de ce groupe entre les nationalités bulgare et serbe, le principal critérium est déterminé par les données linguistiques. D'après celles-ci, autant qu'on les connaît actuellement — il est établi que la majorité des dialectes macédoniens présente les caractères fondamentaux de la langue bulgare. C'est seulement dans la Macédoine septentrionale, dans les districts de Skoplie, Tetovo et Kratovo que les particularités de la lange serbe apparaissent nettement dans les parlers slaves, combinées d'ailleurs avec quelques particularités de la langue balkanique. »

M. Florinsky conclut en adjugeant le nord

de la Macédoine aux Serbes, et le reste aux Bulgares.

« J'ignore, écrivais-je en 1908, à propos de la publication du livre de M. Florinsky[1], si ce jugement de Salomon contentera les deux parties. En tout cas on peut être sûr que les Grecs pousseront des cris de paon. Quoi qu'il en soit, je ne saurais trop recommander aux Serbes et aux Bulgares de trouver un *modus vivendi* définitif. Les Slaves ne sauraient se faire trop de concessions pour s'unir contre les éternels ennemis de leur race : l'Allemand, le Magyare, le Grec, l'Osmanli. »

En ce qui concerne les Slaves de Macédoine, M. Niederle est arrivé à peu près aux mêmes conclusions que M. Florinsky; mais il les soutient par d'autres arguments.

III

En écrivant l'article *Slaves* pour l'Encyclopédie tchèque, M. Niederle avait été appelé à étudier certains problèmes de démographie et d'anthropologie. A ce moment précisément l'Académie des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg se proposait de publier une Encyclopédie de Philologie slave sous la direction de M. V. Ja-

1. Dans l'*Energie française*, numéro du 29 février.

gic[1], l'éminent professeur de l'Université de Vienne. Probablement à l'instigation de ce savant distingué, elle demanda à M. Niederle d'écrire pour cette collection un volume sur la race slave. Ce volume rédigé en langue russe et accompagné d'une fort belle carte a paru à Saint-Pétersbourg en 1909. Mais une édition académique est toujours une publication officielle. On ne peut pas tout dire ; on est tenu à certaines réserves diplomatiques.

Aussi, peu de temps après cette édition, M. Niederle en a donné une autre à Prague dans sa langue maternelle, le tchèque, et c'est sur ce texte qu'est établie ma traduction. Elle a bénéficié de quelques additions ou rectifications que l'auteur a bien voulu m'adresser. Ma version est aussi exacte que possible ; seulement je dois prévenir le lecteur que j'ai parfois supprimé certains noms de localités qu'il ne trouverait pas sur nos cartes françaises, abrégé certaines nomenclatures qui risquaient de sembler fastidieuses, simplifié la bibliographie.

IV

Le livre de M. Niederle vient à propos au moment où les problèmes que soulève la race

1. Voir sur M. Jagic mon article du *Journal des Savants*. (Année 1908.)

1: Niederle Slavic Peoples

slave sont plus que jamais à l'ordre du jour. Ces problèmes demandent avant tout à être éclairés par la saine lumière de la statistique. Si, par exemple, nous avons en France commis tant et de si lourdes erreurs, et qui nous ont coûté si cher, à propos de la Pologne, c'est que nous ignorions le rapport exact du chiffre des Polonais au chiffre total de leurs adversaires. Le 20 avril 1840, Cousin, ministre de l'Instruction publique, présentait à la Chambre des députés l'exposé des motifs d'un projet de loi concernant la fondation de la chaire de langue et de littérature slave au Collège de France. Ce document déclarait naïvement que le plus parlé de tous les dialectes slaves était le polonais — ce qui voulait dire évidemment que les Polonais étaient plus nombreux que les Russes. Si nous avions eu connaissance de la proportion réelle des deux nations nous aurions peut-être épargné aux Polonais et à nous-mêmes de cruelles épreuves et d'amères désillusions. Le même rapport réduisait à deux millions le nombre des Slaves de Turquie et cette réduction rendait absolument incompréhensible à nos législateurs et à nos publicistes les problèmes qui s'agitaient dans la Péninsule balkanique. J'ai dit ailleurs quelles inepties s'accumulaient dans certains ouvrages d'émigrés polonais que des publi-

cistes comme Saint-Marc Girardin avaient la faiblesse de prendre au sérieux[1], à quelles fantaisies Henri Martin et d'autres s'étaient livrés sur le prétendu touranisme des Russes. En signalant ces fantaisies ou ces erreurs je me suis naturellement fait quelques ennemis parmi ceux qui croyaient avoir intérêt à les exploiter. Mais il faut avant tout servir la vérité.

C'est pour servir encore la cause de la vérité — et en même temps les intérêts de notre pays — que j'ai entrepris cette traduction. On y trouvera sous une forme impeccable et rigoureusement scientifique tout ce qui concerne la répartition des nations slaves, la statistique, la démographie, l'anthropologie de ce groupe trop peu connu. Il est à souhaiter que cet ouvrage devienne le bréviaire de nos professeurs, de nos publicistes, de nos hommes politiques. Nous avons assez divagué sur le compte des peuples slaves; le moment est venu de nous en faire une idée juste et définitive.

Louis LEGER.

1. Voir *Souvenirs d'un slavophile*, passim. L'ouvrage que Saint-Marc Girardin déclarait grave, judicieux, exact, était intitulé *Recherches historiques et statistiques sur les peuples d'origine slave, magyare et roumaine*. (Paris, 1852.) L'auteur s'appelait Kubalski.

LA RACE SLAVE

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. — Les Slaves primitifs ont apparu naguère dans l'Europe centrale où, peu à peu, ils se sont, au point de vue de la langue et en partie de la civilisation, distingués des autres peuples indo-européens. Dès les origines ils diffèrent entre eux au point de vue physique; ils offrent des types différents dans la forme du crâne et la couleur des cheveux et des yeux. Dans les régions où les Slaves primitifs ont évidemment résidé de toute antiquité, nous rencontrons dès la période préhistorique différents types de crânes et des nuances différentes.

Au moment de leur entrée dans l'histoire, une partie des Slaves nous sont représentés comme des hommes aux yeux clairs et aux cheveux blonds ou roux, d'autres avec des cheveux bruns; les débris de cheveux trouvés dans les tombes confirment ces deux types.

La vie domestique présentait aussi des types différents durant la période pré-chrétienne. Par exemple à l'ouest, entre l'Elbe et la Vistule,

nous trouvons un certain type de tombeaux et un matériel spécial adriatico-danubien et un autre à l'est de la Vistule où domine l'influence de la Mer Noire. Dès le moment où les Slaves se sont séparés des autres Aryens, la différenciation des langues a commencé à se produire dans le sein de la race ; cette différenciation a été renforcée par divers facteurs, par exemple par la formation de centres isolés de culture intensive, ou de vie politique, par les mouvements des divers groupes et leur mélange avec des éléments étrangers (par exemple la migration des Slaves vers le sud et leur destinée ultérieure dans la péninsule balkanique). Cette différenciation s'est tellement accusée que le peuple primitif, qui ne formait qu'un seul corps, s'est dissous en un ensemble de groupes absolument distincts les uns des autres. Aujourd'hui encore, on n'est pas complètement d'accord sur la question de savoir jusqu'où a été poussée cette désagrégation et quels sont les groupes qu'on peut considérer comme absolument indépendants ; mais tout le monde reconnaît qu'il n'y a plus une nationalité slave unique. Il n'y a plus qu'une série de nations individuelles. Aujourd'hui, l'unité slave n'est qu'une conception théorique sur laquelle s'exercent les idées ou les sentiments, mais dans la vie des Slaves ils sont bien rares les moments où l'on constate quelque ressouvenance de l'unité disparue.

Comment s'est opéré ce démembrement ?

Quelles circonstances ont déterminé l'apparition des groupes? Comment s'est opérée l'individualisation, quel est aujourd'hui l'état de la race, combien faut-il compter de nations? Ce sont là des questions qui ne sont pas encore toutes résolues par la science slave.

Voici ce qui paraît le plus vraisemblable. Le peuple slave primitif avait son noyau entre l'Oder et le Dnieper; dès les temps préhistoriques il avait par endroits atteint l'Elbe, la Sale, le Danube, la Desna, le Niémen et la Baltique. Il s'est désagrégé sur ce vaste territoire, en partie sous l'influence de certaines conditions territoriales — telles sont par exemple les influences des grands cours d'eau et des montagnes, — en partie sous l'action de courants civilisateurs qui n'étaient pas les mêmes en Orient et en Occident, enfin sous l'influence du développement linguistique. Trois fractions se sont d'abord constituées. La première, à l'ouest de la Vistule et des Karpates, s'est étendue vers l'Occident au delà de l'Elbe, de la Sale, de la Sumava (Bœhmerwald) et a produit les branches des Slaves polabes, pomoriens (poméraniens), polonais et tchécoslovaques; la seconde, dont le siège primitif était entre la haute Vistule, le Dniester et le moyen Danube, descendit peu à peu — sauf quelques tribus au sud des Karpathes — s'établir d'une part sur la Drave, de l'autre, après avoir passé la Save et le Danube, dans la région du

Balkan et forma les groupes, slovène, serbo-croate et bulgare; la troisième fraction, du bassin du Dnieper rayonna en un vaste cercle au nord jusqu'au golfe de Finlande, sur le haut Dnieper, le Volga, l'Oka, à l'est vers le Don, au sud vers la Mer Noire et le Danube inférieur, et constitua la nation russe; sous l'influence de diverses conditions, cette nation se différencia en elle-même et se modifia suivant les localités.

Les diverses branches de la famille slave ne sont pas toutes également éloignées les unes des autres. Entre le Tchèque et le Polonais la différence est plus considérable qu'entre le Tchèque et le Slovaque. Entre le Grand-Russe et le Polonais elle est plus grande qu'entre le Grand-Russe et le Petit-Russe. Aussi, dans la vie politique et dans la littérature se produisent sans cesse des conflits sur la question de savoir si telle fraction doit être considéré comme une tribu ou une nation indépendante. On n'est point d'accord sur l'emploi des termes nation, nationalité, tribu, branche, pas plus que sur le total actuel des Slaves.

Tout dépend des points de vue en matière philologique, ethnographique, historique ou politique. Même en partant du même point de vue on arrive à des conclusions différentes. Tel philologue voit deux langues là ou tel autre ne voit que des dialectes d'une même langue. Les uns tiennent plus de compte de leurs aspirations vers la renaissance, l'individualité politique,

l'autonomie nationale, que des données scientifiques; les autres, obéissant à des considérations politiques, imaginent de nouvelles nations dont leurs rivaux ne veulent même pas entendre parler. Ainsi le nombre des nations slaves, et par suite le système de la Slavie tout entière est très différent suivant les auteurs.

Ainsi Dobrowsky [1], — pour ne pas remonter trop haut, ni entrer dans trop de détails, — admettait en 1822 neuf langues vivantes et nations (russe, illyrienne ou serbe, croate, slovène, korutane [2], slovaque, tchèque, lusacienne, polonaise); Schaffarik [3] dans son Ethnographie slave en 1842, six langues avec treize dialectes (russe, bulgare, illyrien, léchite-polonaise, tchèque, lusacienne); J. Sreznevsky [4] en 1843, neuf langues : grand russe, petit russe, bulgare, serbo-croate, koroutane, polonais, lusacien, tchèque, slovaque ; Auguste Schleicher en 1865, huit langues : polonais, lusacien, tchèque, grand-russe, petit-russe, slovène, serbe, bulgare ; Fr. Miklosich, neuf langues (slovène, bulgare, serbo-croate, petit-russe,

1. Joseph Dobrowsky, né en 1753, mort en 1829, savant tchèque, le véritable créateur de la philologie slave. Voir ma notice sur lui dans la *Grande Encyclopédie*, Tr.

2. Korutanes, nom donné par certains ethnographes aux Slaves de la Carniole (latin Carantania). Tr.

3. Sur Schaffarik, voir notre notice au *Journal des Savants* (mars-avril 1910). (Tr.).

4. Philologue russe du XIXe siècle. Tr.

grand-russe, tchèque, polonais, haut lusacien, bas lusacien); Dm. Florinsky en 1907, neuf langues (russe, bulgare, serbo-croate, slovène, tchèque-morave, slovaque, lusacien, polonais, kachoube); V. Jagic en 1898, huit langues (polonais, lusacien, tchèque, grand russe, petit russe, slovène, serbo-croate, bulgare). Mais, si nous tenons compte aujourd'hui de certains publicistes et de nombreuses tendances séparatistes, le nombre des langues slaves s'élève de onze à quatorze, sans tenir compte de celles qui sont mortes.

§ 2. — Nous n'avons pas l'intention d'intervenir dans ces polémiques inspirées le plus souvent par des raisons étrangères à la science. Mais, comme il faut dans une étude ethnographique établir d'abord un cadre, un plan général, nous allons procéder d'après le suivant, sans prétendre condamner les autres. Voici dans quel ordre nous allons étudier l'ethnographie slave :

1° Groupe russe dans lequel on remarque aujourd'hui une forte tendance à reconnaître deux nations : les Grands-Russes et les Petits-Russes (Russes méridionaux, Ukrainiens, Rousines ou Ruthènes).

2° Groupe polonais dans son ensemble, en faisant remarquer pour ce qui concerne les Kachoubes, que les uns y voient des Polonais, les autres les derniers restes des Slaves baltiques disparus.

3° Le groupe lusacien serbe, divisé en deux

branches bien distinctes : le haut lusacien et le bas lusacien.

4° Le groupe tchèque qui forme une unité compacte en Bohême et en Moravie, mais dont les Slovaques de Hongrie s'affranchissent de plus en plus, surtout au point de vue politique.

5° Le groupe slovène qui ne connaît point de tendances séparatistes.

6° Le groupe serbo-croate dans lequel les divisions politiques et les nuances de culture — notamment en matière religieuse — sont tellement tranchées que l'on est obligé de reconnaître aujourd'hui deux nations : des Serbes et des Croates.

7° Le groupe bulgare très homogène. Seulement, en ce qui concerne les Slaves de Macédoine, on n'est pas d'accord. Les uns les rattachent aux Bulgares, les autres aux Serbes ; d'autres prétendent reconnaître une nationalité particulière, la nationalité macédonienne.

Nous resterons, dans la suite de cet ouvrage, fidèles à ce cadre des sept groupes fondamentaux. On verra en temps et lieu à quel point sont justifiées les tendances de ceux qui veulent en détacher des groupes indépendants.

I

LES RUSSES

§ 3. Développement historique. — Dans la région orientale qui s'est constituée par suite du partage du peuple primitif en trois groupes, s'est développé le grand peuple russe, aujourd'hui divisé.

Quels ont été les commencements de ce peuple durant l'ère préchrétienne et les premiers siècles après J.-C. ? Nous n'en savons à peu près rien. Nous connaissons à la vérité quelques noms cités par Ptolémée, qui lui appartiennent évidemment, mais nous ne savons pas sur lesquels nous arrêter [1]. Au IVe siècle de l'ère chrétienne apparaissent des indications vagues sur un grand peuple des Antes, dont le nom désigne les tribus russes du sud entre le Danube inférieur et le Don, mais ce nom disparaît plus tard. Les renseignements que nous fournissent les Arabes sur les Russes du Xe siècle ne sont pas moins énigmatiques. Ce n'est qu'à partir de Constant

1. Ces questions ont été étudiées par l'auteur dans un vaste ouvrage en langue tchèque : *Les antiquités slaves*, qui mériterait, lui aussi, d'être traduit en français. Tr.

LA RACE SLAVE

Porphyrogénète et, plus nettement, de la première chronique kiévienne[1] conservée dans un m.s. du XIIe siècle, que nous avons des détails un peu précis. Ces textes nous apprennent que sur le territoire de la Russie actuelle vivaient une foule de tribus qui constituaient des unités indépendantes. L'annaliste en compte douze :

Les Slaves sur le lac Ilmen avec pour centre Novgorod la Grande.

Les Krivitches auprès des sources du Dnieper, de la Dvina et du Volga (ceux qui vivaient sur la rivière Polot s'appelaient Polotchanes).

Les Dregovitches entre le Pripet et la Dvina.

Les Drevlianes au sud-ouest des précédents.

Les Polianes de Teterevo à Kiev qui devint leur centre.

Les Doulièbes et Boujanes (ou Volyniens) sur le Boug.

Les Tivertsiens et les Oulitches sur le Dniester et sur le Boug.

Les Radimitches sur la Soja.

Les Viatitches sur l'Oka.

Les Siévériens sur la Desna, la Séim et la Soula.

L'annaliste qui énumère ces différents peuples les réunit sous le nom collectif de Rous. Comment ce nom de Rous s'est-il produit chez ces peuple ? C'est encore une énigme[2]. Mais quelle

1. Chronique dite de Nestor ; voir ma traduction (Leroux, 1884) et l'Index qui l'accompagne. Tr.

2. Sur cette énigme, voir notre édition de Nestor. Tr.

que soit son origine, il est certain qu'il appartenait d'abord au centre kiévien où fut fondé par les princes varègues le premier état russe et que de là il s'est rapidement répandu vers l'Orient chez les Slaves comme dénomination politique puis ethnique, et qu'il s'est appliqué à des peuples qui, d'après le chroniqueur, étaient d'origine léchite [1].

Le domaine slave vers l'Orient, tel que l'indique au XIIe siècle le chroniqueur russe, n'est pas un territoire primitivement slave, mais naguère habité par des allogènes et colonisé par les Slaves. La preuve de cette assertion nous est fournie par les noms antérieurs, noms lithuaniens et finnois, dans la région située au nord du Pripet et aux environs des sources du Dnieper, dans les bassins de l'Oka et du Volga. Nous rencontrons sur ce sol la première colonisation slave attestée par les textes et non pas le peuple primitif. C'est là que les Slaves orientaux, avant la fin du Xe siècle, après avoir quitté les régions du moyen Dnieper, ont accompli la première étape de leur extension. Si l'on en croit la chronique, ils ne se dirigèrent pas du côté des pays polonais. Au contraire, ce furent les Lechs qui envoyèrent de fortes colonies vers l'Orient, à travers les tribus russes. En revanche, dès la période primitive, la colonisation russe poussa vers les tribus baltiques.

1. Sur ce nom, voyez le deuxième chapitre. Tr.

LA RACE SLAVE

Nous voyons les Dregovitches établis sur un territoire primitivement lithuanien. La colonisation s'opéra plus rapidement encore et avec plus de succès vers le nord et l'est du côté des Finnois. Ainsi, par exemple, les Slaves de l'Ilmen n'étaient que des colons établis en territoire finnois. De même les Krivitches, les Radimitches, les Viatitches (et peut-être une partie des Siévériens) avaient repoussé de leur territoire primitif les Tchoudes, les Mouromiens, les Mordvines, les Mestchériens et d'autres tribus finnoises.

Vers l'Orient les Slaves siévériens s'avancèrent de bonne heure et avec énergie et refoulèrent les tribus turco-tatares. C'est ce que nous attestent les textes qui, dès le VIe siècle, signalent les Antes comme fort nombreux sur la mer d'Azov et qui mentionnent au IXe et au Xe siècle de nombreuses colonies slaves sur le Don et le Volga, et, à l'embouchure du Kouban, la colonie de Tmoutorakan.

Ce n'est que vers le sud que le développement de la colonisation slave fut longtemps retardé. Il était cependant favorisé par la nature du sol; tous les fleuves descendent vers le sud, vers la Mer Noire.

Le grand obstacle ce fut l'invasion des peuples étrangers qui, à dater du IIIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne, commencèrent à occuper pour un temps plus ou moins long le bassin de la Mer Noire. Au IIIe et au IVe siècle ce furent d'abord les Goths et les Hérules, puis en 376 les Huns,

puis vers 482 les Bulgares[1], puis vers 557 les Avares. Vers la moitié du VIIe siècle les Khazares passèrent le Don et enfin au cours du IXe siècle les Magyares de l'Oural se dirigeaient du Volga vers le Danube.

Ces invasions n'arrêtèrent pas absolument la marche des Slaves vers le sud ; il est même probable que certaines d'entre elles, par exemple celles des Huns et des Avares, entraînèrent après elles des tribus slaves. Mais pendant cette période on ne peut parler d'une véritable colonisation, d'un établissement des Slaves sur la Mer Noire.

Ce n'est vraisemblablement qu'après l'invasion avare que les tribus russes réussirent à s'établir en grandes masses (les Tivertisiens, les Oulitches) sur le cours inférieur du Dnieper, du Dniester et du Danube.

Le mouvement vers le sud s'accentua. Sviatoslav (957-972) établit tout à fait sa résidence à Preslav (dans la Bulgarie actuelle). Puis survint un nouvel obstacle. Ce fut l'arrivée des Petchénègues, des Turcs (les Ouzes), des Polovtses ou Kumans. Les tribus et les princes russes eurent à soutenir de longues luttes contre ces nouveaux venus dans le bassin inférieur du Don et du Dnieper. Enfin survint l'invasion des Tatares. Victorieux en 1224 ils ravagèrent et dépeuplèrent

1. Il s'agit ici des Bulgares du Volga qui devaient plus tard donner leur nom à une partie de la péninsule balkanique. Tr.

la plus grande partie de la Russie méridionale de la Kalka jusqu'à Kiev, à la Volynie, la Galicie, la Transylvanie et menacèrent même les pays russes du nord-est[1].

Tous ces envahissements exercèrent une action forte et durable sur les destinées de la nation russe. Ils lui barrèrent pour longtemps l'accès du sud et de l'ouest. D'autre part, la pression qu'eurent à subir les Tivertsiens, les Volyniens, les Polianes, les Siévériens obligèrent ces peuples à reculer jusqu'aux Karpathes, au delà du Pripet, de la Soula, de la Desna en chassant devant eux d'autres tribus ; et la nation russe dut s'ébranler dans la direction du nord et du nord-est contre les Finnois. Morceau par morceau la terre finnoise fut occupée par les Russes et colonisée.

A côté des Viatitches, des Krivitches, des Siévériens, les principaux agents de cette colonisation furent les Slaves de Novgorod, particulièrement dans le bassin de l'Onega, de la Dvina, de la Vytchegda, de la Petchora, de la Kama, et de la Viatka. Tels sont les principaux épisodes du développement du peuple russe jusqu'à la fin de

1. On a prétendu que la région kiévienne avait perdu entièrement sa population russe primitive et qu'elle avait été seulement repeuplée aux XIVe et XVe siècles par des colons venus de Galicie. Mais on n'a pas démontré le bien-fondé de cette hypothèse. Cependant il est certain, ainsi que l'atteste Plan Carpin à la date de 1346, que le pays fut très dépeuplé et que les seigneurs polonais y introduisirent à dater du XVe siècle beaucoup de nouveaux colons dans les vastes domaines qu'ils avaient acquis.

la domination tatare, c'est-à-dire jusqu'au xve siècle.

Mais à côté de ces modifications extérieures, de grands changements s'opérèrent dans la vie intérieure du peuple russe ; à la vie de la tribu se substitua la vie de la province. Les anciennes unités de tribu se disloquèrent et disparurent peu à peu dans les nouvelles organisations provinciales qui se formèrent autour des princes et peu à peu on vit s'établir une nouvelle répartition du peuple russe qui remplaça les anciennes unités des tribus par trois grands groupes différents au point de vue de la langue, de la vie intérieure, parfois aussi de la vie politique. M. Schakhmatov, dans un remarquable Essai publié en 1899 par la *Revue russe de l'Instruction publique*, n'a pas encore dit le dernier mot de la science. Bornons-nous à cette simple constatation. Déjà au temps de la domination tatare les anciennes unités de tribus se sont groupées, soit par suite de leur développement intérieur, soit par suite de causes extérieures en trois groupes :

Au sud (entre le San, le Pripet et le Dnieper) le groupe petit russe où entrèrent évidemment les anciens Polianes, Drevlianes, Volyniens, Douliébes, Tivertsiens, Oulitches, une partie des Siévériens et les débris des Croates et des Serbes des Karpathes ;

Au nord les Grands Russes composés principalement des slaves Novgordiens, des Viatitches, des Krivitches, d'une partie des Siévériens ;

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A l'ouest les Bielorusses ou Russes Blancs (comprenant principalement les anciens Dregovitches, les Radimitches, une partie des Drevlianes, des Krivitches, et les débris des Lithuaniens).

A cette époque apparurent les termes Grande-Russie, Petite-Russie et Russie Blanche (on ne sait ce que veut dire cette dernière épithète).

Le groupe petit russe est celui qui est resté le plus pur au point de vue de la langue ; le groupe russe blanc l'est moins ; il a été influencé par l'union politique avec la Lithuanie à partir de la fin du XIIIe siècle et plus tard, à partir du XVIe, par une forte influence polonaise. Les éléments fondamentaux du groupe grand russe ont été très variés ; mais celui qui a été le plus puissant, c'est la cité qui devait devenir le centre du monde russe, c'est Moscou.

Malgré cette division les trois groupes sont restés les trois branches d'une même nation. Les langues étaient voisines ; des liens étroits les rattachaient au point de vue politique (d'abord la lutte commune contre les Tatares, ensuite l'union sous le sceptre moscovite.)

Ils ont eu pendant trop longtemps l'unité religieuse pour qu'on puisse hésiter, malgré les nuances déjà signalées, à en former un seul ensemble, la nation russe.

En ce qui concerne le développement extérieur, nous y notons les étapes suivantes :

La nation russe n'a pas réussi à s'étendre à

l'occident; entre l'espace qu'elle occupait et la mer étaient concentrées les tribus lithuaniennes (lotyches) et plus loin vers le sud la forte race polonaise. De ce côté-là les Russes n'avancèrent pas; bien au contraire, leur race subit une période de déclin très sérieux; elle faillit même périr, d'un côté sous la pression de la Lithuanie, de l'autre sous celle des Polonais qui étaient forcés de s'étendre vers l'orient, se trouvant repoussés de l'ouest par les Allemands. Ceci nous explique pourquoi sur les cartes de Bielenstein[1] la frontière russo-lotyche du XIIIe siècle est à peu près la même qu'aujourd'hui et pourquoi le domaine russe occidental est pénétré par l'élément polonais.

L'expansion vers le nord continua, mais avec moins de succès qu'autrefois. Plus on avançait dans ces régions, plus elles étaient inhospitalières. Mais, à dater du XVe siècle, surtout à partir du règne de Pierre le Grand, l'expansion coloniale de l'élément russe se tourna peu à peu vers le nord où elle envoya des colonies de moines et de raskolniks[2]. Ces colonies étaient peu importantes et disséminées. Puis les conditions changèrent. L'expansion vers le nord diminua, le mouvement se détourna vers le sud et su. l'est.

L'invasion tatare avait créé un solide mur d'en-

1. Savant allemand du XIXe siècle qui s'est particulièrement occupé de la langue lette. Tr.

2. Hérétiques (de raskol, schisme). Tr.

ceinte à travers lequel la colonisation russe ne pouvait passer tant que les khanats tatares ne seraient point soumis. Cela ne tarda point. A partir de 1486 la Russie fut délivrée. Le désir de la revanche, l'augmentation de la population, d'autres circonstances encore, poussèrent très énergiquement les Russes dans la direction de l'est, du sud-est et du sud. Ils ne cessèrent plus d'avancer. Leur première ligne qui était sur l'Oka fut remplacée dès la moitié du XVIe siècle par la ligne dite de Toula, de Poutivl sur la Seïm par Briansk et Toula, vers l'Ouna, affluent de la Mokcha. Dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle les Moscovites occupent la ligne Bielgorod, Voronéje-Kozlov, la ligne Tambov-Simbirsk, la ligne de la Transkama (Sengileï-Menzelinsk). D'autre part, ils colonisent en grandes masses la région de Poltava[1]. A la fin du XVIIe siècle s'établit la ligne du Don, puis, sous le règne de l'impératrice Anne, la ligne de l'Ukraine (1731-1735) remplacée, quarante ans plus tard, par la ligne du Dniéper entre le Dniéper et la mer d'Azov.

1. Les Petits-Russes des régions entre le Boug et le Dniester dès le XIVe siècle commencèrent, sous la protection des princes de Kiev et de Lithuanie, à pénétrer dans la région de Poltava. Mais ce n'est qu'à dater du XVIe siècle que, sous la protection de Moscou, ils émigrèrent en masse. Au XVIIe siècle, ils occupaient déjà les gouvernements de Kharkov, la partie occidentale du gouvernement de Voronéje et la partie méridionale du gouvernement de Koursk. Cette immigration s'explique par le développement des Cosaques, la nécessité de fuir la domination polonaise, et l'affaiblissement des Tatares, notamment de la Horde de Crimée.

La marche en avant s'acheva par la conquête du Khanat de Crimée en 1783. Avec ces lignes militaires s'avançait la colonisation des Allemands et des Serbes émigrés en Russie. Le littoral de la Mer Noire fut colonisé en partie dès le XVIIIe siècle, en partie, — par exemple entre le Boug et le Dniester (gouvernement actuel de Tauride) — seulement au XIXe siècle. Vers la même époque la colonisation russe gagna le Caucase (ligne du Caucase sur le Kouban et le Terek de 1779 à 1799), mais elle ne devint définitive que dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle après la soumission complète du Caucase (1864).

Les Russes pénétrèrent plus tôt dans les régions d'outre-Volga, surtout à dater du règne de Pierre le Grand.

A cette époque ils atteignirent jusqu'à Samara et dans les années 1734-1744 jusqu'à la ligne d'Orenbourg. Dans l'intérieur de l'Asie la colonisation s'opéra tout d'abord par les conquêtes des frères Strogonov et d'Ermak (1558-1582), en Sibérie jusqu'aux cours de l'Obi et de l'Irtych. Elle a été achevée au XIXe siècle par la conquête de toute la Sibérie jusqu'à Sakhaline et à la Mandjourie, au sud par la soumission des steppes Kirghiz et enfin du Turkestan (Tachkent, 1864, Samarkande 1868, Khiva 1873, Kokand 1876, Aschabad 1881, Merv 1884, Mourghab 1885). Partout les troupes furent suivies de colons, particulièrement d'habitants de la Grande Russie.

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§ 4. Domaine et frontières de la nationalité. — On voit par cette esquisse du développement de la nation russe — surtout de la colonisation intensive des dernières années — qu'il est impossible de limiter le domaine russe par une ligne continue. Car la population russe en Asie et en Europe ne présente pas une masse compacte, mais un ensemble plus ou moins homogène de groupes coloniaux, parfois même complètement isolés, au milieu de populations allogènes. Les Russes sont établis en masse compacte dans l'Europe orientale, pour la plus grande partie dans l'Empire russe, pour une petite fraction dans l'Empire austro-hongrois. Mais il n'y a guère que les frontières occidentale et méridionale qui soient bien déterminées; à l'est et au nord elles poussent des pointes, elles forment des îlots, le long de fleuves navigables, au milieu d'éléments allogènes, finnois ou turco-tatares. Voici quelle est exactement la frontière du territoire habité d'une façon compacte — sauf quelques îlots allogènes — par le peuple russe, à partir de l'embouchure de la Néva qui à l'ouest touche au domaine finnois [1].

De Pétersbourg la frontière court d'abord le long du golfe de Finlande jusqu'à l'embouchure de la Narova; elle suit cette rivière, longe le lac Peïpous et celui de Pskov vers Izborsk, descend

1. Je n'entre pas ici dans tous les détails topographiques parce qu'ils n'ont point d'intérêt et que d'ailleurs les auteurs ne sont pas toujours d'accord.

vers Loutsyn (Ludsen) jusqu'à Dvinsk, elle contourne à l'ouest Vilna, passe le Niemen au nord de Grodno, atteint Bielostok (Bialystok), Souraj sur la Narev, Bielsk, Drohytchine sur le Boug, longe dans le pays russe de Kholm — d'après les travaux de Frantsev — la ligne de Biela, Partchevo, Krasnostav vers Tomachev, puis elle entre en Galicie en contournant Tarnograd, gagne la rivière San au-dessus d'Iaroslaw, se dirige vers Sanok et atteint dans les Karpathes Pivnitchna sur la frontière hongroise[1].

A Pivnitchna la frontière s'avance un peu à l'ouest, fait quelques détours, pénètre dans les cómitats de Spies et Sarys (en hongrois Saros), le long de la Poprad jusqu'à Spiska Sobota.

D'après les derniers travaux de Czambel et de Tomachivsky[2], dont les résultats n'offrent que très peu de différences, en Hongrie la frontière russe commence à Lipnik, non loin de l'embouchure du Dunajec, passe à Kaminka aux environs de Stara Lubovna (en magyare O Lublé), de Iakoubiani (Iakobpol), vers Hodermark et Stelbach, Kisgeben, Iatkiotsi (Zseltek). Puis elle fait un grand demi-cercle vers le nord, atteint Bardiov (Bartfa), descend vers le sud le long de la Topla jusqu'à Petkovtsi (Petkocz), franchit

1. Nous avons passé dans cette énumération quelques noms de lieux que le lecteur ne trouverait pas sur les cartes françaises. Tr.

2. La différence entre la frontière de Czambel et celle de Tomachivsky consiste en ceci que Tomachivsky compte comme russes dans les comtats de Spies et de Sarys quelques communes de plus.

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l'Ondavka à Valkov (Valko) Beresliv (Breszlo), Porauba (Orosz poruba [1]), Hliviscze, Komouch, jusqu'à Oujgorod (Ungvar). Là elle rencontre les Magyares. La frontière longe leur territoire, jusqu'à la ville de Visso sur la rivière du même nom. Mais les Petits-Russes sont ici en minorité. De là la frontière suit la rive droite du Vasir jusqu'à la Bukovine, puis elle traverse la rivière Suczava, laisse aux Russes le cours supérieur du Seret, traverse Kaminka, Negotin, la ville de Sereth et longe la frontière jusqu'à l'endroit où le Prut sort de la Bukovine. Les villes de Czernowitz et de Sereth forment ici des villes allemandes. On trouve d'autre part des îles russes en Galicie, particulièrement entre Lutcza et Korczyn au sud de Rzeszow, auprès de Rymanow, de Dynow, aux environs de Jaroslaw, dans le bassin de la Wysloka, en Hongrie autour de Spiess et de Krempach. Notons encore en Bukovine une grande île entre le Seret et la Suczava.

Au delà de la frontière autrichienne on considère généralement le Prut comme formant la limite entre les Russes et les Roumains. Mais à la pointe nord de la Bessarabie entre le Prut et le Dniester il y a une région russe, notamment dans l'arrondissement de Khotin, dans ce qu'on appelle la Bukovine bessarabienne. En dehors de

1. Dans ce mont magyar Orosz veut dire russe. Nous supprimons ici quelques noms de localités sans intérêt. Tr.

cette région les Russes sont disséminés et fortement soumis à la roumanisation.

D'après Nestorovsky, la frontière de la nationalité russe passe en Bessarabie par Balamoutovka, Rjavinets, Grozintsi, Sankoutsi, Reugatch, Dinouci, Doljok, Bielovtsi, Gijdev, Kichlo-Salievo, Kichlo-Zamjievo, Bielavintsi,. Titskany et Fitesti. Dans les districts de Sorok et de Bielets les colonies russes sont déjà très disséminées ; mais elles ont pénétré jusqu'au sud du gouvernement. Les évaluations ne sont pas d'accord. Tchoubinsky en 1872 comptait en tout pour la Bessarabie 100.000 Petits-Russes. Nestorovsky en 1905 en conjecture 250.000. La dernière statistique a évalué les Russes à 27,8 p. 100 de la population totale, soit 540.000 (dont 380.000 Petits-Russes).

Au delà du Dniester, à l'est, il n'est pas facile de tracer exactement la frontière. On manque de cartes détaillées. Les cartes ethnographiques que j'ai eues sous la main prolongent le domaine russe jusqu'à la Mer Noire. Mais au sud de la ligne Iampol, Balta, Olviopol, Elisavetgrad, Slavianoserbsk, Novotcherkassk, ce domaine est pénétré de tant d'îlots étrangers (Allemands, Bulgares, Roumains, Tatares, Grecs, Juifs, Arméniens) que l'on ne considère pas les Russes comme formant au sud une population compacte. Et on ne pourra délimiter leur domaine qu'après des relevés ethnographiques très minutieux. Jusqu'ici il nous manque un travail détaillé. Suivant

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Derjavine la dernière statistique a compté dans le gouvernement de Kherson 57 groupes linguistiques, en Bessarabie 41, et dans le gouvernement de Tauride 39. L'élément dominant est néanmoins le Petit Russe.

Nous arrivons aux mêmes conclusions pour les provinces au delà du Dnieper, du Don et du Volga. Là aussi il y a beaucoup d'éléments non russes et là les données exactes, les bonnes cartes ethnographiques nous font défaut. Sur les cartes russes — qui sont généralement à une petite échelle — le domaine russe comprend le pays entre le Dnieper et le Don et s'arrête au Kouban (la Crimée est tatare). Dans son ensemble la frontière commence au bord de la Mer Noire, au bourg de Gagri sous le Caucase, traverse les montagnes, fait un arc de cercle autour de Piatigorsk et de Stavropol, se rapproche de la rive gauche du Don (il y a 33,7 p. 100 de Russes dans la province du Terek), puis elle contourne la steppe des Kirghiz et des Kalmouks, gagne le Volga inférieur, les bords de la mer Caspienne et du Terek. Le long du Volga, depuis son embouchure, s'élèvent de nombreuses villes ou villages russes coupés par des localités allemandes, finnoises et tatares.

Le domaine russe du Volga ne peut être délimité par une ligne; il est plein d'îlots allogènes qui souvent s'entrecoupent. Ces groupes allogènes occupent vers l'endroit où le Volga fléchit vers le sud un territoire qui va de Saratov par

Serdobsk, Morchansk et Mourom à Nijny Novgorod. Au nord du Volga la population russe est compacte; elle s'étend jusqu'aux rives inférieures de l'Onega et du Ladoga, et plus au nord il y a de nombreuses colonies russes sur les rives des fleuves et des lacs; elles sont disséminées au milieu de populations allogènes.

En dehors de ce territoire sommairement délimité, les Russes se rencontrent en groupes dans quelques villes du royaume de Pologne, dans l'intérieur de la Hongrie et de la Slavonie et en Bulgarie dans la colonie de Tataritsa auprès de Silistie. Ils sont établis là depuis le commencement du XVIIIe siècle. A cette époque l'ataman vieux croyant Nekrasov vint s'établir dans cette contrée avec ses compagnons. On les appela les Nekrasovtsy. Les Russes établis dans la Dobroudja sous la pression des autorités roumaines commencent à émigrer en Bulgarie. Dans le delta du Danube il existe encore cependant quelques colonies russes. Ce sont celles de Saint-Georges, de Leta, de Svistovka, de Periprava, et de Karaorman aux environs de Sulina. On rencontre encore un groupe russe considérable à Tultcha (5.621 Russes, 4.372 Roumains, 4.018 Bulgares).

En Asie les Russes occupent avant tout la Sibérie. Leurs villages et leurs villes sont situés sur les rivières navigables et sur la nouvelle ligne du transsibérien. Au point de vue de la statistique la Sibérie est presque entièrement russe;

mais en réalité elle possède d'immenses espaces inhabités, ou occupés par les indigènes. En ce qui concerne les diverses régions, la Sibérie occidentale (région de l'Obi et de l'Irtych) est presque entièrement russe. La population russe est concentrée au sud, sur l'Obi supérieur, l'Irtych et ses affluents.

La Sibérie centrale (bassins de l'Ieniseï et de l'Angara) a déjà moins de Russes. Ils sont particulièrement concentrés dans les provinces méridionales, aux environs de Minousinsk, de Krasnoiarsk et d'Irkoutsk. La Sibérie de la Lena ou des Iakoutes n'en compte que 11 p. 100. En revanche, les provinces de l'Amour et du Littoral et la partie russe de Sakhaline sont russes. On compte dans les gouvernements de Tobolsk et de Tomsk 91 p. 100 de russes; dans le gouvernement de l'Eniseï et la province de l'Amour 86,5 p. 100, dans le gouvernement d'Irkoutsk 73,6 p. 100, dans la Transbaïkalie 66,2 p. 100, sur le Littoral 50,9 p. 100, à Sakhaline 65,2 p. 100. Dans le gouvernement d'Iakoutsk, au nord-est de la Sibérie la population est surtout composée d'Iakoutes; les Russes ne constituent que 11 p. 100 et résident seulement dans les villes. Dans l'Asie centrale leur nombre n'est pas considérable : 8,9 p. 100 du total de la population (25,7 p. 100 dans les villes et 6,6 p. 100 dans les campagnes). Les Russes sont surtout concentrés au nord : 33 p. 100 dans la province d'Akmolinsk, 25 dans celle de l'Oural, de 7,7 à 10 p. 100

dans les provinces de Semipalatinsk, Sémiriet-chié, Transcapienne et Tourgaï ; 3 p. 100 seulement dans celle du Syrdaria, 1,6 p. 100 dans celle de Samarkande et 0,6 p. 100 dans celle du Ferganah.

Jusqu'ici la steppe des Kirghiz n'a point de Russes.

Le Turkestan en compte 8,9 p. 100 dispersés dans les grandes villes et dans environ 150 bourgades au milieu des oasis les plus fertiles. La colonie la plus méridionale est celle d'Alexievskoe, à 125 kilomètres de Herat.

En dehors de la Russie d'Europe et d'Asie, il y a un grand nombre d'émigrés russes dans les grandes villes d'Europe, notamment des colonies de raskolniks en Amérique, en Alaska, au Canada, surtout aux environs d'Yorktown, et de Petits-Russes particulièrement au Brésil et dans la République argentine (province de Parana).

Les Russes sont en outre très nombreux dans les principales villes de Californie, des États de Washington et d'Orégon.

Quelques colonies russes de Cosaques se sont formées également dans l'Asie Mineure, aux environs de Nicée et de Sinope.

§ 5. Statistique. — Le territoire de l'Empire russe, d'après le recensement du 28 janvier 1897, comptait en tout 83.933.567 Russes, c'est-à-dire 66,8 p. 100 de la population. Si l'on considère que, d'après Pokrosvky, la population

augmente chaque année de 1,5 p. 100, soit 1.250.000 Russes, l'augmentation aurait été, durant les quatre dernières années, d'au moins 5 millions. Nous pouvons donc hardiment, pour l'année 1900, supposer un total de 89 millions de Russes. Si nous y ajoutons les Russes d'Autriche et de Hongrie, d'après le recensement de 1900, nous obtiendrons les chiffres suivants :

En Russie et en Asie	89.000.000
En Autriche	3.375.576
En Hongrie	429.447
Total pour 1900	92.805.023

Mais ce chiffre ne répond pas à la réalité. D'abord le recensement hongrois diminue le nombre des Russes. Il les compte en masse parmi les Slovaques ou parmi les Magyares. Il faut donc accroître le chiffre, d'après les appréciations des Russes de Hongrie eux-mêmes, d'au moins 150.000 unités. Puis il faut tenir compte des Russes qui vivent dans diverses colonies et dans les grandes villes européennes au nombre d'au moins 150.000, et d'autre part de la colonisation d'outre-mer, que certains évaluent à plus d'un million. La statistique russe a compté, de 1890 à 1903, 700.000 émigrés en Amérique, Afrique et Australie. D'autre part, on a compté en Galicie 40.000 Juifs qui ont déclaré que le russe était leur langue habituelle. D'après toutes ces indications, le nombre des Russes à la fin du siècle dernier peut être évalué à 94 millions.

Les Nationalités de la Russie.

RÉGIONS	RUSSES	POLONAIS	TURCO-TATARES	FINNOIS	JUIFS	LITHUANIENS	ALLEMANDS	KARTVELIENS	MONTAGNARDS	ARMÉNIENS	MONGOLS	DIVERS
Russie d'Europe .	80,0	1,2	4,9	3,6	4,0	3,0	1,4	—	—	0,1	0,2	1,6
Pologne russe. . .	6,7	71,8	0,1	0,1	13,5	3,3	4,3	—	—	—	—	0,2
Finlande	0,2	—	—	86,7	—	—	13,0	—	—	—	—	0,1
Total.	71,5	7,5	4,4	5,4	4,7	2,9	2,0	—	—	—	0,2	1,4
Caucase.	34,0	0,3	20,2	0,1	0,4	0,1	0,6	14,5	11,7	12,0	0,2	5,9
Sibérie	81,0	0,5	8,3	1,1	0,5	0,2	0,1	—	—	—	6,2	2,1
Asie centrale . . .	8,9	0,1	85,5	0,2	0,1	—	0,1	—	—	0,1	0,2	4,8
Total.	37,3	0,3	39,4	0,4	0,4	0,1	0,3	5,9	4,8	4,0	1,7	4,5
Total général. . .	65,5	6,2	10,6	4,5	3,9	2,4	1,6	1,1	0,9	0,9	0,4	2,0

LA RACE SLAVE

Les Russes sont arrivés très vite à ce chiffre colossal. Nous n'avons pas de données anciennes sur les nationalités, mais nous pouvons nous fonder sur le développement très rapide de la population de l'Empire. Le premier recensement qui date de 1724, donnait 14 millions d'âmes. Ainsi dans l'espace de cent soixante-seize ans, jusqu'à l'année 1900, la population a presque décuplé. En 1796, elle était de 36 millions; en 1851, de 69 millions. En un demi-siècle, elle a doublé. La population augmente d'ailleurs bien plus rapidement dans les villes que dans les campagnes. La proportion de l'accroissement des villes par rapport aux campagnes est comme celle de 51 à 8.

Nous n'avons pas toujours des indications rigoureusement exactes en ce qui concerne les diverses nationalités, les Russes notamment. Étant donnée la prépondérance écrasante des Russes, les chiffres qui les concernent n'ont parfois qu'une valeur approximative. Dans l'empire tout entier, ils constituent les deux tiers de la population intégrale. La proportion la plus forte se trouve dans la Sibérie occidentale (91 p. 100 et 80,9 p. 100 pour toute la Sibérie). Dans la Russie d'Europe, ils représentent 80,05 p. 100. Le foyer principal de leur nationalité est la région située entre le Dnieper, le lac des Tchoudes et le Volga. Là ils constituent 90 p. 100 de l'ensemble. Dans cinq gouvernements, ils sont au-dessous de ce chiffre (Saint-Pétersbourg, 82,5, Saratov, 83,1, Penza, 83,1, Tauride, 70,9, Simbirsk, 68,2).

Vingt-deux gouvernements dépassent 90 p. 100. Les gouvernements les plus russes sont ceux de Vladimir (99,8 p. 100), de Koursk, de Kalouga, de Kostroma, d'Iaroslavl, de Toula, de Voronèje, de Riazan, d'Orel (plus de 99 p. 100), de Kharkov et de Smolensk (plus de 98 p. 100). Celui de Moscou compte 97 p. 100. Dans la région du Caucase, le gouvernement du Kouban compte 90,6 p. 100, et celui de Stavropol 92 p. 100 de Russes.

Densité de la population. — Si nous faisons abstraction de la Pologne où la densité est la plus forte (75 habitants par kilomètre carré), la population russe est surtout concentrée dans la région de la Terre Noire (58 habitants) et de la Petite-Russie au delà du Dnieper. Le centre de l'empire ne compte que 43, la Russie Blanche et les Provinces Baltiques, 26 à 25, la Nouvelle Russie, 24, la région du Volga, 17, l'Oural, 12, et les régions du Nord, 1 habitant par kilomètre carré.

Au moyen âge, le centre de la Russie, autrement dit la région moscovite, dépassait toutes les autres par la densité de la population; mais cette région fit peu de progrès jusqu'à l'année 1861. A ce moment, l'émancipation des serfs créa des conditions tout à fait nouvelles. Au nord, la densité de la population resta la même pendant les deux derniers siècles. En revanche, les régions du sud subirent de très rapides transformations.

LA RACE SLAVE

Jusqu'à l'époque de Pierre le Grand, ces régions n'étaient guère peuplées par suite des guerres perpétuelles. Le gouvernement de Smolensk eut longtemps à souffrir des guerres entre les Russes et les Polonais. C'est à partir de Pierre le Grand, et surtout de Catherine, que la population s'accrut rapidement. Ainsi, elle décupla dans les gouvernements de Kazan et d'Azov, tandis que dans la région de l'Océan Glacial ou des lacs, elle ne faisait que doubler et tripler. Tout ceci se rattache au développement historique et aux progrès de la colonisation.

D'après les évaluations de 1905, il y avait par verste carrée [1], pour tout l'empire, 7,7 habitants; pour la Russie d'Europe, 24,9; pour la Pologne, 95,1; pour la Sibérie, 0,6. La partie la plus habitée est le gouvernement de Piotrkow en Pologne (153 habitants); la moins, le gouvernement d'Iakoutsk (0,1 par verste).

Parmi les habitants de langue russe, la Russie compte 1,37 p. 100 de nobles et de fonctionnaires, 0,62 p. 100 d'ecclésiastiques, 0,39 p. 100 de bourgeois, 0,20 p. 100 de marchands, d'habitants des villes, 7,38 p. 100, de paysans, 86,22 p. 100, de Cosaques 3,35 p. 100. On compte 70,35 p. 100 d'agriculteurs chez les Grands-Russes. 86,46 chez les Petits-Russes, 89,93 chez les Russes Blancs.

Chez les Russes d'Autriche, on compte 93,3

1. La verste vaut 1.067 metres.

p. 100 d'agriculteurs, 25 p. 100 d'industriels, 1,7 p. 100 de négociants[1] et 2,5 p. 100 de fonctionnaires.

La plus grande partie du peuple russe vit à la campagne, dans des villages qui, en moyenne, comptent 200 âmes. Dans les régions du Volga et de l'Oural, le chiffre est en moyenne de 150 âmes; dans la Petite-Russie, la Nouvelle-Russie et la Terre Noire du centre, de 400 à 300. Dans les régions forestières, par exemple dans celle de Moscou, dans le nord de l'Oural, il ne dépasse pas 160; dans la Russie Blanche et la Lithuanie, on en compte de 100 à 50, et 20 dans les Provinces Baltiques. Dans les pays fertiles, il y a de grands et riches villages; dans les régions forestières, le peuple préfère les petits hameaux, les oasis de culture au milieu des déserts. Là où les villages sont les plus petits, on rencontre le maximum d'habitants par foyer, par exemple 11 à 13 dans les régions baltiques contre 6,6 dans la Russie en général.

En ce qui concerne les sexes, le recensement de 1907 donnait chez les Russes 100 hommes contre 103,4 femmes. Mais cette proportion varie beaucoup suivant les régions. D'une façon générale, les chiffres de la campagne sont très différents de ceux des villes : on compte par exemple 106,1 femmes contre 85,9 dans les villes; ceci

1. Dans la Galicie orientale, le commerce est en grande partie aux mains des Israëlites. Tr.

est le résultat de l'émigration des hommes qui vont gagner leur vie dans les villes. Les différences sont très accusées suivant la région : sur les 50 gouvernements de la Russie d'Europe, il y en a 13 qui comptent une majorité d'hommes, particulièrement au sud ; 3 où il y a équilibre entre les deux sexes, et 34 où les femmes dominent. Ils appartiennent particulièrement à la Russie centrale. Le gouvernement d'Iaroslavl — dont les hommes émigrent le plus volontiers, notamment pour se faire colporteurs — compte jusqu'à 132 femmes pour 100 hommes. A Moscou, il n'y en a que 75,5; à Pétersbourg, 82,6; à Odessa, 86,3. En Galicie, on compte pour 100 hommes 99,2 femmes; en Hongrie, dans le comitat de Marmaros, 101,1. En Russie, on compte 55,9 p. 100 hommes célibataires, contre 52,1 femmes, 40,28 mariés contre 39,42, 3,68 veufs contre 8,38 veuves, 0,03 divorcés contre 0,04 divorcées.

En ce qui concerne la religion, voici les principaux chiffres pour l'Empire russe :

Orthodoxes	95,48	p. 100
Vieux-croyants	2,59	—
Catholiques et Arméniens	1,78	—
Protestants	0,5	—
Juifs	0,8	—
Musulmans	0,01	—

En Russie, l'idée de Russe et d'orthodoxe est à peu près identique (sauf pour le pays de Kholm

et pour la Russie Blanche). En Autriche et en Hongrie, les Russes sont en grande majorité uniates (c'est-à-dire unis à l'Église de Rome tout en conservant leur langue liturgique et le mariage des prêtres); 8 p. 100 appartiennent seulement à l'Église orientale.

Dans le royaume de Pologne, on comptait en 1897 78,8 p. 100 de catholiques, 4,4 p. 100 de protestants, 14 p. 100 de juifs et seulement 6,57 p. 100 d'orthodoxes (4,20 p. 100 suivant un recensement de 1906).

Dans les gouvernements occidentaux de l'Empire, Tchoubinsky comptait encore, en 1870, 290.000 catholiques petits-russes (dans les gouvernements de Lublin, de Siedlec) et il déclarait que, bien que rattachés à l'Eglise romaine, ils se disaient russes.

Récemment, dans le pays russe de Kholm, un certain nombre d'individus considérés comme orthodoxes, à la suite de l'édit sur la liberté religieuse (17 avril 1905), se sont déclarés catholiques. Frantsev estime à 300.000 le nombre des conversions pendant les trois dernières années. Ainsi le nombre des Petits-Russes catholiques a considérablement augmenté. D'autre part, il y a en Courlande, dans les gouvernements de Vitebsk, de Pskov, de Suwalki, de Grodno, des Russes Blancs catholiques et dans la Galicie occidentale il y a beaucoup de localités où une partie de la population est catholique et s'est déclarée de langue russe. Le professeur Florinsky

évaluait récemment le nombre des catholiques russes à un million et demi.

Mouvement de la population. — Le coefficient des mariages, qui permet surtout d'apprécier la vitalité de la nation, est plus fort en Russie que partout ailleurs. Il est de 9 sur 1.000; le nombre des naissances est d'environ 48 p. 1.000 (dont 3,4 p. 100 d'enfants illégitimes). Le nombre des morts est de 34 sur 1.000. C'est un gros chiffre assurément, mais le nombre des naissances l'emporte de beaucoup. L'accroissement annuel de la population est de 1,5 p. 100, soit environ 2 millions d'âmes. La proportion n'est pas la même dans les diverses régions. Celles où l'accroissement est le plus considérable sont la Nouvelle-Russie, la Russie Blanche et la Petite-Russie. Celles où il est le plus faible sont la région baltique et la moscovite. Dans la Russie d'Europe — sans la Finlande, la Pologne et le Caucase — on a évalué l'accroissement annuel à 1,41 p. 100. En 1900, il est monté jusqu'à 1,83 p. 100.

L'émigration et l'immigration sont pour la Russie des phénomènes sans importance. Ce qui est beaucoup plus important, ce sont les déplacements de la population dans l'intérieur de l'Empire. Dans le dernier quart du XIXe siècle, on a vu se produire un fort mouvement centrifuge dans la direction du sud et de l'est. Les plus grandes masses, surtout de la Russie méridio-

nale, se portent constamment vers la Nouvelle-Russie, les régions d'Outre-Volga, l'Oural méridional, la Sibérie, le Turkestan, etc. L'émigration des Grands-Russes vers le sud offre un intérêt spécial au point de vue du problème petit-russe.

L'émigration aux pays d'outre-mer se fait particulièrement par les ports de l'Allemagne. Elle se dirige surtout vers l'Amérique. Jusqu'ici elle est bien peu importante, si l'on considère l'immensité de la nation. Cependant elle s'accroît sans cesse. De 1893 à 1902, pendant la première période quinquennale, elle a été annuellement de 30.000 âmes et de 45.000 pendant la seconde; en 1903, il est parti 72.000 personnes. Le plus grand nombre émigre dans l'Amérique du Nord (94,3 p. 100 en 1903). Les autres vont dans l'Argentine (le Parana), l'Afrique (à partir de 1903) et le Canada.

L'instruction du peuple est encore peu développée. En laissant de côté la Pologne et la Finlande, on ne compte que 22,9 p. 100 de lettrés (32,6 hommes et 13,7 femmes). En Pologne, la proportion est de 30,5 p. 100 (34,2 pour les hommes, 26,8 pour les femmes). On trouve plus de 30 p. 100 dans les gouvernements finnois et en particulier dans ceux où il y a de grandes villes : Esthonie (79 p. 100), Livonie (77,5), Courlande (70,9), Saint-Pétersbourg (55,1), Moscou (40,2), Kovno (41,9), Varsovie (39,1), Suwalki (37,4), Iaroslavl (36,2), Plock

(33,50), de la Mer Noire (31,2), Siedlec (30,0) et Piotrkow (30,9). On trouve moins de 20 p. 100 dans 24 gouvernements et quelques-uns ont même moins de 15 p. 100 (ceux de Penza et de Pskov).

Si l'on retranche de la population les enfants au-dessous de neuf ans, le nombre des lettrés s'élève à 41 p. 100 pour la Pologne et 30 p. 100 pour la Russie. Dans les pays de langue russe, on a compté, en 1897, 29,6 lettrés parmi les hommes et 9,34 parmi les femmes, c'est-à-dire en moyenne 19,78 p. 100. En Autriche, les Russes sont également peu éduqués. La statistique autrichienne, depuis six ans, n'a compté que 21,8 p. 100 de lettrés parmi les Russes ou Ruthènes. Ils occupent donc le dernier rang parmi les Slaves autrichiens, de même que les Russes parmi les peuples civilisés de leur empire.

§ 6. Différenciation intérieure de la nation. — Les Russes, de même que les autres grandes nations, n'ont jamais formé un peuple complètement homogène. Dès les premiers siècles de l'histoire, nous voyons apparaître une série d'unités distinctes et plus ou moins différentes, et, même après leur groupement en une seule nation politique sous le nom de Russie, les anciennes nuances n'ont pas disparu. Elles se sont en partie équilibrées, elles ont pris de nouvelles formes, un nouveau développement, par-

fois même elles se sont accentuées. Cette accentuation s'est, au cours du dernier siècle, tellement prononcée, que beaucoup de personnes ne veulent pas reconnaître une seule nation russe, mais deux nations : les Grands-Russes et les Petits-Russes, et, à côté d'eux, une troisième unité nationale, moins distincte il est vrai et moins développée, les Russes Blancs.

J'ai dit plus haut (§ 3) comment s'est établie cette tripartition du monde russe. En laissant de côté pour le moment la question linguistique, je me contenterai d'indiquer seulement quels sont aujourd'hui les rapports internes et externes de ces groupes, où en sont aujourd'hui les tendances qui, pour des raisons politiques ou scientifiques, prétendent, au lieu d'une seule nation russe, constituer deux peuples, le Grand-Russe et le Petit-Russe, autrement dit Ukrainien.

Les relations des trois groupes russes ont été surtout étudiées au point de vue linguistique. Mais ce serait une erreur de croire qu'il ne s'agit que de nuances dialectales. On constate des différences dans la vie domestique du peuple, dans son caractère et son aspect physique, dans ses traditions historiques. Cependant la langue nous offre l'élément le plus certain d'analyse, et c'est au point de vue linguistique que les trois groupes peuvent ainsi se délimiter :

D'après Sobolevsky et Karsky, le territoire grand-russe est séparé du domaine russe blanc par une ceinture de dialectes intermédiaires qui

traverse Opotchka et Velkie-Louki dans le gouvernement de Pskov, passe par les gouvernements de Tver, de Smolensk et de Tchernigov; la partie méridionale du gouvernement de Tver, presque tout le gouvernement de Smolensk et la partie septentrionale du gouvernement de Tchernigov, limitée par la ligne Rjev, Briansk, Novgorod-Sieversky, Tchernigov est purement ou principalement russe blanche.

A Novgorod-Sieversky se trouve le nœud, le point de contact où les dialectes grand-russe et russe blanc se rencontrent avec le petit-russe.

Les Petits-Russes et les Russes Blancs sont séparés par une ligne qui va de la Narev par Proujany, Louninets, jusqu'au cours de la Pripet qui suit cette rivière, sauf dans la région de Mozyr habitée par les Russes Blancs, jusqu'au nœud dont nous parlions tout à l'heure.

Il est assez difficile de déterminer avec précision la frontière du petit et du grand-russe. Elle va *grosso modo* de Krolevets, en traversant la partie sud-ouest des gouvernements de Tchernigov et de Koursk dans la direction de la ville de Soudja; par Oboïan et Stary-Oskol, elle se dirige vers Korotiak sur le Don, longe le Don, puis se dirige vers le Donets. La partie septentrionale du territoire du Don est habitée par des Grands-Russes, la partie méridionale est mixte. A l'est du gouvernement de Kharkov, il y a un îlot grand-russe.

La région du Caucase est très bigarrée; les

Grands-Russes occupent le territoire des Cosaques du Terek, le bassin du Volga ; c'est eux aussi qui ont colonisé la plus grande partie de la Sibérie où l'on trouve d'ailleurs l'autre nationalité. Des colonies de Grands-Russes sont en outre disséminées par toute la Petite-Russie; en revanche, on trouve des colonies de Petits-Russiens dans les gouvernements de Saratov, Samara, Astrakhan, Vologda et au delà de l'Oural.

Les Grands-Russes s'avancent surtout du côté de Kharkov. Cette ville, au commencement du XIXe siècle, appartenait aux Petits-Russes; aujourd'hui elle compte 58 p. 100 de Grands-Russes et 25 p. 100 d'Ukrainiens.

§ 7. — Il est bien difficile d'apprécier la force relative des trois groupes, étant donnée la manière dont les recensements ont été faits jusqu'ici dans l'Empire russe. D'après le recensement de 1897, 55.667.469 habitants ont déclaré parler le grand-russe (mais dans quelles régions géographiques?), 5.885.547, le russe blanc, et 22.380.551 le petit-russe. Si nous tenons compte de l'accroissement annuel de 1,5 p. 100 pour les quatre années suivantes, nous trouverions donc pour la fin de l'année 1900 les chiffres suivants :

Grands-Russes (environ)	59.000.000
Russes blancs (")	~~620.000~~
Petits-Russes (")	~~2.370.000~~

A ces derniers, il faut ajouter presque tous les

Russes de l'Autriche-Hongrie, soit 3.805.023 (en laissant de côté les 40.000 Juifs qui se déclarent Petits-Russes), et 500.000 qui vivent à l'étranger. Nous aurons donc pour la fin de l'année 1900 un total de 28 millions. Mais les statisticiens de la Petite-Russie déclarent ce chiffre trop bas et en conjecturent de beaucoup plus élevés. Ainsi, tout récemment, pour l'année 1905, M. Netchouï Levitsky compte — pour le monde entier — 37.206.000, dont 31.174.000 pour la Russie d'Europe. Ces évaluations échappent à notre contrôle. Mais on peut admettre 30 millions.

Gnatiouk, à la fin du siècle dernier, supposait 30 millions; Grouchevsky, en 1906, 34 millions; Karsky, pour 1903, admettait environ 8 millions et demi de Russes Blancs.

§ 8. — La différenciation dialectique et ethnographique ne se borne pas à ces trois groupes principaux. Dans chacun d'entre eux elle découvre des groupes moindres qui portent des noms historiques ou des sobriquets populaires.

Ces différences apparaissent surtout chez les Petits-Russes, où non seulement les philologues déterminent de nouveaux dialectes, mais où l'histoire et le peuple signalent toute une série de noms, où certaines peuplades (comme par exemple les Gorals des Karpathes) ont une physionomie si originale qu'on se demande s'ils n'ont pas une origine particulière, peut-être non-slave.

Tchoubinsky, dans son recueil si précieux

d'ethnographie, reconnaît, chez les Petits-Russes de la Russie méridionale, trois types : le polésien, l'ukrainien, le podologalicien.

Le premier, celui des Poliechouks (Polexiani des anciennes chroniques), est celui des habitants de la Polésie [1], dans la partie méridionale des districts de Kiev, de Radomysl, dans la Volynie du nord-est, jusqu'à la rivière Goryn, dans une partie des gouvernements de Siedlec et de Grodno qui constitue la Podlasie.

Les habitants du district de Pinsk s'appellent les Pintchouks. Ils vivent au nord de la rivière Goryn, sur les deux rives du Styr, au delà du Tour et de la Pripet, et rejoignent au nord de la Pina les Podliachiens du gouvernement de Grodno.

Nous rencontrons un autre type ukrainien à l'ouest du Dnieper, dans le gouvernement de Kiev, la région centrale de la Volynie et le sud-est de la Podolie. C'est celui des Cosaques ou Zaporogues.

Ils présentaient et présentent encore aujourd'hui une singularité ethnographique. On a beaucoup discuté sur l'origine de ces associations guerrières et commerciales qui, dans des luttes perpétuelles contre les Tatares et les Turcs, se sont formé une individualité ethnique, notamment au point de vue de la vie domestique et de l'organisation sociale.

1. Polésie, région qui longe les forêts. Tr.

LA RACE SLAVE

Les anciennes théories qui les représentaient comme étant d'origine étrangère sont assurément inexactes; il est certain que les Cosaques sont d'origine russe. Suivant la région où se sont fondées et établies leurs associations, on les distingue aujourd'hui en Cosaques du Kouban, du Don, du Terek, de l'Oural, etc. Leurs types sont différents. Ainsi les Cosaques du Don supérieur qui parlent grand-russe sont blonds, les Cosaques du Don inférieur qui parlent petit-russe sont, en grande majorité, très bruns. Le recensement de 1905 a trouvé, pour la Russie d'Europe et d'Asie, 3.700.000 Cosaques qui vivent dans les provinces cosaques du Don, d'Orenbourg, du Kouban, du Terek, d'Astrakhan, de l'Amour, du Transbaïkal, du Littoral, d'Akmolinsk, de Semipalatinsk, de l'Oural. A côté de ces Cosaques russes, il y a aussi des Cosaques allogènes, par exemple les Cosaques bouriates du Transbaïkal, les Cosaques kalmouks du Don, les Cosaques turcs des territoires d'Orenbourg et de l'Oural, les Cosaques mordvines des territoires d'Akmolinsk et d'Orenbourg.

A côté des noms des Cosaques et des Zaporogues, on rencontrait naguère les noms de Stepoviks pour les habitants des steppes méridionales, de Poberejtsy (riverains) pour les habitants du sud de la Podolie actuelle, et de Volyntsy pour ceux de la partie occidentale du district de Berditchev (gouvernement de Kiev) et de certaines parties de la Podolie.

A un troisième type appartiennent les habitants de la Volynie occidentale et de la Galicie : sur les frontières de Galicie et de Pologne, on leur a donné le nom de Rousini et aussi de Rousniaks. Ils ont encore dans la région des Karpathes une foule de noms locaux : Bukoviniens, Kraïniens, Hrivniaks, Opolanes, Galiciens, Lvoviens ou autres dus au nom de telle localité, habitée par eux. L'élément principal, ce sont les Gorals (montagnards, du mot *gora*, montagne) des Karpathes, qu'on appelle aussi Verkhovintsy (de *verkh*, sommet). On distingue particulièrement quatre tribus parmi ces Russes : à l'ouest, les Lemki, des deux côtés des monts Beskydes, particulièrement dans les cercles de Sandets, de Jaslo et de Sanok, les Boïki, voisins des précédents, à l'est du San, les Toukholtsi, plus loin au sud, du cercle de Sambor au cercle de Stanislavov, et encore plus loin dans les montagnes, du cercle de Kolomya, de Stanislavov, en Bukovine, et dans le comitat hongrois de Marmaros, on rencontre les Houtsoules (Huculi) qui s'appellent eux-mêmes chrétiens, Rousniaks, ou gens russes.

Dans la population russe de la Bukovine, on distingue trois types : les Podolianes ou Polianes, les Houtsoules et les Lipovanes. Ces derniers sont des raskolniks qui ont quitté la Russie au XVIIIe siècle.

Les Houtsoules sont une tribu tout à fait singulière et intéressante, une énigme de l'ethnolo-

gie slave. Ils ont donné lieu à toutes espèces d'hypothèses. Ivan Vagilevitch les rattachait aux Ouzes turcs, Kochkov aux Thraces ou aux Scythes, plus récemment Volkov recherche leurs origines dans le Caucase. D'autres admettent une forte intrusion d'éléments étrangers dans l'élément slave primitif, d'autres les considèrent comme des Slaves pur sang. Ils sont remarquables par la beauté de la taille, par l'antiquité et la richesse de leurs coutumes, par leur sens artistique, leur costume pittoresque, mais aussi par leur manque de culture intellectuelle qui les met au dernier rang parmi les Slaves. On compte encore chez eux 93 p. 100 d'illettrés. Le nom des Houtsoules est probablement d'origine roumaine (*goc*, plus l'article roumain *ul*). Les noms des Boïki et des Lemki sont des surnoms donnés par les voisins à cause de l'emploi des mots *lem* et *boï*. Vagilevitch a vu chez les Lemki — sans raison d'ailleurs — des restes de Celtes disparus. En 1890, Schoukhevytch évaluait leur nombre à 60.000 [1].

Chez les Russes Blancs, on rencontre aussi des nuances dialectales et des noms locaux de tribus : par exemple les Polianes dans le district de Slonim, les Siekals ou Sakals dans celui de

1. A. Sobolevsky retrouve le nom des Houtsoules et des Boïki dans les Goulatsi et les Boutsi du gouvernement de Kiev (district de Tcherkassk). Et il invoque ce rapprochement à l'appui de sa théorie sur l'arrivée des Russes des Karpathes à Kiev après l'invasion tatare.

Volkovitsk. Chez les Grands-Russes, malgré l'immensité de l'espace occupé par eux, les relations sont toujours restées faciles à cause de l'égalité du sol; il ne s'est pas établi de différenciations considérables dans la langue, ni des types aussi accentués que chez les Petits-Russes. On trouve cependant aussi chez eux des noms locaux dus le plus souvent à des particularités dialectiques. Ainsi, dans le gouvernement de Voronèje, on rencontre des Iagouny, des Kagouny, des Tsoukany, des Stchekouny, des Talagaï; dans le gouvernement de Koursk, des Saïany. Dans le gouvernement de Kalouga, les habitants de la partie occidentale du district de Mosalsk et des districts de Briansk et de Troubtchev (gouvernement d'Orel) s'appellent les Poliechi, et les habitants de la partie orientale du district de Mosalsk, les Polianes. Les habitants de la rive septentrionale de la Desna sont appelés par les Petits-Russes les Zadesentsy (Transdesniens). On emploie également nombre de noms tirés de ceux des villes (Moscovites, Novgorodiens, etc.).

§ 9. — Cette différenciation des types est confirmée en partie par la méthode anthropologique. Les Petits-Russes du midi se distinguent en effet des Russes Blancs et des Grands-Russes, non seulement par la coiffure et la barbe, mais par la constitution même du corps. Ainsi, nous trouvons au midi plus de brachycéphales, des teints plus foncés, des tailles plus élevées que

chez les Grands-Russes et les Russes Blancs. Mais, d'autre part, ces groupes eux-mêmes sont loin de présenter une parfaite unité. Bien au contraire. Ce qu'on connaît jusqu'ici de l'examen physique des types russes présente des variations assez intenses des groupes locaux, variations plus considérables que ne l'est par exemple la différence moyenne des groupes grand-russe, petit-russe et russe blanc.

Pour l'ensemble, si nous nous en référons aux indices anthropologiques recueillis par A. Ivanovsky, voici ce que nous constatons.

Chez les Russes, la taille moyenne est d'environ $1^{m},65$. Chez les Grands-Russes, on trouve 51 p. 100 de taille inférieure et 49 p. 100 de taille supérieure; chez les Russes Blancs, 36 de taille inférieure, 64 de taille supérieure; chez les Petits-Russes, 47 p. 100 de taille inférieure et 53 p. 100 de taille supérieure.

En ce qui concerne la couleur des yeux et des cheveux, les Slaves de Russie appartiennent pour la plupart à un type mixte. Ce n'est que chez les Russes Blancs que domine le type blond pur (48 p. 100 contre 31 p. 100 châtains, et 2 bruns). Chez les Grands-Russes, on trouve la proportion suivante : 37, 41, 22 p. 100; chez les Petits-Russes, 30, 42, 28 p. 100. Ainsi les Petits-Russes ont plus de tendance au type brun; mais il y a dans l'intérieur du groupe des différences considérables : voici par exemple quelles sont les proportions en Volynie, d'après Kojoukhov, 42, 29, 29.

Parmi les Grands-Russes, les plus clairs sont ceux de Tver et de Iaroslavl, les moins clairs ceux des gouvernements de l'est. Au point de vue de l'indice céphalique, on trouve chez les Grands Russes 9 p. 100 de dolichocéphales, 19 p. 100 de mésocéphales et 72 p. 100 de brachycéphales. Des proportions analogues se rencontrent chez les Petits Russes : 12 p. 100, 16 p. 100, 72 p. 100. On trouve chez les Russes Blancs 13, 23, 64 p. 100. Il y a d'ailleurs d'importantes variations. Ainsi les Petits Russes du nord sont plutôt brachycéphales; mais à Voronèje, à Poltava, en Volynie, on rencontre une portion assez considérable de dolichocéphales.

Aucune des parties de la Russie ne fournit autant de dolichocéphales et de mésocéphales que la Volynie peuplée de Petits Russes (31, 34).

De même les Gorals des Karpathes présentent un type très distinct des habitants de la plaine. Mais ce sont là des phénomènes que nous constatons aussi chez leurs voisins les Polonais. Ce qui a contribué à la confusion des types, c'est chez les Grands Russes le croisement avec les Finnois du Volga; chez les Petits Russes, le croisement avec les peuples turco-tatares.

§ 10. — Tous ces groupes, grands et petits, diffèrent les uns des autres. Mais aucune différence n'est plus accusée que celle des Grands Russes et des Petits Russes. Les distinctions entre les diverses tribus dans les grands groupes

ne sont en somme que secondaires. Ce sont des variations de dialectes, de costume, de vie domestique. La différence entre les Grands Russes et les Petits Russes n'est pas non plus considérable ou du moins ne le paraît pas; les philologues sont d'accord pour proclamer que les Russes Blancs sont une partie des Grands Russes ou tout au moins une branche très rapprochée.

Entre les Grands-Russes et les Petits-Russes la différence est plus profonde. Elle existe non seulement dans la langue, mais dans la complexion physique et morale, dans le caractère, le tempérament, les chants populaires, dans les mœurs et coutumes. Et cette différence est encore accentuée par les destinées historiques et dans ces dernières années par les divergences politiques. Ces divergences vont si loin que souvent elles aboutissent à la rupture de tous les liens de famille. Les représentants de la classe intellectuelle chez les Petits-Russes ne veulent pas se considérer comme Russes, comme une nation de même origine et de même caractère que les Russes. Ils déchirent l'unité du monde russe en deux parties, en deux nations : l'une située au nord est constituée par les Grands-Russes, les Russes κατ' ἐξοχήν, autrement dit Rossiany, autrement dit les Moskaly, les Moskvitchs. Les autres, les gens du sud, ce sont les Petits-Russes, les Iougorusses[1], ou

1. Russes du midi.

d'après une dénomination plus récente les Ukrainiens.

Jusqu'ici on n'est pas d'accord sur les noms à employer. Les Grands-Russes et les étrangers, conformément à la tradition, se servent surtout des vocables : Grands-Russes, Petits-Russes, en tenant compte du nom historique de la Petite-Russie (sauf la Galicie et Vladimir). La dénomination de Iougorusses se rencontre plus rarement (par exemple chez Pypine et chez Kostomarov). Les Petits-Russes n'aiment pas beaucoup ces deux noms et préfèrent depuis quelque temps celui d'Ukrainiens. Les Galiciens emploient le terme Rousin avec l'adjectif rouski opposé à Rossianin, rossisky pour les Grands-Russes. Ce nom a été adopté en dehors des frontières de la Russie, mais il n'a pas été accepté de l'autre côté. Les Gorals de Galicie s'appellent volontiers Rousniaks. Les Allemands emploient, d'après le latin, la forme Ruthenen qui a aussi passé en français. Les conflits entre les deux nationalités ont engendré des dénominations ironiques ou injurieuses. Ainsi les Petits-Russes appellent les Grands-Russes *Katsaps* (têtes de bouc, à cause de leur barbe) ou Khazares, et ceux-ci appellent les Petits-Russes Khokly (de khokhol, houpette, à cause de l'ancienne manière de se coiffer des Cosaques).

Il y a donc conflit entre les Grands et les Petits-Russes. Ce conflit intéressant a des rai-

sons anciennes et naturelles. Il y a longtemps que s'est produite la différenciation des Russes du nord et du sud ; elle s'est développée peu à peu, mais sans relâche. Il y a aussi des griefs et des malentendus depuis longtemps entre la Grande et la Petite-Russie et leur vie tout entière a été distincte pendant des siècles. Cependant autrefois il n'y avait pas de conflit entre les Grands et les Petits-Russes, au sens actuel. Au contraire les deux partis avaient l'idée de leur parenté, voire même de leur unité, ainsi qu'on peut le voir par l'exposé des motifs pour lesquels Bogdan Khmelnitsky se donna à Moscou et au tsar Alexis Mikhaïlovitch (en 1653) quand il détacha l'Ukraine de la Pologne.

Le conflit des deux nations russes n'a éclaté en réalité qu'au XIXe siècle.

Il a eu pour origine :

1° Les efforts des Petits-Russes pour se créer ou pour faire renaître une langue et une littérature à eux.

2° Toute une série de discussions scientifiques sur la question de savoir quels sont les rapports des Grands-Russes et des Petits-Russes, particulièrement au point de vue linguistique et anthropologique.

Enfin et surtout :

3° L'état actuel politique et social des Petits-Russes dans l'Empire et le développement général dans ces dernières années des idées sociales et démocratiques.

Ainsi aujourd'hui le conflit passe de plus en plus du terrain littéraire et scientifique sur le terrain politique.

Le conflit a commencé en 1798, lorsque J.-P. Kotliarevsky publia en petit-russe son *Énéide travestie*. A dater de cette époque on s'efforce de créer une littérature indigène. Mais ces tendances furent bien vite contrariées par le pouvoir qui craignait que ce séparatisme littéraire ne fût contraire à l'unité de l'État. Et à différentes reprises, notamment en 1847, 1863 et 1876, il fut interdit d'imprimer et de publier, sauf quelques rares exceptions, des livres en petit-russe. Mais ces prohibitions obtinrent un résultat absolument opposé à celui qu'elles visaient. Les tendances d'émancipation littéraire s'affermirent d'autant plus qu'elles étaient plus rigoureusement réprimées et elles trouvaient un terrain favorable dans la Galicie orientale appartenant, comme on sait, à l'Autriche.

D'autre part, le conflit fut aggravé, renforcé par les discussions scientifiques sur les rapports des deux nations. On discuta sur l'antiquité de l'idiome petit-russien, notamment dans la région de Kiev, sur la question de savoir qui avait produit les premières annales russes et la première littérature russe dans l'état kiévien. Ces polémiques se produisirent surtout de 1850 à 1860; elles sont marquées par les travaux de Sreznesvky, de Lavrovsky et surtout de Pogodine qui prétendait démontrer que jusqu'au XIVe siècle

LA RACE SLAVE

Kiev avait été occupé par les Grands-Russes, initiateurs de l'histoire et de la littérature, et que les Petits-Russes n'étaient venus des Karpathes qu'après la conquête tatare. Cette théorie rencontra des adversaires chez les historiens de la Petite-Russie ; elle fut reprise plus tard avec beaucoup d'énergie (en 1883) au point de vue linguistique par Sobolovsky, et réfutée avec non moins de vigueur par les historiens Dachkievitch, Antonovitch, Grouchevsky, A. Iablonowsky, et les philologues V. Jagic, A. Schakhmatov, A. Krymsky, A. Kolessa, A. Loboda, etc.

Naturellement, on ne se borna point à la question de savoir de quand datait le petit-russe à Kiev. On étudia aussi les degrés de parenté des deux idiomes. N'y avait-il qu'une seule langue russe avec deux dialectes, ou bien fallait-il reconnaître deux langues différentes ? Ces débats, auxquels prirent part les principaux philologues russes et slaves, favorisèrent singulièrement la théorie qui prétendait séparer les deux groupes et élargir l'abîme qui se creusait entre eux.

Mais ces polémiques théoriques ne se bornèrent pas à la linguistique sur laquelle elles opéraient de plus en plus souvent et à grand renfort d'appareil scientifique. Déjà Maximovitch avait déclaré qu'il faut reconnaître en Russie non seulement deux langues, mais deux types nationaux ; mais il n'avait pas formulé nettement sa doctrine. C'est ce qu'osa faire Kostomarov qui

produisit une véritable révolution, et, après lui, toute une série d'anthropologistes.

Maximovitch n'avait pas abouti à formuler une distinction précise : Kostomarov y réussit dans l'article intitulé : « Les deux nationalités russes », article publié par la revue *Osnova* (la Base) en 1861. Il y signalait les différences d'histoire, de langue, de coutumes, de caractère, d'aspect physique, et il établissait cette théorie : qu'il n'y a point seulement deux langues russes, mais aussi deux nationalités qui diffèrent complètement l'une de l'autre et que seule l'histoire a réunies en un tout.

Cette théorie de Kostomarov eut un grand succès ; elle fut développée et amenée à cette conclusion. Sur ces deux nationalités une seule, celle des Petits-Russes, est purement slave ; les peuples qui vivent au nord et à l'est de la Dvina et du Dnieper ne sont pas des Slaves, mais des Finnois, des Tatares, ou des Touraniens plus ou moins slavisés dont toute l'organisation et en particulier le gouvernement absolu, sont d'origine et de caractère asiatiques.

Cette conclusion, à laquelle les inventeurs de la théorie des deux nationalités n'avaient guère songé, trouva un terrain favorable, en particulier chez les Polonais victimes de la néfaste révolution de 1863. Et c'est dans leur émigration que fut propagée la doctrine des deux Russies, l'une slave, l'autre touranienne. Parmi les propagateurs de cette doctrine, rappelons seulement les

noms de François Duchinski et de sa femme Séverine Duchinska, de Buszczynski et de l'historien français Henri Martin[1].

Chez les Petits-Russes cette théorie n'a pas trouvé un terrain aussi favorable; mais on l'a acceptée de différents côtés, et elle nous explique l'épithète de Khazares[2] qui est parfois donnée aux Grands-Russes; cette épithète est due évidemment à des idées tout à fait inexactes sur l'origine des Grands-Russes. Les anthropologistes ont traité la question d'une façon plus scientifique en signalant les différences considérables qui existent entre les Grands et les Petits-Russes. Les Petits-Russes sont en grande partie brachycéphales et de teint brun, tandis que les Grands-Russes sont généralement de teint clair; on démontre en même temps que ce type brachycéphale foncé est le pur type slave (Volkov, Taylor). Mais cette théorie, bien qu'elle ait pour elle un certain nombre de données, on peut la considérer comme non démontrée. Il y en a une autre qui considère le type russe blanc et grand-russe comme le type propre des Slaves; or cette théorie a pour le moins autant d'arguments à

1. J'ai eu à diverses reprises l'occasion de me prononcer sur ces théories et sur l'abus que Duchinski et ses disciples prétendaient en faire. Voir notamment *La Revue des Cours littéraires* (année 1868) et mes *Souvenirs d'un Slavophile* (p. 20 à 25, Paris, Hachette, 1905). Tr.

2. Les Khazares, anciennement Kozares, peuple scythique d'après la Chronique russe dite de Nestor. Voir ma traduction de cette chronique (p. 325). Tr.

faire valoir. Et les différences qui se produisent dans l'intérieur des deux groupes sont souvent plus considérables que celles qui existent entre eux[1].

Voilà donc dans quelles circonstances, sous quelles influences a jailli le conflit, et on en est arrivé à ce résultat. Les intellectuels de la Petite-Russie déclarent nettement qu'ils constituent une nation slave distincte : et pour cette nation « ukrainienne » ils réclament tous les droits naturels qui peuvent assurer sa conservation et son développement. Pour eux l'exercice de ces droits ne se borne pas à obtenir des écoles où l'enseignement se donne en petit-russe, la libre expansion de leur littérature, mais la reconnaissance de leur autonomie politique. Les patriotes modérés et pratiques, tenant compte des circonstances, se contentent de demander l'autonomie dans l'intérieur de l'Empire. Les radicaux sont naturellement plus exigeants. Ils s'imaginent que l'organisation actuelle de l'État russe ne durera pas. Ils comptent sur un démembrement, rêvent la création d'une Ukraine indépendante, organisée sur la base de la démocratie et du socialisme.

1. D'ailleurs, j'admets fort bien l'existence des deux types préeuropéens dans diverses localités de la Slavie primitive. A l'époque où ces types étaient purs, il n'y avait pas encore de Slaves en Europe. Lorsque les Slaves ont apparu, les deux types se sont croisés chez eux ; tel a prévalu dans une région, tel dans une autre. Mais le premier était prépondérant ; c'est ce qu'attestent sans relâche de nouveaux arguments (note de l'auteur).

LA RACE SLAVE

Oserai-je exprimer franchement mon opinion sur ce conflit et sur l'avenir de ces tendances? Je suis de ceux qui considèrent comme naturel et équitable que le gouvernement russe satisfasse les exigences légitimes des Petits-Russes. Mais je n'hésite pas à déclarer que, malgré les différences relevées plus haut, il y a tant de traits communs dans l'histoire, la tradition, la foi, la langue et la culture des deux peuples — sans parler de la commune origine — que, pour un observateur lointain et impartial, ils ne sont que deux parties d'un seul et unique peuple russe.

Au point de vue slave, et même au point de vue russe, nous souhaitons que cette unité soit conservée vis-à-vis de l'étranger et autant que possible dans la vie politique, littéraire et linguistique, tout en respectant les besoins et les exigences politiques des deux parties. Nous le souhaitons au moins, en ce qui concerne la haute littérature. Jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle la langue a été commune et les plus grands écrivains du XIXe siècle ont fait honneur aux deux groupes.

Bien entendu, cette unité doit résulter d'une entente réciproque, d'une reconnaissance mutuelle et non pas de la contrainte ou de la force. La forme de cette entente sera trouvée par les chefs des deux parties, lorsque sera effacé le souvenir des oppressions et des persécutions. Et alors on trouvera — nous aimons à l'espérer, — un terrain d'accord pour l'union intérieure et

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contre l'étranger, tout en conservant les deux individualités, comme le voulait déjà Kostomarov, et alors se réaliseront peut-être les belles paroles de Gogol qui écrivait en 1844 à Mme Smirnov : « Que les forces différentes des deux races se développent de telle sorte que, s'étant ensuite unifiées, elles produisent quelque chose d'achevé dans l'humanité. »

II

LES POLONAIS

§ 11. Introduction historique. — La portion la plus importante du groupe occidental est constituée aujourd'hui par les Polonais. C'est le seul peuple dont on puisse dire qu'il est établi de temps immémorial dans la même région (entre l'Oder, les Karpathes et la mer) et qu'il s'est le moins éloigné de son berceau. Ils ont toujours occupé au point de vue géographique une situation centrale entre les autres peuples slaves, et les philologues prétendent que leur langue tient une place analogue parmi les idiomes slaves.

Sur l'ethnographie de la Pologne actuelle dans l'antiquité, nous savons fort peu de chose. Même Ptolémée ne jette guerre de lumière sur eux. Beaucoup ont voulu voir des Polanes dans ses Boulanes (Βούλανες, mais on lit plutôt Σούλανες). A dater du IXe siècle de l'ère chrétienne nous sommes un peu plus éclairés; mais nous ne pouvons déterminer les frontières du domaine polonais, faute de documents; d'autre part, nous ne sommes pas suffisamment édifiés

sur le caractère de quelques tribus vivant sur les rives de la Baltique ou au sud-ouest. A cette époque la nation polonaise n'était probablement pas unifiée ; mais elle se distinguait déjà des autres slaves et était désignée sous le nom de Liakhs, Lekhs. C'est ce nom qu'elle porte dans la chronique de Kiev[1]. Aujourd'hui, — si nous laissons de côté l'emploi littéraire du mot Lekh, — il ne s'emploie dans la pratique que pour le peuple qui est établi dans la plaine de la Galicie occidentale, entre les rivières Biala, Vistule, San et les Karpathes. Les Gorals emploient aussi ce mot pour désigner le pays et le peuple polonais.

Vers la fin du xe siècle, autant que nous pouvons savoir, le peuple lekh se composait des tribus suivantes :

Les Polianes établis primitivement sur la Warta, la Notec (aujourd'hui en allemand Netze) près du lac de Goplo jusqu'à l'Oder.

Les Vislanes sur la Visla (Vistule) supérieure.

Les Mazoviens sur les deux rives de la moyenne Vistule.

Les Kuïaviens au tournant de la Vistule, près de Thorn.

Les Slezanes (Silésiens) sur l'Oder supérieur et à l'est jusqu'au delà de la Bobra. Ils comprenaient les tribus des Diedochi, des Bobranes, des Besunczanes, des Opolanes, des Holasici.

1. Voir ma *Chronique de Nestor*, p. 328. Tr.

LES POLONAIS

Quels étaient les liens de parenté entre les tribus polonaises et les Slaves du littoral, les Pomoranes[1] (entre la Vistule inférieure, l'Oder et la Notec) et les Lutitses à l'occident sur la Varnava et sur l'Elbe? Il serait difficile de les déterminer. Le vieil annaliste de Kiev, dans les indications qu'il nous donne sur les pays habités par les Polonais, rattache ces peuples aux Lekhs. Voici ce qu'il dit : « Or ces Slaves étant venus s'établirent sur la Vistule s'appelaient Lekhs et de ces Lekhs les uns s'appelèrent Polianes, Lekhs, d'autres Lutitches, d'autres Mazoviens, d'autres Pomorians. »

Toutes ces tribus se soumirent aux Polianes du centre sous les princes de la dynastie de Piast et prirent leur nom. On ne sait quand s'acheva l'unification. On sait seulement que les principaux auteurs furent les princes Mesek Ier (960-992) et Boleslav le Vaillant (992-1025).

L'unité ne fut pas achevée dès le début ; elle s'acheva par le développement de la colonisation intérieure.

Au commencement, les régions de la Petite-Pologne et de la Mazovie étaient peu habitées. L'élément étranger qui hâta cette unification, ce furent évidemment les Allemands contre lesquels il fallut entrer en lutte dès qu'ils eurent soumis et anéanti les Slaves de l'Elbe (IXe, XIIe siècles).

1. C'est de ce nom (*po*, le long de, *more*, la mer) que vient Pommern, nom allemand de la Poméranie aujourd'hui germanisée. Tr.

LA RACE SLAVE

La lutte contre les Allemands exerca chez les Polonais, comme chez les Tchèques, une influence considérable sur leur développement interne et externe. De leur patrie primitive située dans les bassins de l'Oder, de la Warta et de la Vistule, ils voulaient rayonner dans tous les sens. Mais ils rencontrèrent à l'ouest la résistance des Allemands ; ils ne purent la surmonter ; ils durent même lui céder et ils cherchèrent à assurer leur existence et leur expansion par des luttes et des invasions perpétuelles chez les Prussiens, les Lithuaniens et les Russes. Evidemment, les Polonais sentaient bien que l'un de leurs premiers devoirs était de maintenir au nord un large accès vers la mer et à l'ouest leur frontière sur l'Oder, sinon sur l'Elbe ; malheureusement tous les avantages, toutes les conquêtes qu'ils réalisèrent de ce côté n'eurent qu'un caractère purement éphémère. Un coup terrible leur fut porté par l'invasion tatare et par la bataille de Liegnitz (1241); elle brisa le lien qui unissait la Silésie à la Pologne et jeta cette province dans les bras de l'Allemagne qui commença à la germaniser. Un autre échec, ce fut l'appel des chevaliers teutoniques dans les pays de Chelm et de Loba (1226) qui prépara la germanisation du littoral. Notons enfin la colonisation allemande que les princes ecclésiastiques ou laïques appelerent à dater du XIIIe siècle en Silésie, dans la Petite-Pologne, la Grande-Pologne et la Mazovie ; ces colonies ne s'assimi-

lèrent point et restèrent absolument allemandes de langue et de mœurs. Ainsi fut créé et se développa un grand péril pour la nationalité polonaise. *Exterminare idioma polonicum* devint le mot d'ordre des Allemands sur la frontière occidentale. Dès le XIIIe siècle, la nationalité polonaise paraissait gravement compromise.

Elle réussit cependant à échapper au péril. Le clergé se montra très patriote ; la littérature naquit et exerça une heureuse influence sur toutes les classes de la société. Le mouvement hussite exerça aussi en Pologne son influence contre les Allemands. La dynastie suivit une politique nationale. Elle remporta d'importants succès, notamment sur les chevaliers teutoniques qui furent défaits à Grünwald en 1410. A la vérité, les provinces au delà de l'Oder et au nord ne purent être sauvées. Les Polonais perdirent les trois quarts de leur domaine primitif; mais ce qu'ils perdaient à l'ouest, ils essayèrent de le regagner à l'est, d'un côté au nord-est, de l'autre au sud-est. Cette double direction leur était imposée par la nature même du terrain; au centre le bassin de la Pripet présente un terrain inhospitalier et infranchissable; au sud se dresse la barrière des Karpathes. Le flot polonais dut se diriger d'un côté vers la Lithuanie, de l'autre vers la Petite-Russie, et cette double marche caractérise une phase nouvelle de l'histoire polonaise.

Le mouvement offensif avait commencé de

bonne heure, mais il n'obtint un résultat sérieux que lorsque la Lithuanie fut par l'Union de Lublin (1569) rattachée à la Pologne, et avec elle une grande partie de la Russie méridionale (voy. plus haut, § 3).

Casimir avait déjà occupé en 1340 la Russie rouge et en 1370 la métropole de Galicie avait été détachée de la métropole de Kiev.

En Lithuanie les institutions et la langue polonaise prirent le dessus sur les institutions et la langue des indigènes ; les classes supérieures de la société se polonisèrent et la colonisation polonaise pénétra dans le pays, notamment dans la Polésie. Il en fut de même dans la Russie galicienne, la Volynie et la Podolie. Les Polonais ne purent conserver la Russie galicienne qu'en en faisant une base d'opérations pour l'envahissement des bassins du Dniester et du Boug. Au xve siècle ils colonisèrent la Podolie et la Volynie et poursuivirent cette œuvre pendant le xvie siècle. A cette époque Bobrinski[1] prétend que cette province était à moitié polonaise ! A ces tentatives de colonisation se joignent l'action religieuse, l'*union* de la Russie polono-lithuanienne avec Rome.

Pendant ce temps-là les princes russes émancipés du joug tatare avaient formé à Moscou un nouveau et redoutable centre politique. Ils

1. Historien polonais contemporain. Cf., mon *Coup d'œil sur l'histoire de Pologne* dans la 3e série du *Monde slave* (Paris, Hachette, 1902). Tr.

avaient entrepris de grouper autour d'eux tous les pays russes. Nous n'avons pas besoin d'exposer ici comment ce plan fut exécuté. Moscou entra naturellement en lutte avec la Pologne : la guerre eut d'abord pour objet les provinces lithuaniennes, puis la Petite-Russie et enfin la Pologne proprement dite. Elle ne cessa de tourner mal pour la Pologne et enfin elle aboutit aux trois partages de 1772, 1793 et 1795.

Ces événements eurent naturellement une influence néfaste sur le développement de la nationalité polonaise ; les conquêtes des Polonais furent annulées et avec elles toute la colonisation polonaise des terres russes. Les États qui se partagèrent le domaine polonais eurent pendant quelque temps l'idée d'anéantir la nation polonaise. Mais la force vitale de cette nation, ses grandes traditions et ses grandes espérances d'avenir la maintinrent et même la fortifièrent de telle sorte que ses adversaires eux-mêmes ont dû en partie renoncer à leurs prétentions.

La lutte que la nationalité polonaise a soutenue pour son existence depuis la chute de la République a été très pénible et l'est encore aujourd'hui, particulièrement contre les Allemands.

Quand le congrès de Vienne en 1815 consacra et remania le partage, il annexa à la Russie le duché de Varsovie et constitua ce royaume que les Polonais appellent *Kongressowka*. Il garantit aux Polonais leur nationalité et leur autonomie.

Ils jouirent d'abord de ces bienfaits; mais à dater de 1830 la situation changea. La révolution de Varsovie fut étouffée dans le sang. Et la réaction antipolonaise qui s'était déjà produite en Russie ne fit que s'accentuer. La malheureuse révolution de 1863 acheva l'asservissement et la misère de la Pologne. La russification se poursuivit avec ardeur et il fallut un coup terrible porté au système gouvernemental — la malheureuse guerre du Japon — pour que la Pologne pût respirer un peu. L'avènement du régime constitutionnel et l'institution du Parlement lui donnèrent la possibilité de faire entendre ses griefs, et nous voulons espérer qu'au moment venu, du moins dans l'empire russe, ils recevront satisfaction.

La situation est plus grave en Prusse. Là, avant 1775, on voit se produire un nouveau mouvement intensif de colonisation allemande, particulièrement dans le bassin de la Netze, et, après l'insurrection de 1830, une évolution politique qui tend tout simplement à germaniser l'élément polonais. La tentative d'insurrection en 1845 et les événements de 1848 donnèrent à cette politique l'occasion de s'affirmer. Au début on n'employa ni la force ni la violence. Le gouvernement prussien était convaincu que l'élément polonais s'éliminerait peu à peu. Le recensement de 1870 prouva le contraire. Bismarck eut alors recours à de nouveaux procédés. Il s'efforça de déraciner la nation polonaise et eut

recours aux moyens les plus violents. Certes, les Polonais n'étaient pas à leur aise en Russie ; mais on n'avait pas pris dans l'Empire des mesures aussi violentes, aussi raffinées que celles que la Prusse imagina. Ce qu'aucune nation n'avait osé jusqu'ici contre une autre, les Allemands l'entreprirent contre la Pologne. Ils s'efforcèrent d'exproprier un peuple tout entier par la loi de colonisation (Ansiedelunggesetz), qui mettait à la disposition du gouvernement cent millions de marcs pour acheter la terre aux Polonais et établir des colons allemands. Grâce à Dieu, tous ces efforts ont échoué jusqu'ici. Du moins, les résultats obtenus ne sont en aucune façon en rapport avec les sacrifices pécuniaires. La loi d'expropriation votée en 1908 n'a pas mieux réussi et il y a lieu de croire que tous les efforts des hakatistes[1] allemands se brisent contre la résistance énergique du peuple polonais.

Néanmoins, la situation des Polonais de Poznanie et de Silésie reste difficile et il n'y a pas lieu d'espérer qu'elle s'améliore. Le ministre prussien Von Arnim a bien déclaré en 1907 qu'on ne pouvait les germaniser et qu'il n'y pensait pas. C'est pourtant le but vers lequel la Prusse tend sans relâche. Et naturellement la

1 On donne le nom d'Hakatistes à une association prussienne fondée en 1894 pour coloniser les marches de l'Est. Cette association fut fondée par *H*ansemann, *K*ennemann et *T*iedemann. C'est avec les initiales de ces trois personnages H. K. T. qu'a été formé le mot hakatistes (Tr.).

lutte de trois millions et demi d'âmes contre soixante millions d'Allemands ne peut être envisagée qu'avec inquiétude.

Et en effet, la germanisation fait des progrès sérieux chez les Mazoures, en Silésie et en Poznanie, bien que dans certains endroits les Polonais réussissent à prendre le dessus.

C'est en Autriche que la condition des Polonais est la plus tolérable. Depuis une quarantaine d'années l'ancien système de germanisation a été abandonné et la nationalité polonaise se développe en pleine liberté ; elle exerce même une certaine influence sur les destinées de l'Empire et des autres nationalités.

§ 12. Le domaine de la nationalité polonaise. — Nous ne rencontrons pas pour le déterminer autant de difficultés que pour le domaine russe. Cependant nous nous heurtons à certaines difficultés.

Ici encore notre principal critérium est la langue. C'est en se fondant sur la langue que l'on a dressé en Prusse et en Autriche les cartes ethnographiques. Mais l'opération n'a pas toujours été faite correctement. En Prusse, le dernier recensement s'est fait en se fondant sur la langue maternelle ; mais à côté des Polonais et des Allemands on constate qu'un assez grand nombre de sujets ont déclaré parler les deux langues. Comment dans ce cas-là déterminer la majorité ? Et comment déterminer la nationalité des

localités où ce sont ces bilingues qui doivent décider de la majorité? En Autriche, au lieu de la langue maternelle on prend pour critérium la langue habituelle (Umgangsprache). Je ne crois pas d'ailleurs que ce procédé ait fait grand tort aux Polonais.

En Russie les résultats du recensement linguistique n'ont pas été utilisés pour dresser la carte ethnographique, et nous sommes réduits à des conjectures individuelles. La première carte ethnographique de la Pologne a été dressée par Schaffarik pour sa carte d'ensemble publiée en 1842. Depuis ce temps-là il a été fait un certain nombre de tentatives; mais les Polonais n'ont pas encore une bonne carte ethnographique intégrale. On ne connaît en détail que quelques régions frontières qui ont été l'objet d'une enquête détaillée.

Le domaine polonais constitue dans son ensemble un carré irrégulier compris entre Jablunkow [1], dans les Karpathes, Ujscie sur la Netze, Suwalki et Sanok. Au nord il est pénétré par une enclave kachoube le long de la rive gauche de la Vistule, entre Dantzig et le lac de Leba.

La ligne frontière commence au sud-est, aux sources de la Moravka, affluent de la rive droite de l'Ostrawica et elle atteint l'Oder auprès de Bohumin. Cette ligne est disputée par le Polonais et les Tchèques dans le pays de Teschen que les Tchèques ap-

1. En Silésie.

pellent Tiesin et les Polonais Cieszyn. Les localités de cette région sont disputées par les deux nationalités[1] et la question des écoles notamment engendre des conflits d'un caractère purement local. D'après les plus récentes statistiques, les Tchèques diminuent dans cette région, tandis que les Allemands et les Polonais augmentent. Le mélange du Tchèque et du Polonais produit une sorte de dialecte mixte ; ce n'est qu'à l'ouest d'Ostrovica que le Tchèque est parlé purement.

Dans l'empire allemand les Polonais sont établis en partie en Silésie, mais surtout dans la Poznanie (cercles de Poznan-Posen, et de Bydgoszcz, en allemand Bromberg), dans la Prusse orientale (cercles de Dantzig et de Marienwerder) et dans la Mazovie prussienne. Dans la province de Posen et dans la Prusse orientale cette frontière est en somme mal connue, parsemée d'enclaves allemandes, et elle est difficile à déterminer. Nous n'avons que des cartes allemandes. Si l'on tient compte du p. 100 des Polonais, d'après les évaluations de Parczewski on peut considérer comme polonais (plus de 80 p. 100) les arrondissements d'Odolanow, de Koscian, d'Ostrzeszow, de Posen dans la partie occidentale, de Pszczynsk, d'Olésie, de Skwierzyn[2]

1. Nous supprimons ici des nomenclatures de localités qui n'ont aucun intérêt pour le lecteur français. Tr.

2. En 1790, les Polonais allaient encore jusqu'aux environs de Breslau (Vratislavia). Au commencement du XVIe siècle, l'Oder était la frontière à partir de l'embouchure de la Nissa.

Nous connaissons bien les pays kachoubes par les travaux de Ramult (voyez plus loin). De la mer, la frontière décrivant un arc de cercle va d'Oliwa et de Dantzig à Tczew (Dirschau), passe la Vistule à Marienbourg et se dirige vers Kwidzyn (Marienwerder). Ici elle longe la rive gauche de la Vistule jusqu'à Chelmno (Kulm) où elle traverse le fleuve. Puis elle passe à Grudziadz (Graudenz), Goryn, Eylau, Osterode, Knys, et traverse la frontière de la Prusse dans la direction de Suwalki. Dans cette région la germanisation des Mazoures et des Lithuaniens fait de grands progrès. Autrefois la frontière mazoure vers le nord allait jusqu'à Goldapy où les Mazoures confinaient avec les Lithuaniens; aujourd'hui un coin allemand a pénétré entre les deux peuples et les Polonais ne confinent plus avec les Lithuaniens que dans le gouvernement de Suwalki.

Au delà de la frontière allemande la frontière polonaise contourne Suwalki — d'après la carte de Karsky — et se dirige vers Augustowo (Stanislas Dobrzycki prolonge le domaine polonais jusqu'à Grodno), puis elle traverse les districts de Sokol et de Bielistok (en polonais Bialystok) et se dirige vers Suraz sur la rivière Narew. Ensuite d'après Gloger, Zakrzewski et Frantsev, elle se dirige vers Bielsk, Sarnaky, Krasnostaw, Tomaszow, puis elle remonte au nord vers Tarnograd, elle entre en Galicie et se dirige vers le San près Radowa, Tuchla et Radymno, puis elle suit le San jusqu'à Sanok, et, par Rymanow, Dukla,

Zmigrod, Gorlica, Gribow, elle atteint Pivnitchna à la frontière hongroise. De là jusqu'au défilé de Jablunkow elle se confond officiellement avec la frontière hongroise. Les Polonais qui vivent dans la région de Spies, au dernier recensement, se sont déclarés Slovaques [1].

Tel est l'ensemble compact de la nation polonaise.

Dans le royaume de Pologne les Polonais forment 71,85 p. 100 de la population totale. Ils se trouvent en plus grand nombre sur la rive gauche de la Vistule: 73,5 p. 100 dans le gouvernement de Varsovie, 84 p. 100 dans celui de Kalisz, 87 p. 100 dans celui de Kielce, 77 p. 100 dans celui de Lomza, 72 p. 100 dans celui de Piotrkow, 83 p. 100 dans celui de Radom et 81 p. 100 dans celui de Plock, 66 p. 100 dans celui de Siedlec, 63 p. 100 dans celui de Lublin et 23 p. 100 dans celui de Suwalki.

Nous trouvons en outre des Polonais par petits groupes dans presque toute la Russie d'Europe: 10 p. 100 dans le gouvernement de Grodno, 8,2 p. 100 dans celui de Vilna, 6,2 p. 100 dans la Volynie, 9 p. 100 dans celui de Kowno. Il y a des colonies considérables dans les grandes villes

1. Dans la région de Spies, les Polonais sont établis entre Stara, Lubovna, Kezmark et Smokovce, dans celle d'Orava, au nord de Zubrohlav et de Bobrova, dans celle de Trenczin à Czierna et à Skalita, Il y a encore des colonies polonaises dans la région de Lipto et dans la région slovaque de Zemplin. Dans le pays de Spies, le slovaque Czambel a compté 51 communes polonaises avec 30.000 âmes. Kaz. Krotoski porte ce nombre à 50.000.

à Moscou, Pétersbourg, Kiev. Dans l'île de Sakhalin, lieu de déportation, on en compte jusqu'à 5 p. 100.

Ils sont nombreux dans la Galicie orientale. Il n'y a dans toute cette province qu'un cercle purement russe (celui de Kossow) où l'on ne trouve que moins de 5 p. 100 de Polonais, tandis qu'il y a 23 cercles purement polonais. C'est surtout dans les grandes villes du pays russe que sont répandus les Polonais. Les villes les plus peuplées de Polonais sont dans la partie russe de la Galicie: Lwow (Lemberg) avec 120.000 Polonais ou 76 p. 100 du total contre 15.000 Russes, Bobrka, Muszyna, Sanok, Lisko, Sambor, Przemysl, Rawa ruska, Belz, Zolkiew, Grodek, Cieszanow, Stryj, Kalusz, Stanislawow, Kolomyja, Tarnopol, Husiatyn, Buczacz, Sokal, Trembowla, etc., etc. En revanche, quelques villes ont une majorité allemande, composée en réalité d'Israélites (Biala, Sczerzec, Dolina, Bolechow, Nadworna, Kossow, Kuty, Zablotow, Brody).

En dehors de la Pologne et de la Russie, il y a des colonies polonaises importantes à Vienne, (4.364) à Berlin (26.000), à Dresde, Bucarest, Paris. En Allemagne de nouvelles colonies polonaises sont en train de se former en Westphalie et dans le pays rhénan ; à Mülheim sur la Ruhr, à Ruhrort, à Essen, à Dortmund, à Bochum, à Hattingen, et surtout à Gelsenkirchen. Ce sont des colonies ouvrières. Elles s'accroissent sans cesse. En 1890 la statistique avait relevé dans ces

localités 5.820 Polonais; elle en a noté 26.795 en 1900 et aux dernières élections pour le parlement de Berlin, le candidat polonais Chocszewski a obtenu 27.000 voix.

En dehors de l'Europe, les Polonais vivent surtout dans les Etats-Unis (notamment à Chicago, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Detroit, Philadelphie, Pittsburg, New-York) et aussi dans l'Amérique du Sud, notamment au Brésil (Etats de Parana, Catarina, Riogrande, Saint-Paul), dans le Paraguay et dans l'Argentine. Au Brésil on compte plus de 80 colonies (80.000 âmes). Le Parana s'appelle déjà la nouvelle Pologne.

§ 13. Statistique. — De même qu'il est impossible de dessiner exactement les frontières de la nation polonaise, de même on ne peut déterminer avec une précision absolue le nombre des Polonais. Les chiffres donnés par les nationaux diffèrent considérablement.

Pour le royaume actuel Jean Bloch conjecture au XIVe siècle une population de un million et quart. Pour le siècle de Bathory (XVIe) il admet 3.058.000 Polonais.

En 1882, Sulimierski comptait 12 millions. E. Czynski en 1887, et A. Fircks en 1893 admettent 13 millions. L. Straszewicz compte en 1900 18 à 19 millions et en 1902 V. Czerkawski 21.111.347. Mais je ne considère pas sa statistique comme absolument exacte et voici mes évaluations.

Dans l'Empire russe d'après le recensement de

1897 il y avait 7.931.307 Polonais, soit 8,3 p. 100 de la population totale. Si nous ajoutons à ce chiffre l'accroissement annuel qui, d'après Kowalewski, est dans le royaume de 1,5 p. 100 par an, soit 118.970 âmes, nous obtenons pour la fin de l'année 1900 :

Pour l'Empire russe (avec l'Asie), environ	8.400.000
Pour l'Autriche.	4.259.150
Pour l'Allemagne (en comprenant les Mazoures et les Kachoubes). . . .	3.450.200[1]
Pour le reste de l'Europe (d'après Czerkawski), environ	55.000
Pour l'Amérique (d'après Czerkawski)	1.500.000
	17.664.350[2]

L'évaluation du nombre des Polonais en Amérique est fort incertaine. Siemiradski et Valjavac en comptent dans l'Amérique du Nord plus d'un million et demi et en 1900 la revue *Praca Polska* (le Travail polonais) de Milwaukee évaluait le nombre total des Polonais en Amérique à trois millions. La statistique allemande, d'autre part,

1. Une statistique polonaise de Czynski, dont la dernière édition a paru en même temps que l'ouvrage de M. Niederle, donne un total de 20 millions. M. Niederle accepte ce chiffre. Tr.

2. Ce nombre est approximatif. En 1900 il a été recensé 3.086.489 Polonais, 142.069 Mazoures, 100.213 Kachoubes, soit en tout 3.328.751. Mais il faut ajouter à ces chiffres au moins les deux tiers de ceux qui se déclarent bilingues (allemand et polonais, mazoure ou kachoube), soit sur 182.184, 121.450.

a fait tort aux Polonais. Ainsi, Ramult, en 1899 a compté les Kachoubes dans chaque localité et est arrivé au chiffre de 200.000 (de même que Tetzner). Or, la statistique officielle de 1900 n'en connaît que 100.000. D'autre part, dans quelle mesure devons-nous tenir compte des Polonais-Slovaques ? Karlowicz les évaluait à 120.000 ; Czambel n'en compte que 40.000. D'autre part, si nous défalquons, ainsi qu'il est juste de faire, les Juifs galiciens qui déclarent que leur langue est le polonais, mais qui ne sont pas Polonais (on en compte en Galicie 621.636) on obtient un total de 17 millions et demi, qui paraît aujourd'hui le chiffre le plus vraisemblable. Avec M. Czynski on peut le porter à 20 millions.

Il est très difficile de dresser à d'autres points de vue la statistique de la nation polonaise, parce qu'elle est partagée entre trois États dont la statistique n'est pas toujours dressée au point de vue des nationalités.

Cette observation s'applique particulièrement à la Russie où vit la plus grande partie des Polonais — presque la moitié. — Nous avons déjà donné quelques indications dans le chapitre consacré à la Russie. Le chiffre le plus important est le coefficient annuel de l'accroissement de la population, 1,5 p. 100. En Allemagne, dans les pays polonais nous trouvons 1,4 p. 100. Mais ce qui a diminué l'accroissement, c'est d'une part l'émigration, de l'autre la dénationalisation.

En ce qui concerne les Polonais de Galicie,

nous avons des données plus accessibles. L'accroissement annuel en Galicie pour toute la province a été de 1890 à 1900 de 16,7 p. 100. Sur ce chiffre les Polonais d'après la statistique autrichienne, ont fourni 14,52, soit annuellement 1,45 p. 100. (Dans ce chiffre figurent 15 p. 100 de Juifs.) Les Russes n'ont donné que 8,71 p. 100. En comparant ces chiffres avec les chiffres antérieurs nous constatons le progrès constant des Polonais. En 1851 on constatait déjà en Cisleithanie 11,45; en 1880, 14,86; en 1890, 15,84; en 1900, 16,59 p. 100. En Galicie, où les Polonais sont les maîtres du pays, leur nombre en cinquante ans s'est accru de 14 p. 100.

En ce qui concerne la durée de la vie, la proportion est la même chez les Polonais que chez les Russes galiciens. Le nombre des jeunes gens est supérieur à la moyenne (50,4 p. 100 ayant moins de vingt ans); le nombre des vieillards est peu considérable; 12 p. 100 seulement ont dépassé la cinquantaine.

Le nombre des gens mariés est de 32,3 p. 100. Chez les Polonais de Russie on a compté, 60,6 p. 100 de célibataires hommes et 55,9 p. 100 de femmes, 37 et 36, 3 p. 100 de gens mariés, 2,24 et 764 de veufs, ou veuves, 0,05 et 0,08 p. 100 de divorcés.

En ce qui concerne les sexes, on trouve chez les Polonais de Galicie 1.049 femmes contre 1.000 hommes; dans la Pologne russe, la proportion est inverse, 989 femmes seulement. Mais on a évidem-

ment compté tous les militaires. Le rapport des deux sexes est d'ailleurs un rapport d'égalité, sauf dans le gouvernement de Lomza, où l'on n'a compté que 925 femmes contre 1.000 hommes.

En ce qui concerne la religion, le catholicisme est la caractéristique du Polonais, comme l'orthodoxie du Russe. Il n'y a, pour ainsi dire, point de Polonais orthodoxes depuis que la tolérance a été proclamée en 1905. Les anciennes statistiques, par exemple celle de Lebedkine vers 1860, déclaraient d'après les documents officiels qu'il y avait 40.000 Polonais orthodoxes (uniates). Il y a également peu de Polonais appartenant à l'Eglise évangélique. On en rencontre surtout en Silésie et dans le nord de la Prusse. En revanche, les Mazoures de Prusse sont des évangéliques (96 p. 100 en 1906), et cette circonstance nous explique pourquoi ils se laissent facilement germaniser. Le catholicisme des Polonais est une de leurs armes les plus puissantes contre la germanisation. En Autriche on ne compte que 83,14 p. 100 de catholiques. Cela s'explique par ce fait que parmi les sujets qui se sont déclarés polonais il y a 14,7 p. 100 de Juifs. Il y a 1,8 p. 100 de protestants. On peut donc considérer catholique comme synonyme de polonais.

Dans la Pologne russe la proportion est celle-ci : 78,8 p. 100 catholiques, 4,7 p. 100 protestants, 14,05 Juifs et 6,57 orthodoxes, ou vieux-croyants de l'Eglise orthodoxe.

Les catholiques sont ici concentrés sur la rive

gauche de la Vistule où l'on en compte de 70 à 80 p. 100. Seuls dans le royaume les gouvernements de Siedlec et de Lublin ne comptent que 66 à 62 p. 100 de catholiques, si l'on en croit le recensement de 1897. Après l'édit de tolérance du 17 avril 1905 les proportions ont singulièrement changé (voir plus haut, § 5), mais nous n'avons pas de données rigoureusement précises.

En ce qui concerne les Polonais de Russie voici les derniers résultats de la statistique :

Orthodoxes et vieux-croyants . . .	0,63	p. 100
Catholiques romains.	98,26	—
Protestants.	0,51	—
Juifs	0,59	—
Mahométans	0,01	—

Polonais est donc synonyme de catholique. Mais il faut noter que chez les catholiques, il s'est produit récemment une secte dite des Mariavites, à laquelle se rattachaient en 1906, 59.000 personnes. C'est dans la partie russe que la population polonaise fournit aux villes le plus fort contingent, 22,1 p. 100. On y compte 1,9 p. 100 de nobles et de fonctionnaires, 0,8 p. 100 de clergé, de bourgeois honoraires et de marchands 0,14 p. 100, de bourgeois 23,5 p. 100, d'agriculteurs 72,98 p. 100. Chez les Polonais d'Autriche il y a 65,6 p. 100 de laboureurs, 14,8 p. 100 d'industriels, 11,2 p. 100 de négociants, et 8,4 p. 100 de fonctionnaires.

Au point de vue de l'instruction publique les

Polonais ont encore beaucoup à faire, non seulement en Russie et en Prusse où le gouvernement a apporté de nombreux obstacles au développement des écoles, mais aussi là où il jouissent depuis longtemps d'une complète liberté, c'est-à dire en Galicie. Dans cette province la statistique a encore noté 40,8 p. 100 d'illettrés. Il faut d'ailleurs reconnaître que les Polonais en Russie (notamment les femmes polonaises), malgré toute la mauvaise volonté du gouvernement, sont d'une instruction supérieure à celle des Russes. Chez les Russes nous avons constaté 29,50 p. 100 d'hommes lettrés et 9,34 p. 100 parmi les femmes. Chez les Polonais la proportion est de 34, 78 p. 100 et de 29,40 p. 100.

§ 14. Différentiation. — Nous rencontrons aussi chez les Polonais des différences intérieures assez considérables ; mais elles ne donnent pas lieu de répartir leur nation en diverses nationalités. D'ailleurs la question a été assez peu étudiée et on ne s'est pas assez appliqué à distinguer au point de vue scientifique les divers groupes polonais. De nombreux matériaux ont été réunis, notamment, au point de vue du folklore, par Oscar Kolberg, plus récemment par Jean Karlowicz et par d'autres, dans la revue *Wisla* (La Vistule) et au point de vue anthropologique par J. Majer, K. Kopernicki, I. Talko-Hrynczewicz, W. Olechnowicz, L. Rutkowski, A. Zakrzewski. Le côté linguistique a été étudié dans ces der-

niers temps par St. Dobrzycki, J. Karlowicz et K. Nitsch, mais jusqu'ici toutes ces recherches n'ont pas été réunies et concentrées dans un ensemble. La répartition habituelle en grands et petits groupes a surtout pour base la tradition historique ; une répartition plus scientifique sera l'œuvre de l'avenir. La nation polonaise est généralement répartie dans les groupes suivants :

1° Le groupe grand-polonais occupe la Silésie, la Poznanie et la Prusse ;

2° Le groupe mazovien vit à l'est du précédent dans les bassins de la Vistule, de la Narew et du Bug ;

3° Le groupe petit-polonais est établi au sud sur la Vistule supérieure, jusqu'aux Karpathes et au San ;

4° Un quatrième groupe est formé par les Kachoubes sur le littoral de la Baltique.

Le groupe grand-polonais a le premier concentré les anciennes tribus, évidemment sous la pression de la race allemande, et sa langue est devenue dominante; c'est elle qui constitue l'idiome littéraire.

En revanche, la Mazovie et la Petite-Pologne, régions forestières et moins accessibles, ont gardé plus d'originalité et de caractère local.

En tenant compte des noms par lesquels le peuple distingue les tribus et les régions, les ethnographes polonais — par exemple Karlowicz — distinguent particulièrement les groupes suivants :

LA RACE SLAVE

En Silésie les habitants des montagnes s'appellent Gorali[1], ceux de la région de Jablunkow, Jablonkowiane ou Jackowie ; ceux de la région centrale les Walachy, ceux des plaines Lachi ou Dolaci, ceux des bords de la Vistule (en polonais Wisla) Wislaci.

Les mariniers polonais qui conduisent les trains de bois sur la Vistule sont connus en Allemagne depuis le XVIIe siècle sous le nom de Wasser Polaken. En Poznanie et en Prusse on distingue les Paluci (cercle de Wagrowice et de Szubin) et, sur la rive gauche de la Warta, à partir de l'embouchure de la Prosna, les Porzeczane (riverains). La région qui va du lac Goplo à la Vistule et à la Netze (cercles d'Inowraclaw, de Strzelin, et de Bydgoszcz ou Bromberg) s'appelle la Kujavie prussienne. La Kujavie polonaise comprend les cercles de Nieszawa et de Wloclawek.

Les habitants du cercle de Krobia sur la frontière de Silésie et la rivière Orla s'appellent Chazacy ou Lesniacy (forestiers). Dans la Prusse royale où le pays de Chelm et de Marienbourg continue la Kujavie et où la Warmie (Ermeland) continue la Mazovie, sont établis les Borowiaks et les Kociewiaks. Un peu plus bas, à l'embouchure de la Vistule, on trouve les Zulawy.

Les Mazoures, depuis la frontière du nord jusqu'à Dzialdow au sud et à l'est jusqu'à la

1. Montagnards. Gora veut dire montagne. Tr.

frontière russe, sont appelés par leurs voisins Tylosanie (parce qu'ils disent *tylo* au lieu de tylko [1].)

Dans la Pologne russe on emploie surtout des noms de lieux : Bojary, Borowiacy, Gryczanie, Kopieniacy, Koziari, Nadrzeczanie (riverains), etc., etc... Les noms des principales tribus sont ceux des Kujaviens, des Kurpie dans les régions appelées la Pusta verte et blanche (districts d'Ostrolenka, de Kolys, de Prasnyce, de Makow, d'Ostrow, de Lomza), desKsienzacy dans l'ancienne principauté (Ksienstwo) de Lovicz, des Mazowsze dans les gouvernements de Suwalki, de Lomza, de Plock, de Varsovie et de Siedlec. La Podlasie (pays des forêts) polonaise se rattache au pays des Mazoviens. La statistique prussienne, notons ce détail en passant, affecte de détacher les Mazoures des Polonais à cause de leur religion réformée.

Dans la Petite-Pologne on rencontre aussi une infinité de dénominations locales, parmi lesquelles reviennent quelques-unes déjà connues et qui sont dues à des particularités topographiques : Gorals (montagnards), Zagorzane (d'outre-mont), Lachy, Mazury, Lasowci, etc...

Les ethnographes distinguent aussi les Polonais par régions : Kalisz, Piotrkow, Radom, Kielce, Lublin, Sandomir, Cracovie (c'est cette dernière qui a les plus beaux costumes populaires).

1. Mot polonais qui veut dire seulement.

LA RACE SLAVE

Tous ces groupes, en dépit de leurs différences, ont le sentiment d'appartenir à une seule nation, surtout depuis que l'oppression russe et allemande a surexcité chez eux l'idée de la nationalité et de l'union. Seuls les Mazoures de Prusse, que leur religion luthérienne sépare de la masse catholique, se rapprochent des Allemands. Ils parlent polonais, mais ils se sentent Prussiens et réalisent les espérances exprimées par les hommes d'Etat de Berlin, notamment les ministres Studt et Armim. Un publiciste allemand, Tetzner, a dit d'eux[1] : « Le Mazoure évangélique est Prussien de corps et d'âme et se sépare absolument du Polonais catholique. »

J'ajouterai ici quelques considérations relatives à l'anthropologie du type polonais.

Le type des gorals ou montagnards se distingue tout particulièrement de celui des habitants de la plaine. Les Gorals sont de taille moyenne (1^{m},681), de teint généralement clair ou mixte. (Talko Hryncewicz considère le type clair comme le type polonais primitif.) Ils sont surtout brachycéphales (entre 80,5 et 82,3). Quand on s'éloigne des Karpates pour monter vers le nord, la brachycéphalie fait place à la dolichocéphalie.

Les brachycéphales représentent en Galicie 83 p. 100, dans le département de Lublin

1. Tetzner. *Slaven in Deutschland*, p. 133. Récemment une revue mazoure imprimée en caractères gothiques, mais écrite en polonais, affirmait ses sympathies pour la France. Tr.

78 p. 100 chez les nobles, et 59 p. 100 chez les paysans, dans le pays de Sandomir 77 p. 100, à Plock, chez les nobles 78 p. 100, 54 p. 100 chez les paysans, à Lomza 68-63 p. 100, à Varsovie 57 p. 100.

Le Goral représente donc un type spécial chez les Polonais, comme chez leurs voisins les Russes. Le teint est plus clair en général chez les Polonais de Galicie, que chez ceux de Varsovie.

Mais les proportions sont tout autres à l'est. Le type le plus pur est le type galicien ; les types de Lomza et de Lublin sont très mêlés. D'autre part, les recherches anthropologiques ont constaté un phénomène intéressant, c'est que la noblesse polonaise diffère beaucoup du type rural ; elle offre plus de brachycéphales, une taille plus haute, plus rarement des yeux clairs. Ce qui semble en partie confirmer la théorie qui lui attribue une origine particulière.

D'après Talko Hryncewicz le prototype polonais, c'est le montagnard des Karpathes.

Plus on s'éloigne de cette région, plus le type se transforme et accuse des mélanges. Voici encore un détail intéressant. D'après les dernières recherches d'A. Ivanovsky, les Polonais offrent au point de vue physique beaucoup d'affinité et de ressemblance avec les Grands-Russes. Ceci est intéressant au point de vue de la question des rapports des Grands et des Petits-Russes.

LA RACE SLAVE

§ 15. — Le groupe polonais le plus excentrique est constitué par les Kachoubes et les Slowiency de la Leba. Beaucoup d'ethnographes les détachent des Polonais et les rattachent aux Slaves de Poméranie (A. Hilferding, Zubaty, Ramult et Beaudouin de Courtenay). L'origine polonaise est soutenue par I. Karlowicz, Brückner, Krynski, etc... Lorentz voit dans les Slowiency une branche indépendante à la fois des Kachoubes et des Polonais.

Nous avons décrit *grosso modo* le territoire occupé par les Kachoubes. D'après les travaux de MM. Ramult et Nadmorski il s'étend sur la rive gauche de la Vistule inférieure. Il est borné par une ligne qui va de Kamien (Kamin) par Czluchowo (Schlochau) Ferstnowo (Forstenau) vers Starzyn (Starsen) et de là par Bytow (Bütow), Lemborg au lac de Zarnow. Le long du fleuve la frontière court vers Dantzig et de là tout droit par Skarszewy (Schœneck), Leng, vers Kamien.

De ce noyau principal se détache un petit îlot compact qui se trouve sur les bords du lac Lebo à l'embouchure de la Leba et de la Lupa.

A côté du nom de Kachoubes, dont on ne connaît pas l'origine, on rencontre vers l'est des noms spéciaux : Karwatcy, Pomarency, Lyczacy, Kociewiacy, Borowiaci, Krajniacy et, sur le lac Lebo, ceux de Kabatcy, Lesacy, Belocy. Mais le plus curieux est celui de Slowiency qui

remonte évidemment aux temps anciens et qu'on trouve déjà en 1586.

Les Kachoubes sont peu nombreux. D'après une statistique officielle de 1900 ils étaient au nombre de 100.213.

D'après une statistique antérieure de Ramult, il y en avait 174.831 dans leur territoire, au total en Europe 200.000 et 130.000 en Amérique (Etats-Unis, Canada, Brésil.) Au point de vue de la religion, la majorité est catholique. On ne compte que 6 p. 100 d'évangéliques parmi les Slowiency.

Les Kachoubes sont bien peu nombreux. Mais il n'y a pas lieu de désespérer de leur avenir; car d'une part ils vivent dans une région isolée près de la mer, d'autre part ils sont en rapports constants avec l'élément polonais qui les aide à se maintenir.

IV

LES SERBES DE LUSACE

§ 16. Introduction historique. — De la nation puissante des Slaves qui ont vécu pendant des siècles sur l'Elbe moyen et inférieur, il ne reste plus qu'un débris insignifiant, constitué par les Serbes des deux Lusaces; c'est le groupe slave le plus rapproché des Tchèques au point de vue géographique et linguistique.

Au temps jadis les Slaves Polabes ou de l'Elbe (Laba) étaient établis dans les bassins de l'Oder, de la Sale et de l'Elbe. Nous pouvons — en faisant toutefois des réserves — suivre leur trace jusqu'au premier siècle de l'ère chrétienne. Mais celui qui admet le caractère slave des tombeaux à incinération dans la Lusace et la Silésie, peut remonter jusqu'à mille années au moins avant l'ère chrétienne. Il ne s'agit ici que d'une hypothèse archéologique; mais il paraît beaucoup plus vraisemblable d'attribuer aux Slaves qu'aux Germains les tombes de ce type découvertes entre la Vistule et l'Elbe.

A l'époque où nous avons sur eux des don-

nées historiques un peu détaillées, les Slaves Polabes se répartissaient en trois grandes familles :

1° Les Obotrites dans le Mecklenbourg, le Lünebourg et le Holstein (jusqu'à la rivière Varnava), d'où ils pénétrèrent dans la Vieille Marche;

2° Les Lutitses ou Vélètes entre l'Oder, la mer, la Varnava et l'Elbe;

3° Les Serbes sur l'Elbe moyen entre la Verra, la Havel et la Bobra.

Depuis le temps où l'histoire constate l'existence des Slaves sur l'Elbe, leur histoire n'est qu'une longue lutte pour le maintien de leur existence; cette lutte ils la soutiennent à la fois contre l'Empire germanique et contre l'Église Romaine. La campagne entreprise par les Allemands contre les Slaves Polabes avait un caractère tout ensemble politique, national et religieux. Les Slaves résistèrent avec énergie, mais la lutte était trop inégale. Les Allemands avaient pour alliés les Danois et parfois aussi les princes polonais et tchèques. Ils devaient succomber. D'ailleurs, ils n'étaient pas d'accord entre eux.

Sous Charlemagne et ses successeurs immédiats, les Allemands ne remportèrent que des succès insignifiants.

La dynastie saxonne fut plus heureuse; presque tout le pays des Polabes tomba aux mains des Allemands. La conquête fut achevée par les

Margraves. Les Slaves furent non seulement soumis, mais en peu de temps dénationalisés. A dater du XIIe siècle la colonisation allemande pénétra dans leur pays; au XIIIe et au XIVe les Allemands avaient déjà la prépondérance, et au XVe siècle les Slaves ne présentaient plus que quelques rares spécimens de la race.

Dans l'île de Rugen (en slave Roüïana) les Slaves disparurent en 1404; sur l'Elbe, vers la moitié du XVIe siècle, ils n'occupaient plus que les districts de Lüchow et de Danneberg, la partie méridionale du district de Blekede, le tiers de celui d'Ulzen, et la partie septentrionale de la Vieille Marche (Altmark). Plus loin vers l'est on ne trouvait plus que quelques débris dans le Mecklenbourg qui était encore assez peuplé de Slaves au XIIIe siècle (entre les rivières l'Elda et la Suda), et dans le Brandebourg dans le district de Priegnitz (Brizan). Mais ce groupe assez considérable du Lünebourg ne réussit point à se maintenir. En 1671 il y avait encore là des Slaves; vers 1700 ils étaient en grande partie germanisés; le dernier groupe slave fut celui des Dravaines (Drawaïna) dans le cercle de Lüchow qui s'appelle encore aujourd'hui Wendland, pays des Wendes.

La langue slave disparut entre 1750 et 1766. C'est en 1751 que la messe fut célébrée en slave pour la dernière fois.

Dans les années 1890-1900 les journaux ont raconté, d'après A. Parczewski, que le recensement

de 1890 avait trouvé dans cette région encore 570 Slaves Wendes. Mais c'était une erreur. Le recensement officiel avait bien trouvé dans le pays de Lüchow 570 Wendes, mais ils ne parlaient qu'allemand.

La langue slave dans cette région est morte depuis plus d'un siècle, ainsi que le constata du premier coup M. Muka envoyé en mission par l'Académie des Sciences de Cracovie.

D'ailleurs, le caractère slave se retrouve encore en grande partie dans le type et dans la manière de vivre des habitants du Wendland.

Primitivement les Serbes de cette région occupaient en masse compacte tout le pays situé entre la Sale, la Verra, la Fulda, le Havel supérieur, la Sprée. Ils s'étendaient jusqu'auprès de Francfort-sur-l'Oder, sur la Bobra inférieure, la Hvizda (Quéis). Le groupe comprenait les Serbes proprement dits entre la Sale et l'Elbe [1], puis les Lusaciens sur la moyenne Sale, et les Milczanes sur le haut Elster, la haute Sprée et la Neisse. Dès le XIe siècle les Allemands commencèrent à pénétrer dans ces régions; mais ils ne s'y multiplièrent qu'à dater des XIIIe et XIVe siècles. A cette époque la nationalité serbe commença à diminuer à l'ouest de l'Elbe; elle succomba définitivement à la suite de la guerre de Trente ans. La situation était meilleure dans la

1. Ces Serbes sont désignés dans les textes latins du moyen âge sous le nom de Sorabes. Tr.

Haute et la Basse-Lusace réunies à la couronne de Bohême. Malheureusement, en 1635 le traité de Praguée céda le pays à la maison de Saxe. La nationalité serbe commença à décliner, surtout dans la Basse Lusace. Sa décadence ne fut arrêtée qu'au XIXe siècle par la renaissance littéraire qui rendit quelque énergie à ce petit peuple.

Grâce aux efforts de quelques patriotes la conscience nationale se réveilla, la littérature se renouvela, la langue slave fut introduite dans les écoles primaires et les Allemands de Saxe accordèrent à leurs compatriotes serbes un *modus vivendi* tolérable. Combien de temps cet état de choses durera-t-il ? Il est difficile de le prévoir.

La germanisation fait de grands progrès surtout dans la Basse-Lusace soumise aux Prussiens.

§ 17. Frontière de la nationalité. — En 1886 Muka sur sa carte ethnographique, la meilleure qui existe jusqu'à nos jours, fixait cette frontière par une ligne qui partait au sud de Lubija (Lobau), passait entre Rychbach (Reichenbach) et Wosporg (Weissenbach), passait à Nizka (Niesky), Rečzice (Rietschen), se dirigeait vers Muzakow (Muskau) sur la Neisse, puis longeant la Neisse atteignait Barsc (Forst), passait à Gresna (Griessen), à Barklawa (Bærenklau), à l'ouest de Gubna (Guben). La ligne se dirigeait ensuite tout droit vers l'ouest par Luboraz (Lieberose), Mochow, Waldow, Bocklin (Burglehne) puis vers le sud sur Lubnjow (Lübbenau)

sur Wotrowce (Bischofsdof), Kalama (Kalan), Rudna (Reuden) et Bukowina ; puis vers le sud-ouest la frontière contournait Komorow (Senftenber) Rolana (Ruhland) sur l'Elster, se dirigeait par Nadzichow sur Kamenc, Elstra, Biskupci (Bischofswerda), d'où elle tournait brusquement à l'est vers Velecin (Wilthen), sur la Lubia. Telle était la délimitation extérieure de la région dans laquelle la majorité du peuple parlait serbe ; il y avait dans cette région un territoire absolument serbe aux environs de Chotebuz (Cottbus) et de Grodk. Il y avait aussi de nombreux îlots allemands.

Sur la carte dressée en 1902 par A. Czerny le territoire a diminué et les Allemands ont gagné du terrain. Aujourd'hui la partie septentrionale de la Basse-Lusace n'est séparée de la partie méridionale que par une ligne étroite entre Grodk et Chotebuz sur les deux rives de la Sprée. Cependant Tetzner dans son livre, signale à tort la Basse-Lusace comme ne constituant qu'un îlot.

§ 18. Statistique. — Les chiffres constatent en effet que le nombre des Lusaciens diminue. Vers 1880-84, Muka avait, en voyageant de village en village, fixé le total des Serbes à 175.966. Il comptait 72.000 en Basse-Lusace et 103.000 en Haute-Lusace. La statistique officielle de 1900, ne compte que 93.032 Serbes, parlant seulement le serbe. Si on ajoute environ 23.000 bilingues parlant le serbe et l'allemand, on arrive à

116.810 âmes, et, si on rectifie ce chiffre d'après les évaluations de Parczewski, de Swjela et de Muka, on obtient environ 156.000 âmes, chiffre lamentable pour un peuple entouré et pénétré de tous côtés par la mer allemande. Ce qui favorise la germanisation, c'est la dépendance où les Serbes sont des Allemands au point de vue économique : le service militaire, la prédication allemande, l'absence d'une classe intellectuelle, l'isolement complet. Les Serbes qui se défendent le plus énergiquement, ce sont ceux de la Haute-Lusace, dont le centre intellectuel est à Bautzen (Budysin). En Saxe, sur 297 communes dites wendes [1] d'après le recensement de 1900, il y en a en tout 225 avec une majorité slave, et de purement slaves 7 seulement.

Nous n'avons pas d'autres données sur les Lusaciens, ni sur leur émigration. Il y a, paraît-il, des colonies en Amérique (en particulier dans le Texas Serbin, qui rappelle le nom de la nation, Giddingswenden, West, Yewa, Warda, Burleson) dont les habitants ont quitté l'Europe vers la moitié du siècle dernier, et qui conservent encore la tradition nationale. Il y en a aussi en Australie (à Angerspark, à Adelaïde près de Melbourne). Elles sont d'origine plus récente.

Les Serbes sont en grande majorité luthériens; il y a 15.000 catholiques qui vivent en grande partie aux environs de Budysin (Bautzen).

1. Les Serbes de Lusace s'appellent, en allemand, Wenden. (Tr.)

LA RACE SLAVE

§ 19. Différenciation. — Bien qu'ils ne soient qu'une bien petite nation les Serbes n'ont pas l'unité linguistique. Entre les idiomes de la Basse et de la Haute-Lusace, la différence est telle que les gens du peuple ont de la peine à s'entendre et que beaucoup de linguistes ont reconnu deux langues distinctes. Il y a en effet deux langues littéraires fondées sur les deux dialectes les plus éloignés, (celui de Kottbus et celui de Bautzen) et deux littératures. Cette dualité crée un grave péril, d'autant plus que les deux fractions sont divisées au point de vue politique. Kottbus appartient à la Prusse et Bautzen à la Saxe. En dehors de la langue, les deux groupes lusaciens diffèrent à beaucoup de points de vue pour ce qui concerne la vie domestique et le costume. D'après Muka la frontière des deux pays courait autrefois de Zahan (Sagan) sur la Bobra par Muzakov, Grodk, Kolany, Kupsk (Mückenberg), Wikow (Elsternverda) vers Bielagora (Belgern) sur l'Elbe, et elle est restée conforme à cette ligne pour ce qui concerne la population serbe.

V

LES TCHÈQUES ET LES SLOVAQUES

§ 20. Introduction historique. — Les Tchèques eux aussi appartiennent à la branche occidentale, ainsi que les Slovaques qui, à plus d'un point de vue, peuvent être considérés comme ne formant avec eux qu'une nation, bien que la destinée les ait déjà bien séparés et doive selon toute apparence élargir encore cette séparation.

Ces deux branches sont issues d'un centre commun, qui, à côté du centre polonais et polabre, se trouvait quelque part au nord des monts Sudètes et atteignait peut-être la Moravie; c'est de cette région que les ancêtres des Tchèques et des Slovaques vinrent dans les régions où l'histoire constate leur existence.

Ils y vinrent du nord, peut-être tous ensemble d'un seul coup, peut-être à diverses époques. Les textes n'en savent rien ; l'archéologie, en admettant le caractère slave et particulièrement tchèque des tombes à incinération du type lusacien, peut seulement conjecturer que la Bohême et la Moravie auraient été occupées avant la moitié du premier siècle antérieur à l'ère chrétienne.

LA RACE SLAVE

Le berceau des Tchèques et des Slovaques se trouverait donc plus au nord mais, en tenant compte des données archéologiques, on peut dans une certaine mesure les regarder comme étant des autochtones en Bohême et en Moravie. On peut en dire autant de la branche établie en Hongrie. Le Dr Czambel s'est plu à affirmer dans ces derniers temps que les Slovaques ne sont pas venus avec les Tchèques, qu'ils sont venus à part et d'une autre région, du sud-est, tout cela pour démontrer que les Slovaques n'appartiennent pas au groupe occidental, mais au groupe méridional. Mais cette théorie manque de base au point de vue historique et philologique. La parenté linguistique montre sans conteste que les Tchèques et les Slovaques appartenaient au même groupe que les Serbes de Lusace, les Polonais, les Polabes, et qu'ils opérèrent leur migration en même temps qu'eux.

Les Tchéco-Slovaques, après avoir franchi les Sudètes et les Carpathes, s'établirent d'abord au nord de la Bohême, de la Moravie et de la Slovaquie hongroise; au sud étaient établies des tribus gauloises, illyro-thraces, plus tard aussi les peuples germaniques des Marcomans et des Quades; après le départ de ces allogènes les Slaves s'étendirent non seulement sur tout le territoire où ils sont établis aujourd'hui, mais encore bien plus loin au sud. Ceci s'applique aux Tchèques de Bohême et de Moravie et aussi aux Slovaques de Hongrie; ces derniers ont encore de nombreux

îlots dans les comtats d'Esztergom, de Budapest, au sud dans ceux de Bars et de Nograd et des indications positives attestent que primitivement ils s'étendaient beaucoup plus vers le sud dans des régions où ils se rencontraient avec des colonies slovènes et bulgares.

A l'est, il est difficile de déterminer les anciennes frontières. La délimitation par le Vag, le Hron et la Tepla ne repose que sur des hypothèses. Nous savons cependant que la frontière de ce temps-là n'allait pas aussi loin qu'aujourd'hui — presque jusqu'à la Tisza. Car la plus grande partie des Slovaques occidentaux se compose de Russes assimilés à l'époque historique. Au nord les Gorals (Montagnards) Polonais avaient pénétré à travers les montagnes dans les régions de Trencsin, d'Orava et de Spies. Au nord la frontière suivait les monts Sudètes (les régions de Sluknov et de Friedland étaient serbes [1] et constituaient le district de Zagozd). Dans la Silésie, la région de l'Opava était tchèque. A l'ouest, les Tchèques, au XIIe siècle, d'où date leur histoire écrite, poussaient des pointes à travers les monts de Bohême (Bœmerwald, en tchèque Sumava) jusqu'en Bavière, au sud jusqu'au delà du Danube. Jusqu'où allèrent-ils dans la Pannonie ? Y ont-ils même été établis, eux ou les ancêtres des Slovaques ? On ne peut le déter-

1. Il s'agit, bien entendu, des Serbes de Lusace ; voir le chapitre précédent. Trad.

miner avec précision. Suivant toute vraisemblance, ils allaient au moins jusqu'au lac Balaton, ainsi que l'atteste l'histoire des princes Pribina, Kocel et Svatopluk[1].

De même que les autres peuples slaves, les Tchèques ne formaient pas au début une seule nation. Au début de l'histoire nous savons peu de chose de la situation intérieure en Hongrie et en Moravie. Il paraît cependant vraisemblable que les divers groupes qu'on rencontre encore aujourd'hui, les Tchèques proprement dits, les Hanaks, les Lahs, les Slovaques et les Valachs existaient dès ce moment-là. Seulement nous ne savons pas où était la frontière des Tchèques et des Slovaques : était-elle sur la Moravie inférieure et moyenne, comme le veut Schaffarik, ou plus loin à l'est ?

Nous en savons plus sur les Tchèques ; au xe et au xie siècle, en laissant de côté les forêts limitrophes de l'Allemagne, nous voyons apparaître chez eux toute une série de tribus : au nord à partir des sources de l'Oharka en allant vers l'est, les Sedlicany, Lucany, Lemuze, Deczany, Litomerice, Psovany, Charvaty (Tchèques?), au centre les Tchèques, auprès d'eux les Zliczany et au sud dans le pays de Budiejovice (Budweiss) les Dudlèbes.

Parmi toutes ces tribus, la plus nombreuse et

1. Sur ces personnages, consulter mon ouvrage sur *Cyrille et Méthode* (Paris, librairie Franck, 1868).

la plus forte fut bientôt celle des Tchèques ; grâce à leur situation centrale ils dominèrent bientôt les autres tribus et les fondirent en un peuple unique. Dès le IXe siècle leur nom est employé pour désigner tout l'ensemble des tribus.

Ainsi se forma cette nation. Établie à la ligne de partage des eaux du nord et du sud, près des sources de grands fleuves, protégée par des murailles naturelles, elle se développa dans des conditions excellentes. Et, sans les fautes de ses princes, qui par égoïsme portèrent des coups graves à sa prospérité et à son avenir, l'histoire de cette nation eût été tout autre et elle occuperait aujourd'hui dans le monde slave une autre situation que celle qui lui appartient.

Ce qui lui porta un coup terrible, ce fut la colonisation allemande en Bohême et en Moravie. Au sud, les Allemands s'avancèrent d'eux-mêmes le long du Danube ver l'Orient, refoulant les Tchéco-Slovaques établis dans cet région. C'était là un mouvement tout naturel et qui n'aurait jamais fait grand mal au développement de la nationalité tchèque, attendu que sur la Litava (Leitha) les Allemands se seraient bientôt heurtés aux Magyars.

Ce qui fit surtout du tort aux Tchèques, ce fut la colonisation allemande appelée dans le pays par les princes nationaux de la dynastie des Premyslides, Premysl Otakar I (1197-1230), Vacslav I (1230-1253) et surtout Premysl Otakar II (1253-1278) et leurs successeurs ; la noblesse et le clergé,

notamment les moines, suivirent leur exemple. Par suite de cette colonisation, l'élément tchèque se trouva bloqué dans l'intérieur du pays par une ceinture de villes et de bourgs allemands, ceinture qui se resserrait sans cesse ; d'abord sous les Monts métalliques et le Bœhmerwald, puis sur l'Elbe inférieur, puis dans le pays de Liberec (Reichenbach), Trutnov, Kladsko (Glatz) et dans la région des monts Jeseniky (Gesenke). En outre des groupes allemands s'établirent à l'intérieur du pays. A dater du XIIIe siècle la Bohême et la Moravie devinrent des pays bilingues.

Au point de vue du territoire la zone allemande ne fut ni large ni compacte ; elle se constitua surtout dans les parties défrichées des forêts de l'ouest et du nord-ouest.

Au XIVe siècle, suivant le professeur Sedlaczek, la frontière des nations en Bohême partait de Kynwart vers Zdar, Kralupy, Chomutov (Komotau) qui était allemand, vers Most, puis vers Duchcov et Dieczin. Bilin et Teplitz étaient encore tchèques. Puis la frontière passait à Benesov qui était allemand, à Jablonna, franchissait le mont Iestied et atteignait les sources de la Jizera. Dès le XIVe siècle Liberec (en all. Reichenberg) était allemand. Les Allemands étaient établis dans les montagnes au delà de Vrchlaby (aujourd'hui Hohenelbe) qui était encore tchèque. Pilnikov, Trutnow, Zacler, Staré Buky étaient déjà allemands. Starkov restait tchèque, mais la région de Broumov, et le pays de Kladsko

étaient germanisés. Olesnica et Rokytnice étaient tchèques. Au delà de Policzka et de Litomysl la situation était ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui. A Nemecky Brod il y avait une île allemande ; Jindrichuv Hradec était mixte, ainsi que Budejovice (Budweiss). Krumlov et Prachatice étaient mixtes ; les monts Kasperk étaient allemands ; dans la région de Domazlice la frontière était tchèque. Klatovy était mixte, Tachov allemand.

On connaît moins bien la pénétration allemande en Moravie et en Silésie. Dès le XIIIe siècle on voit en Moravie des villes fortifiées en grande partie allemandes. Dans beaucoup de villes, notamment à Brno (Brünn) et à Olomouc, à dater du XIIIe siècle se développe une bourgeoisie allemande. Les ordres religieux et le clergé contribuèrent à appeler les Allemands, notamment l'évêque Bruno que l'on a appelé le plus grand germanisateur de la Moravie. Dans le pays de Teschen la frontière tchéco-polonaise était dès le XIVe siècle ce qu'elle est aujourd'hui.

La Slovaquie appartenant à la Hongrie ne fut pas épargnée par l'invasion germanique. Dans la partie septentrionale — peut-être slovaque — la Pannonie, la germanisation commença à pénétrer dès le IXe siècle, ainsi que nous l'atteste un texte célèbre de 850 : *Conversio Bagoiarorum et Carantanorum*. Dans le nord de la Hongrie, dès le XIIe siècle, les régents durant la minorité de Geza II (1141-1161) appelèrent un grand nombre d'Allemands dans le comitat de Spiess pour faire

contrepoids à l'attraction que la Pologne exercait sur le comitat de Zvolen (magyare Zolyom). Suivant l'exemple de ces premiers colons les Allemands, à dater du XIIIe siècle, pénétrèrent par l'ouest dans les comitats de Pressbourg et de Nitra, par le sud dans ceux de Bars et de Honta où on ne les rencontre pas avant cette époque. Cette immigration se renforça particulièrement après l'invasion tatare de 1241. La Hongrie avait été ravagée et les rois, — notamment Bela IV — demandaient de nouveaux colons. Ainsi, à la fin du XVe siècle et dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle, il n'y avait pas dans les pays slovaques de commune où quelque famille allemande ne fût établie. Le centre et la base des colonies allemandes à côté des villes de Spiess, c'était l'association des villes minières avec Kremnitz à leur tête. Les sources mentionnent en premier lieu Krupina, en 1238, puis Banska Bystrica en 1255 et Nemecké Pravno en 1267. Cet état de choses dura jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle et au commencement du XVIIe. Deux lois promulguées par la diète en 1563 et en 1605 mirent fin aux privilèges des villes allemandes et à l'intrusion germanique. A dater de cette époque les Allemands du nord de la Hongrie furent tour à tour slovaquisés ou magyarisés. (Parmi les villes redevenues slovaques on peut citer Pukanec, Nova Bania, Bela, Lubietova et en grande partie Stiavnica et Banska Bystrica.)

A côté de la pénétration des régions frontières

en Bohême et en Moravie il faut signaler, à dater du XIIIe siècle, l'influence de l'élément allemand sur l'intérieur du pays, sur les coutumes, sur la langue. L'allemand prend presque le rôle d'une langue officielle; les habitants allemands reçoivent des privilèges. A la cour, chez les nobles, dans les villes, la langue allemande joue un tel rôle que des patriotes comme Dalimil[1] commencent à redouter la ruine de la langue bohême. Au commencement du XIVe siècle les choses étaient allées si loin qu'au couronnement du roi Jean en 1311 la plus grande partie du peuple chantait en allemand et la minorité en tchèque.

Sous Charles IV et son fils Vacslav une réaction se fit au profit de l'élément slave. La noblesse et le clergé s'y intéressèrent. Cette évolution eut son couronnement dans les guerres des Hussites qui luttaient tout ensemble pour la foi et la nationalité tchèque. Les Allemands perdirent leur influence dans les villes ou furent entièrement chassés ; la langue tchèque reprit sa place : parmi les villes qui se slavisèrent on peut citer Zatec (Saaz), Litomerice (Leitmeritz), Usti sur l'Elbe (Aussig), Kralové Dvor, Jaromer, Kralové Hradec, Nemecky Brod, Czaslav, Kutna Hora, Pelhrimov, Susice, Budéjovice, Kaplice, Stribro et Pilsen étaient déjà tchèques à la fin du XIVe siècle.

1. J'ai depuis bien longtemps signalé l'importance de ce chroniqueur. Voir *Ma Bohême pittoresque et historique* (Paris, 1867).

LA RACE SLAVE

A ce moment, en Bohême, en Moravie, en Sibérie, la langue tchèque devient officielle. Elle est proclamée la seule langue de l'administration à Opava (Troppau) en 1431, à Tésin (Teschen) en 1434, en Moravie en 1480, en Bohême en 1495. En somme, dans le courant du xve siècle la Bohême et la Moravie se tchéquisèrent rapidement, la conscience nationale se fortifia, d'autant plus que le germanisme s'affaiblissait dans l'intérieur du pays et dans les pays frontières. Néanmoins cette époque si brillante n'eut pas d'effets durables. Dès le xve et xvie siècle une partie du territoire tchèque fut de nouveau germanisée par suite de l'introduction du protestantisme et des efforts de la nouvelle dynastie. Puis vint une longue période de guerres et de persécutions qui désola des régions tout entières et alors les colons allemands arrivèrent de nouveau de la Misnie, du Voigtland, de la Franconie et du Palatinat. Ainsi, au moment même où la langue tchèque était officielle dans le royaume, où la littérature tchèque était florissante, une grande partie du sol tchèque était perdue.

Vint la défaite de la Montagne Blanche (1620) et les événement douloureux qui mirent la nation tchèque aux mains d'une dynastie allemande et absolue. En 1627 une nouvelle organisation fut imposée au pays, l'allemand acquis une importance qu'il n'avait jamais eue jusqu'alors. La Bohême se trouva engagée dans une série de guerres, de misères et de souffrances qui abaissè-

rent au dernier degré le nombre et l'énergie de la nation tchèque et la livrèrent en proie aux immigrés dont le nombre augmentait chaque jour. Beaucoup de familles qui conservaient fidèlement la tradition nationale émigrèrent, beaucoup périrent, beaucoup changèrent de nationalité. D'immenses domaines furent confisqués et passèrent aux mains des étrangers. Beaucoup de familles allemandes protestantes des plus distinguées durent aussi quitter le pays.

Ainsi, au XVIe et au XVIIe siècle, la population allemande s'accrut et la ceinture germanique qui enserrait la Bohême s'élargit. A ce moment les Tchèques perdirent au nord les régions de Zlutice (Luditz), de Zatec (Saaz), où pourtant la langue tchèque se maintint jusqu'à la fin du XVIIe siècle, puis celle de Postoloprty[1] (Postelberg), Teplice (Teplitz), Usti (Aussig), Bilin, Lovosice (Litomerice ne fut germanisé qu'au XVIIIe siècle), Ceska Duba, Steti, Mimon, Vartemberk. Au nord-est ils perdirent les districts de Rokytnice, Vrchlaby, Hostinny, à l'ouest ceux de Primda, Hostoune, Ronsperk, Horsova Tyna, Straze, Bor, Plane, jusqu'à Manetin. Le pays allemand, tel que le décrivait dans les années 1699-1701 le pèlerin tchèque Antonin Frozin, est à peu près identique au pays allemand d'aujourd'hui. D'après les travaux de Slavik, on peut en dire autant de la

1. Ce nom vient tout tout simplement du latin *Apostolorum Porta*. Tr.

Moravie à la fin du XVIIe siècle. Dans les deux cent cinquante dernières années il y a cependant eu quelques modifications au nord de la Moravie. Les villes d'Usov, Unczov, Zabreh et Silperk se sont germanisées.

D'autre part, chez les Tchèques la langue nationale et, avec elle la conscience nationale, s'évanouissaient de plus en plus sous la pression gouvernementale. La noblesse, la classe intelligente, la bourgeoisie cédaient tour à tour. Au XVIIIe siècle les patriotes désespéraient absolument de l'avenir.

En 1790 Pelcel disait que dans cinquante ans il serait bien difficile de trouver un Tchèque ; en 1810 Dobrovsky écrivait à Kopitar la fameuse lettre : « Causa gentis nostræ, nisi Deus adjuvet, plane desperata est ». Et encore en 1827 Jungmann dans un moment de découragement laissait échapper ce cri douloureux : « Nous avons eu cette triste destinée d'être les témoins et les complices de l'anéantissement définitif de notre langue maternelle ».

Et cependant quelques hommes réussirent à réveiller la nation, à sauver ce qui pouvait être sauvé. L'histoire de la littérature tchèque depuis la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle nous montre de manière admirable l'œuvre qu'a su accomplir un petit groupe d'hommes obscurs mais passionnés, enflammés pour une grande idée.

Réveillés par les progrès du libéralisme en Europe, par le Josephinisme, ils réussirent à

ressusciter l'étude de la nation, à secouer la torpeur du peuple, d'abord chez les humbles qui avaient conservé la langue, puis dans la classe intellectuelle. Ce peuple tchèque dont l'existence semblait douteuse il y a cent ans, dont le pédagogue viennois Kindermann von Schulstein avait, en se fondant sur le nouveau régime scolaire, annoncé la prochaine disparition, ce peuple tchèque, il a aujourd'hui conscience de lui-même, il forme une masse compacte de six millions et demi d'hommes et il constitue une citadelle imprenable contre laquelle viennent se briser, impuissants, les efforts du germanisme acharné à la ruine des Slaves. Il n'y a qu'une chose à regretter, c'est que les circonstances politiques aient empêché l'union et l'assimilation des deux millions de Slovaques établis dans la Hongrie septentrionale.

§ 21. Frontières nationales. — La masse compacte des Tchèques et des Slovaques se répartit entre six régions administratives : en Autriche, dans le royaume de Bohême, le margraviat de Moravie et le duché de Silésie, en Hongrie, et, pour quelques fractions, dans la Silésie prussienne.

La frontière ethnographique qui sépare les Slovaques des autres Tchèques traverse la Moravie ; mais les Slovaques de Moravie sont tellement liés à la vie de la nation tchèque et s'en rapprochent tellement chaque jour qu'on peut

considérer comme la véritable frontière la ligne politique qui sépare la Moravie de la Hongrie. Là, dans les Karpathes, se dresse une muraille qui sépare les deux groupes tchèque et slovaque et, à moins de circonstances imprévues, il est à craindre que leur unité primitive n'aboutisse au dualisme : Tchèques d'un côté, de l'autre Slovaques.

Grâce à une série de travaux ethnographiques, grâce aussi aux conflits aigus qui éclatent sans relâche sur la frontière tchèque allemande, nous connaissons bien cette frontière et c'est la mieux étudiée chez tous les peuples slaves. En partant à l'ouest de Novy Postrekov auprès de Domazlice elle passe au nord de Klence, contourne Stankov, se dirige vers Manetin, contourne Rakovnik, passe à l'ouest de Rouny, à Terezin (Theresienstadt) sur l'Elbe.

Sur la rivière Oharka l'élément tchèque a pénétré récemment dans les bassins industriels de Duchcov, de Most (Brux) et de Teplitz. A partir de Leitmeritz la frontière suit en général la rive droite de l'Elbe, passe à Libechov, à Bela (Weiswasser), monte au nord vers Svetla, passe à Skuhrov, et atteint auprès de la frontière le village tchèque le plus septentrional, Paseky, puis elle descend au sud-est dans la direction de Jaromer et remonte vers Upice d'où elle passe dans la Silésie prussienne où l'on compte une douzaine de villages tchèques ; elle redescend vers le sud, contourne les monts Orlice et entre à Silperk en Moravie. Dans cette province, la fron-

tière par Pisarov, Bludov, Podstat se joint la frontière silésienne, contourne Novy Jiczin, remonte de nouveau à la frontière silésienne et se dirige vers Neplachovice sur la frontière prussienne. Elle pénètre dans l'intérieur de la Silésie prussienne et atteint la frontière polonaise[1] à Sulov d'où elle redescend vers le sud-ouest, vers Hodonin et suit le cours de la Morava, puis elle passe à Dacice à Chlumice, à Suchodol, à Kaplice d'où elle remonte au nord-ouest par Krumlov, Vimperk, Lusice, et rejoint Postrekov.

Dans cette région tchèque il y a un certain nombre d'îles allemandes :

Celle de Budiejovice (Budweiss) comprend quelques communes. Autour de cette ville le nombre des Allemands diminue beaucoup dans ce rayon. Celle d'Ihlava (Iglau) en Moravie.

Celle de Brno (Brünn). Celle de Rousinov, de Vyskov, et d'Olomouc (Ollmütz) en Moravie, et la plus considérable, la plus redoutable de toutes dans la région de Lanskroun, Mohelnice, Moravska Trebova (Mœhrisch Trübau), Svitau et Brezov, enveloppée de villes tchèques. Les villes de Krumlov de Moravie et de Hodonin sont aussi en majorité allemandes[2]. Il y a d'autre

1. Nous abrégeons ici une longue énumération de localités qu'il ne serait possible de suivre qu'avec une carte détaillée.

2. Voici quelle était en 1900 la proportion des Tchèques et des Allemands dans un certain nombre de villes : Brno, 38.365 et 68.762 ; Olomouc, 6.798, 13.982 ; Iglau, 4.228, 19.765 ; Znaym, 1.854, 14.014 ; Hodonin, 3,987, 4.976 ; Krumlov, 879, 1.233.

part des îles tchèques, mais assez faibles, dans la Basse-Autriche et dans la Silésie prussienne où l'on trouve des noms qui rappellent les traditions nationales, comme ceux de Husinec et de Podiebrady, de Grand et de Petit Tabor, etc.

D'autre part, les Tchèques sont fort nombreux à Vienne (plus de 350.000), à Linz, à Budapest (4.100) à Berlin, à Dresde (3.188), à Zittau. On en trouve encore en Galicie dans le cercle de Zolkiew, dans le Banat hongrois, dans la Croatie-Slavonie (on en a compté jusqu'à 31.587; ils sont venus surtout entre 1880 et 1890). En Hongrie beaucoup de localités qui s'appellent Csehi évoquent le souvenir d'anciennes colonies. Quelques-unes sont déjà slovaquisées. En Russie, dans la Volynie, à dater de 1868, des colonies se sont établies dans les districts de Doubno, de Rovny, de Loutsk, de Jitomir, d'Ostrog, de Vladimir, de Glinsk, de Zdolbounovo, de Koupitchevo, — ces trois dernières sont les plus considérables — en Crimée, à Bohemka et Czechobrod et près de Novorossiisk à Kirilovka-Metodievka et Gliebovka, en Pologne à Kuczow, Zelow, Lodz. On a compté en Russie 50.385 Tchèques, dont 50 p. 100 en Volynie, 4.978 dans le gouvernement de Lodz, 3.360 au Caucase. En Bulgarie, il y a des colonies tchèques à Voïvodov et à Brslianitsi auprès de Plevna.

D'autre part, beaucoup de Tchèques se sont établis dans les Etats-Unis, notamment dans l'Illinois, le Minnesota, la Nebraska, les Etats de

New-York, de l'Ohio, du Texas et du Wisconsin; on évalue leur nombre à un demi-million. Dans la Nouvelle-Zélande, il y a près d'Auckland la colonie tchèque-allemande de Puhoj (environ 800 Tchèques).

§ 22. La région des Slovaques est maintenant assez bien connue en Hongrie. Elle part de Devinska Novaves — près de l'embouchure de la Morava dans le Danube — longe la frontière de Moravie et celle de Galicie[1] vers Stropkov au nord de Zemplin. De Stropkov elle passe à Breznice, Papin, V. Remety dans le comitat d'Ujgorod (Ungvar), atteint Huta, le village slovaque le plus oriental, puis elle se replie vers l'ouest par Lucence, Levice, Vrable, d'où elle pousse une pointe vers le sud jusqu'à Novézamky, puis elle touche Galanta, Pressbourg, et rejoint Devinska Novaves[2].

Dans l'intérieur du pays slovaque il y a des îles allemandes dans les comitats de Nitra et de Turocz, de Bars, de Gemer et de Spies (auprès de Kezmark et de Gelnice). Il y a aussi des îlots russes, polonais et magyares — particulièrement entre Vrablé et Nitra au nord et à Abauj à l'ouest de Kosice (Kasso).

1. Cette ligne enveloppe quelques localités polonaises et russes.

2. Ainsi que nous l'avons fait précédemment, nous avons omis ici un certain nombre de localités que le lecteur ne trouverait point sur les cartes générales. Le tr.

LA RACE SLAVE

En revanche, il y a de nombreux îlots slovaques dans la Hongrie du centre et du sud, particulièrement dans les comitats d'Esztergom (Gran) et de Budapest. Ces îlots — notamment ceux de Kerepes et de Pilis — sont les restes de l'ancienne population slovaque. On en trouve encore au sud dans les comitats de Bèkes, de Bacska et de Torontal. Les îlots de Keresztur et de Kocava ont été revendiqués par le russe Gnatiouk pour sa nationalité. Mais les philologues tchèques (Pastrnek, Polivka), le russe Sobolevsky et le slovaque Czambel ont démontré que leurs habitants étaient originaires des comitats de Zemplin et de Sarys.

En Slavonie, Stara Pazova est une colonie slovaque; de même dans la Syrmie il y a des colonies slovaques à Ilok, Sid et Semlin. Dans le comitat croate de Virovitica, Punitovci est en grande partie peuplé de Tchèques et de Slovaques.

Une colonie slovaque évangélique s'est dans ces derniers temps établie en Bulgarie, à Mitropolie, près de Plevna.

D'ailleurs, la plus grande ville slovaque est Budapest où on en a compté officiellement 25.000 qui peuvent être portés à plus du double. Il y en a 50.000 à Vienne. Dans ces derniers temps ils ont émigré en très grand nombre dans l'Amérique du Nord.

§ 23. Statistique. — Les recensements offi-

ciels dans les parties allemandes de la Bohême, de la Moravie, de la Silésie et à Vienne — de même que pour les Slovaques en Hongrie — se sont opérés généralement au détriment de la nation tchèque. On exerce généralement sur les gens de service, les petits employés, une pression immorale pour les obliger à déclarer comme langue usuelle l'allemand au lieu du tchèque. Aussi, si l'on veut connaître l'effectif réel de la nation, il est toujours indispensable de rectifier les chiffres officiels. En 1900, la statistique autrichienne avait compté 5.955,397 Tchèques (dont 3.930.093 en Bohême, 1.727.270 en Moravie, 146.265 en Silésie, 132.968 dans la Basse-Autriche, y compris Vienne avec 102.712. Mais M. A. Stepanek évalue le nombre des Tchèques et des Slovaques dans cette ville à 385.000).

En 1890, on a officiellement recensé à Vienne, 5,3 p. 100 et en 1900, 6,9 p. 100 de Tchèques.

Nous disons donc :

Statistique officielle de 1900	5.955.397
Dans l'Empire allemand (chiffre approximatif)	115.000
Slovaques en Hongrie	2.019.641
Tchèques en Hongrie	50.000
Tchèques et Slovaques en Amérique (conjecture)	800.000
En Russie	55.000
Dans le reste de l'Europe	20.000
	9.015.038

D'après des conjectures vraisemblables, on

peut augmenter le nombre des Tchèques de 2 ou 300.000 pour la Bohême, la Moravie et la Silésie, à Vienne de 2 ou 300.000; celui des Slovaques en Hongrie de 150 à 200.000; mais d'autre part il faut défalquer les Polonais et les Russes recensés comme Slovaques. On peut admettre quelques centaines de mille de plus en Amérique, soit environ un million pour les Tchèques et les Slovaques réunis. Ainsi donc nous obtiendrions pour les deux groupes un total de 10 millions à 9.500.000 (même en défalquant 100.000 Polonais et Tchèques considérés à tort comme Slovaques), soit pour les Tchèques sept millions et pour les Slovaques de Hongrie beaucoup plus de deux millions (environ 2.600.000). Je dois ajouter que les Tchèques dans leur domaine, — sauf les exceptions que j'ai indiquées — sont généralement de race pure et qu'au contraire les Slovaques sont parfois mêlés de Magyares. Le comitat le plus slovaque est celui d'Orava (97 p. 100) puis celui de Trencsin (92,7), celui de Lipto (92,5) et celui de Zvolen (89,3).

Chez les Tchèques de la Transleithanie on compte 1.056 femmes pour 1.000 hommes. Nous n'avons pas de données certaines pour les Slovaques. Mais, à en juger d'après les statistiques hongroises, le nombre des femmes excède aussi celui des hommes; par exemple dans les onze comitats de l'Ouest et du centre le rapport est de 1.000 : 1.060 (population civile, 1.050 en comp-

tant l'armée), dans les comitats orientaux le rapport est de 1.000 : 1.097.

En ce qui concerne la longévité, si dans ces derniers temps les Tchèques sont, par rapport aux autres Slaves de la Cisleithanie, ceux qui ont le moins d'enfants, en revanche ce sont eux qui atteignent le plus grand âge.

Le nombre des individus de vingt ans est au-dessous de la normale (45,7 p. 100), mais celui des vieillards est au-dessus de la normale (15,6 p. 100 au-dessus de cinquante ans).

Les gens mariés représentent 36,5 p. 100, ce qui est un chiffre considérable. Seuls les Russes ou Ruthènes ont un chiffre supérieur en Autriche. La mortalité a été dans les contrées purement tchèques de 1881 à 1890, de 9,58 p. 100, de 1891 à 1900, de 9,9 (chez les Allemands de 6,64 et 9,67), soit en moyenne par an 0,97 p. 100, ce qui est au-dessous de la moyenne des autres nations. Pour les années 1890 à 1900 l'accroissement absolu n'a été chez les Tchèques que de 8,82 pour 1890-1900 ; pour l'Autriche, de 9,4 p. 100.

Il faut donc considérer comme inexacte la légende sur la rare fécondité des Tchèques, si l'on compare avec celle de leurs voisins les Allemands qui a été de 1890 à 1900, de 36,3 pour 100 habitants. La natalité tchèque a diminué par rapport à celle des Allemands et d'ailleurs elle n'a jamais été beaucoup plus considérable. D'autre part, chez les Allemands il meurt plus

d'enfants et le nombre des enfants naturels est plus considérable[1].

De même chez les Slovaques, d'après les statistiques officielles, les conditions de la natalité sont moins bonnes qu'on ne l'imagine. La natalité chez les Magyares est plus considérable que chez eux; et dans la plaine les mariages sont plus nombreux que chez les pauvres montagnards slovaques.

La natalité ici dépend du bien-être. En revanche, pour la même raison, la mortalité est très forte chez les Slovaques. En somme, d'après les renseignements recueillis par E. Stodola, l'aug-

1. Notons ici que dans la Cisleithanie, si l'on compare les chiffres de 1851 à ceux de 1900, les Slaves augmentent et les Allemands diminuent. Voici le tableau qui a été dressé par M. Zivansky et qui indique cette augmentation. Toutefois, il convient d'y faire quelques réserves :

Années	1851	1857	1880	1890	1900
Tchèques	22,74	24,39	23,77	23,32	23,23
Polonais	11,45	11,77	14,86	15,84	16,57
Russes	13,84	12,64	12,80	13,23	13,19
Slovènes	6,10	6,01	5,23	5,01	4,56
Serbo-croates	3,03	2,92	2,59	2,75	2,78
Slaves	57,18	57,73	59,25	60,15	60,44 p. 100
Allemands	36,12	34,71	36,75	36,95	35,78 p. 100

Dans le Transleithanie y compris la Croatie, M. Zivansky note les chiffres suivants :

	1851	1880	1890	1900
Magyares	36,5	41,2	42,8	45,4
Serbo-croates	16,4	15,0	15,1	14,2
Slovaques	13,2	12,0	11,0	10,5
Russes	3,4	2,3	2,2	2,2
Roumains	17,0	15,4	14,9	14,5
Allemands	10.3	12,5	12,1	11,1

Ici ce sont les Slaves et les Allemands qui diminuent.

mentation de la population en 1900 par rapport au recensement de 1869, c'est-à-dire en trente ans, n'a été chez les Slovaques que de 20 p. 100 et chez les Magyares de 34 p. 100. Et encore chez les Slovaques l'accroissement de la population est diminuée par l'émigration.

L'émigration est également fatale aux Tchèques et aux Slovaques. Chez les Tchèques, par suite de circonstances économiques, elle se produit vers les villes industrielles allemandes, notamment vers Vienne, où naturellement ils perdent aisément leur nationalité. Le mouvement d'immigration des Allemands chez les Tchèques est presque insignifiant. En revanche, dans ces dix dernières années 70 à 90.000 Slaves ont quitté la Bohême. Autrefois c'était surtout l'émigration en Amérique qui affaiblissait les Tchèques. Aujourd'hui ce mouvement s'est ralenti, mais il est très considérable chez les Slovaques et il suffit à nous expliquer le faible accroissement de la population qui en 1851 constituait 13 p. 100 de la population totale de la Transleithanie, en 1886, 12 p. 100, en 1890, 11 p. 100, et en 1900 seulement 10,50 p. 100. Dans ces trente dernières années, d'après Stodola, il a émigré des 12 comitats slovaques 307.000 âmes — surtout en Amérique. Or, de 1850 à 1900, l'accroissement total des Magyares a été de 80 p. 100; dans ces chiffres figurent, il est vrai, 25 p. 100 d'allogènes plus ou moins magyarisés, soit 1,6 p. 100 annuellement; l'augmentation

des Slovaques n'a été que de 0,66 p. 100 par an.

Au point de vue de l'éducation populaire et du nombre restreint des illettrés, la nationalité tchèque se place au premier rang parmi les peuples slaves. Les Tchèques sont même supérieurs aux Allemands d'Autriche; car, d'après les statistiques officielles, on compte en Bohême 93,77 p. 100 sachant lire et écrire et 91,84 p. 100 chez les Allemands, 68,53 p. 100 chez les Slovènes, 47,52 p. 100 chez les Polonais et 21,87 p. 100 chez les Russes ou Ruthènes.

En Hongrie, dans les comitats purement slovaques, le nombre des illettrés est de 32 p. 100, dans les comitats du centre où ils sont mélangés de Magyares et de Russes, il est de 42 p. 100.

En ce qui concerne les professions 43,1 p. 100 des Tchèques sont voués à l'agriculture, 36,5 p. 100 à l'industrie, 9,3 au commerce et à l'industrie des transports, 11,1 p. 100 aux services publics. Au point de vue industriel, seuls les allemands dépassent les Tchèques de deux unités (30 p. 100); au point de vue de l'agriculture les Tchèques passent après les Polonais (65 p. 100), les Slovènes (75 p. 100), les Serbo-Croates (89 p. 100) et les Russes de Galicie (63 p. 100).

En ce qui concerne les religions, les Tchèques sont en grande majorité catholiques (96,15 p. 100). On compte 2,4 p. 100 d'évangéliques. Chez les Slovaques de Hongrie les proportions ne sont plus les mêmes. On compte 70,2 p. 100 de

catholiques, 5 p. 100 d'uniates, 23 p. 100 de protestants de la confession d'Augsbourg.

En Bohême 50.000 Juifs se sont déclarés tchèques et 6.792 en Moravie; 40,521 en Bohême et 34.261 en Moravie se sont déclarés allemands. La Hongrie possède actuellement la dixième partie des juifs du monde entier et ils se multiplient plus que les autres nations (14,8 p. 100). Ils se déclarent presque tous Magyares.

En étudiant l'histoire et l'ethnographie des Tchéco-Slovaques, on constate que les Tchèques ont commencé par perdre beaucoup plus de terrain qu'ils n'en gagnaient. Mais cette situation fâcheuse a cessé; la conscience nationale s'est développée; l'élan de tout un peuple a dressé une solide barrière contre l'envahissement germanique. Certaines pertes sont encore inévitables, mais elles peuvent être réparées. La partie la plus menacée est constituée par la frontière de la Moravie septentrionale où les Allemands concentrent aujourd'hui leurs forces. Ils voudraient réunir leurs masses compactes aux îles de Lanskroun, Zabreh, Olomouc et couper la Bohême de la Moravie. C'est ici que la nation tchèque doit surtout songer à agir et à se défendre.

D'ailleurs, l'accroissement des Tchèques est, par rapport à celui des Allemands, dans de bonnes conditions. Dans les dix dernières années les Tchèques ont augmenté de 8,49 p. 100 et les Allemands seulement de 1,96 p. 100.

LA RACE SLAVE

Dans la région allemande les Tchèques ont augmenté de 0,1 p. 100 et dans la région tchèque, les Allemands ont diminué de 0,5 p. 100. La région la moins favorisée au point de vue tchèque est celle de Morasvka Ostrava (Mœhrisch Ostrau), où les Tchèques diminuent beaucoup.

Il importe de renforcer l'élément tchèque sur la frontière, de dresser contre l'argent allemand le capital tchèque, contre l'école allemande, l'école tchèque et, pour résister à tous les assauts, de renforcer la conscience nationale. Il faut renforcer l'élément tchèque au point de vue économique et physique, améliorer le bien-être, élever les intelligences.

En somme, les progrès des Allemands sur la frontière depuis un demi-siècle sont si insignifiants qu'il faudrait encore des siècles pour qu'il y ait lieu de s'en inquiéter.

Ce qu'il y a de plus grave, c'est que les pays tchèques se dépeuplent au profit des pays allemands. (En Moravie c'est plutôt le contraire.) Sur cent Tchèques en Bohême 33,46 p. 100 vivaient en 1890 dans les régions allemandes; en 1900, il y en avait déjà 34,61 p. 100. Pendant cette période décennale dans les régions allemandes il est né 8,1 p. 100 d'enfants allemands, et dans les régions tchèques seulement 4,8 p. 100. Ces phénomènes s'expliquent par l'importance de l'industrie allemande qui attire les Tchèques dans les régions allemandes.

Déjà les Allemands — du moins ceux qui

sont raisonnables — reconnaissent qu'on ne peut germaniser les Tchèques. Les chauvins seuls osent encore l'espérer, notamment ceux qui considèrent la Bohême comme un verrou (Querriegel) qu'on peut faire sauter pour ouvrir à leur race l'accès de l'Adriatique. Mais ils se trompent, comme se sont trompés ceux qui s'imaginaient qu'on pouvait dénationaliser les Polonais du royaume de Prusse.

La situation des Slovaques est beaucoup moins bonne en Hongrie ; ils sont privés de tous droits politiques et, à l'exemple de ce qui se passe en Prusse, on les menace d'expropriation. Ils se maintiennent néanmoins dans leurs anciennes limites contre les Magyares, ils ne fléchissent que légèrement dans l'intérieur de ces limites et, sans la magyarisation qui s'exerce avec énergie sur la nation, surtout sur les classes supérieures et sans une émigration considérable, le peuple se maintiendrait de lui-même, d'autant mieux qu'il s'assimile sans relâche les éléments polonais et russes, au nord et à l'est de son territoire.

Lorsque j'ai dressé en 1900 ma carte ethnographique des Slovaques, les Russes ont protesté contre les chiffres que la statistique présentait à leur détriment. Il a été démontré que les progrès des Slovaques n'étaient pas aussi rapides que je l'avais cru, mais ils existent cependant. Toute la Slovaquie de l'Est n'est que de la Russie slovaquisée et l'assimilation continue.

LA RACE SLAVE

§ 24. Différenciation. — La différenciation primitive des tribus n'a laissé chez les Tchèques aucune trace sérieuse. Toutes les nuances se sont nivelées avec le temps et celles qui avaient rapport à l'aspect physique, au langage, au costume dans ces derniers temps, ont presque entièrement disparu. Depuis la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, la civilisation moderne, l'école, le service militaire obligatoire et des facteurs analogues les ont de plus en plus unifiés. Ce n'est qu'en Moravie qu'il y a encore un peu de variété; mais là aussi elle disparaîtra.

On distingue en Bohême trois dialectes principaux : celui du sud-ouest, du centre et du nord-est. Mais ils n'offrent pas des traits accentués qui les fassent reconnaître au premier abord. En revanche, on rencontre par-ci par-là des îlots ethnographiques qui, au point de vue de la langue et du costume, offrent un intérêt particulier et se distinguent par une dénomination spéciale. Ainsi, il n'y a pas bien longtemps à l'ouest la région de Pilsen et à l'ouest celle de Litomysl avec le dialecte de l'Orlice, avaient une physionomie particulière.

De même au sud-est se distinguent les Blataki (de *Blato*, marais, lac, dans la région située entre Sobieslav et Trebon) et dans la région sud-ouest de la Sumava, les Chodes, la plus typique de toutes les tribus tchèques[1], qui était

1. On trouvera quelques notes sur les Chodes dans mon volume, *Le Monde slave* (2e éd., Paris, 1897, p. 200). Tr.

autrefois établie entre Domazlice et Tachov, et qui est maintenant concentrée autour de Domazlice, le pays de Tachov ayant été en partie germanisé. C'est dans la région du mont Rip qu'on trouve le vrai type du paysan tchèque.

Le caractère original des Chodes a donné lieu aux théories les plus diverses sur leur origine. Autrefois Paul Stransky, depuis Rüffer, Erben, Grabowski, ont supposé que c'étaient des Polonais établis comme colons par Bretislav I. Mais leur dialecte n'offre pas la moindre trace de polonisme. L'originalité des Chodes s'explique suffisamment par la région montagneuse et isolée qu'ils occupent, par leurs traditions et les privilèges dont ils jouissaient dès le XIVe siècle comme gardiens des frontières.

L'originalité des tribus primitives s'est mieux conservée en Moravie. Là nous pouvons très bien distinguer trois types différents, non seulement par le dialecte, mais par les détails physiques et ethnographiques, notamment par le costume; bien plus, le peuple lui-même a conscience de ces différences et se plaît à les affirmer. Ce qu'on connaît le mieux jusqu'ici, c'est le dialecte et le costume. Les autres signes de différenciation n'ont pas été bien étudiés au point de vue scientifique.

Nous constatons d'abord que dans la région des monts de Bohême et de Moravie il existe un élément purement tchèque qui va rejoindre au Sud le domaine allemand.

LA RACE SLAVE

Au nord-est de la Moravie et de la Silésie on rencontre les Lasi (leur pays s'appelle Lassko) qui occupent la région de l'Opava et la partie tchèque du pays de Tiesin (Teschen). et en Moravie la région où s'élèvent les villes de Pribor, Brusperk, Moravska Ostrava, Frydlant, etc. Le nom de Lași n'est d'ailleurs pas employé couramment dans le peuple. On rencontre à côté de lui ceux de Valasi et d'autres noms locaux, Horale, Kozloviane, Dulani, etc. Le dialecte des Lasi porte de fortes traces d'influence polonaise.

Les Valasi proprement dits sont établis au sud des Lasi dans la région de Vsetin. Au point de vue linguistique leur idiome se rapproche de celui des Slovaques. Mais le peuple s'en distingue fortement et le costume est tout différent.

C'est un groupe d'origine purement slovaque auquel a été donné le nom des Valaques roumains qui du XIe au XIIe siècle ont passé dans les Petits Karpathes et se sont assimilés aux indigènes.

La tribu la plus originale est celle des Slovaques moraves, primitivement identiques aux Slovaques de Hongrie, mais qui aujourd'hui en sont tout à fait différents par la vie et par les coutumes. Il ne reste en Moravie qu'un petit groupe de 18 villages qui conservent le caractère hongrois.

Chez les Slovaques de Moravie, le costume national persiste encore dans tout son éclat ; il

est si varié qu'un ethnographe a pu distinguer 28 types absolument différents.

Les Slovaques pur sang occupent la pointe sud-est de la Moravie. A leurs groupes se rattachent trois anciens villages croates qu'ils ont assimilés.

Tout le reste de la Moravie appartient aux Hanaks. Autant les Slovaques sont vifs et sanguins, autant les Hanaks sont calmes et flegmatiques. Ils ont leur centre sur la rivière Hana, affluent de la Morava qui leur a donné son nom.

Leurs villes principales sont : Prerov, Olomouc (Ollmütz) et Prostejov. On les distingue en Hanaks rouges et en Hanaks jaunes, suivant la couleur de leurs culottes. On connaît parmi eux diverses tribus : celles des Baniaks, des Blataks, des Zabeczaks, des Moravciks, dont les noms rappellent certains détails de topographie.

On ne peut partager qu'en théorie le territoire slovaque. Au point de vue dialectologique, il se divise en trois régions : celle de l'ouest sur la Nitra et le Vag, celle du centre (sur le Hron et le Vag supérieur), celle de l'est qui s'étend depuis Gemer et Liptov jusqu'à la frontière de la nation. Les habitants de cette région sont considérés par beaucoup d'ethnographes comme des Russes slovaquisés et c'est un fait que dans les comitats de Spies, de Sarys, de Zemplin et d'Ujgorod (Ungvar) les Russes se

slovaquisent de plus en plus. L'un des groupes les plus remarquables est celui des Sotaks dans le comitat de Zemplin.

Ils sont ainsi appelés parce qu'ils prononcent *so* au lieu de *tso*, et n'ont rien à voir avec les Satagues de Jordanes.

Notons encore comme noms locaux ceux des Magurani dans le comitat de Spies, des Trpaci dans celui de Niredhazy. Parmi les groupes slovaques, le plus original est celui de la Detva, dans le comitat de Zvolen : un ethnographe hongrois, O. Hermann, a voulu voir chez les Detvanci, des colons venus d'Herzégovine, mais il s'est trompé.

Les anciens ethnographes, et, d'après eux, beaucoup de livres modernes, signalent comme constituant des tribus particulières des types de colporteurs, ramoneurs, vitriers, etc., qui représentent tout simplement des types nomades communs à toutes les nationalités.

Seulement les représentants de cette industrie sont originaires de telle ou telle région, par exemple les *dratenici*, marchands d'articles de fil de fer, sont originaires du comitat de Trencsin, etc. [1].

Ce qui est au point de vue tchèque bien autrement intéressant que ces nuances locales, c'est la distinction qui s'est établie entre les

1. De même en France, certains artisans sont particulièrement originaires de la Creuse, de l'Auvergne, de la Savoie, etc. Tr.

Tchèques et les Slovaques de Hongrie. Cette distinction s'est établie il y a bien longtemps; elle a été sanctionnée par une longue séparation; les Slovaques se sont détachés de la couronne de Bohême en 1031; malgré les relations qu'ils ont entretenues depuis avec les Tchèques, et beaucoup de tentatives de rapprochement, la séparation persiste et, à moins d'un miracle inespéré, elle finirait par aboutir au dédoublement de la nationalité primitivement unique en deux nations différentes.

Pendant de longs siècles, les Tchèques et les Slovaques de Hongrie, bien que parlant un dialecte différent, n'ayant ni les mêmes costumes, ni les mêmes coutumes, et vivant sous des souverains et dans des États différents, n'ont pas eu la conscience de ces différences. Les représentants de leur littérature proclamaient l'unité de leur langue et s'en réjouissaient.

On a dans ces derniers temps essayé de démontrer que les Slovaques étaient d'origine non-tchèque, qu'ils avaient été tout simplement tchéquisés par l'influence de la littérature religieuse, et que les divergences qui se sont produites récemment n'étaient qu'un retour vers un état de choses plus ancien.

Cette thèse, qui était celle de Czambel, récemment décédé, n'est pas suffisamment établie. Ce qui est certain, au contraire, c'est que les Slovaques et les Tchèques formaient au début une unité ethnique et linguistique avec quelques

différenciations dialectiques, unité qui occupait la région située au sud des monts Sudètes et des Karpathes. Mais ce domaine commun était divisé par les Karpathes en deux régions dont l'une avait son centre à l'ouest, l'autre à l'est. Ces conditions géographiques donnèrent naissance à deux organismes politiques. Le Danube qui était leur lien naturel tomba aux mains des Allemands. En 1631 les pays slovaques furent détachés de la Bohême et de la Moravie. Les rapports religieux et littéraires entre les deux groupes ne réussirent point à renouer les liens brisés.

Les différences s'accusèrent de plus en plus entre les deux peuples. Chez les classes supérieures s'établit l'idée qu'elles appartenaient à des États différents, à une autre patrie, qu'elles avaient un autre idéal d'autonomie. Ces idées furent exprimées pour la première fois en 1787 et vers la fin de la première moitié du XIXe siècle, à l'époque où la littérature slovaque se détacha de la littérature tchèque.

A dater de cette époque les Tchèques ont dû compter avec cette tendance qui remplace l'unité d'ailleurs purement théorique des deux groupes par deux unités, proches sans doute, mais indépendantes l'une de l'autre, et qui assigne une place spéciale aux Slovaques dans la série des peuples slaves.

L'histoire, la différenciation interne, la vie politique avaient suffisamment préparé le terrain

pour ces événements. Se sont-ils produits dans l'intérêt de l'avenir des Slovaques? C'est là une question qu'il est aujourd'hui difficile et prématuré de résoudre. Nous n'avons qu'à reconnaître et à respecter l'individualité des Slovaques et à souhaiter qu'ils restent fidèles au sentiment de la solidarité et de l'unité morale de leur groupe et de la nation tchèque.

Au point de vue physique, d'après les dernières recherches, les traits caractéristiques des Tchèques sont une taille moyenne (169^{cm},2 chez les hommes, 157^{cm},3 chez les femmes) mais bien proportionnée; une capacité crânienne considérable; la rotondité du crâne (indice 83,3); un visage ovale de proportions moyennes; les cheveux sont bruns ou blond foncé; les yeux généralement clairs.

Les brachycéphales sont en majorité; sur 100 crânes, on trouve 1 p. 100 subdolichocéphale, 13,5 p. 100 mésocéphales, 56,5 p. 100 subbrachycéphales et 29 p. 100 brachy- et ultra-brachycéphales. Jusqu'ici on n'a pas encore pu démontrer de différences suivant les localités.

Une statistique dressée en 1880 a constaté sur 100 enfants, 38,17 p. 100 d'yeux bleus, 30,86 p. 100 d'yeux gris, 30,70 p. 100 d'yeux bruns; 44,04 p. 100 de cheveux blonds et 55,75 p. 100 de cheveux bruns ou noirs. Le type clair (yeux bleus et cheveux blonds) est représenté en Bohême par 18,3 p. 100, en Moravie par 15,9 p. 100; le type brun (yeux bruns, cheveux bruns ou

noirs) par 23,4 p. 100 en Bohême, par 23,6 p. 100 en Moravie. D'ailleurs la croissance assombrit les teintes, ainsi qu'on a pu le constater par une statistique dressée pour l'exposition ethnographique de 1895[1]. Elle constata chez les adultes 75 p. 100 de cheveux foncés.

De tout ceci il résulte que le type tchèque ne constitue pas actuellement un type unique. Cette circonstance est encore plus frappante, si l'on considère la diffusion de certains détails, par exemple du teint. Ainsi le type clair (yeux bleus et cheveux blonds) ne se rencontre au centre de la Bohême et de la Moravie que dans la proportion de 14 p. 100; dans les parties montagneuses il atteint 20 à 25 p. 100 et dans certaines régions frontières où les Allemands sont en majorité au nord-est, il dépasse 30 p. 100. En revanche nous trouvons dans ces régions 20 à 25 p. 100 du type brun ; la proportion dépasse de près de 25 p. 100 dans les régions montueuses du Podripsko et du Podbrdsko; mais sur le plateau tchèque-morave elle n'atteint dans certains endroits que 11-15 p. 100.

1. Sur cette exposition qu'il m'a été donné de visiter, voir mon volume *Russes et Slaves* (2e série, Paris, Hachette, 1896, p. 340 et suivantes). M. Niederle était un des principaux organisateurs de cette exposition. Tr.

VI

LES SLOVÈNES

§ 25. Introduction historique. — Les Slovènes représentent la fraction sud-ouest des Slaves méridionaux. C'est le dernier débris d'un groupe jadis puissant qui occupait au commencement du moyen âge les régions comprises entre le coude du Danube et la route Adriatique et qui pénétrait profondément dans les régions alpestres [1].

On ne sait à quelle époque les Slaves ont apparu pour la première fois dans ces régions. Des indices, malheureusement trop peu sûrs, semblent attester que, dès les débuts de l'ère chrétienne, ils avaient franchi le Danube et seraient apparus dans les régions du lac Balaton et de la Save. Mais on manque de preuves sérieuses, historiques ou archéologiques.

1. Sclaueni, Stlaueni, Σκλαβηνοί, Σθλαυηνοί des anciens textes. Le mot Slovènes (dans la langue du pays Slovenec, Slovenka, en allemand Slowenen) est devenu à la mode depuis la période de renaissance nationale. Les Allemands employaient souvent les dénominations Winden, Windisch, qui se retrouvent dans beaucoup de noms topographiques.

LA RACE SLAVE

On entend affirmer sans cesse que les Slaves sont autochtones dans la région des Alpes : ce sont là de vaines affirmations. Dans ces contrées vivaient avant l'ère chrétienne des Ligures, des tribus illyriennes, rhétiques, gauloises et des survivants de tribus non ariennes.

Ce qui est certain, c'est que, dès la fin du VIe siècle, cette région fut inondée de Slaves. A la date de 551 Jornandes ne les connaît pas encore. Car il mène la frontière des Slaves de la Vistule à la Drave inférieure. En 595 Thassilo, duc de Bavière, est déjà en lutte contre les Slaves du côté de la Korutanie (Carinthie); en l'an 600, nous savons qu'ils menacent l'Italie. Evidemment ce fut le départ des Lombards pour l'Italie qui facilita l'expansion des Slaves.

Au début de cette expansion ils s'établirent sur de très vastes espaces; mais leurs groupes n'étaient pas très denses et ils n'occupaient pas toutes les régions. A l'est et au nord ils avaient pour frontière le Danube, — sur la rive droite duquel les Tchèques débordaient par endroits — à l'ouest une ligne allant de Linz par Wels, Dachstein, Tauern, Dreiherrenspitze et de là par la pointe orientale du Tirol, jusqu'à Innichen et Udine.

Ainsi ils occupaient la moitié méridionale de la Basse-Autriche, toute la Styrie, la Carinthie, la Carniole, les territoires de Gradisca et de Gorica (Goritz), la région de Lienz dans le Tirol, c'est-à-dire l'est du Pusterthal, la Langau de

Salzbourg et la partie sud-est de la Haute-Autriche. C'est ce que nous attestent la nomenclature topographique, l'ancien nom de Sclavinia, et une série de documents immédiats sur les colonies slaves. Dans ce territoire les sources mentionnent de fort anciennes tribus, comme celles des Douliébes, des Souselci, des Stodoranes à côté des colonies croates.

Au début de leur histoire les Slovènes tombent sous le joug des Avares. Ils en sont délivrés par Samo (623-658). En revanche, ils ne savent pas résister longtemps aux attaques des Allemands de Bavière; leurs chefs durent devenir les vassaux de la Bavière (745-772). Puis ils furent soumis par les Francs (788) et par le Frioul. Leur pays fut envahi par des colonies allemandes qui travaillèrent systématiquement à le germaniser. L'Eglise catholique joua le rôle principal dans cette politique de germanisation. L'œuvre fut menée à la fois par le diocèse de Salzbourg et par celui d'Aquilée. La conversion au christianisme profita presque toujours à l'Allemagne. Le diocèse slave de la Grande Moravie n'eut pas une longue durée[1] et exerça peu d'influence.

A dater du VIIIe siècle les Slaves alpins, qui avaient parfois dépassé les frontières dont nous avons fait mention tout à l'heure, commencèrent

1. Sur ce diocèse, voir mon livre sur *La conversion des Slaves au christianisme*, ch. VI et suivants. Tr.

à se replier, notamment au nord entre la Carantanie et le Danube, dans la région appelée la Marche Orientale. Là au nord la colonisation allemande s'établit solidement sur le Danube, puis sur la Leitha et sur la Mur, dans la région de Celovec (Klagenfurt) et de la Drave supérieure. D'ailleurs elle ne descendit guère le cours de cette rivière. Puis elle pénétra sur les bords du lac Balaton, et, sans l'arrivée des Magyares et la défaite des Bavarois en 907, le germanisme aurait certainement envahi toute la Pannonie et le bassin de la Drave.

La frontière germanique ne serait pas aujourd'hui sur le Raab supérieur, mais sur la Save inférieure. Les Magyares empêchèrent cette expansion, mais en revanche c'est à eux que — sauf quelques groupes — les Slovènes furent soumis. D'ailleurs, la rapidité avec laquelle les pays alpins furent germanisés s'explique par diverses circonstances. Les Slaves n'avaient jamais été très nombreux dans les régions alpines de la Marche orientale (Ostmark). Ils vivaient en groupes isolés et mêlés dès le début à des groupes allemands.

Dans les textes concernant la fondation des églises fondées par le prince slave Pribina et consacrées par Liufram, évêque de Salzbourg (850) nous trouvons quinze noms de chefs slaves et quinze noms de chefs allemands et nous lisons toute une série de noms de localités allemandes. Dans cette région les Slaves ne furent

jamais très forts ni très compacts; aussi ne faut-il pas s'étonner de les voir disparaître dans l'Autriche proprement dite, dès le XIIe et le XIIIe siècle. Evidemment ils n'existaient en masses compactes que dans le sud, dans la Carantanie, c'est-à-dire dans la Styrie méridionale, la Carinthe et la Carniole, pays où ils se sont maintenus jusqu'à nos jours.

§ 26. Limites du territoire. — Aujourd'hui le pays slovène comprend : 1° tout le duché de Carniole (sauf l'îlot allemand de Hoczev (Gottschee), le nord de l'Istrie, Gorica, la région d'Udine dans le Frioul, la partie sud-est de la Carinthie, la Styrie méridionale et une petite partie de l'est de la Hongrie (les deux comitats de Vas et de Zalad).

En partant de la mer auprès de Trieste, la frontière de la nationalité slovène passe à Divina (Duino), Montefalcone, Gradisca, Kormin (Cormons), puis elle entre en Italie, englobe le pays à l'est de Cedad, Tarcenta, Resia et regagne la frontière de l'Etat autrichien à Kanin, puis elle gagne Potabl (Pontafel, en italien Pontebba), Saint-Hermagoras, Dobracz et Bielak (Villach) qui est en grande partie allemand. Elle franchit la Drave, passe près du lac Vrbsky (Woerther See), près de Kostanje (Kostenberg), Blatograd (Moosburg), Karnsky Grad (Karnberg), puis elle passe à Kerka (Gurk), se dirige vers Djekse (Diex), Kerczanie (Grentschach), Grebin (Grif-

fen), Ruda (Ruden), Led (Lis), Labod (Lavamünd), Pernice (Pernitzen), St-Iernej, St-Pancrace, et Arnfels, qui est allemand.

Il y a cinquante ans les environs de ce bourg étaient encore slovènes. Ils sont aujourd'hui germanisés. La rive droite de la Mur de Sveczane à Radgona (Radkersbourg) est également germanisée. La frontière à Radgona passe la Drave et va par Potrna, Zenkova et Gorica vers la Hongrie. Là elle suit d'abord la frontière jusqu'à Serdica (Szerghaza en magyar), gagne Saint-Gothard qui est allemand et atteint le Raab. Puis elle tourne vers le sud, traverse Bergelin, Salovce, Krizevce (en magyare Tot Keresztur), Berkevce, Falkovce (Urdomb), Ladomir, Bukovnice (Bakonak), Velika Palina, traverse la Mur à Gornia Bistrica, laisse à droite des localités croates et suit ensuite la frontière politique de la Croatie, de la Styrie et de la Carniole. Là la ligne descend au sud vers l'Istrie, et regagne le littoral de la mer.

Certains philologues rattachent aux Slovènes, les habitants des Comitats croates de Varazdin et de Zagreb (Agram). Dans le recensement de 1900 où l'on tenait encore compte des Slovènes, il en a été déclaré 17.342, surtout dans les joupanies ou comitats de Varazdin et de Zagreb (Agram). Mais ils sont disséminés au milieu de la population croate.

Il y a encore un îlot slovène en Hongrie dans le comitat de Somod, dans le bourg de Tarany,

où en 1900 il a été recensé 1.597 Slovènes contre 764 Magyares. On constate aussi des petits îlots dans l'intérieur de l'Istrie. En revanche il y a, particulièrement au nord et à l'est, de nombreux îlots allemands; nous avons déjà signalé le groupe allemand de Hoczev (en allemand Gottschee) qui comprend un grand nombre de localités.

D'autre part la frontière du nord, et aussi celle qui touche la Hongrie, sont gravement menacées. En Carinthie et en Styrie les Allemands se sont emparés des fonctions publiques et des écoles et, grâce à leurs efforts, le nombre des Slovènes s'affaiblit considérablement. En Carinthie 101.050 Slovènes s'étaient déclarés en 1890; en 1900 le chiffre est descendu à 90.495 et il est à craindre que la prochaine génération ne soit germanisée. En Styrie, on avait compté en 1850 643.194 Allemands contre 363.750 Slovènes; en 1900 on a compté 902.343 Allemands contre 409.521 Slovènes. Ainsi en un demi-siècle le nombre des Allemands a augmenté de 40,5 p. 100 et celui des Slovènes de 12,50 p. 100 seulement. Ces chiffres ainsi que nous l'expliquerons plus loin, ne sont pas rigoureusement positifs. Cependant on ne peut contester une sérieuse diminution du nombre des Slovènes dans toutes les régions qu'ils habitent. Voyez plus haut au § 23 le tableau de la natalité des peuples slaves qui accuse pour les Slovènes 6,10 p. 100 en 1880, 5,23 en 1890 et seulement 4,65 pour l'année 1900.

La frontière la plus menacée est celle de la

Carinthie et de la Styrie entre Arvez et Radgona où les Slovènes reculent sans cesse du côté du sud et se maintiennent seulement dans la montagne. En Hongrie ils sont rapidement magyarisés, notamment dans le comitat de Zelezna (en magyare Vas). D'ailleurs, même dans le Carniole, ils augmentent fort peu, ainsi qu'on va le voir.

§ 27. Statistique. — Avec les Serbes de Lusace les Slovènes constituent le plus petit peuple slave et aussi le plus menacé. Il est étranglé entre les Allemands, les Italiens et les Magyares, aussi sa natalité est-elle presque insignifiante.

En Autriche on en a compté :

En 1880	1.140.504
— 1890	1.176.672
— 1900	1.192.780

En Hongrie on en avait compté en 1890, 94.992 (y compris 20.987 pour la Croatie et la Slavonie). En 1900 la statistique les a négligés. De 1890 à 1900 l'accroissement total pour l'Autriche tout entière a été de 9,4 p. 100, tandis que pour les Slovènes il était seulement de 1,37 p. 100.

Voici quel est pour l'année 1900 le total général des Slovènes :

En Autriche	1.199.786
— Italie	35.000
— Hongrie et Croatie	102.000
— Amérique	100.000
Autres pays	20.000
	1.456.786

Trsteniak qui baisse le chiffre pour la Hongrie a compté 1.416.580, Klima, 1.444.364. Les chiffres que nous proposons réclament probablement quelques corrections pour la Cisleithanie.

Ainsi en Carinthie, les spécialistes en comptent 40.000 de plus que les statistiques officielles. Pour Trieste et sa banlieue la statistique de 1900 n'a compté que 16 p. 100 de Slovènes contre 77 p. 100 d'Italiens. Or, lors des élections de 1907 les candidats slovènes ont eu plus de voix que les Italiens. L'un d'entre eux a même été élu. Nous pouvons donc hardiment évaluer le nombre des Slovènes à un million et demi.

Si peu nombreux qu'ils soient, les Slovènes n'ont pas à redouter la perte de leur nationalité par ce qu'ils ont à eux une province tout entière, la Carniole; il suffit qu'ils réussissent à renforcer la conscience nationale et à développer l'instruction publique. Leur situation politique est fort importante par la race slave ; c'est eux qui interdisent aux Allemands de réunir l'Adriatique à la Mer du Nord [1].

En ce qui concerne l'éducation, les Slovènes sont supérieurs en Autriche aux Polonais, aux Russes, aux Serbo-Croates. Ils ne comptent que 23,9 p. 100 d'illettrés. Le rapport des deux sexes est de 1 032 femmes pour 1.000 hommes (1.098 en Carniole). Au point de vue de l'âge ils ne

1. J'ai déjà exprimé ces idées en 1868 dans un article publié par *La Revue moderne* et qui a été réimprimé dans mon volume *Le Monde slave* (2e éd., p. 43, Hachette, 1897) Tr.

comptent que 45,8 p. 100 de sujets plus jeunes que vingt ans, mais en revanche 18,9 p. 100 au-dessus de cinquante; la proportion des gens mariés est de 32,2 p. 100, par conséquent inférieure à la normale.

En ce qui concerne la natalité, elle est depuis ces dernières années très faible en Carniole : de 1890 à 1900, 1,84 p. 100 ; celle de l'Autriche prise dans son ensemble est de 9,44 p. 100. De 1880 à 1890 le coefficient avait été de 9,44. Pour tout l'ensemble des Slovènes le coefficient n'est que de 1,37 p. 100.

Ainsi donc, le développement de la nation semble arrêté. Ce phénomène est dû en partie à la dénationalisation, en partie à l'émigration et aussi à des recensements inexacts.

Au point de vue religieux les Slovènes sont presque absolument catholiques (99,9 p. 100). Au point de vue des occupations 75,4 p. 100 se livrent à l'agriculture, 13,4 p. 100 à l'industrie, 3,5 p. 100 au commerce et 7,7 p. 100 aux services publics.

§ 28. Différenciation. — Au point de vue linguistique il y a d'assez nombreuses différences ; mais elles ne sont pas très profondes (voir plus loin ce qui sera dit de la dialectologie des Slaves méridionaux). Pour désigner les divers groupes de la nation les Slovènes se donnent surtout des noms géographiques, empruntés aux frontières politiques : Krajnci (Carnioliens), Pri-

morci (gens du littoral maritime), Korosci (Carinthiens), Goriczani (Goriciens), Styriens ou des noms d'un caractère encore plus local, empruntés à l'orographie et à l'hydrographie. En Styrie on distingue les Pohorianci, les Polianci de la Mur et de la Drave, les Halozanes, en Carniole les Gorenici (gens d'en haut), Dolenici (gens d'en bas), les Notranjci qui parlent des dialectes différents. Au nord de la Mur les Prekmurci (Transmuriens) offrent un type intéressant. Au nord-ouest de l'Istrie les Savrini ou Bresavi sont encore des Slovènes pur sang, ainsi que les Berkini au nord de l'Istrie. En revanche les Fuczki aux environs de la ville de Buzet (Pinguente) et le Cici sont des Croates des dialectes *Kaïkavski* et *Tchakavski*[1]. De même les Kraïnci blancs — ainsi nommés de leur costume — qui sont établis entre Hoczevje et la rivière Kulpa sont aussi du dialecte kaïkavski.

Bien que certains philologues rattachent les Kaïkavci de Croatie aux Slovènes, nous les rejetons au chapitre suivant; eux-mêmes se considèrent comme Croates.

Un groupe fort intéressant, particulièrement étudié par le professeur Beaudoin de Courtenay[2], est le groupe des Resians établis dans le Frioul, aux environs d'Udine. Ils sont croisés de sang

1. Ces mots seront expliqués plus loin. Tr.

2. Polonais, malgré son nom français, M. Beaudouin de Courtenay réside aujourd'hui à Pétersbourg. Tr.

serbo-croate et peut-être d'un autre, ce qui explique pourquoi leur langue se partage en quatre dialectes. Ces Slaves du Frioul sont établis dans huit communes purement slovènes du cercle de San Pietro, dans trois communes et quelques localités mixtes des cercles de Taranto, Cividale, Gemona, et dans la commune purement slave de Resia (cercle de Moggio). Beaudouin de Courtenay estime que les Slaves des cercles de Gemona et de Tarcento sont des Serbo-Croates, ceux de Stara Gora et de Cividale des Slovènes; d'après lui les habitants du cercle de San Pietro sont des Slovènes croisés de Croates et les Résians, le produit du mélange d'un peuple non aryen avec les Slaves primitifs.

VII

LES CROATES ET LES SERBES

§ 29. Introduction historique. — Les Croates et les Serbes appartiennent comme les Slovènes et les Bulgares à la famille sud slave ou Iougoslave [1]. Ils formaient au début un groupe unique que l'histoire a divisé en deux parties, en deux nations, les Serbes et les Croates. Ces deux nations, bien qu'elles aient conscience de leur parenté, revendiquent toutes deux une vie autonome.

Il y avait même naguère des distinctions entre les diverses parties de la future unité serbe et de la future unité croate. Mais ces distinctions n'étaient pas profondes. C'étaient des nuances dialectiques, des organisations de tribus différentes, des foyers politiques distincts, etc.

Au début nous nous trouvons en présence d'un ensemble de tribus appartenant à un même groupe, appartenant à un même type linguistique avec de très légères différences ; ce groupe quitte son domaine primitif dans la région des

1. Ioug veut dire sud. Tr.

Karpates, s'avance vers le Danube, puis la Drave, la Save et la péninsule balkanique : les diverses tribus s'établissent sur une étendue considérable, sans unité géographique ; elles sont séparées par des montagnes ; elles communiquent difficilement entre elles. Elles s'isolent les unes des autres, elles se concentrent en différents groupes politiques, elles s'assimilent les débris des nations autochtones. Au nord-ouest se forme la région croate — au sens le plus large du mot — bornée au xe siècle par la mer jusqu'à l'embouchure de la Tsetinia, établie sur la Kulpa et la Drave — on ne sait pas très bien où était la frontière du côté de la Bosnie — et de l'autre le domaine serbe au sens le plus large du mot, comprenant tout ce qui était à l'est de la Croatie jusqu'aux monts Char (Charplanina) et la région de la Morava. A cette région serbe Constantin Porphyrogénète ajoute les tribus maritimes du sud entre la Tsetinia et la Piva, Skadar et Dracz (Scutari et Durazzo). Mais primitivement ces régions n'appartenaient pas aux Serbes. A quelle époque les Serbo-Croates occupèrent-ils ce territoire ? Nous ne le savons pas exactement.

Certaines familles, peut-être même des tribus, passèrent le Danube avant le ve siècle, mais l'immigration totale n'eut pas lieu avant le ve ou le vie siècle. Ce qu'on peut affirmer, c'est qu'ils ne vinrent pas au viie siècle sous le règne d'Héraclius (vers 630-640), comme le raconte Cons-

tantin Porphyrogénète d'après la tradition; c'est qu'ils prirent part au mouvement général d'immigration des Slaves, vers la péninsule balkanique au ve et au vi^e^ siècle.

Dès les origines l'histoire de ces Slaves, obéissant aux influences géographiques, suit deux courants différents. Les tribus du nord-ouest établies dans des conditions avantageuses auprès de la mer constituèrent les premières un état considérable (peut-être dès le viie siècle, mais surtout au cours du ixe et du xe). Ils lui donnèrent le nom de Croatie, dont on ignore d'ailleurs l'origine et dont il n'existe point d'explication satisfaisante.

Les tribus du sud et de l'est étaient éloignées de la mer; elles habitaient une région montagneuse et pauvre; elles n'arrivèrent à la vie politique que plus tard, vers le xe ou xie siècle. Elles se groupèrent autour de la tribu des Serbes qui était établie primitivement sur les rivières Tara, Lim et Ibar. C'est dans l'ancienne Rascie qu'on rencontre pour la première fois le mot Srbia. Ce nom se répandit dans la région du sud-ouest détachée de l'unité croate. Désormais deux destinées politiques se développèrent parallèlement, souvent même en lutte l'une contre l'autre; et le divorce politique s'opéra définitivement lorsque la Croatie en 1102 se trouva rattachée à la couronne de Hongrie. En 1526 elle passa avec cette couronne sous le sceptre des Habsbourg.

De leur côté au xiie siècle les Serbes se prépa-

raient à la période la plus brillante de leur histoire, période inaugurée par le grand joupan Etienne Nemania (1168-1196). L'abîme s'élargit encore lorsque les deux groupes se trouvèrent séparés au point de vue religieux. Les Croates, par suite de leurs rapports politiques avec le pape, avaient reçu de Rome la couronne royale, la liturgie et la hiérarchie catholique. Les Serbes, eux, avaient recu le christianisme de Byzance et recurent aussi de Byzance une église autocéphale, du temps de l'archevêque Sava frère du tsar Etienne, le premier couronné. Cette double influence ecclésiastique pénétra profondément toute la vie nationale et se manifesta dans la littérature.

Tandis que les Croates se servaient de l'alphabet latin, les Serbes employaient l'alphabet cyrillique. Les premiers se rattachaient à la culture latine ; les seconds à la culture byzantine.

La puissance serbe fut détruite par les Turcs à la bataille de Kosovo (1389) ; mais ils ne se rapprochèrent plus des Croates. Soumis aux Osmanlis, ils conservèrent leur caractère national, ils retrempèrent leur énergie et au début du XIXe siècle, après les insurrections du 1804 et de 1815, ils reconquirent peu à peu leur autonomie politique.

La principauté de Serbie apparut comme un noyau sérieux apte à concentrer tous les éléments serbes du Balkan dans une nouvelle unité nationale.

Pendant ce temps les Croates épuisaient malheureusement leurs forces dans des luttes perpétuelles contre les Turcs et dans des luttes pour l'autonomie intérieure ou pour la dynastie. Dans ces derniers temps le gouvernement serbe et le gouvernement autrichien ont également trompé les espérances de la nation croate-serbe.

Récemment l'annexion de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine à l'Autriche a réduit à néant tous les rêves de la Grande Serbie.

Cette situation politique a exercé une profonde influence, non seulement sur la situation intérieure des deux parties primitivement unifiées, mais aussi sur leurs rapports réciproques.

Il s'est bien produit de 1830 à 1840 un mouvement dit illyrien qui visait à les réunir, mais il n'a point eu d'autres résultats que d'unifier la langue littéraire pour laquelle le dialecte dit *chtokavski* a été adopté ; mais au point de vue politique, chacune des deux parties malgré l'unité primitive du langage, différenciée seulement par des nuances dialectiques, a suivi sa voie propre.

Leur développement a été singulièrement entravé par les circonstances extérieures. Ce furent d'abord les invasions turques et la servitude qui les suivit. Beaucoup de groupes durent émigrer de leurs anciennes résidences pour chercher un asile plus sûr. Au début, la colonisation serbe remonta d'abord vers le sud le cours de la Morava. Les premiers centres, les premières

capitales furent Novipazar, Prichtina, Prizren et Skoplie.

Mais l'arrivée des Turcs déplaça complètement le mouvement. A dater du XVIe siècle, les Croates se reportent vers le nord, et plus encore les Serbes. Pour échapper à l'oppression turque, des colonies croates s'établissent en Hongrie, dans la région située entre le cours moyen du Raab, le lac de Ferto-Tava (Neusiedel), Pressbourg et Vienne. Quelques-unes poussèrent même jusqu'en Moravie et dans la Hongrie intérieure.

Ces émigrations ont beaucoup modifié le type primitif des populations serbes. Des régions où était naguère le foyer et le cœur de la nation, de Kosovo Polé, de la Vieille-Serbie, des centaines de mille hommes vinrent s'établir dans les régions relativement paisibles de l'Autriche-Hongrie.

Ce mouvement débuta dès la fin du XIVe siècle, après la bataille de Kosovo (1389) et la prise de Skoplie par les Turcs (1391), alors que les Turcs commençaient à marcher sur la région du Lom, la Bosnie et le pays de Khoum, et ensuite vers le nord. Les Serbes durent alors reculer vers le Danube et reporter leur centre vers Krouchevats et ensuite vers Semendria. En 1459, les Turcs anéantirent définitivement la Serbie, et, en 1463, la Bosnie. Les Serbes se mirent alors à passer en grandes masses de l'autre côté du Danube et de la Save. Vers 1481, 50.000 d'entre eux émi-

grèrent de la région de Krouchevats, et ces émigrations se répétèrent plusieurs fois du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle, notamment après la défaite des Turcs devant Vienne, en 1683, et après le traité de Karlovci (Karlowitz) en 1699, à la suite duquel les Turcs durent renoncer définitivement à la Hongrie et à la Transylvanie. La colonisation serbe était bien vue par l'Autriche, et la Cour de Vienne n'hésita pas à promettre des libertés et des privilèges, dont bien peu furent plus tard réalisés. Aussi, à diverses reprises, notamment en 1750 et 1752, les Serbes quittèrent l'État autrichien et allèrent s'établir en Russie, dans la Nouvelle-Serbie, dont nous parlerons plus loin.

Dès le début du XVe siècle, nous trouvons des colonies serbes dans l'île de Czeplo, puis ensuite dans la Syrmie, la Baczka, le pays de Torontal et de Temesvar. La grande migration dans ces contrées eut lieu en 1690, sous la conduite d'Arsène III Tsernoïevitch, patriarche d'Ipek (Petch), qui emmena, dit-on, 80.000 hommes; une autre eut lieu en 1737 sous la conduite d'Arsène Iovanovitch. En Styrie, il y eut, dès le XVIe siècle, des colonies serbes auprès de Ptuj. Le domaine primitivement slave de l'ancienne Serbie fut tellement dépeuplé qu'il fut occupé par des réfugiés albanais; aujourd'hui encore, nous pouvons constater l'existence de ce coin albanais de plus en plus aigu qui pénètre au cœur même de l'ancienne Serbie, jusqu'à Kosovo Pole et qui pousse sa pointe jusqu'au royaume actuel. La

région de Kosovo Pole s'appelle aujourd'hui Arnaoutluk (le pays des Arnautes ou Albanais) et, d'après les renseignements fournis par Nouchitch, il y a là bien peu de villages sans Albanais, et il y en a beaucoup qui n'ont point de Serbes, bien qu'ils portent des noms serbes. Les trois quarts de la population se composent de Serbes albanisés. Il y a quelques années, les Albanais s'étaient même établis dans la principauté de Serbie, sur les rivières Toplitsa, Iablanitsa et Morava; ils sont partis après la guerre de 1878 et la région a été de nouveau occupée par les Serbes. En 1900, on n'a compté en Serbie que 2.151 Albanais, presque tous dans le cercle de Vrania, où l'on trouve à côté d'eux 205.000 Serbes.

Ce recul de la nationalité serbe vers le nord a été le résultat des guerres turques, et ce n'est que depuis quelques années que la Serbie a senti combien elle avait perdu et combien peu elle avait acquis : car la région de Novipazar et de Kosovo est la clef de voûte de son avenir. La question albanaise est une question vitale pour la Serbie.

D'ailleurs, dans la partie serbe de la péninsule balkanique, il y a eu beaucoup de migrations intérieures entre les diverses régions, migrations qui ont été récemment étudiées par M. Tsviitch. Dans ces mouvements, la Serbie a joué un rôle passif; un rôle actif a été joué par l'Herzégovine, le Monténégro, et une partie de la Macédoine.

LES CROATES ET LES SERBES

Si les Serbes, au sud-ouest, reculent devant les Albanais, au nord-est ils reculent devant les Roumains. C'est ce que l'on constate, non seulement dans le banat hongrois, où un grand nombre de villages roumains portent des noms serbes, mais aussi dans le royaume de Serbie où, dans un repli du Danube, entre Milanovats et Zaïtchar, les Roumains ont pénétré en masses compactes et où les Serbes n'ont pu les absorber. Il paraît même, d'après M. Resetar, qu'ils augmentent, bien que la statistique officielle s'efforce de diminuer leur nombre. Pour 1900, elle en compte 89.873; mais il y a encore 32.556 sujets bilingues parlant le serbe. Pour compenser ces pertes, on peut signaler le succès de la nationalité serbo-croate en Dalmatie, où le littoral qui était naguère roman, se slavise rapidement. Cette slavisation ne s'est pas opérée aussitôt après l'arrivée des Slaves dans la Dalmatie romaine, mais elle a été le résultat d'un long processus qui a en partie slavisé les Romans et les a en partie obligés à émigrer. Ce n'est qu'au XVIIe siècle que les Romans disparurent, et quelques débris de leur ancienne langue sont restés à l'état d'argot dans l'île de Krk (italien, Veglia) jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle.

Aux XVe et XVIe siècles, Spalato (Split) et Raguse étaient déjà slaves. Au temps des invasions turques, le littoral de l'Adriatique fut tour à tour dépeuplé et colonisé. Des environs de Zara, des colonies slaves passèrent dans l'Italie méridio-

nale, où l'on retrouve encore aujourd'hui leurs descendants. Nous en parlerons tout à l'heure.

Sur la frontière occidentale de la Serbie, il y a eu pendant longtemps, entre la Moravie, le Timok et Pirot, une zone de transition entre le domaine serbe et le domaine bulgare. La nationalité des habitants de cette région a été longtemps l'objet de controverses. Mais depuis que les Serbes l'ont occupée et y ont apporté leur civilisation, on ne peut plus la différencier du groupe serbe. D'après M. O. Broch, un phénomène analogue se produit au sud, dans cette partie du territoire serbe qui s'appelle la Vieille-Serbie.

§ 30. Limites du territoire. — Les Serbo-Croates sont aujourd'hui répartis entre un certain nombre d'États. Les Croates appartiennent entièrement à l'Autriche-Hongrie. En effet, ils occupent la partie slave de l'Istrie et du littoral, une partie de la Dalmatie et de la Bosnie, toute la Croatie et la Slavonie, à l'exception de la Syrmie, et sont en outre disséminés dans la Hongrie occidentale. Les Serbes ont leur noyau principal dans la péninsule balkanique. Ils sont établis dans le royaume indépendant, dans la Bosnie-Herzégovine annexée par l'Autriche, et dans une partie de la Dalmatie, dans la principauté indépendante du Monténégro, dans les parties septentrionales des vilaïets turcs de Scutari et de Skoplie, au nord de la Slavonie, et ils

forment des îles considérables dans la Hongrie du Sud.

A cause de l'immensité de l'espace sur lequel ils sont disséminés, leur frontière est mal délimitée et il est difficile d'en tracer le contour. Il est plus difficile encore de tracer la frontière qui sépare les Serbes des Croates. Voici à peu près comme on peut l'indiquer. Elle part de la petite rivière Dragonia et de la ville croate de Buzet (en italien, Pinguente), où les Croates des deux dialectes kaïkave et tchakave se rencontrent avec les Slovènes et les Italiens; puis la frontière descendant au sud passe en Istrie par Beram (Vermo), Vodrisan (Dignano), et atteint Pola, puis elle suit le littoral de l'Adriatique jusqu'à la Boïana, affluent du lac de Skadar. Certaines villes, Rieka (en italien Fiume), Zadar (Zara) sont en grande partie habitées par des Italiens. En revanche, Sibenik, Trogir (Trau), Split (Spalato) sont slaves. Il en est de même des îles du Quarnero dont quelques localités sont italiennes.

De la Boïana, la ligne qui sépare les Serbes des Albanais traverse le milieu du lac de Skadar (Scutari) et passe au sud de la frontière du Monténégro par Soutorman, Vila, Gousinie, Plava, près d'Ipek, puis au-dessous de Diakovici, Prizren, atteint les monts Chardagh et Karadagh et gagne Vrania sur la Morava [1]. Ainsi que nous

1. Les Serbes réclament pour leur nationalité les pays de Tetovo, de Skoplie, de Koumanovo. Ils font passer la frontière de leur langue

l'avons déjà fait remarquer dans la région de Novipazar et de Kosovo, l'élément albanais a fait de tels progrès qu'il s'avance maintenant jusqu'à Prepolie, Sienitsa, Novipazar, Mitrovitsa.

De Kraïna, la frontière serbe court vers Pirot, Zaïtchar et le Danube. Elle franchit ce fleuve à Dolni-Milanovats et pénètre à Svinitsa dans la plaine hongroise où elle longe d'abord le Danube. Puis, à la hauteur de Stara-Moldava, elle se redresse vers le nord. Ensuite, il n'est pas possible de mener une ligne parce que, dans ces régions, les Serbes et les Croates ne résident pas en masses compactes, mais qu'ils forment une série d'îles plus ou moins considérables, dans la partie méridionale du comitat de Krasso-Szoreny, dans tout le comitat de Temesvar et de Torontal, la partie méridionale de la Bacska, l'est du comitat de Barany, le sud du comitat de Szomod, l'ouest de celui de Heves, de Soprony (Pressbourg) et de Mosony.

par le Chardagh et la dirigent vers Tetovo, Skoplie, Kratovo; quelques-uns même vers Küstendil, Radomir, Iskrets, Berkovets, Belogradtchik, Koula et Bregovo (par exemple Belitch sur sa récente carte). M. Resetar fait partir la frontière méridionale d'Ulcinie et la prolonge le long du Monténégro (Plava et Gousinie sont des localités mixtes), puis des Alpes albanaises jusqu'au confluent des deux Drin. La frontière orientale, si l'on tient compte du pur dialecte serbe, va de Janevo dans la Vieille-Serbie jusqu'au confluent des deux Morava, à Stalatch, puis elle se dirige par Boukovik, Rtan, Toupijnitsa ver Zaïtchar et le Timok qu'elle suit jusqu'au Danube; la région de Vrania-Pirot offre quelques traits de la langue bulgare dans son idiome; mais on peut, par suite des circonstances politiques, la considérer comme une région serbe.

LES CROATES ET LES SERBES

Dans la Hongrie méridionale, le pays situé entre Feertemplom, Versac, Venga, Temesvar, Arad, Szeged et Szombor est très peuplé de Serbes.

La frontière du territoire serbe, autant qu'on peut la saisir, part de Stara-Moldova et passe aux villages ou bourgs de Kroupitsa, Soubotitsa, Izbichte, Aulma, Dolova, Dobritsa, Roudna, Srpski Modoch, Srpska-Boka, Srpska-Neouzina, Bokoch, Orlovats, Perlez, Veliki Betchkerek, Melentsi, Tchouroug, Nadal, Touria, Sentomach, Despot, Sentivan (Szent-Ivan), Paraga, Tovarichovo, Deronie, Vaiska et Sonta sur le Danube. Puis il faut signaler un certain nombre d'îles serbes, avant tout le groupe considérable du comitat de Torontal, à l'est de Zenta, jusqu'à Velika-Kikinda, et un certain nombre d'îles, par exemple celle de Krasso, dans le comitat du même nom, d'autres dans celui de Temesvar, dans la Batchka, autour de Sombor, et même dans le comitat de Budapest et, au delà du Danube, des îlots dans les environs de Mohacs. Ici commence le domaine croate, représenté par quelques îlots dans les régions magyares et allemandes, entre Pecs et Mohacs. Le groupe compact des Croates commence au sud du comitat de Szomod, à Stara (Sztara), sur la Drave. Il forme d'abord un groupe de communes le long de la rivière, puis un autre groupe dans le comitat de Szalad, où la langue croate se parle au nord de la Mur, et vá jusqu'à Kanisza, à la frontière de la Styrie.

LA RACE SLAVE

Une longue chaîne de villages croates s'étale dans les comitats de Vas, de Soprony et de Mosony, entre la frontière de la Hongrie et le cours moyen du Raab, jusqu'à la Leitha et au Danube. Ces villages sont répartis entre quatre groupes principaux. Les colonies croates ont même franchi la Leitha et le Danube et pénétré jusqu'aux environs de Pozony, jusqu'à la Morava inférieure, sur les bords de laquelle quelques-unes se sont slovaquisées.

En 1900, on a compté dans cette région 1.560 Croates. Ils descendent des colons amenés en 1584 par le général Christophe Teufenbach.

La frontière croate descend ensuite de Kanisza vers le sud, le long de la frontière de Styrie et de Carniole, jusqu'à l'angle nord-est de l'Istrie, et elle rejoint par Podgrad (Castelnuovo), Soczergy et Rakitovicza la rivière Dragonia, d'où nous sommes partis tout à l'heure.

En dehors de cette région compacte, nous rencontrons encore ailleurs des colonies serbes et croates. On en trouve d'abord beaucoup dans les pays albanais, notamment dans la Vieille-Serbie qui se *reserbise* de plus en plus, et aussi dans la Macédoine. Sur cette province, nous ne pouvons, à cause du caractère contradictoire de nos informations et de la brièveté de ce livre, fournir des indications détaillées. Les Serbes vivent dans les régions de Tetovo, de Koumanovo, de Skoplie.

En dehors des groupes serbes ou croates qui

peuvent résider dans les principales villes d'Europe, il y a encore des colonies en Italie, en Russie et aussi en Amérique.

En Italie, à la suite des invasions turques, des Croates se sont établis dans le pays d'Udine où ils se sont confondus avec les Slovènes (voy. § 28), et aussi dans les Abruzzes. Là ils existent encore aujourd'hui dans le district de Molise et dans la province de Campobasso où ils ont encore aujourd'hui trois villages : Acqua viva colla Croce (Cruc), San Felice Slavo, Montemitro (Mundimitar). Ils sont environ 5.000. La statistique italienne ne compte pas par âmes, mais par familles. Les trois communes que nous venons de nommer sont les restes d'une région slave plus vaste qui s'étendait jusqu'à la province de Chieti. Ces Croates sont les descendants d'émigrés du XVIe siècle venus du littoral de la Dalmatie, entre Makarska et la Narenta.

Entre les années 1750 et 1752, un grand nombre de Serbes, mécontents des procédés du gouvernement autrichien, émigrèrent en Russie. Ils s'établirent dans la partie septentrionale du gouvernement de Kherson, dans les districts d'Elisavetgrad et d'Alexandrovo, et la ville d'Elisavetgrad fut leur première forteresse. Fondée en 1756, elle s'appela d'abord le fort Sainte-Élisabeth. La région s'appela la Nouvelle-Serbie. Au nord-est du gouvernement d'Ekaterinoslav, une autre région s'appela la Slaviano-Serbia. Elle était située entre le Don septentrional, le

Bakhmout et la Lougan. Mais ces Serbes, dont la religion était la même que celle des Russes, se sont complètement russifiés et ne figurent plus sur les statistiques russes. En 1842, Schaffarik les faisait encore figurer sur sa carte ethnographique. M. Florinsky, dans son récent ouvrage, estime leur nombre à 9.000; mais il ajoute qu'ils ont presque entièrement oublié leur langue primitive.

Dans ces derniers temps, beaucoup de Croates d'Autriche-Hongrie ont émigré en Amérique; la statistique américaine les confond avec les Slovènes et donne, par exemple, pour l'année 1905, un total de 35.000.

Le nombre des émigrés serbes est moins considérable. Ils s'établissent particulièrement dans les villes de l'Amérique du Nord. Il y a aussi, depuis une trentaine d'années, des colons dans la Nouvelle-Zélande et aux îles Auckland.

Il est bien difficile de déterminer la frontière entre les Serbes et les Croates. En Hongrie, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà dit, elle commence à Stara, sur la Drave. Mais les statistiques officielles de la Croatie et de la Slavonie ne distinguent pas les Serbes des Croates. Il en est de même en Cisleithanie et nous n'avons pas d'indication. On peut, dans une certaine mesure, mettre à profit la statistique des confessions religieuses et la nouvelle carte du Dr Vasa Ruvarac. Mais cette carte ne donne que la division par arrondissement et d'ailleurs, ainsi que nous

l'avons dit plus haut, la religion elle-même n'est pas un indice absolu.

§ 31. Statistique. — Il est très difficile, sinon impossible, de donner une statistique des Croates et des Serbes, soit dans leur ensemble, soit pris isolément. Pour les pays turcs, nous n'avons aucun recensement certain et nous sommes réduits à des conjectures individuelles, serbes ou bulgares, qui, suivant les tendances auxquelles les statisticiens obéissent, diffèrent singulièrement[1]. Pour l'Istrie, le Littoral, la Dalmatie, la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine, nous n'avons pas de distinction établie entre les Serbes et les Croates. Cette distinction ne se trouve que dans les statistiques hongroises. D'autre part, comme on le verra plus loin, nous attribuons aux Bulgares la population de la Macédoine proprement dite, au sud de Sofia. Voici quel était approximativement le nombre des Serbes et des Croates en 1900 :

Autriche.	711.382
Croatie et Slavonie.	2.101.580
Hongrie, environ.	700.000
Rieka (Fiume).	13.929
Bosnie-Herzégovine (d'après le recensement de 1905), environ. . .	1.650.000
A reporter.	5.176.891

1. En 1889, le Serbe S. Goptchevitch comptait pour la vieille Serbie et la Macédoine 2.048.000 Serbes et 57.600 Bulgares. En 1900, le Bulgare Kantchov compte 700 Serbes et 1.180.000 Bulgares !

Report	5.176.891
Monténégro, environ	350.000
Royaume de Serbie.	2.298.551
Vieille-Serbie et Macédoine, environ.	300.000
Vilayet de Scutari et Albanie, environ	100.000
Italie	5.000
Russie	3.000
Amérique et autres pays	300.000
Total.	8.533.442

Nous devons ajouter un détail. En Hongrie, la statistique officielle a compté, en 1900, 2.730.749 Serbo-Croates; mais on a compté à part les catholiques sokci, bunievci et krasovani [1]. Ils ont été portés avec d'autres nations sous la rubrique : langues diverses. Nous pouvons, avec le calendrier serbe de la Matiça de Novi-Sad de 1903, en compter 108.267 et les restituer aux Serbo-Croates. Le professeur Cintula est arrivé à une évaluation analogue (105 à 110.000).

En Bosnie et en Herzégovine, un recensement officiel a eu lieu en 1895, au Monténégro à la fin de l'année 1896; en tenant compte de l'accroissement annuel, on pourrait arriver à des résultats approximatifs. Je n'ai pu obtenir de résultats officiels pour le Monténégro. J'ai plusieurs fois écrit, mais mes lettres sont restées sans réponse.

Dans la Vieille-Serbie et la Macédoine, il est

1. Ces noms seront expliqués plus loin.

maintenant impossible de donner un chiffre rigoureusement exact. J'ai accepté celui de 300.000, en me basant sur les dernières informations que nous avons sur les Serbes (y compris les Serbes mahométans) dans la région de Novipazar, Kosovo Pole, Metokhia et l'évêché de Skoplie. Un calendrier serbe porte ce chiffre à un million. L'évaluation de Hilmi Pacha (1905), qui comptait en Macédoine 600.000 Serbes, et 170.000 Bulgares sur tout l'ensemble de la population, est évidemment erronée.

Pour le vilayet de Scutari, Bianchi comptait, il y a vingt ans, 70.000 Serbes.

Pour ce qui concerne la délimitation des Serbes et des Croates, la statistique hongroise pour 1900 a relevé en Hongrie 188.552 Croates, 434.641 Serbes; en Croatie-Slavonie, 1.478.000 Croates et 610.909 Serbes, soit au total 1.667.377 Croates, 1.045.550 Serbes, en laissant de côté les Sokci, les Bunievci et les Krasovani que le calendrier serbe dont nous avons parlé tout à l'heure attribuait aux Serbes. Ce même calendrier adjuge aux Serbes les catholiques de Bosnie-Herzégovine (334.000). Il trouve encore 100.000 Serbes dans la Dalmatie autrichienne.

D'après cette statistique serbe, il y aurait au maximum en Europe 2.300.000 Croates. Mais les Croates comptent autrement, et en s'adjugeant les catholiques bosniaques, bunievci et krasovani, ils arrivent à un chiffre de 2.700.000 pour l'Europe. Tant que la statistique en Croatie et

en Cisleithanie ne distinguera pas les deux nations, on ne pourra rien dire de positif.

L'académicien Jagic[1] a obtenu du patriarcat de Karlovtsi des données officielles d'où il résulte que le nombre des Serbes orthodoxes de Hongrie et de Croatie est de 1.149.314. Ce chiffre approche, à 100.000 près, de celui qu'avait indiqué la statistique hongroise.

L'accroissement des Serbes et des Croates en Hongrie, autant que nous pouvons en juger par les statistiques, se fait de facon très inégale. C'est en Istrie que les Croates ont le moins de natalité; ils reculent devant les Italiens[2]. En 1851, ils constituaient 57,36 p. 100 de la population; en 1906, ce chiffre est tombé à 42,58 p. 100. En revanche, les Croates de Dalmatie, qui étaient au nombre de 378.676 en 1851, sont montés au chiffre de 562.000 en 1900. Ils représentaient, il y a un demi-siècle, 96,1 p. 100 de la population totale. Ils représentent maintenant 96,6 p. 100.

Pour la période 1890, l'accroissement a été en Istrie de 8,64 p. 100; en Dalmatie, de 12,58. Si nous ne tenons compte que de la nationalité, nous constatons chez les Serbo-Croates d'Au-

1. Ancien professeur à l'Université de Vienne, correspondant de l'Académie des Inscriptions. Voir sur ses travaux le *Journal des savants*, année 1908.

2. Il ne faut pas toutefois oublier que les recensements officiels sont faits au profit des Italiens et par conséquent défavorables aux Croates.

triche un accroissement de 10,30 p. 100 pour dix ans, soit 1,03 p. 100 par an. C'est, après les Polonais, le coefficient le plus considérable de l'empire. En Croatie et en Slavonie, l'accroissement brut a été de 1,04 p. 100; l'accroissement net de 0,98 p. 100.

Dans le royaume de Serbie, la proportion, pour une période de dix ans, a été plus considérable : chiffre brut, 14,8 p. 100, chiffre net, 14,2, autrement dit, la natalité a dépassé de 1,48 p. 100 la mortalité. Pendant ces dernières années, on constate un accroissement beaucoup plus considérable, mais il tient aux nombreuses immigrations des sujets qui fuient le territoire turc. On peut en dire autant de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine où, par suite de l'immigration, il s'est produit vers la fin du siècle dernier un accroissement anormal (de 1879 à 1895, 2,15 p. 100 en moyenne). De 1901 à 1904, l'accroissement n'a été que de 0,95 par an.

Au nord, les Croates et les Serbes sont menacés par les Magyares en Hongrie et par les Allemands en Croatie. Les Magyares et les Allemands se multiplient beaucoup en Croatie. Dans l'espace de dix années, de 1880 à 1890, les Serbo-Croates, dans cette province, ont augmenté de 12,23 p. 100, les Allemands de 41,3 p. 100, les Magyares de 66,1 p. 100. Dans les années 1890 à 1900, les Slaves ont augmenté de 8,96 p. 100, les Allemands de 13,12 p. 100, les Magyares de 30,3 p. 100. Ainsi, entre 1880 et 1900, le nombre

des Slaves a baissé de 90,48 p. 100 à 87,22 p. 100; celui des Allemands a monté de 4,4 p. 100 à 5,53 p. 100, celui des Magyares de 2,19 à 3,74 p. 100.

Cet état de choses n'est pas encore très grave, mais néanmoins il donne à réfléchir pour l'avenir.

Les Serbes et les Croates doivent s'entendre pour résister d'un commun accord, d'autant mieux que leur natalité est faible, plus faible dans les régions uniquement occupées par eux que dans les régions mixtes et qu'ils sont sans cesse diminués par l'émigration. De 1880 à 1900 elle leur a enlevé plus de 100.000 âmes et dans ces derniers temps les Croates ont émigré en assez grand nombre dans les deux parties de l'Amérique.

Nous avons déjà signalé la diminution des Serbes dans la région de Novipazar et de Kosovo. A côté des Serbes orthodoxes on trouve aujourd'hui dans ce rayon beaucoup de Serbes mahométans albanisés — notamment des tribus des Gach et des Berich, puis 6.000 Tcherkesses qui ont été établis dans les années 1858-1862. Il n'y a point dans ce rayon d'Osmanlis proprement dits.

D'après la statistique turque, dans la plaine de Kosovo, c'est-à-dire dans les kazas de Prichtina, Voutchitra et Mitrovitsa il y a 80.000 mahométans et 22.000 orthodoxes ; d'après une statistique serbe privée il n'y a que 1.956 maisons serbes avec 14.000 âmes. Kantchov comptait en 1901 à Novipazar, Kosovo et Metokhia, 250.000 Albanais, 100.000 Serbes et 90.000 Bosniaques

qui parlaient serbe, tout en étant musulmans et ennemis des Serbes.

En ce qui concerne la densité de la population, les pays occupés par les Croates et les Serbes sont particulièrement bien partagés. Au Monténégro, on suppose environ 18 âmes par kilomètre carré, en Bosnie-Herzégovine 30,7, en Dalmatie 46, en Serbie 51,6, en Croatie-Slavonie 56,8, en Istrie 69, à Goriça (Goritz) 80, sur le littoral 95. Le rapport des deux sexes est particulièrement intéressant. Par rapport aux autres pays autrichiens le sexe masculin est beaucoup plus considérable ; mais les proportions sont variables suivant les pays. Ainsi sur 1.000 on compte en Dalmatie 976 femmes, en Istrie 933, à Goriça 970, dans le littoral 973, en Serbie 945,6, en Bosnie 893,4, au Monténégro, 882. En moyenne, dans les pays autrichiens, il y a pour 1.000 hommes, 974 femmes. En Croatie-Slavonie le nombre est de 988 et si nous ne tenons compte que des hommes — sans l'armée, — le chiffre monte à 1.011. Vrbanic donne pour 1.000 hommes, 963 femmes, et il explique les raisons de cette proportion. Il naît ici beaucoup plus d'hommes que de femmes et dans la première partie de la vie il en meurt moins que dans le reste de l'Europe. Au cours de la première année le nombre des décès est de 8,3 p. 100 pour la Bulgarie, de 21,2 p. 100 pour la Croatie, de 16,3 p. 100 pour la Serbie.

Vrbanic a recueilli en 1896 des données fort

intéressantes sur la natalité des Slaves méridionaux, notamment des Serbo-Croates. Elles reposent, il est vrai, sur des faits antérieurs mais qui ont encore leur intérêt.

Il trouve chez les Serbo-Croates 40 p. 100 de gens mariés. La Serbie offre surtout des chiffres remarquables.

D'après la statistique de 1900 elle compte seulement 25,4 p. 100 de célibataires, et 67,7 p. 100 de gens mariés ; 36 p. 100 des hommes et 57 p. 100 des femmes sont mariés avant l'âge de vingt ans. Chez les Serbo-Croates de l'Autriche, les célibataires sont au nombre de 58,6 p. 100 et les gens mariés de seulement 35,4 p. 100. En Croatie-Slavonie, en 1900, à partir de l'âge de quinze ans il y avait 30 p. 100 d'hommes célibataires, 22,7 p. 100 de femmes célibataires et 63,7 p. 100 et 64,5 p. 100 de mariés. En Serbie, le nombre des naissances est de 44,45 p. 1.000 ; en Croatie de 44,18 ; en Dalmatie de 38,39 ; en Istrie de 37,43. En Bulgarie la proportion n'est que de 36,36. Mais si nous ne prenons en considération que les mariages légitimes, nous constatons que sur 1.000 femmes il y a eu 290 naissances à Goriça, 273 en Istrie, 257 en Dalmatie, 240 en Dalmatie, 215 en Serbie (même chiffre en Bulgarie). C'est une natalité relativement faible, et, pour la Serbie et la Croatie, la plus faible de l'Europe. Ainsi donc le grand nombre des naissances ne tient qu'au nombre des mariages et non pas de la fécondité.

D'après Vrbanic la mortalité est de 30,24 p. 1.000 en Croatie, de 27,79 en Istrie, de 27,16 à Goriça, de 25,67 en Serbie, de 24,38 en Dalmatie. (Elle n'est que de 18,00 en Bulgarie.) La mortalité est donc plus forte en Serbie qu'en Bulgarie. En Bulgarie, en effet, il meurt beaucoup moins d'enfants la première année (8,3 p. 100 seulement, 16,3 p. 100 en Serbie, 15,4 p. 100 en Dalmatie et 21,2 p. 100 en Croatie.) Le coefficient d'accroissement par les naissances est donc pour la Bulgarie de 1,83, pour la Serbie de 1,87, pour la Dalmatie de 1,4, pour la Croatie de 1,39, pour Gorica de 0,98, pour l'Istrie de 0,96, soit en moyenne pour les Slaves méridionaux de 1,57 p. 100.

La religion est l'un des signes principaux qui différencient les Croates des Serbes : les Croates sont catholiques, les Serbes orthodoxes et musulmans. Mais ce signe n'est pas absolu. Il y a des orthodoxes qui se considèrent comme Croates. Ainsi la dernière statistique croate donne 2.075 orthodoxes de plus qu'il n'a été recensé de Serbes (616.518 orthodoxes contre 614.543 Serbes). Et il y a aussi de nombreux catholiques qui se considèrent comme Serbes ou qui sont revendiqués par les Serbes. Tels sont, par exemple, les catholiques de Raguse et des Bouches de Cattaro, ou les Sokci, les Bunievci et les Krasovani de Hongrie.

Dans le royaume de Serbie, qui dit Serbe dit orthodoxe. On compte 98,7 p. 100 d'orthodoxes,

0,40, de catholiques, 0,60 de mahométans. En 1895 il y avait en Bosnie-Herzégovine 548.632 Serbes musulmans (soit 34,9 p. 100 de la population). Mais il faut constater qu'ils diminuent par l'émigration. La statistique officielle a relevé de 1883 à 1905 32.625 émigrants dont 30.434 musulmans. En Bosnie et en Herzégovine on a compté 637.246 orthodoxes (soit 42,9 p. 100 de la population intégrale, et 334.142 (21,3 p. 100) catholiques[1]. Dans la Dalmatie il y avait en 1900 96.279 orthodoxes, 496.778 catholiques, soit d'une part 16,2 p. 100, 83,6 p. 100. Les autres pays autrichiens sont catholiques (Istrie 99,6 p. 100, Littoral, 98,5 p. 100). En Croatie et en Slavonie il y a 1.721.416 catholiques, et 616.518 orthodoxes, soit 71,2 p. 100 et 25,5 p. 100. Les chiffres absolus des recensements de Budapest et d'Agram ne sont pas absolument d'accord mais la proportion reste la même. Au Monténégro, d'après Vrbanic, il y a 87,5 p. 100 d'orthodoxes, 3,1 p. 100 de catholiques, et 9,3 p. 100 de musulmans que Vrbanic considère comme des Slaves.

Au point de vue de l'éducation les Serbo-

1. En Bosnie-Herzégovine les Musulmans sont en majorité à Saraïevo et dans 12 districts, les orthodoxes dans 25, les catholiques dans 12. Pendant les premières années qui ont suivi l'occupation autrichienne, l'émigration a été très nombreuse; elle dure encore, mais elle se ralentit. Les chiffres officiels pour 1906 donnent 590.900 musulmans, 760.000 orthodoxes, et 360.000 catholiques. M. Florinsky compte pour tout le Balkan environ 820.000 Serbes musulmans.

Croates sont fort en retard. Dans les pays autrichiens le nombre des illettrés atteint 74,14 p. 100, en Croatie 54,4 p. 100 et même 56 p. 100, si l'on en croit la statistique hongroise. C'est surtout la Dalmatie qui est en retard. En 1900, 64,8 p. 100 des hommes et 86,6 p. 100 des femmes ne savaient ni lire ni écrire. L'instruction est aussi fort négligée en Istrie et plus encore dans les pays balkaniques sur lesquels nous n'avons de documents que dans les statistiques serbes. Il n'y a en Serbie que 21,3 p. 100 de lettrés (55 p. 100 dans les villes et 15 p. 100 dans les campagnes).

En ce qui touche les occupations, les Serbes et les Croates sont surtout un peuple agricole. En Istrie et en Dalmatie il y a 86,9 p. 100 d'agriculteurs (industrie 4,6 p. 100, commerce 3,8 p. 100, services publics 4,7 p. 100). En Bosnie-Hezégovine 88,34 p. 100. Dans le royaume de Serbie 85,23 p. 100 de la population se livrent à l'agriculture et à l'élève du bétail.

§ 32. Différenciation intérieure. — Les Serbes et les Croates ne diffèrent sérieusement ni au point de vue physique, ni au point de vue linguistique, ni au point de vue de la manière de vivre. Les différences ont été créées uniquement par la politique, la religion et la littérature. Il y a cependant certaines nuances et certains groupes dont nous parlerons tout à l'heure.

Au point de vue anthropologique il y a, d'après ce que l'on sait jusqu'ici, beaucoup plus

de différence entre les Serbo-Croates et les autres Slaves qu'entre les Serbes et les Croates. Les deux groupes se rencontrent par exemple dans la *zadrouga* (communauté de propriété rurale) et là où l'on constate des différences considérables, par exemple dans l'arrangement des maisons, la frontière de ces différences ne coïncide pas avec la frontière serbo-croate. Le type roman à un seul foyer domine au Monténégro, en Dalmatie, en Herzégovine, et dans les autres pays le type haut allemand à deux foyers.

D'après Weissbach les Serbo-Croates offrent les traits suivants : haute taille, forte prépondérance du type brun, surtout en Bosnie-Herzégovine, forte brachycéphalie et vaste capacité cranienne. L'indice céphalique est en moyenne de 84 (85,7 chez les Bosniaques et les Croates d'aujourd'hui). La capacité cranienne est de 1.524. On compte 93,5 p. 100 de brachycéphales et 6 p. 100 de mésocéphales. Weissbach conclut que les Serbes et les Croates doivent être considérés comme formant un seul et même peuple. Tout récemment M. Zupanic a déclaré qu'il existait des différences physiques entre les deux nations ; mais nous ignorons, dans l'état actuel de la science, s'il pourra justifier son assertion. Au point de vue de la langue, le groupe sud slave de l'ouest se décomposait ainsi : les Tchakavtsi [1] étaient

1. Ces différents groupes sont ainsi dénommés d'après la façon dont ils disent ou prononcent le pronom relatif.

identifiés aux Croates, les Chtokavtsi aux Serbes, et les Kajkavtsi aux Slovènes. Miklosich distinguait encore une langue serbe et une langue croate. Mais il est aujourd'hui démontré que cette distinction n'est pas fondée.

Nous devons néanmoins signaler quelques nuances dialectiques qui ne sont pas en rapport avec les distinctions politiques. A côté des deux grands dialectes *chtokavski* et *tchakavski*, il y a d'autres dialectes de transition : le kaïkavski à l'ouest, du côté des Slovènes, le dialecte de Prizren ou du Timok, autrement dit vieux-serbe, et le dialecte svrlizski à l'est du côté des Bulgares. Quelques philologues éminents, notamment Belitch, rattachent la kaïkavstina à la langue slovène. D'après les récents travaux de M. Resetar le domaine kaïkav est séparé des deux autres par une ligne qui part de Turnovac, sur la Drave, atteint Virovitica, contourne Bielovar, atteint Trnovitica, Jasanovac sur la Save, longe la Save jusqu'à Belaj, puis gagne Trzic, Plaski, Brlog, Nin et Zara.

Dans la direction du sud, les Kaïkavtsi ont pénétré dans certaines localités du domaine du Tchakavtsi. Autrefois sur le littoral on parlait tchakavski ainsi que l'attestent les anciens documents. Voici comment s'explique le changement de dialecte : au moment des invasions turques les habitants ont émigré en masse vers le nord et quand ils sont revenus plus tard ils avaient appris à parler kaïkavski. Ceux qui parlent le

kaïkavski le plus pur vivent entre Zagreb (Agram), Varazdin et Krizevac.

Le domaine des Tchakavtsi comprend aujourd'hui la plus grande partie des îles de l'Adriatique, quelques villages dalmates et le littoral croate jusqu'à la rivière Kulpa.

Le dialecte le plus considérable est le chtokavski : dans la région située entre Vidin, Sofia et Kustendil, il se modifie sous l'influence des dialectes bulgares, et au sud-ouest, entre Vrania et Prizren, sous l'influence des dialectes macédoniens. Il y a là tout un groupe de parlers encore mal étudiés se rattachant par certains signes au groupe serbe, par d'autres au groupe bulgare, qui ont été le sujet de nombreuses discussions entre les philologues et entre les politiciens. Cette région transitoire du dialecte que Belic appelle dialecte du Timok et de Prizren, part du Danube à l'embouchure du Timok, remonte vers les districts de Nich et de Vrania, Krouchevats et Prizren ; il se subdivise en sous-dialectes qui portent les noms de ces localités. D'après Belic et Resetar la frontière orientale de ce dialecte part d'Ulcigno, passe par Prizren, Janievo, Prokuple, Stalatch, Zaïtchar et rejoint l'embouchure du Timok dans le Danube.

Des groupes secondaires sont constitués par les Bunjevci, les Sokci dans la Batchka notamment. Nous savons fort peu de chose sur leurs origines et pas grand'chose de plus sur leur caractère politique. Ils sont également revendi-

qués par les Croates et les Serbes. Les Bunievci parlent chtokavski. Une autre colonie est celle qui est établie dans le comitat de Krasso sur le cours supérieur du Karas (environ 7.500 âmes). Les ethnographes antérieurs, Czœrnig, Schwicker, Hunfalvy, Dobrovsky, Miklosich, Drinov, les prenaient pour des Bulgares. L. Miletich a démontré récemment que leur langue et leur origine sont également serbes, que leur langue appartient au dialecte chtokavski, mais qu'elle est assez différente de celle des Serbes du Banat. Syrku s'est trompé en voulant voir chez eux une tribu absolument indépendante. Tous sont catholiques. On ne sait quand ils sont venus. Mais ils étaient ici probablement dès le xve siècle. La dernière statistique les donne en partie comme Serbes, en partie comme Croates, et les Croates les revendiquent aussi.

Voici encore quelques groupes. Les habitants purement kaïkaves de la joupanie[1] de Zagreb dans la région ouest, entre Samobor et Zumberk, s'appellent Prigorci (montagnards), ceux qui vivent auprès des sources de la Kulpa, Brajci ; on rencontre encore aux environs de Zagreb les noms de Berzjaci, Puhovci.

L'Istrie est particulièrement intéressante au point de vue des groupes. Au nord on rencontre d'abord les Fuczkove qui parlent kaïkavski et qui sont ainsi nommés à cause de la manière

1. Préfecture.

sifflante dont ils parlent ; au sud sont les Cicoves, descendants d'une colonie bosniaque venue en 1532 ; au sud-est les vieux Istriens tchakavtsi se distinguent nettement des colons postérieurs chtokavtsi venus de la Dalmatie, des anciens Romans, appelés par leurs voisins Vlasi ou Morlaci (Morlaques). En Istrie, des Roumains se voient encore maintenus dans les villages de Zejani, Brdo, Grobnik, Iesenovic, Sutnievica, Lelaj et Nova-Ves. D'après la dernière statistique les Roumains pur sang forment trois groupes, l'un de 389, l'autre de 516, le troisième de 217 âmes.

En Serbie il s'est formé un grand nombre de noms locaux empruntés à ceux des rivières, des montagnes, des régions ou des villes[1]. L'origine en est facile à deviner. En Hongrie on a gardé pour les Serbes orthodoxes l'ancien nom des Rasciens, habitants de la Raska, ancienne province serbe.

Les noms locaux se sont produits de même en Bosnie d'après les noms des villes et des régions[2].

Le Monténégro a conservé l'ancienne division en tribus dont le peuple connaît encore les noms. On rencontre d'abord au nord les Herzégoviniens qui sont venus de l'Herzégovine ; puis au

1. Nous ne les traduisons pas. Tr.

2. Il y a en Bosnie quelques groupes d'origine roumaine, qui parlent encore roumain. Mais la plus grande partie se déclarent Serbes. On les appelle Tsintsari, Achani.

nord-est les Brda[1] et entre la mer et le lac de Scutari la Crna Gora (Montagne Noire) proprement dite avec la Kraïna. Dans l'Herzégovine monténégrine il y a sept tribus : Grahovo, les Baniani, Opouchna Roudina, Niktitchke Roudine, Niktitchka Joupa, Piva, Drobniatsi, Scharantsi. Dans la région des Brda vivent sept tribus qui sont en partant de l'ouest[2] : les Bielopavlitchi, les Piperi, les Bratonojitsi, les Kouteki, les Vasoïevitchi, les Moratchani, les Rovtchani. Dans l'ancien Monténégro on distingue quatre *nahias* dont chacune se divise en tribus : la nahia de Katoun (Tsetiniani ou gens de Tsetinie, Negouchi, Zeknitchi, Tsoutse, Ktchevo, Ozrinitchi, Bielitse, Komani, Zasartchani, Piechivtsi, Loukovo), la nahia Liechanska (Zetchani), la nahia de Rieka (Tsekliniani, Lioubotiniani) ; la nahia de Tsrmnitsa possède toute une série de petites tribus appelées confréries. Dans une région jadis serbe sont établis aujourd'hui des Albanais et des Serbes musulmans dont les tribus principales sont celles des Mrkojevitchi et des Mikoulitchi, auprès d'Antivari.

D'après Zanetov, il y aurait encore une tribu

1. Ce mot en serbe veut dire montagnes. Tr.

2. D'après Hassert et Kovatchevitch, les Koutchi sont de race albanaise, d'après Erdelianovitch, de race serbe. Un certain nombre d'entre eux, les Drekanovitchi offrent un fort mélange de sang albanais. Erdelianovitch considère certains d'entre eux (les Boukimirs) comme des Romans slavisés.

spéciale, celle de Siren, sur le cours supérieur du Lim et de la Bistritsa bosniaque.

Nous avons essayé d'exposer la situation respective des Croates et des Serbes, la différence de leur développement politique en dépit de leur étroite parenté, les tendances divergentes que par suite de leurs traditions historiques elles poursuivent toutes les deux en vue d'en assurer l'avenir.

Jusqu'ici de nombreux conflits se sont produits entre ces deux groupes et l'on se tromperait en s'imaginant que le calme relatif qui règne aujourd'hui est une garantie de tolérance et de paix. En laissant de côté le double idéal d'une grande Croatie et d'une grande Serbie, idéal contradictoire s'il en fut, on rencontre toute une série de questions délicates, de conflits qui s'exaspèrent sans relâche. On les rencontre en Croatie-Slavonie, en Dalmatie (par exemple Raguse), et surtout en Bosnie. Cette province est véritablement une pomme de discorde entre les deux nations. Ici le gouvernement autrichien s'est aventuré un peu au hasard sans avoir d'idée bien nette sur la nationalité.

Que résultera-t-il de là? Que deviendra le pays après l'annexion? Quelles seront les nouvelles relations des Croates et des Serbes? On ne peut le dire encore aujourd'hui.

Au point de vue de la science et de l'idée slave, il faudrait du moins agir franchement et

1: Niederle Slavic Peoples

ne pas fermer les yeux devant la réalité des choses. Il faudra constater d'abord par un recensement loyal la situation relative des Serbes et des Croates et administrer avec justice tous les groupes nationaux ou politiques. Alors il ne sera plus nécessaire d'imaginer une troisième nation croato-serbe, la nation bosniaque[1], comme l'avait imaginé le gouvernement de Kallay il y a quelques années. Cette innovation n'a d'ailleurs pas réussi. Depuis 1907, la dénomination officielle « bosniaque » a été remplacée par la dénomination correcte « serbo-croate. »

1. Assurément, l'idée d'une nation bosniaque a existé autrefois. On lit au XIIe siècle dans la chronique de Kinnamos ; Βόσθνα... ἔθνος ἰδίᾳ παρα ταύτῃ ζῶν et l'on voit souvent figurer les Bosnenses comme nation. Mais cette dénomination fondée sur les circonstances politiques n'a plus de raison d'être aujourd'hui.

VIII

LES BULGARES

§ 33. Introduction historique. — Le dernier peuple slave produit par la différenciation du groupe sudslave, est constitué par les Bulgares. Ils vivent presque tous dans la péninsule balkanique.

Comme les autres Sudslaves ils ont eu leur berceau beaucoup plus au nord, quelque part, auprès des Karpathes, dans le voisinage des Russes. Entre le IIIe et le Ve siècle, abandonnant les Karpathes, ils ont commencé à se faufiler à travers les tribus thraces et scythosarmates, vers le Danube inférieur, et au sixième ils ont atteint les Balkans. A ce moment-là les tribus slaves de la péninsule n'avaient pas de nom ethnique commun. On les appelait Slaves comme leurs voisins les Serbes et les Slovènes et ils ne formaient pas un groupe unifié. Encore au VIIe et au VIIIe siècle nous voyons dans la partie orientale de la péninsule balkanique toute une série de tribus peu unies entre elles, des Siévériens et sept tribus anonymes dans le nord de la Bulgarie actuelle, des Slaves rouméliotes, puis des Druguvitches,

des Smolianes, des Strumenci, des Rynchines, des Sagoudates, des Berzites dans la Macédoine. C'est évidemment à ceux-là que se rattachaient au point de vue linguistique les Slaves qui pénétrèrent jusqu'en Grèce et dans l'archipel, les Velegezites, les Vaïounites, les Milingues, les Iezertsi. Vers cette époque l'union commence à se produire, mais sous la pression de l'étranger. En 679 sous la conduite d'Asparoukh un certain nombre de Bulgares du Volga — d'origine turque — traversèrent le Danube et pénétrèrent dans la Dobroudja et jusqu'à Varna ; ils soumirent les tribus slaves voisines, les unifièrent et peu à peu unifièrent tous les Slaves du centre de la péninsule.

D'autre part, les Bulgares du Volga qui étaient relativement peu nombreux s'assimilèrent eux-mêmes très rapidement à l'élément slave et se confondirent avec lui [1].

Leur nom seul qui fut donné au nouvel État et à son peuple rappelle le souvenir de cet élément allogène. D'ailleurs les Bulgares au fond ont toujours été des Slaves, bien qu'ils ne se soient pas refusés à assimiler des éléments étrangers. Parmi ces éléments à côté des Bulgares turcs, il faut citer des restes des anciens Thraces, des Ger-

1. Zanetov et Skorpil ont cru trouver les restes de ces anciens Bulgares chez les Gagaouz (voyez plus loin) et chez les Turcs de Deliorman entre Silistrie, Schoumla (Schoumen), Varna et Roustchouk, que les voisins bulgares appellent Gadjaly. Mochkov s'est prononcé contre leurs hypothèses.

mains, notamment des Goths, des Turcs, des Avares, auxquels s'ajoutèrent plus tard beaucoup d'autres éléments asiatiques ; des Polonais, des Cumans, des Ogouzes, des Tsiganes et enfin des Turcs Osmanlis.

L'empire bulgare, dès le règne de Siméon (893-927) acquit une étendue considérable ; il s'agrandit par des luttes perpétuelles contre les Byzantins d'une part et les Serbes de l'autre. Les Slaves qui appartenaient à ses marches les plus extrêmes à l'époque où le siège du tsar et du patriarche était à Ochrida [1], se sentaient d'autant plus Bulgares, qu'ils étaient plus éloignés du foyer primitif de la nation ; ils gardèrent ce sentiment de solidarité plus ou moins intensive, d'une part contre les Serbes dont l'empire confinait à leur région, d'autre part contre les Turcs Osmanlis. En 1393 les Turcs s'emparèrent de Trnovo ; en 1396 après la victoire de Nicopoli ils achevèrent la conquête de la Bulgarie. Le pays resta asservi jusqu'aux années 1876-1878 où l'intervention de la Russie lui rendit la liberté et l'indépendance. Le pays entre le Danube et la Stara Planina fut le premier affranchi ; en 1885 une révolution pacifique lui annexa la Roumélie bulgare, jusqu'au mont Dospad, au cours de l'Arda, à la Sakarska Planina (montagne) et au golfe de Bourgas. La partie des Bulgares qui forme un groupe compact en Macédoine attend

1. Aujourd'hui en Macédoine. Tr.

jusqu'ici en vain sa délivrance et la fin d'une situation qui, malgré les efforts des puissances, reste toujours fort pénible.

Telle est l'histoire politique du peuple bulgare. Le développement de la nation a été en outre gêné par des troubles perpétuels, par des ébranlements, par des déplacements de groupes ethniques. Lorsque les Grecs ont repris possession de leur domaine primitif les colonies slaves du sud ont dû remonter au nord, les Slaves de Grèce ont été complètement assimilés au cours du moyen âge. Mais la catastophe la plus grave a été l'invasion turque.

Lorsque les Turcs eurent pénétré dans la péninsule, sous le règne de Mourad I, ils s'établirent dans la région de Plovdiv (Philippopoli) et de Zagora; sous le règne de Bajazet I ils s'établirent entre Plovdiv et le Balkan et restèrent ensuite dans le bassin de la Maritsa, particulièrement dans les régions inférieures, jusqu'au XIXe siècle. C'est ce qui résulte des renseignements fournis à la date de 1819 par le pope Constantin et de la nomenclature du pays qui est essentiellement turque (noms des villages, des champs, des ruisseaux, des bois, des pâturages, des buttes, etc.). Sur 52 villages de l'arrondissement de Tchirpan 2 seulement ont des noms non-turcs et 3 seulement dans l'arrondissement de Seïmen. Un autre centre de colonisation turque, ce fut la partie orientale de la Bulgarie du Nord, en particulier la Dobroudja, qui était devenue un désert au

xve siècle. Dans cette région, avant l'arrivée des Turcs s'étaient établis un grand nombre de Petchenègues, d'Ouzes, et de Cumans (dont les descendants s'appellent aujourd'hui Gagaouz) et plus tard de Tatares.

A ce qu'il semble, la première colonisation turque s'établit dans la région de Deliorman vers le xve et le xvie siècle et plus tard à Touzlouk et à Gerilovo. Le Ragusain Paul Georgich qui voyagea dans ces contrées signale une nombreuse population turque à Gerilovo, à Deliorman et dans le Dobroudja. Ces pays ne furent complètement assimilés par les Turcs qu'au xviie siècle et pour Gerilovo qu'au xviiie. Mais beaucoup de villages turcs gardent encore leurs noms slaves.

Toute cette colonisation turque dans le nord-est de la Bulgarie avait évidemment pour objet d'assurer les défilés des Balkans, surtout après les échecs éprouvés dans la guerre contre le roi de Pologne Wladyslaw en 1443.

De la population slave primitive il n'est resté que quelques rares débris auprès de Provadia de Schoumen (Choumla) et de Razgrad. De même au xvie siècle un grand nombre de Turcs, des Iourouks et des Koniars vinrent d'Asie s'établir dans quelques parties de la Thrace et de la Macédoine. Les anciens Slaves bulgares après l'arrivée des Turcs se retirèrent naturellement dans les régions montagneuses. Au xvie siècle leur frontière était constituée par les villes de Devna, de Monastir, de Krivnia, de Ravna, de Nenovo,

de Nevcha, de Kalougeritsa, de Divdiedovo, de Novo Selo, autrement dit, la ligne de Varna à Schoumen (Choumla). Mais vers le sud l'élément slave commenca bientôt à reprendre et à regagner du terrain. Les Osmanlis périssaient peu à peu dans des guerres perpétuelles et n'étaient pas remplacés par de nouveaux colons. D'autre part, de nouveaux Bulgares arrivaient des régions du Nord (Lovetch, Nikopol), théâtre de troubles et de dangers perpétuels.

C'était sur les bords du Danube qu'avaient lieu les principales guerres et les Slaves émigraient de tous les côtés. Sur ce mouvement d'émigration qui est fort ancien nous n'avons de documents qu'à partir du XVIIe siècle. Ainsi nous savons que dans le courant de l'année 1741 des colonies bulgares allèrent s'établir dans le Banat de Temesvar où leurs descendants sont encore établis à Vinga, Benesov. De 1752 à 1754 un grand nombre de Bulgares et de Gagaouz passèrent dans la Russie méridionale, d'autres en 1787-91; pendant les guerres de 1801 à 1812 un très grand nombre venant particulièrement de Viddin s'établirent en Bessarabie. Cette émigration se répète après la guerre de 1828-1829. En 1821 on comptait en Bessarabie 1.735 familles bulgares avec un total de 38.000 personnes; en 1829 il arriva 4.400 familles, soit 270.000 âmes. Puis survint la réaction. Durant les cinquante années de paix qui suivirent, beaucoup de familles revinrent dans leur patrie en dépit des misères qu'elle subissait.

En 1833 il revint déjà 900 familles de Bessarabie. D'autre part, des régions balkaniques beaucoup de Bulgares descendirent vers la plaine, notamment sur Roustchouk, sur la Dobroudja, sur le pays situé entre Andrinople et Bourgaz, entre Tchirpan et Stara Zagora, aux environs de Kavakali, de Kyzil Agatch, d'Iambol et, sous le règne pacifique de Mahomed II jusqu'aux environs de Rodosto, de Derkos et de Constantinople.

La guerre de 1877-78 eut pour résultat de nouveaux mouvements dont les conséquences se font encore sentir aujourd'hui. Au commencement de cette campagne les Bulgares s'enfuirent en masse de Stara Zagora, de Kazanlyk, de Gjopsa, de Zlatitsa aux pays du nord et ne revinrent dans leurs foyers que lorsque les Russes s'avancèrent vers le sud. D'autres parts les Turcs et les Tcherkesses évacuèrent des villages qu'ils occupaient depuis très longtemps ; les uns émigrèrent de peur des Russes, les autres plus tard, parce qu'ils ne pouvaient s'accommoder au nouvel ordre de choses. M. Jireczek, l'historien des Bulgares, estime à 100.000 le nombre des Turcs qui émigrèrent de 1878 à 1884. Ils furent remplacés par des Bulgares venus de la Roumélie ou de la Macédoine que le traité de Berlin laissait soumises à la domination turque.

D'autre part, des émigrants revinrent de Roumanie, de Bessarabie, de la Tauride, de l'Asie Mineure et s'établirent aux environs de Svichtov, de Varna et de Tuzluk. Les Macédoniens conti-

nuant sans relâche d'immigrer, M. Jireczek donne des chiffres qui permettent de se faire une idée des changements opérés dans la population. En 1896, sur 338 localités chrétiennes des diocèses de Varna et de Schoumen (Choumla), 135 avaient depuis la guerre une population entièrement nouvelle. Il n'était resté que de très rares représentants de la génération antérieure. D'autre part, au dire de Miletitch, la population bulgare antérieure ne remonte pas au delà de cent vingt années.

A l'ouest de la Iantra il y a peu d'anciens villages et beaucoup de nouveaux fondés par des immigrés venus du pays de Lovetch et de Sevlievo. Ces nouvelles populations se distinguent des anciennes par les traditions, le costume et surtout par le dialecte. D'autre part, il y a beaucoup de nouveaux immigrés au sud du Balkan du côté de Bourgas, d'Aïtos, d'Iambol.

Ainsi donc le pays bulgare a été le théâtre de mouvements perpétuels et l'ordre définitif n'y sera rétabli que lorsque la question de la Macédoine sera définitivement résolue. Or, la solution du problème macédonien est sans cesse retardée par les puissances voisines.

§ 34. Territoire occupé par les Bulgares. — Il est borné au nord par le Danube, de Tcherna Voda à Viddin et ensuite par une ligne qui va de Viddin par Tsar-Petrovo, Boïnitsa et Schichintsi, jusqu'à la frontière serbe. De cette ligne se détache

à Viddin une pointe qui remonte jusqu'à Novo-Selo sur le Danube. La frontière occidentale suit le Timok qui sert de frontière politique à la Serbie et à la Bulgarie. Mais les philologues ne sont pas d'accord sur les caractères du dialecte intermédiaire de la région Pirot Vrania. Belitch le rattache au serbe, Tsonev au bulgare et ne considère comme intermédiaire que le dialecte de la Morava Resava. Ainsi que nous l'avons déjà expliqué, dans le bassin du Timok, dans la région de Pirot, Nich, Vrania, Prizren on parle un dialecte intermédiaire entre le serbe et le bulgare. Mais, en laissant de côté des nuances dialectiques assez indifférentes au point de vue national, et en tenant compte des autres facteurs qui déterminent la conscience nationale, on ne peut pas dire que la frontière de la nationalité bulgare suit le Timok et remonte vers Nich et Vrania, comme le veut Tsonev, mais qu'elle part de Veliki Izvor sur le Timok, qu'elle suit l'arête de la Stara Planina, autrement dit la frontière politique jusqu'au mont Kom ; ensuite elle passe entre Pirot et Tsaribrod, à travers la Ruia Planina, passe auprès de Vlasina et atteint la Morava supérieure à Vrania. Puis elle suit la route de Nich à Skoplie, contourne cette ville et se dirige à travers les contreforts orientaux du Chardagh vers la Dibra. Sur cette ligne très peu connue, le territoire des Bulgares et de leurs voisins les Serbes est pénétré dans la direction du sud-ouest par un coin albanais. De Vrania à Koumanovo, de Sko-

plie à Tetovo on rencontre un grand nombre de villages slaves plus ou moins albanisés. Il est difficile dans ces régions de tracer une frontière bien nette.

Vers la Dibra la frontière bulgare tourne vers le sud et suit la rive gauche du Drin noir dans la direction du lac d'Ochrida qu'elle contourne en partie, puis suit la rivière Devola, le lac Malik, gagne la ville de Goritsa et ensuite celle de Kostour. Les environs de Kostour sont encore bulgares jusqu'à Kroupichté sur la rivière Bystritsa. Ici la frontière tourne au nord-est, vers le lac d'Ostrov, puis elle passe à Voden vers le cours inférieur de la Bystritsa et gagne le golfe de Salonique qu'elle suit jusqu'à cette ville.

Les environs de Salonique sont slaves. Après cette ville la frontière court à travers la plaine de Langadino vers la Chalcidique, passe à Visoka, Zarovo, Soukho, Niegovan jusqu'au confluent de la Strouma dans le lac Takhin et vers Seres où se heurtent les populations grecque, turque et bulgare. De Seres, d'après Tsanov, la frontière suit une ligne brisée, mal connue dans ses détails, qui traverse la Roumélie turque, atteint Dimotika sur la Maritsa inférieure, puis par Ouzoun-köprü, Baba Eski, Tchorla, Kataldja arrive jusqu'aux environs de Constantinople.

La frontière orientale de la nationalité bulgare est constituée par le littoral de la Mer Noire jusqu'au Danube.

Mais la frontière tracée par Tsonev ne délimite

pas une population compacte et seulement l'extrême limite des groupes bulgares dans la péninsule balkanique. Déjà les parties les plus méridionales des arrondissements de Philippopoli et Stara Zagora sont plus faiblement peuplées de Bulgares. Je ne puis parler, faute de renseignements précis, des conditions ethnographiques de la Roumélie turque. D'autre part, nous savons que les régions situées entre la Iantra et la mer sont plus faiblement peuplées de Bulgares.

Il y a une trentaine d'années cette région était en majorité peuplée de Mahométans. Quelques districts étaient même purement turcs, notamment celui de Chaskiöï, auprès de Silistrie qui ne comptait que 6 p. 100 de Bulgares, d'Osman Bazar (12,5 p. 100), de Bazaourt (14 p. 100), de Kemanlar (19 p. 100), de Choumen (Choumla 24,3 p. 100). Les Bulgares étaient les plus nombreux dans les districts de Kesarevo (59 p. 100) et de Roustchouk (59 p. 100). Dans ces régions ils n'avaient la majorité que dans les villes. D'après Sarafov, il y avait en 1881, 482.000 Bulgares dans cette région. En 1888 il n'y en avait plus que 443.000. En 1900 on trouve dans les arrondissements de Routschouk, de Varna, de Schoumen, de Trnovo 417.694 Turcs, 9.824 Gagaouz et 18.079 Tatares.

D'après Iourkevitch le nombre des Turcs dans toute la Bulgarie a diminué depuis 1888 de 12,5 p. 100. Ainsi la situation s'est singulièrement améliorée en faveur des Bulgares.

LA RACE SLAVE

Voici d'après le recensement de 1900 quelle est la situation relative des Turcs et des Bulgares :

Arrondissement de Roustchouk : 153.730 Turcs (sans les Gagaouz et les Tatares) et 175.216 Bulgares.
Arrondissement de Plevna : 12.261 Turcs et 270.010 Bulgares.
Arrondissement de Trnovo : 25.180 Turcs et 366.687 Bulgares.
Arrondissement de Viddin : 4.444 Turcs et 142.975 Bulgares.
Arrondissement de Schoumen (Choumla) : 130.975 Turcs et 108.579 Bulgares.
Arrondissement de Varna : 107.839 Turcs et 131.325 Bulgares (soit en tout, 433.779 Turcs et 1.194.943 Bulgares).

Les districts qui offrent les masses les plus compactes de Turcs sont ceux de Baltchik, Varna, Dobritch, Kourtbounar, Provadia dans l'arrondissement de Varna, ceux d'Eski Djoumaïa, Osman Pazar, Popovo, Preslav, Schoumen dans l'arrondissement de Schoumen, Elena, Svichtov, Sevlievo dans l'arrondissement de Trnovo, de Biela, de Razgrad, de Roustchouk, de Silistrie, de Toutrakan dans l'arrondissement de Roustchouk. L'arrondissement de Bourgas comptait en 1900 37.041 Turcs, 39.652 Grecs, et 218.189 Bulgares; celui de Starazagora, 31.379 Turcs à côté de 350.380 Bulgares. Celui de Plovdiv (ou Philippopoli) 24.886 Turcs contre 313.847 Bulgares (sans les Pomaks[1]). Dans cette

1. Sur les Pomaks, voir le paragraphe suivant.

Les principales nationalités de la Bulgarie en 1900.

CERCLES	BULGARES	POMAKS	SERBES	TURCS	GAGAOUZ	TATARES	GRECS	TSIGANES	ROUMAINS
I. Bourgas	218.189	3	26	37.041	28	132	39.152	10.985	29
II. Varna	131.325	37	43	107.839	9.809	11.329	7.720	9.000	752
III. Vidin	142.975	24	398	4.444	2	20	163	5.686	39.977
IV. Vratsa.	230.536	631	145	2.039	—	109	45	9.081	12.225
V. Küstendil	191.477	—	8	599	—	—	82	1.605	141
VI. Plovdiv	313.847	17.055	57	24.886	1	31	14.880	11.146	115
VII. Pleven.	270.010	2.837	133	12.261	2	510	46	7.277	9.752
VIII. Roustchouk . . .	175 216	10	62	153.730	6	3.919	697	8.403	5.697
IX. Sofia.	365.364	30	545	874	—	1	845	5.838	286
X. St. Zagora. . . .	350.380	2	12	31.379	5	2	2.720	7.823	12
XI. Tirnovo	366.837	13	67	25.180	3	173	122	5.206	1.841
XII. Schoumen	108.579	2	20	130.945	6	2.658	230	7.513	196
Total.	2.864.735	20.644	1.516	531.217	9.862	18.884	66.702	89 563	71.023

région les Turcs résident particulièrement dans les arrondissements de Karlovo, Pechtera, Plovdiv, Stanimaka, Kazanlik, Harmanli, Khaskovo, Aïtos, Anchialo, Karnobat et Sliven. On verra les chiffres détaillés dans le tableau ci-dessus.

A côté des Turcs les Tatares diminuent également, sauf dans la région de Varna où ils ont augmenté. Après eux viennent les Gagaouz, descendants chrétiens des anciens envahisseurs turco-tatares.

Les Grecs, comme il faut s'y attendre, sont surtout établis au bord de la Mer Noire, notamment dans la région de Bourgas, et dans l'intérieur des terres autour de Plovdiv (Philippopoli), particulièrement dans le rayon de Stanimaka — cette ville est aujourd'hui grecque — à l'ouest de Kyzyl Agatch, à Kavakla et aux environs. Sur le littoral, la colonie grecque la plus septentrionale est Novoselo près de Varna; parmi les villes grecques il faut citer encore Mesembria, Anchialo, Sozopol, et en partie Bourgas.

Les Juifs et les Arméniens ne forment nulle part des groupes compactes. Les Tsiganes sont nombreux, mais ils sont disséminés par tout le royaume.

Dans les régions montagneuses ils forment parfois la majorité de la population, par exemple aux environs d'Elena et de Plovdiv. Il y a très peu de Serbes d'après le dernier recensement (en tout 1.516). C'est la conséquence du développe-

ment intensif des Bulgares et aussi des conflits des trente dernières années. En revanche, les Roumains sont groupés en masses compactes sur le Danube, notamment entre l'embouchure du Timok et Viddin, entre l'embouchure du Cibr et Svichtov. On trouve aussi une majorité de Roumains à Toutrakan, et dans l'intérieur du pays à Serbenitsa près de Biela Slatina et à Debovo près de Nicopoli. On rencontre des Tsintsares[1] dans les alentours de Sophie et de Plovdiv. Nous avons parlé plus haut des colonies russes et tchèques de Voïvodova, Gorna, Métropolis et Breslianitsi.

En dehors de la région que nous venons d'étudier, nous rencontrons encore des groupes bulgares au delà du Danube. Ce sont des colonies qui sont venues au courant du XVIIIe et du XIXe siècle. Les colonies antérieures ont été absorbées par les éléments magyare et roumain. Elles remontaient au XIIIe siècle; c'étaient les Bulgares de Brasso (Blasendorf), de Nagy et de Kis Csegerd (près de Blasendorf), de Baumgart (Bongard) et de Reussdörfchen (Roszczur) aux environs de Sibin. Ils sont aujourd'hui complètement roumanisés. Au temps jadis on les prenait tantôt pour des Serbes, tantôt pour des Slovènes. Leur nationalité bulgare a été démontrée par le professeur L. Miletitch. Ils étaient catholiques. Il y a encore dans la Hongrie méridionale —

1. Nom donné aux Roumains dans la péninsule.

dans le Banat — les colonies de Vinga, entre Arad et Temesvar, Brestie près de Versec et Stary Bechenov près de Szegedin. Ces colonies datent de 1741 ; elles sont aussi catholiques. Il y a aussi un grand nombre de colonies bulgares dans la Valachie méridionale. Weigand en évalue le nombre à cinquante, avec une population de cinquante mille âmes. Elles sont établies autour de Dolz (12 hameaux), Oltenitsa (2), Teleorman (5), Vlaska (7), Ialomica (3), Ilfov (22). Les plus considérables sont celles d'Afumatz et de Kisele Sirbi. Il y a d'ailleurs de nombreux Bulgares dans les villes de Galats, Braila, Bucarest, Buzau, Oltenitsa, Giurgevo, Craïova et Ploiesti qui en compte cinq à sept mille.

En Russie, les Bulgares se sont établis vers le milieu du VIIIe siècle. Ils sont mentionnés dès cette époque à Tchesma, sur la rivière Visa et Schinoucha. C'est après l'année 1769, qu'eut lieu la principale immigration. Des colonies bulgares s'établirent à côté de colonies serbes sur le cours supérieur de l'Ingoul et de l'Ingoulka [1]. Elles ont disparu aujourd'hui. En revanche, des groupes compacts sont restés en Bessarabie ; ils étaient fortement mélangés d'éléments turcs. On les trouve surtout dans les districts d'Akkermann, d'Izmaïl et de Bender. On les rencontre aussi dans le gouvernement de Kherson, auprès d'Odessa et de Nikolaev et dans le gouvernement

1. Affluents du Bong et du Dnieper.

de Tauride (districts de Berdiansk et de Feodosia). La statistique, au commencement de l'année 1897, a compté encore 172.659 Bulgares : pour la Bessarabie 103.225, pour le gouvernement de Kherson 25.685, pour la Tauride 41.260. Dans ce gouvernement, ils s'assimilent rapidement. D'après Mochkov, la statistique officielle a aussi compris parmi les Bulgares, les Gagaouz dont on estime le nombre à 70.000 groupés autour de Komrat, dans le district de Bender.

Dans l'Asie Mineure, les colonies bulgares se rencontrent principalement aux environs de Brousse, d'une part dans tout un groupe de communes autour de la petite ville de Mikhalitch (en turc Moukhalitch), d'autre part, autour de celle de Kodjebunar, à Souïout, Kobach, Toïbelen, Novoselo, Mandr, Khaladjebaïr, et à Kilik ; il y a encore quelques communes, occupées surtout par des bergers, sur le littoral et auprès de Kyzdervent, non loin de Scutari. Kantchov compte ici une vingtaine de communes bulgares.

Dans ces derniers temps les statistiques américaines attestent aussi l'existence d'émigrants bulgares ; mais ils sont confondus avec les Serbes, de sorte qu'il est difficile de donner des chiffres précis. Il doit y en avoir environ 50.000. Valjavec en suppose 4.000. Mais ce chiffre est évidemment insuffisant.

§ 37. Statistique. — Étant donné que l'on ne

sait pas exactement le nombre des Slaves dans la Turquie proprement dite, il est très difficile de donner une statistique absolument exacte des Bulgares. On ne peut faire que des conjectures et, pour le reste, se rapporter aux statistiques officielles du royaume qui sont malheureusement assez sommaires.

A la fin de l'année 1900 l'effectif total des Bulgares devait se décomposer ainsi :

Royaume (d'après le recensement du 31 décembre 1900)	2.885.379
Roumélie turque, Albanie, Constantinople, Asie Mineure	600.000
Macédoine (d'après Kantchov) . . .	1.200.000
Roumanie avec la Dobroudja	180.000
Autres pays	50.000
Total.	4.915.379

En Bulgarie il y avait, d'après la dernière statistique, 2.684.735 Bulgares et 20.664 Pomaks; la statistique bulgare, ne l'oublions pas, combine la langue maternelle et la nationalité. En Roumanie, la statistique officielle ne reconnaît pas de Bulgares indigènes ; elle les considère comme des Roumains et elle ne fait état que de 7.810 Bulgares sujets étrangers. Ainsi que nous l'avons dit plus haut, Weigand évalue les indigènes à 50.000 ; Kantchov évalue le nombre des Bulgares en Dobroudja à 40.000, Ichirkov à 30.000. En Hongrie, il y en avait en 1900 environ 12.000 (d'après V. Cintula). En 1891 la statistique en avait

compté 23.000; mais elle avait confondu avec les Bulgares d'autres Slaves, par exemple les Serbes de Krasso.

En Amérique, Valjavec a compté 4.000 Bulgares, mais c'est évidemment trop peu; car dans les plus récentes statistiques des Bulgares apparaissent sans cesse à côté des Serbes. Nous avons vu qu'en Russie la statistique en avait — au cours de 1897 — compté 172.659.

C'est en Turquie que les conjectures sont les plus difficiles. Pour la Macédoine je m'en suis tenu aux chiffres de Kantchov, eu égard à son opinion sur la question macédonienne.

Tsviitch a évalué le nombre des Slaves dans les vilayets de Kosovo, de Salonique et de Bitolia à 1.300.000 (450+500+340.000). Brankov et Skopalski ont compté 1.172.000 Bulgares. Dans la Roumélie turque je compte les Pomaks parmi les Bulgares. Dans le vilayet d'Andrinople Mach évalue le nombre des Bulgares à 370.000 de religion orthodoxe et 115.000 de religion musulmane.

D'après un recensement opéré par Hilmi Pacha et communiqué par M. René Pinon (dont les résultats sont d'ailleurs loin d'être rigoureux), il y aurait dans le vilayet de Kosovo 164.476 patriarchistes, 184.912 exarchistes[1], 420.388 musulmans; dans le vilayet de Bitolia, 309.759 patriar-

1. Sujets spirituels de l'exarque bulgare de Constantinople, autrement dit Bulgares. Tr.

ches grecs, 11.301 roumains, 8.461 serbes, 178.527 exarchistes, 509.307 musulmans ; dans le vilayet de Salonique, 311.982 patriarchistes grecs, 24.377 roumains, 244.723 exarchistes, 531.431 musulmans. Pour ces trois vilayets, en admettant les anciennes statistiques de certains districts, M. Pinon donne un total de 3.267.265 âmes, dont 1.795.359 musulmans et seulement environ 600.000 exarchistes bulgares. Il compte 850.000 patriarchistes grecs, roumains et serbes ; mais dans ce nombre les Serbes ne figurent que pour un chiffre insignifiant.

Les autres données statistiques ne peuvent, pour des raisons connues, s'appliquer qu'aux Bulgares du royaume. C'est le seul pays qui nous fournit des données statistiques. Nous les étudions ici d'après les travaux de Vrbanic qui se rapportent au recensement de 1888.

Ils présentent les résultats suivants :

Chez les Bulgares le nombre des hommes est de 1.000 pour 965 femmes ; les hommes présentent un excédent de naissances de 54,2 p. 1.000 ; la proportion des célibataires aux gens mariés est de 53 p. 100 : 41,9 p. 100 (4,4 p. 100 de veufs). La natalité est de 36,36 sur 1.000 ; elle est inférieure à celles des Serbes ; en revanche, la mortalité est moindre que chez eux, seulement de 18,0 (comparez les chiffres donnés plus haut, § 31). En Bulgarie très peu d'enfants meurent dans la première année. C'est chez eux — parmi les Sudslaves — que la mortalité infantile est la

plus faible (8,3 p. 100 seulement, contre 15,4 p. 100, en Dalmatie, 16,3 p. 100, en Serbie, 21,2 p. 100, en Croatie). Par suite de cette particularité le coefficient de la natalité est, si l'on en croit Jireczek, aussi avantageux qu'en Serbie; il représente 1,83. Pour les années 1881-1887, Sarafov a trouvé un accroissement de 1,85 (pendant cette période il est né 100 garçons pour 89,7 filles) ; pour la période 1890-1900, le coefficient a été, à ce qu'il semble, un peu moindre. Plus récemment, Iourkevitch propose le chiffre de 1,5 pour la Bulgarie du Nord et de 1,2 pour celle du Sud.

Suivant Popov, la densité de la population est de 38,8 habitants par kilomètre carré.

Au point de vue religieux les Bulgares appartiennent à l'église orthodoxe orientale. Ils ont une église à eux dont le chef appelé exarque réside à Orta Kiöï, près de Constantinople. A côté de la majorité orthodoxe on rencontre deux groupes dissidents. D'abord les Bulgares catholiques ou Pauliciens (Pavlikiani). Ils parlent le dialecte oriental et vivent dans les cercles de Nicopol, de Svichtov, dans sept villages des environs de Plovdiv. Il y a encore une communauté catholique à Berdavski Geran, près de Biéla Slatina, et une autre, celle de Gostilia près d'Oriechov (cercle de Vratsa). Tous sont originaires de la région de Plovdiv ou Philippopoli, où était naguère leur centre. Ils formaient naguère toute une série de communautés entre Plovdiv et

Nicopol. C'est d'eux que sont venues les colonies de Bulgares qui se sont établies en Hongrie (Vinga, Besenov) et qui sont catholiques.

Une autre portion assez considérable est constituée par les Bulgares qui, sous la domination turque, ont embrassé l'Islam. On les appelle les Pomaks. Ils sont établis de préférence dans le Rhodope, où ils constituent un groupe assez considérable entre Plovdiv et Salonique. On les rencontre aussi à l'état sporadique au nord du Balkan dans la région de Lovetch, Pleven (Plevna), particulièrement entre les rivières Vid et Panega, au sud de Pleven. Dans le royaume de Bulgarie leur nombre a beaucoup diminué; car, par suite de leurs sympathies turques, ils étaient depuis 1878 en conflit perpétuel avec les autres Bulgares. La dernière statistique en a compté 20.644 en Bulgarie, dont 17.055 dans l'arrondissement de Plovdiv et 2.837 dans celui de Plevna.

Au point de vue de l'éducation les Bulgares ne sont pas encore très avancés, ce qui s'explique par les circonstances difficiles au milieu desquelles ils ont vécu, privés de toutes les ressources de la civilisation. Ils s'efforcent maintenant de rattraper le temps perdu. D'après la dernière statistique le nombre des lettrés était dans la principauté de 28,4 p. 100 en moyenne. Les cercles se classaient dans l'ordre suivant :

Roustchouk 38,5 p. 100, Schoumen (Choumla) 35,9 p. 100, Varna 34, 8 p. 100, Trnovo

34, 1 p. 100, Plovdiv 29,6 p. 100, Bourgas 29,4 p. 100, Sofia 28,8 p. 100, Stara Zagora 28,3 p, 100 Pleven 23,1 p. 100, Küstendil 20,1 p. 100, Viddin 19,8 p. 100, Vratsa, 19 p. 100. Le plus haut degré d'instruction se rencontre naturellement dans les districts des grandes villes: 60 p. 100 à Sofia, Roustchouk et Varna, 49 p. 100 à Plovdiv, 47 p. 100 à Kotel et à Schoumen, 37 p. 100 à Kazanlyk. Les régions les moins lettrées sont celles de Radomir (20 p. 100), Tsaribrod (19 p. 100), Kyzilagatch (19 p. 100), Berkovitsa (16 p. 100), Koula (14 p. 100) Bielogradtchik (13 p. 100), Ferdinandovo 13 p. 100.

§ 38. Différenciation intérieure. — Les Bulgares sont partagés en trois groupes au point de vue de la langue.

1° Celui du dialecte occidental : il est borné à l'est par une ligne qui part de l'embouchure du Vid dans le Danube et court vers Salonique à travers les régions de Nicopol, Pleven, Lovetch, Teteven, Pirdop, Novoselo, Panagiourichté, Ikhtiman, Tchepino, Razlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrisch, Demirhissar, Seres, Salonique.

2° Le groupe de l'est se divise lui-même en deux branches:

A. Celle du nord-est où le peuple porte le nom général de Zagortsi (Transmontagnards), ou Khertsoi, ou Poliantsi.

B. Celle du sud-est, ou branche du Rhodope, dont les représentants s'appellent les Rouptsi, les Roupalani; leur noyau se trouve entre Stani-

maka et les sources de l'Arda dans le pays appelé Rouptchos. On donne pour frontière à ces deux groupes orientaux la chaîne des Balkans et de la Sredna Gora (chaîne centrale). Mais cette frontière est alternativement franchie par les deux dialectes. Les autres démarcations imaginées par les philologues sont peu d'accord entre elles et on ne peut en établir de plus précises. Tsonev tire une ligne de Bourgas par Iambol et Stara Zagora sur Tatar Pazardjik; Miletitch d'Andrinopole sur Plovdiv le long de la Maritsa (avec des pointes sur Tchirpan et Kotel).

A l'ouest le dialecte des Roupci va jusqu'à Tchepino. Evidemment, avant l'invasion ils allaient jusqu'au Balkan et à la Sredna Gora et constituaient la tribu la plus puissante du sud. On n'est pas non plus d'accord sur les frontières du dialecte occidental. D'après Miletitch il va jusqu'à Tatar Pazardjik (région des Schopi).

Chez les Bulgares des trois groupes, il existe beaucoup de groupes secondaires pourvus de noms spéciaux et distingués par les coutumes, les traditions, les noms locaux ou les dialectes. Ainsi les habitants des régions montagneuses du Balkan s'appellent en général Balkantsi, ceux des monts Rhodope (en bulgare Rodopska Planina) Planintsi[1], ceux des vallées de Sofia, de Küstendil, de Kratovo, Poliantsi, Poltsi, Poltchene[2].

1. *Planina* veut dire montagne en bulgare. Tr.
2. Pole veut dire champ. Tr.

LES BULGARES

Les Bulgares du sud appellent les Bulgares du Nord les Zagortsi (les gens d'outre-montagne), et les Bulgares du nord les appellent les Otvedentsi (les séparés). Mais nous trouvons des Zagortsi venus du nord aux environs d'Aïtos et de Bourgas. Miletitch signale de l'est à l'ouest les dénominations suivantes empruntées à des noms de localités : Erketchani (Erketch), Goulitchani (Goulitsa), Tchengentsi (Tchenge), Richani (Rich), Kotlentsi (Kotel), Titchani (Titsa), Bebrovtsi, Bebroveni (Bebrovo), etc. Les Rouméliotes reçoivent des surnoms empruntés à leur lieu d'origine : Odrintsi (d'Odrin, ou Andrinople), Iamboltsi d'Iambol), Starozagortsi (de Stara Zagora), etc.

Dans la Macédoine bulgare on rencontre aussi une infinité de dénominations locales. On appelle Mervatsi les populations établies entre la Strouma et les monts Rhodope dans la région de Sier (Serrés), Demir-hissar, Melnik, Drama, Nevrokop et Bratsigovo. Dans la Macédoine occidentale il y a une région nommée Mala reka, la Petite Rivière, dont les habitants ont reçu le surnom de Miaks. Ils appellent les habitants de Kitchevo, Bitolia, Priliep et Veles des Brsiaks : (comparez le grec βερζῆται). Parmi les autres noms macédoniens, Kantchov mentionne encore les Esti sur la rive droite du Drín noir, les Kekovtsi dans la région de Popolie, les Poulivakovtsi dans la partie occidentale de la plaine de Salonique, les Ketskari, les Oulioufs. Citons

encore les Touriaki et les Torlaki dont le nom est aussi appliqué par les Sofiotes aux habitants des régions de Pirot et de Tsaribrod, les Tokountsi, les Niniovtsi, les Maratchi entre l'Osem et l'Isker, etc...

Les Bulgares musulmans qui vivent près des sources de l'Ardar sont appelés Achrians; ce nom vient de l'ancienne forme Agariane, les enfants d'Agar[1]; entre le Dospat et la Mesta on trouve les Tsechtentsi, et sous le Chardagh les Torbechi.

Nous avons parlé plus haut (§ 33) des noms des anciens Bulgares. On leur applique aussi une dénomination énigmatique. On les appelle les Khrtsoï, et ce mot veut généralement dire un homme grossier, un villageois. Ils s'étendent entre la Mer Noire et l'Isker et aussi dans la région de Viddin et au sud jusqu'à la Strandja Planina. Ils parlent le dialecte du nord-est et se distinguent par un costume spécial. De même le costume des femmes se distingue par la couleur sombre de la robe de laine appelée soukman.

Les immigrés balkaniques qui viennent dans les régions de Schoumen, de Razgrad et de Roustchouk sont surnommés par les indigènes les noirs à cause de leurs culottes noires.

Dans la Bulgarie occidentale on distingue les vêtus de blanc et les vêtus de noir. D'autres sobriquets sont dus à la coupe des culottes.

1. Voir sur ce nom l'index de ma Chronique dite de Nestor. Tr.

Nous devons une mention spéciale aux Schopi. Ils habitent particulièrement la région montagneuse de Kustendil, Kratovo, Radomir, Breznik et Sofia. D'après Broch ils commencent immédiatement à la frontière serbe, à Kriva Feïa, à l'est de Vrania, et se distingent des autres Bulgares par le costume (culottes blanches) et la physionomie. Quelques observateurs voient en eux une ancienne tribu thrace slavisée, les Sapaioi. C'est ainsi qu'on a cru retrouver dans le nom des Rouptsi l'ancien nom grec Mérope qui aurait perdu sa première syllabe atone.

D'ailleurs, les Bulgares de l'est appellent Schopi même les habitants de Vratsa et de Trn, bien qu'ils ne se servent pas eux-mêmes de ce nom. Si l'on en croit Miletitch, c'est au village de Metchka, sur la route de Nicopoli à Pleven, que s'arrêtent les Khrtsoï et que commencent les Schopi. Autrefois les Schopi ne dépassaient pas l'Isker.

Notons encore que dans diverses parties de la Bulgarie il existe des communes dites Arnautes, autrement dit Albanaises (Arnaoutlar), par exemple dans les arrondissements de Varna, de Provadia, de Razgrad, de Kermanlar. Les habitants de ces villages sont en partie d'origine non slave-albanaise ou grecque. Mais ce sont en partie de purs Bulgares. On les appelle des Arnautes parce qu'ils étaient venus de la Macédoine, notamment des régions de Kostour et de Voden. Tels sont les prétendus Arnautes de Silistrie,

de Razgrad, de Bratsigovo. En revanche, on doit considérer comme sans fondement la thèse souvent répétée qui prête une origine slave aux Tsakoniens et aux Maïnotes de la Grèce méridionale.

Dans la partie nord-est de la Bulgarie vivent les Gagaouz. Ce sont des chrétiens qui parlent turc. Un certain nombre de ces Gagaouz parlent bulgare et se déclarent Bulgares. Certains les considèrent comme des descendants de Bulgares turcisés.

Les Gagaouz du littoral sont établis à Varna et dans quelques communes à Kestritch, Kara-Hussein, Djevizliji, Djaperliji, Ala Klise, Giaour-Souïoutchouk, Eni Kiöï, Kavarna, Biela. Les Gagaouz bulgares sont établis dans quelques communes des environs de Varna et de Provadia et surtout au village de Beïdaout dans la Dobroudja. On n'est pas d'accord sur l'origine des Gagaouz. Jireczek les considérait comme les descendants des Kumans, Mochkov, des Karakalpaks des chroniqueurs russes, Zanetov des anciens Bulgares du Volga.

Beaucoup de Gagaouz bulgares se trouvent également dans la Bessarabie, dans le district de Bender, où ils sont concentrés aux environs de Komrat. Mochkov évalue leur nombre à 70.000; mais dans la statistique officielle on les considère comme Bulgares. D'après Zanetov les Slaves bulgares de Bessarabie seraient appelés des Toukani.

Au point de vue anthropologique, le spécialiste le plus documenté, M. Vatev, distingue un certain nombre de groupes dans la nation bulgare. Mais jusqu'ici ces groupes ne concordent pas avec les groupes linguistiques. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que l'est diffère de l'ouest, notamment de la région de Sofia et de la Macédoine, et que le sud offre des traits caractéristiques.

En se fondant sur les mensurations de 320.000 enfants des écoles, de 36.000 soldats et de 1.330 crânes, il est arrivé aux conclusions suivantes sur le type bulgare :

Ce type est de taille moyenne : 1^{m},665 pour les hommes, 1^{m},567 pour les femmes ; le brun domine (50 p. 100 contre 5 p. 100 blond clair ; le reste mixte). Mais il faut noter que le teint foncé domine vers l'est, tandis qu'à l'ouest et dans la Macédoine, qui fut naguère le centre des Slaves balkaniques, le type brun est déjà rare. Le Bulgare a le nez régulier, les orbites élevées et la tête haute. En ce qui concerne la largeur, il y a 77 p. 100, de mésocéphales (indice 75-80) L'indice moyen chez les soldats est de 79,65 (en Macédoine 79,45) et sur les crânes 77,97.

Les types dolichocéphales se rencontrent surtout au sud, les brachycéphales à l'ouest ; au sud de la Macédoine l'indice moyen dépasse 85.

§ 39. Les Slaves de Macédoine. — Ainsi que nous l'avons déjà fait remarquer, les Slaves de la Macédoine et de la Vieille-Serbie sont dis-

putés à la fois par les Serbes et par les Bulgares.

Notons d'abord que l'on ne sait pas très bien où commence et où finit la Macédoine et la Vieille-Serbie. Ainsi les Bulgares rattachent à la Macédoine les régions de Skople, de Tetovo, de Koumanovo ; au contraire, les Serbes rattachent Skople et Tetovo à la Vieille-Serbie ; certains revendiquent même Prilep, Bitolia, Ochrida, Veles ; toutes ces revendications, bien entendu, dans un but politique.

La Macédoine et la Vieille-Serbie représentent le pays borné — *grosso modo* — à l'ouest par le lac d'Ochrida, le Drin, le Chardagh, au nord par les frontières de la Serbie, par les monts Osog et Rilo, à l'est, par la rivière Mesta (Karasou des Turcs). Serbes et Bulgares revendiquent également ces deux provinces. Dans ce conflit les savants des deux parties n'ont pas toujours pu s'empêcher de faire preuve d'une certaine partialité ; des savants étrangers, slaves et non-slaves, des Russes particulièrement, ont pris une part plus objective à cette polémique et il s'est produit une troisième théorie d'après laquelle les Slaves de Macédoine ne sont pas des Serbes ni des Bulgares, mais un peuple particulier. Tel était par exemple le point de vue de P. Draganov, en 1887, et c'est en s'inspirant de cette idée que la Société de bienfaisance slave de Pétersbourg a publié la carte ethnographique des Balkans élaborée par Komarov et Zarianko, et c'est la théo-

rie que défend un éminent ethnographe serbe, Tsviitch[1].

Les historiens se sont occupés des rapports de la Macédoine avec les Etats serbe et bulgare; les ethnographes ont comparé le folklore des Slaves de Macédoine avec celui des Serbes et des Bulgares; enfin les philologues se sont donné beaucoup de mal pour étudier les traits caractéristiques des dialectes macédoniens et voir auquel des deux idiomes voisins ils se rattachaient. Ce conflit a provoqué toute une littérature scientifique; mais il n'est pas fini et il ne le sera pas de longtemps, parce qu'il ne s'agit pas de questions scientifiques, mais avant tout de politique.

Et au point de vue politique on trouvera toujours des raisons pour que la solution reste suspendue. Les Serbes ont besoin de la mer et l'Autriche leur a interdit l'accès de l'Adriatique en s'emparant de la Bosnie-Herzégovine; ils tournent désormais des regards de convoitise vers l'Archipel, particulièrement vers l'embouchure du Vardar, vers Salonique, et pour cette raison ils s'efforcent de démontrer par tous les moyens possibles que la Macédoine appartient à leur nation.

D'autre part, les Bulgares ne veulent pas renoncer à ce qui est aujourd'hui un fait, à ce qu'attestent les siècles passés, à l'étroite dépendance

1. Voir sur cette question notre étude sur l'Expansion des langues slaves (*Le Monde slave*, 1er vol., Paris, Hachette, 1897, p. 309). Tr.

de la Macédoine et de la Bulgarie. A côté de ces deux principaux prétendants d'autres Etats, la Grèce et la Roumanie, font valoir des prétentions fort exagérées; sans compter la Turquie aujourd'hui légitime propriétaire du pays contesté, sans parler des grandes puissances, notamment la Russie, l'Italie et l'Autriche, qui ont l'œil sur la Macédoine.

De tout ce tourbillon d'efforts littéraires, politiques et scientifiques, un observateur désintéressé ne peut dégager aujourd'hui que ces conclusions évidentes:

1° Les Slaves de Macédoine et de la Vieille-Serbie représentent un peuple dont la conscience nationale n'est pas encore complètement et également développée, si nous les comparons aux deux peuples voisins. Cependant il est hors de doute que la partie la plus considérable de ce peuple se sent et se proclame Bulgare, qu'elle se rattache à l'église bulgare autocéphale dont le chef est l'exarque résident à Ortakiöï[1]. D'autre part, il est certain que le nom des Bulgares est dans ces régions un nom historique et qu'il n'y a pas pénétré par la propagande religieuse des dernières années. Bien que ces régions aient été naguère annexées à l'Etat serbe, le nom de Serbe n'a pas pris dans le peuple. C'est pour cela que dans ces derniers temps, la propagande bulgare, propa-

1. D'après Brankov, il y a en Macédoine 77 p. 100 d'exarchistes et 23 p. 100 de patriarchistes. D'après Hilmi pacha la proportion serait tout autre. Voy. plus haut, § 37.

gande ecclésiastique et politique a trouvé un écho profond dans le pays ; la propagande serbe n'a de chance d'avenir que dans la région du nord qui est en contact, en relation d'intérêts immédiats avec le royaume serbe ; cette région, c'est la Vieille-Serbie.

2° Au point de vue philologique la langue des Slaves de Macédoine présente, il est vrai, un ensemble de dialectes locaux assez distincts les uns des autres. Ils constituent comme un idiome intermédiaire entre le serbe chtokavski et la langue bulgare proprement dite[1]. Mais dans son ensemble et par certains détails elle se rapproche beaucoup plus du bulgare que du serbe. Ces traits particuliers sont l'emploi de l'article postpositif (employé après le substantif), la perte de la déclinaison et la conservation des nasales. Seul le dialecte de la région du nord se rattache plus intimement au groupe dialectique de Vrania, Nich, Timok, que le professeur Belitch rattache au domaine de la langue serbe, mais certains philologues ne sont point d'accord avec lui. Pour ces raisons j'ai, ainsi qu'on l'a vu plus haut, et sur la carte qui accompagne ce livre, adjugé les Slaves de Macédoine aux Bulgares, tout en reconnaissant qu'il y a dans la Vieille-Serbie une majorité de familles qui se réclament de la nation serbe..

3° Il est d'ailleurs certain que cette question de savoir si la Macédoine est serbe ou bulgare ne peut pas être décidée par des indices secondaires

1. Voir plus haut, § 32.

linguistiques et ethnographiques, par exemple l'habitude de célébrer la fête appelée *Slava*[1], mais, par d'autres facteurs. Tels sont la tradition historique, la juridiction ecclésiastique, les idées et les tendances politiques. Mais, même à ce point de vue, la Macédoine n'est pas tranquille; elle est le théâtre d'une agitation incessante. On agit par la propagande politique, par l'argent, par l'école, par l'église du côté bulgare et serbe. Sur le point où tous ces efforts se sont concentrés ils peuvent faire de l'individu le moins conscient un Serbe ou un Bulgare, en dépit du dialecte qu'il parle. Tous ces facteurs n'ont pas cessé d'agir et ils ne cesseront pas tant que la Macédoine et la Vieille-Serbie ne seront pas au pouvoir de la Serbie ou de la Bulgarie. L'État qui le premier occupera la région pour un long temps lui donnera le premier un caractère durable.

Aujourd'hui, la Macédoine est bulgare ; mais c'est encore une question, question de force et d'avenir, de savoir si elle sera toujours bulgare ou si elle se serbisera en partie. La solution naturelle serait celle qui adjugerait la Vieille-Serbie aux Serbes et la Macédoine aux Bulgares. Les relations des deux peuples se trouveraient ainsi réglées et leur développement national assuré. Mais arrivera-t-on à cette solution politique et nationale du problème macédonien ? C'est fort douteux.

1. Fête annuelle où l'on répète à diverses reprises le mot *slava*, gloire, qui lui a donné son nom. Tr.

RESUMÉ

CHIFFRE TOTAL DES SLAVES

§ 40. — Pour l'année 1900 j'ai évalué le chiffre total des Slaves à 137 ou 138 millions. Après avoir revisé mes évaluations en 1908 je suis arrivé au chiffre de 139 millions, dont voici le détail :

Russes	environ.	94.000.000
Polonais	— .	20.000.000
Serbes de Lusace	— .	150.000
Tchèques et Slovaques .	— .	9.800.000
Slovènes	— .	1.500.000
Serbo-Croates.	— .	8.550.000
Bulgares	— .	5.000.000
Total	1900.	139.000.000

Ce total n'est qu'une évaluation conjecturale, car, ainsi qu'on l'a vu pour chaque nation en particulier, on ne peut que très rarement garantir de façon absolue le nombre des sujets slaves, surtout dans la péninsule balkanique, et aussi en Allemagne et dans l'Autriche-Hongrie. Le chiffre des colons établis hors d'Europe est dû à des conjectures.

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Comme point de comparaison, je rappelle que Langhans en 1900 évaluait le total des Allemands dans le monde entier à 85 millions, en 1904 Henoch à 82 millions (dont 69.663.000 pour l'Europe, 11.600.000 pour l'Amérique), total inférieur à celui des seuls Russes. Le professeur Florinsky de Kiev, à la fin de l'année 1906, trouvait un total de 148.521.000. En prenant pour base mes évaluations, en y ajoutant pour chaque année un accroissement de 1,4 p. 100, nous obtiendrons pour l'année 1910 un total de 158 à 159 millions.

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1. Nous avons omis dans la traduction un certain nombre de travaux d'ordre secondaire publiés dans des recueils inaccessibles au public français. Tr.

2. Voir sur Schaffarik mes deux articles au *Journal des savants*, mars-avril 1910. Tr.

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1. Sauf indications contraires, les ouvrages cités sont en polonais.

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1. Arumanen est le nom donné par M. Weigand aux Romains qui vivent au sud du Danube. Ce nom est dû à une particularité de leur prononciation (Tr.).

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CARTE ETHNOGRAPHIQUE
DE LA RACE SLAVE

4: Cross D-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

Slavic Civilization Through The Ages

BY

SAMUEL HAZZARD CROSS

EDITED WITH A FOREWORD BY

Leonid I. Strakhovsky

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FOREWORD

The late Dr. Samuel Hazzard Cross, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Harvard University, left a complete manuscript of the eight lectures he delivered at the Lowell Institute of Boston in November and December of 1939. It became my pleasant duty to edit them for publication, but in doing so I have revised only the form of the lectures and not their content.

Fortified by years of research and teaching in the field, Professor Cross paints in a broad sweep the picture of the rise, fall, and reëmergence of the three branches of the Slavic people—the Eastern, the Western, and the Southern. He describes the origins of many of the sources of modern conflicts such as the struggles between German and Pole, and Pole and Russian; the quest of Poland to obtain lands to the Elbe river which Poles had once occupied; the desire of Russia to dominate the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea; the conflict between German and Czech over the Sudeten area; the lack of cohesion and statesmanship among the Southern Slavs. Mr. Cross also evaluates the great cultural contribution of the Germans to their Slavic neighbors which the latter have often minimized for political and nationalistic reasons. He assails the romantic notion of the "mission" supposedly inherent in any nation or racial group and points out that the real contribution of the Slavic people to world civilization is the result of achievement recognizable as such by other people and not the result of so-called "missionary" activity. While analyzing the origins of modern conflicts, Mr. Cross gives a profound evaluation not only of the basic similarity of Slavic cultures, but also of the reasons for their dissimilarity produced on the whole by geographical conditions as well as by foreign influences.

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For all those who want to understand what has been happening in recent times in eastern and central Europe Mr. Cross has provided an indispensable historical survey. The reader will find himself drawn rapidly on through an informative and fascinating study of Slavic civilization, written by a scholar, a teacher, and a brilliant lecturer whose untimely passing left a chasm in the field of Slavic studies.

Leonid I. Strakhovsky

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The Primitive Slavs

121 The object of this study is to provide a fairly detailed account of the Slavs from their first appearance in history to their emergence in modern times as a group of nations akin in race and language, but diversified by the cultural and political influences to which they have been exposed.

[161] Numerically the Slavs are the largest linguistic group in
131 Europe, including some two hundred million people. Located
175* in the eastern section of the European Continent, they were long remote from the civilization which grew up on the northern shore of the Mediterranean, and thus were late in assuming an active political role. In early medieval times their lack of organization made them an easy prey to nations of higher material culture and more intense political aspirations; consequently the hostility between German and Slav is a historical factor of long standing. The geographical situation of the Slavs not only set them as a natural bulwark against nomadic invaders from Asia, but also exposed them to Asiatic cultural influences and to the infusion of alien blood. Their very numbers and their remote habitations retarded their cultural advance, as did also the domination of the unenlightened mass by an intelligent minority touched in varying degree by foreign
186 civilizations. Hence the absence of any pervasive tradition of
175* native culture has repeatedly prevented the development of

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186 ethnic or national self-consciousness and restricted the capacity
175* of Slavic peoples either for self-government or for a resolute national effort in the critical moments of their evolution. Even those Slavs who live closest to the centers of European civilization and who shared its progress for centuries have often been debarred by economic and political factors from the enjoyment of a full national life, and those more distant from these centers have emerged from the Middle Ages only during the last 250 years. In the light of these facts, it is not surprising that the Slavs have often seemed an enigma to the Western world.

101 By virtue of their geographical distribution, the modern
197 Slavs fall naturally into three distinct groups: Eastern, West-
131 ern, and Southern. Of these, the Eastern is the most numerous. It embraces the Russians, who comprise two-thirds of the Slavic complex, and subdivide linguistically into three sections: first and most important, the so-called Great Russians, inhabiting the central and northern districts of European Russia; second, the White Russians (and here "White" has no political connotation whatever, but means light-haired) who occupy the area which borders on the northern part of the former eastern frontier of Poland, and, while centering in the neighborhood of Minsk, also run over into former Polish territory as far as Grodno, Bialystok, and Brest-Litovsk; and third, the so-called Little Russians (otherwise known as Ukrainians or Ruthenians), who inhabit the black-earth prairies or steppes north of the Black Sea from the western frontier to the Kuban and Don rivers. The Ukrainians, as present-day newspaper readers know only too well, also inhabit not only Volhynia and Eastern Galicia as far west as Przemysl, but also the extreme eastern tip of the former republic of Czechoslovakia, known as Subcarpathian Russia (now Soviet territory), and likewise make up a considerable part of the population of Bukovina (now also Soviet), an area which formerly belonged to Romania and which lies just south of the former Polish-Romanian frontier.

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It was to this district, centering about the city of Czernowitz, that many Polish officials and soldiers withdrew to escape German and Russian pursuit when Poland was invaded in 1939.

The Western Slavic group includes the Poles, the Czechs (or Bohemians) and Moravians, the Slovaks, and two Slavic islands in German territory: the Kashubs, who live on the Baltic coast northwest of Danzig, probably not over two hundred thousand in number, and a considerably smaller number of Sorbs, or Wends, who inhabit Lausitz, or Lusatia, a small area on the upper Spree river northeast of Dresden.

The Southern Slavs are cut off from their northern kindred by the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Romanians, but comprise the Slovenes in the extreme northern part of Yugoslavia; the Serbs and the Croatians, who differ from one another only in slight variations of dialect and by the fact that the Serbs belong to the Greek Orthodox church and use the Cyrillic Script (similar to the Russian), while the Croatians are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; and the Bulgarians who, though possessing a Slavic national language, represent a complex fusion of racial and linguistic stocks.

In view of the numerous and violent migratory movements which took place in northern Europe both before the Christian era and during the first few centuries after it began, the Slavs are hardly likely to have occupied their present extensive territory during their whole recorded history. On the contrary, their migrations cover a range almost as vast as those of their Germanic neighbors, and the location of their primitive habitat constitutes a problem which has long engaged students of Slavic history and linguistics.

The earliest native tradition dealing with Slavic origins is contained in the so-called Russian *Primary Chronicle,* a compilation completely extant only in two fourteenth-century texts, but which reproduce with considerable accuracy a work composed by a monk of Kiev about the end of the eleventh century. Here we read:

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For many years the Slavs lived beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and the Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs parties scattered throughout the country and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled. Thus some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs. Among these same Slavs are included the White Croats, the Serbs, and the Carinthians. For when the Vlakhs attacked the Danubian Slavs, and settled among them, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs. Of these Lyakhs some were called Polyanians, some Lutichians, some Mazovians, and still others Pomorians. Certain Slavs also settled on the Dnieper, and were called Polyanians. Still others were called Derevlians, because they lived in the forests. Some also settled between the Pripet and the Dvina, and were known as Dregovichians. Other tribes settled on the Dvina and became known as Polotians, from a small stream named the Polot, which flows into the Dvina. . . . The Slavs also settled around lake Ilmen, and were there known by their own name. They built a city, and called it Novgorod. Still others had their settlements along the Desna, the Sem, and the Sula, and were called Severians. And thus the Slavic race was scattered, and likewise its language was known as Slavic.

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In this passage, apart from the detail expended by the author on particularizing the various Eastern Slavic tribes which had fallen under the sway of Kiev more than two centuries before he wrote, what is most striking is his implication that neither the Western Slavs (Czechs, Moravians, and Poles) nor the Eastern Slavs were, in the annalist's view, indigenous to the areas they occupied in his day. He accepts the tradition that the original home of the Slavs was on the middle Danube, from which region (as he relates) they were displaced at an earlier undefined period by a nation known as the Vlakhs, under whose pressure they sought safer residences to the north and northeast. Now, while the term Vlakh has various meanings,

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it would be most natural here to attach it to the Celtic Gauls who penetrated the Danube basin early in the fourth century B.C. and then, under the leadership of a chief named Brennus, marched down through Thrace and Macedonia and invaded Greece as far as Delphi in 280. The only difficulty lies in the absence of the slightest indication in Greek or Latin historians and geographers that the Slavs, or any part of them, were present on the middle or lower Danube basin before the Christian era. Nor are there in this area any early place names demonstrably Slavic which would show these sources to be faulty in this respect.

In fact, though the evidence of this passage from the Russian annals led numerous medieval and early modern historians in the last century to accept the Danubian origin of the Slavs, other much more reliable and older sources place them further north beyond the Carpathian Mountains when they make their first appearance in history. To be sure, the Slavs do not begin their historical career under this name, but under another which is etymologically related to the English term "Wends" or the German "Wenden," frequently applied to the Slavs in our own day. As the Venedi, Veneti, or Venedae, they are thus mentioned by Pliny the Elder and by Tacitus during the first century, and by the Egyptian astronomer and geographer Claudius Ptolemy, who wrote in Greek toward the end of the second century. Pliny locates them vaguely in the vicinity of the Vistula. Tacitus is equally indefinite, placing them in the unknown country east of the Suebic confederacy, which he knew as Germanic. Ptolemy mentions them as one of the major nations living along the Venedic Gulf, which appears to be his term for the section of the Baltic coast northeast of the Vistula.

The identity of the Venedae of the Baltic with the Slavs is established in the sixth century by Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, who says of them in one passage: "From the source of the Vistula river immense areas are occupied by the populous nation of the Venethae, who, though their appellations may change in various clans and districts, are mainly called

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174 *Sclaveni* and *Antae,*" and adds elsewhere, "Though deriving
114 from one stem, they have now adopted three names, that is, Venethi, Antes, and Sclaveni." The "Ravenna Cosmographer," an anonymous geographic work not later than the seventh century, mentions the *Sclavini* as living in Scythia, which is here a generic term for northeastern Europe, while the ninth-century Latin text known as the "Anonymous Bavarus," with the full title "Description of the cities and regions on the north bank of the Danube," speaks of the *Zeruiani* (the name is obviously related to the modern terms *Serb* and *Sorb*), "which is so great a realm that from it, as their tradition relates, all the tribes of the Slavs are sprung and trace their origin."

Such of these sources as belong to the sixth century or later obviously reflect a period when the Slavic dispersion had already begun, but they are interesting as early datable appearances of the name *Slav* and as a sound basis for identifying Wends and Slavs as the same people.

174 Linguistic evidence also impels us to place the Slavs north
197 of the Carpathians before their dispersion. Old Slavonic not only shows traces of contacts with Thracian, Iranian, and Germanic, but is also closely related to Lithuanian and exerted some influence on the early Finnish vocabulary. The only area where such extensive relations could have developed must necessarily have been north and east of the Carpathian chain.

174 It is likewise true that such anthropological evidence as we
141 have identifies the proto-Slavs rather with the northern long-headed race than with the primitive Central European brachycephalics, though even at the epoch of Slavic unity the cephalic index was by no means uniform, and with the lapse of time the stronger shortheaded brunette type came to dominate among the Slavs, as it does indeed today.

174 The topological nomenclature of the Carpathian range is,
114 moreover, not Slavic, thus indicating that the early Slavs lived beyond these mountains and the forests which clothed them. Furthermore, Herodotus mentions as adjacent and subject to

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the Scythians, but as distinct from them, a tribe known as the Neuri, who lived between the upper Dniester and the middle Dnieper rivers, and certain related Slavic place names indicate that they extended to the basins of the western Bug and the Vistula. This tribe is therefore generally regarded as Slavic, and on this basis it may be held with some certainty that the proto-Slavs as early as the fifth century B.C., and thus long before their dispersion, inhabited an area at least as far to the east as modern Kiev. 174 114

To the west it is not possible to place the proto-Slavic boundary beyond the Vistula, since all ancient historians mention this river as the eastern boundary of Germanic settlement. A further indication of this western Slavic frontier is the fact that the vocabulary of the proto-Slavs lacked a word for the beechtree, which grows west of a line roughly connecting Königsberg and Odessa, so that the Slavs were forced to borrow this name from their early Germanic neighbors. There is no good archaeological evidence to indicate that the proto-Slavs ever extended as far as the Elbe, though their medieval descendants reached it. Neither did they touch the Baltic, for the area north of the string of lakes and marshes which separates modern East Prussia from Polish territory was inhabited at the beginning of the Christian era by Baltic tribes akin to the present-day Lithuanians, who likewise occupied the basins of the Memel and the Dvina between the Slavs and the Gulf of Riga. Before the Christian era, the proto-Slavs were also separated from the Black Sea by a succession of Iranian tribes who occupied the southern steppe or prairie country, but they must have touched the navigable portions of the Russian rivers west of the Crimea, since Old Slavonic borrowed the Greek word for boat. 174

The habitat of the primitive Slavs before their dispersion was thus an irregular oblong area northeast of the Carpathians, extending eastward from the basin of the middle Vistula to the course of the Dnieper north and south of Kiev, bounded on the 174 131

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174 north by the rivers Narev and Pripet, and along its southern
131 edge touching the headwaters of the Prut, the Dniester, and the Bug, which are all rivers flowing into the Black Sea.

101 The very origin of the names "Wend" and "Slav" is problematic. The term "Wend" has sometimes been regarded as connected with the Danish *vand,* the modern equivalent of Old Norse "vatn" (water), so that the Wends would derive this appellation from being water dwellers or lake dwellers. Though there are traces of Slavic lake dwellers, the difficulty here is that the name, being found in Pliny and Tacitus, is far older than any Slavic contacts with the Danes as such. For geographical reasons also, the earliest Slavic contacts must have been not with North Germanic, but with East Germanic tribes who (if we may judge by the Gothic vocabulary) used for water the terms "wato," without a nasal, or (in the case of a river or any body of water) "ahwa," akin to the familiar Latin "aqua." Efforts to correlate the name "Wends" with a Germanic word "wenden," to wander, so that it might signify "the wanderers," collide with the objection that both early East and West Germanic cognates of this verb simply mean "to turn," with no implication of wandering at all. Any connection with the Gothic word "winja" (pasturage) is to be rejected because
[231] of the absent dental (d), though there is abundant evidence to
[24] prove that the primitive Slavs were relatively skilful agriculturists and cattleraisers. Similarly, it is hardly possible to justify a connection between the name "Wend" and the Indo-European base **uen,* meaning "to strive, to wish, to love," even through such a derivative as Old Norse "vinr," friend. The Slavic etymologies proposed are even more uncertain, so that, for lack of anything better, the most reasonable supposition is that "Wend" is related to the early Celtic base "uindo," which means "white." It would thus appear that this was the appellation applied by the dark-haired Celts in the Danube basin to their blond neighbors behind the Carpathians, and this interpretation is the more appealing since there are pure Slavic tribal names of which the definition "white" or "blond" is a com-

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ponent, e.g., White Croats and White Russians (Belohorvaty, Belorussi). /01/

The name "Slav" first appears in a Greek text written about 550, and from that period becomes more and more frequent. The Slavic form itself is Slověnin, plural Slověne, and corresponds, except for the inserted *k* and *t*, to the Greek and Latin Σκλαυηνοί, Στλαυηνοί, Sclaveni, Stlaveni, and it has been suggested that the shorter forms Σκλάβοι, Σθλάβοι, Sclavi, Stlavi are imitated from the numerous characteristic proper names in *-slav* (Vladislav, Yaroslav, Svyatoslav, etc.). The origin of the *k* is dubious, though it may be recalled that the initial combination *sl* occurs in no native Greek word, while *skl*, of which the sound is identical to the unpracticed ear, was familiar from σκληρός and its cognates, and *stl* occurs in στλεγίς, etc. The Arabic names which include the *k* (Asqālab, Saqāliba) would thus appear to depend originally on these Greek forms. Among the Slavs themselves, as early as the thirteenth century, popular etymology developed a totally legendary derivation from "slava," glory, while numerous competent Slavists of the last century accepted the derivation from "slovo," word, thus interpreting *Slovene* to mean "speakers of the same language." This derivation has often been favorably argued from the converse that the Slavs called the Germans "dummies" (*nemtsy*) because their tongue was incomprehensible. On a somewhat similar basis, it has even been suggested that the name is connected with Gothic "slawan" (be silent), and English "slow," so that Slav would be a nickname like *Nemets*, as applied by the Slavs themselves to the Germans. Unfortunately, however, there is no evidence that "slawan" and "slow" are related. The trouble with both these suggestions is that the suffix *-ěnin, -yanin* always indicates a man from a certain place, hence a *Slověnin* ought to be a man from a place called Slovo or Slava. But no such place is known. On the other hand, it has been suggested that there may have been a river or a marshy area known as Slava or Slova (the name would be akin to the Indo-European base **kleu-*, "to cleanse, to water") so that the *Slověne* would

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101 be the dwellers along the banks of such a river or in the marshy area thus postulated. In the primitive habitat of the Slavs there are rivers with names related to a base *slav-* or *slov-*, and much marshland, but nowhere has a name been preserved which is of sufficient importance to justify the assumption that it was the starting point for the term *Slověne* which, despite its mystery, has been applied to all Slavic subdivisions, whatever their location, since the sixth century A.D.

197 Like the Germanic dialects, the Slavic languages belong to the so-called Indo-European linguistic family. It so happens that we are familiar with a series of languages which begin to appear about 1000 B.C. from Hindustan to the Atlantic and from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean basin, and which exhibit so many common features that they may safely be considered to have a common origin. Along with the Germanic and the Slavic languages, this family includes Indo-Iranian (i.e., Sanskrit, the various later Indic dialects, and the several forms of Persian), Baltic (Lithuanian and Lettish), Albanian, Armenian, Celtic, Greek, and Italic (among the latter, besides Latin, the idioms of several other tribes speaking kindred tongues). The Baltic and the Slavic languages have so many striking resemblances that many philologists believe in a long period of Balto-Slavic community before the two branches separated and pursued individual paths of linguistic evolution. Of these two branches, the Baltic, especially as represented by Lithuanian, is the more conservative, hence evolved more slowly, and exhibits linguistically a more primitive character than Old Slavonic, despite the fact that our oldest Lithuanian text dates from the sixteenth century, while our oldest Slavic texts go back to the tenth.

While it is customary, for linguistic reasons, to postulate a uniform primitive Slavonic or proto-Slavonic tongue, this term should not be taken to mean that even at the dawn of their history the Slavic tribes over the whole extent of their habitat spoke a language identical in phonology, inflection, and vocabulary. It is rather to be supposed that the germs of dialec-

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tal differentiation inherent in the proto-Slavonic language even at the epoch of closest ethnic unity evolved into conspicuous local characteristics as the race gradually spread. By the ninth century A.D., when a Slavonic tongue was first used for literary purposes, the differentiation of the several Slavonic languages and even of the dialects in each was a consummated fact of some centuries' standing.

By their very location, remote from the centers of classical culture and bordering to the west, south, and north upon tribes to which it did not penetrate until the beginning of the Christian era, the Slavs, jutting out toward the confines of Asia in a region almost devoid of natural boundaries and barriers, were inevitably exposed to the repeated impacts of alien nations from the Orient. Destined later to form a part of the great medieval trade route from the Baltic to the Black Sea, the river Dnieper, along which the easternmost portion of the primitive Slavs lived, was likewise a promising area for penetration from the north. The Slavic occupation of western Russian territory, if the identification of Herodotus's Neuri as Slavic is correct, reaches well back toward the beginning of the first millennium before Christ. The earliest historical neighbors of the Slavs in the Russian prairie country were thus the Cimmerians, whose land, according to the *Odyssey*, was always veiled in fog and darkness, for there the sun never rose nor set. Actually they were an eastern offshoot of the Thracians, who centered in the basin west of the Carpathians until they were displaced by Germanic and Celtic invaders. During the second millennium and until the eighth century B.C., the Cimmerians extended eastward beyond the Crimea and the Sea of Azov, and to them belong the scanty remnants of bronze culture found in South Russia and dating from the beginning of the first millennium before Christ. The barrier erected by the Cimmerians to a Slavic advance toward the Black Sea was later perpetuated by the Scythians, who form the first wave of Oriental nomads to sweep across the black-earth region in historical times.

The Scythians are, in fact, the earliest inhabitants of south-

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175* ern Russia whose contacts with the peoples of classical antiquity permit historical definition. They were Iranians by race, hence akin to us and to the Slavs. The initial colonial outposts of the Ionian Greeks on the northern shores of the Black Sea were established in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., and therefore almost contemporaneously with the Scythian drive against the Cimmerians. Though the latter still employed bronze implements, knowledge of the use of iron was evidently transmitted from Asia Minor about 900 B.C., and the earliest Scythian remains show South Russia to have possessed a fully developed iron-age culture.

The Scythian domination of the steppes lasted some five centuries and was of marked importance for the rise of civilization between the Volga and the Danube. The Scythians had perfected an efficient military organization which held under their sway the majority of the tribes in this region, guaranteeing them a high degree of economic prosperity by assuring the export of their produce (foodstuffs and raw materials) through the Greek trading posts of the Black Sea coastline. Embracing the whole of southern Russia, this fundamentally commercial civilization gradually extended toward the northwest. Archaeological remains between the Don and Dnieper rivers prove that prehistoric foci of population became, under the Scythians, important fortified commercial centers. Such centers appear chiefly in the district which was eventually to become the nucleus of the state dominated by Kiev, that is, in the central and eastern section of the modern Ukraine.

On the extreme west flank the Scythians extended far enough north of the Danube to collide with the troops of Alexander the Great in 325 B.C. On the east they were gradually pushed farther and farther toward the Don by the advance of a kindred Iranian tribe, the Sarmatians, who had reached that western limit by the time of Herodotus. Then, at the end of the fourth century B.C., the Sarmatians crossed the Don from their previous seats on the steppes west of the Volga, driving the Scythians before them. During the fourth and third cen-

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turies, the Scythians thus gradually transferred their nucleus 175*
from the prairie country between the Dnieper and the Don to the middle course of the Dnieper and the steppes between the Dnieper and the Bug, endeavoring to install themselves as a ruling class in the northern sections of this area and to extend their authority still further northward. This effort was vitiated by hostile contacts with other mobile ethnic units, including the Slavs.

While the Scythians had been able to set up a well-organized and centralized state in which, as their contacts with the Greek world evolved, elements of Greek civilization were grafted upon the nomadic and oriental culture which they had brought with them from Asia, they can hardly have formed at any time a majority of the population on the south Russian steppes. They were only a ruling minority, supported and enriched by the tribute in kind exacted from the subject population whose products they exported. Even the period of the fourth and third centuries B.C., during which the Scythian state was gradually declining, marked an age of great prosperity for southern Russia, since the demand for Scythian merchandise was stimulated by the influx of wealth into the Greek world after the conquests of Alexander the Great and the rise of the Hellenistic succession states.

Though racially related to the Scythians, the Sarmatians 175*
lacked their talent for organization, and first appear as a com- 177
plex of disunited tribes pushed into the steppes by Mongolian movements of the fourth to the second centuries B.C. Their advance guard had penetrated as far as the Bug and the Dniester by the end of the second century. In fact, at the beginning of our era, the Sarmatians were already a menace to the Roman Empire, and their chief element, the Alans, persisted as a dominant force in South Russia till the third century A.D. Such Scythian remnants as remained in this area were absorbed by the new masters, who imitated the Scythian policy of encouraging the commerce of the Greek coastal cities whose culture they emulated. The political evolution of these Iranian

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175* 177 residents is, however, less important than the fact that during their early history the Slavs were at least in peripheral contact with Iranian elements which had a high degree of native or acquired civilization. While their influence is reflected in a few items of the Old Slavonic vocabulary, this factor is not *per se* so significant as the continuity of cultural tradition on the southeastern border of the proto-Slavic habitat.

From their neighbors to the northeast the Slavs could derive even less intellectual stimulus. The regions east of the upper Dnieper and northward from the Dvina to the Baltic were occupied by Finnish tribes until, at the beginning of the Christian era, the Slavs, by their northeasterly advance toward the Oka and the Volga, drove a wedge between the Finnish peoples, dividing them into two sections, one of which included the Mordvinians, Cheremisses, and kindred tribes of the Volga basin west of Kazan, while the other comprised the Finnish elements which gradually approached the Baltic in the triangle between the rivers Dvina and Lovat or inhabited the region of the great lakes east of the Finnish Gulf.

It has already been mentioned that the primitive habitat of the Slavs as a whole extended as far west as the middle Vistula. As in modern times, this stream was a line of immemorial contact between Slav and German as far back as even our fragmentary historical knowledge extends. Collisions between German and Slav begin in early classical times, collisions which were usually the result of German migratory movements. The earliest on record was thus caused by the movement of the Bastarnae, who, accompanied by the Sciri, another Germanic tribe, at some epoch between the time of Herodotus (the middle of the fifth century B.C.) and 240-230 B.C., moved from their seats on the lower Vistula, hence west of the Slavs, across the western Bug (now in Polish territory) through Volhynia and Podolia, occupied by Slavs, toward the Black Sea. It is thus likely that the earliest German influences were exerted upon the Slavs by this tribe.

175* After the migration of the Bastarnae, the Baltic coast of east-

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ern Germany was settled by other Germanic peoples, especially 175*
the Goths, who were present on the shoreline as early as the fourth century B.C. At any rate, in the first two Christian centuries, we find them definitely on the lower Vistula north of the Slavs. During the second century A.D. some migratory disturbance, or perhaps even the casual exploration of watercourses followed by a desire for more fertile territory and for commercial relations with the Black Sea littoral once a route thither was discovered, induced a considerable number of the Goths to move out eastward across the Bug to the basins of the Pripet and the Dniester. At some point during this movement, perhaps in Volhynia, one section split off from the main Gothic body and, after passing down the Dniester, subsequently appeared in Dacia as the Visigoths, who fought against Caracalla's troops in 214 and crossed the Danube in 248. According to the tradition preserved by Jordanes, the rest passed over the Dnieper and finally reached the coasts of the Black Sea and the Crimea.

Since the Goths remained masters of the western steppe 175*
country from the second century A.D. until 370, when they 177
were overthrown by the Huns, they were thus the Germanic 197
tribe with whom the proto-Slavs had the closest and most lasting relations, reflected in a considerable number of loan words in the common Slavic vocabulary. These words may be classified in groups which clearly demonstrate along what lines Gothic influence upon the Slavs was most incisive. They include an extensive list of military terms (armed band, helmet, armor, sword), commercial words (usury, debt, earring, purse, buy, kettle, plate, sack, camel, vinegar, glass), agricultural items (plow, stall, vineyard, cattle, garden, donkey, fig, bread), and names of learned professions (doctor, scribe). Some of these words point also to the probability that this borrowing either did not take place until, or at any rate was still taking place during, the period when the Germans were in close contact with the Roman Empire and had themselves already borrowed some terminology from the Latin. In any event, these words

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175* must have become ingrained in the Slavic vocabulary before
177 400 A.D., and made their entry into the common speech prior
197 to the spread of the Southern Slavs into the Balkans, which began about a century later.

175* While for 200 years the Goths were the dominant ethnic element in southern and western Russia, they constituted only a numerically inferior ruling class which controlled the Slavic natives and such Iranian elements as were left from the period of Scythian and Sarmatian supremacy. It would otherwise be difficult to explain the process by which the Goths disappeared completely from the steppe country during the two centuries after the overthrow of the Gothic kingdom by the Huns in 370. The Huns themselves were a Turko-Tartar tribe whose western movement, begun in the first century A.D. after 300 years of strife with the Chinese in southern Mongolia, brought them to the Caspian Sea in the second. They were a nonagricultural nomadic people possessed of little culture of their own. What civilization they exhibited, and particularly their military organization, they borrowed from their Sarmatian vassals. Some of the Ostrogoths joined the advancing Huns. That portion of the Gothic population which had settled in the Crimea, though also subjected to the Huns, disappeared more slowly, and some small remnants preserved their Gothic identity as late as the eighteenth century. While the authority of the Huns does not appear to have been oppressively exercised in the steppe country, it nevertheless dealt a fatal blow to the flourishing civilization composed of combined Oriental and Greek elements which had adorned the north shore of the Black Sea for nearly a millennium. The Huns were the last Asiatic people to impinge upon the eastern section of the Slavs before their dispersion and expansion.

613 The primitive social organization of the early Slavs is, it must be admitted, a highly controversial subject. An exclusively patriarchal and tribal organization is found, after all, only among purely nomadic peoples, but is immediately re-

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solved as soon as peoples become fixed, in consequence of the 613
necessity of integrating nonkindred elements into the social complex. The originally kindred groups become contaminated with extraneous elements, though still conceived as fictitious clans or tribes. When we first encounter the Slavs, they are [361]
mostly beyond the nomadic stage, and the most primitive social unit preserved among a Slavic people in historical times is the western Serbian *Zadruga*. This characteristic family community is probably, like the Indian "joint family," a remnant not merely of Slavic but of common Indo-European antiquity.

As far as we can judge from historical survivals, the basic 621
social unit among the early Slavs was a rural community con- 613
sisting of a certain number of persons of common descent, together with outsiders who acquired membership by marriage or adoption. Its head was either its senior member or an elected chief, and direction might even devolve upon a prominent widow. The chief represented the group in external relations and directed its economy, though in serious matters he was subject to the joint decision of its membership. Collectivity of 421
goods prevailed; the whole fortune of such a unit, together with the individual earnings of its members, belonged to the group, and could not be disposed of without common consent. Membership in such groups might run as high as over a score of households. Fields, woodland, and similar landed appendages were common property, but pasturage might be particularized. Where trade and barter became matters of vital in- 361
terest (as was the case very early on the Russian watercourses), [438]
primitive towns seem to have been the creation of ambitious 621
groups who sought a convenient point for defense or trade
and then proceeded to expand their possessions and influence 619
by the acquisition (peacefully or by violence) of adjacent interesting territory. On the other hand, patriarchal relationships might persist even in these centers. Tribal complexes such as we later encounter among the Russian Slavs derived from the union of various family units with remote ties of kinship and might attain a membership of several thousand souls. The

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619 presence of a patronymic suffix in early Russian tribal names
621 indicates that these tribes actually passed through a stage when membership depended on kinship, but the attachment of the same suffix to place names also implies that the original implication had been forgotten before the historical period.

567 Prior to the evolution first of a commercial and subsequently
565 of an official ruling class, the primitive Slavic population was divided into three distinguishable strata. At the lowest point in the scale stood the slaves, composed of captives taken in war, men who had lost their freedom for debt, and descendants of slave parents. At least in their early history, the attitude of the Slavs toward their slaves was exceedingly mild. Above the slaves stood the great group of freemen, governed by the elders of their communities and later by tribal chieftains supported by a council of elders.

581 Polygamy and concubinage were common to all primitive
595 Slavs. In spite of the evidence for considerable promiscuity, a sense of the sanctity of marriage as a permanent tie is also demonstrated by early accounts of pagan Slavic wives who committed suicide upon the death of their husbands, so that the fidelity of the Slavic women was almost universally commented on with favor by foreign observers. Survivals of primitive custom among the Russian peasantry down to modern times indicate nevertheless that great freedom was allowed
462 both sexes prior to marriage. The Slavic women enjoyed no equality in the household, though a surviving widow was authorized to take her husband's place as head of the family.
583 Marriage by capture or by purchase was common Slavic practice.

177 In the course of their history, even before the dispersion, the
326 Slavs were exposed to a series of foreign influences, especially Iranian and Germanic, which rapidly placed at their service the techniques common to adjacent ethnic groups. Linguistic evidence demonstrates that the mass of the Slavs, like the German and the Baltic peoples, was familiar with iron, gold, silver, and lead from the earliest times, at least from the second half

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of the first millennium B.C. The names for gold and silver are identical in all three linguistic branches, while those for iron and lead are common to both Baltic and Slavic, though differing from the German vocable. The common Slavic term for copper has no equivalent cognate in either Baltic or Germanic. Since iron became known on the coast of the Black Sea about 900 B.C., and appears in archaeological finds from the Kuban district of the northern Caucasus fully two centuries before that date, the early transmission of iron technique to the Slavs is beyond question, particularly in view of traces of iron mining and smelting in Poland even in the pre-Roman epoch. The smelting of silver and gold was, however, a post-dispersion development. 177 326

In ceramics as in metal working, the Slavs were imitators rather than pioneers. In all areas of pagan Slavic settlement we find well-turned and well-fired vases in the form of pots without handles, showing a somewhat flattened lip and ornamented, sometimes with a wavy line several times repeated, sometimes with simple horizontal stripes, and occasionally with vertical or transverse stripes or simply a series of dots in oblique lines. There is, however, nothing specifically Slavic about this technique, since it is a reproduction of the Roman vase with undulating ornament familiar in the northernmost Roman provinces between Danube and Rhine from the first to the fourth century A.D. The Slavs thus seem to have been in contact with the northern Roman markets in this interval, and gradually to have adopted the new type of pottery in preference to their own previous products of this character: high vases, or lower bowls without a flattened edge and decorated with horizontal stripes or rows of oblique lines, types developed independently of Roman influence. 177 323 [439]

Among the chief domestic industries were spinning and weaving. Since the primitive Slavs were far from expert bleachers, the resulting fabrics were mostly grayish in color. Not only is the general terminology as spinning and weaving throughout the Slavonic languages so homogeneous as to show that these 286 176

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286 techniques were a matter of common knowledge before the
176 dispersion began, but the absence of foreign borrowings also proves it to have been a native development of very early date. It is significant that this vocabulary was taken over bodily by the Magyars upon their settlement in Central Europe.

241 Just as the primitive Slavs, by the moment of their disper-
231 sion, had attained a respectable technique in metal working,
176 textiles, and ceramics (acquired in part from their neighbors), there is likewise abundant evidence that at an early stage of their existence they also possessed a knowledge of agriculture considerably in advance of what is attributed to them in this connection by frequently cited historical sources. The common Slavic vocabulary pertaining both to agriculture and to cattle-raising is in itself sufficient to vitiate any conception of the Slavs at the dawn of their history as a race of agricultural nomads leading a precarious and unstable life on scanty fare. Nor is there a sufficient number of loan-words in the Slavic vocabulary of these occupations to indicate that any appreciable proportion of the knowledge of agricultural products or livestock which the Slavs possessed was the result of contacts with other ethnic units of more advanced material culture.

241 The common Slavic vocabulary shows that as feed-grains the primitive Slavs knew barley, wheat, millet, rye, and oats. Among fruits they knew apples, pears, cherries, and plums. The Germans themselves knew nothing of grape culture until their migrations took them across the threshold of the Mediterranean world. Hence it is not surprising that the Slavonic words for vine and vineyard derived from the Goths, who also introduced the fig to the Slavs after Gothic settlement on the Black Sea coast. Of vegetables, the primitive Slavs consumed peas, beans, lentils, onions, garlic, and beets. Flax and hemp
231 were familiar textile fibers. Among domestic animals, the common Slavic vocabulary includes homogeneous terms for horse, cow, bull, steer, sheep, goat, pig, and dog and, among domestic fowl, for ducks, geese, chickens, and pigeons. In these phases of culture the primitive Slavs were in no respect inferior to the

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primitive Germans, though the latter advanced more rapidly 241
in proportion with their more intimate and prior contacts 861
with the Mediterranean world. The predilection of the Slavs for agriculture is the natural consequence of their long residence in areas well suited for its practice: the plains of the Dnieper and the Vistula—though it is also likely that the epoch of the migrations and of repeated nomad incursions from Asia interrupted to some extent the sedentary tendencies and habits which the Slavs had previously developed. The primitive plow of the Slavs prior to the migrations was at first only a forked branch with one fork lopped short and cut into a point. It was later supplemented by a pole to which draft animals could be attached and a handle by which the driver could guide its course.

The primitive Slavic village varied in type. The houses 361
might be grouped in horseshoe arrangement around a central space or in a straight line on either side of a thoroughfare. Neither of these village types appears, however, quite as primeval as the system whereby each household occupied an isolated structure in the midst of the lands its members tilled. Stone buildings were unknown. The earliest type of house con- 342
sisted of a trench dug in the ground, the sides of which were raised by walls of logs stopped with earth. The wooden roof was also coated with earth as an additional protection. The primitive Slavs also erected rude log cabins without digging into the ground. We have no data on the internal furnishings of the Slavic house before the eleventh century A.D.

The chilly climate in which they lived made furs the prim- 291
itive costume of the early Slavs. Furs later became an important item of Slavic export, as is shown by the early introduction of [439]
the Slavic names for squirrel and ermine into both Latin and Greek. The male costume among the early Slavs consisted of a coarse shirt falling to the knee, with sleeves and an opening for the neck, combined with wide trousers supported at the waist by a belt of rope or leather and tied in at the ankles. For the shirt they sometimes substituted a short tunic, which might be

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291 of light material or else of coarse wool, in which case it could be worn over the shirt, and it was usually buckled or pinned at the shoulder or in front of the neck. In cold weather sheepskins or the cheaper pelts (bear, wolf) were worn for warmth. Women of the people were clad in a long shirt of rough linen or hempen fabric, often representing a mere cylinder held up by straps over the shoulders. From the waist down they also wore a double apron attached to a belt, while the upper part of the body might be encased in a coarse woolen jacket, along with a cloak of similar material around the neck and shoulders. Footwear consisted of rough leather slippers held by a thong over the ankle or of slippers made of bast fiber. Men frequently
302 wore wrapped leggings. Married women might wear a kerchief or bonnet on their heads over hair cut short, but maidens habitually went bareheaded, wearing their hair long and braided. Men also wore their hair long in the primitive period.
[177] Close shearing and shaving, where they occur, are due to foreign influences, and in general it may be said that in matters of attire the Slavs were always prompt to adopt foreign usages.

411 Originally a peaceful race, the primitive Slavs were unskilled
721 in the use of weapons. When they were first noticed by foreign writers they had no offensive equipment except bows and spears, and were unprotected by even the most elementary shields. It has already been noted that in the Slavic vocabulary the words for helmet and sword were taken over from the Goths. In the succeeding centuries, the constant warfare of the migratory epoch and the necessity of defense against successive nomad incursions produced a marked amplification of Slavic military equipment representing a fusion of borrowed alien techniques so that when the southern Slavs invaded Greece at the end of he sixth century, their soldier was considered to be as good a fighter as the Byzantine regular. The Slavs, however, used no mounted troops until well into the historical period.

439 The Slavs were drawn very early into the orbit of European
443 commerce, which in the peripheral areas of European antiq-

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uity depended upon itinerant merchants and traders following strategic watercourses. Even far to the eastward, when the Goths invaded south Russian territory, they maintained the same commercial relations with the Roman Empire which had been established earlier by German settlements along its frontier further westward. Caches of Roman coins, dating chiefly from the interval between Trajan and Septimius Severus (98-198 A.D.), which have been found in great profusion on the west bank of the middle Dnieper, show a remarkable expansion of trade with the Roman west in this area during the second and third centuries, hence under the Gothic hegemony and prior to the Slavic dispersion. Once the Goths had entered into relations with Byzantium and the Greek cities on the Black Sea, their interest in trade with the western Roman Empire waned, and from that point the Dnieprian Slavs largely received products of the so-called Gothic type from the barbarized Pontic workshops. As long as the Goths lived among the Slavs, they exercised a direct economic influence upon them, but once they had withdrawn to the coast of the Black Sea after the fall of Ermanaric before the Huns in 370, they ceased to be a significant commercial factor. Even when Byzantine trade set in during the fifth century, its volume was so restricted that from this point to the eighth century there is actually an interval in which the economic relations of the Dnieper valley with the rest of the early medieval world were in abeyance.

This interval coincides with the epoch of large-scale Slavic migration and dispersion. Its conclusion is marked in turn by the stabilization of the Slavs on the Elbe, on the Danube, and in the Balkans; by the temporary elimination of nomadic invaders from the steppes, the economic advance of the Carolingian period, the beginnings of the Viking Age in Scandinavia, and the establishment of Arab control over Oriental commerce. The period from 700 to 1000, though also initiating the gradual withdrawal of the Western Slavs from the Elbe frontier under German pressure, also saw the evolution of all the medieval Slavic states and their advance to the level of

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178 contemporary material and intellectual culture which culmi-
439 nates in their conversion to Christianity under Roman or Byzantine auspices. It[1] likewise witnessed an expansion of trade both in Central Europe and in the Orient, and in this commercial expansion the Slavs in general had a definite stake.

764 Though a combined evaluation of linguistic, source, and archaeological data permits a tolerably accurate and convincing appraisal of the material culture of the Slavs during the pagan period, there is no such coherent mass of evidence upon which any wholly satisfactory statement of their religious beliefs, demonology, and eschatology may be predicted. The early Slavs cremated their dead, sharing this custom with their other Indo-European neighbors (Lithuanians, Germans, Celts). Burial was adopted through foreign influence, and before the
774 various conversions both customs existed side by side. The
776 primitive pagan Slavs were animists and attributed a soul to
775 the natural elements in which they lived. They honored a supreme deity and also believed in the existence of wood, water,
[782] and household spirits to which they offered sacrifices. Beside these nature spirits, they also honored the spirits of their ancestors and thus believed in a future life. They deified the
821 heavenly bodies and the great phenomena of nature (thunder, lightning, wind, rain, fire).

776 Beside these animistic and manistic beliefs, the pagan Slavs also venerated a limited number of gods, some of which were of alien origin. The organization of a veritable pantheon was carried farthest by the Western Slavs who lived along the Baltic coast, a phenomenon perhaps not unconnected with Germanic influences of early date. It is reasonably clear that all the primitive Slavs possessed a god of the thunder and lightning, though this deity, Perun, took on special importance among the Russian Slavs because of special Scandinavian influences and the importance of Thor in the Scandinavian pantheon. Among the Western Slavs, however, Perun was less dominant than the god of the shining sun, Svarog, a name apparently connected with the indo-European base **svar*, signifying "heat,

[1] [THE PERIOD FROM 700 to 1000 A.D. -- ANALYST]

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brilliance." The Slavic sun god was also known as Dazhbog, 776
the god which gives life and fertility, but neither appellation, curiously enough, appears among the Southern Slavs. Dazhbog is occasionally called the son of Svarog, the god of fire.

A more general Slavic deity was Veles or Volos. In the Russian *Primary Chronicle* he is characterized as "the god of cattle," but this qualification has no relation to the original attributes of Veles. It results rather from the monkish chronicler's identification of the specifically Russian form of his name (Volos) with that of Saint Blasius, a Cappadocian bishop who died a martyr's death about 315 A.D., and was extensively revered thereafter as a patron of flocks and herds. In the *Primary Chronicle,* where Perun and Veles are mentioned together as gods by whom the Scandinavian Varangians and the Slavs of Kiev swore, the implication is that the Varangians swore by Perun (here the equivalent of Thor) and the Slavs by Veles, who thus may be viewed as the guardian of oaths, a sort of *Zeus epiorkios.* The name Veles itself is cognate with various Lithuanian words meaning "corpse," "ghost," and "devil," so that Veles is rather to be considered as a god of the dead, a conclusion justified by his frequent invocation in various late Bohemian curses.

Idols were used by the Eastern Slavs, and the medieval Ger- 778
man chroniclers describe sanctuaries which the Baltic Slavs 776
erected to their gods. Of these the most celebrated was that at Arkona, on the island of Rugen, dedicated to the god Svantovit, whose statue adorned it. Svantovit seems merely a local variant of Svarog, the sun god, and various other local deities of the same type are mentioned in medieval non-Slavic sources. If the Slavs did honor a supreme deity, it is reasonably clear that he was a thunder or a sun god like Perun or Svarog, who would thus reflect the more or less general Indo-European belief in such a deity who appears as Zeus, Jupiter, or the old Germanic Tiuz. Only among the Baltic Slavs is the existence 793
of a special caste of priests attested.

A final and equally interesting problem connected with the 000

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A FINAL AND EQUALLY INTERESTING PROBLEM CONNECTED WITH THE
212 primitive culture of the Slavs is a determination of the epoch at which they learned to write. While there have been some fruitless though entertaining attempts both at the forgery of specifically Slavic runes and at the identification as genuinely Slavic of certain Runic texts more probably of north Germanic origin, it is on the whole unlikely that letters of any sort were known in the pre-Christian period apart from cases where a more or less educated Slav managed to write down a name or a few phrases of his language in Latin or Greek characters.

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II

The Slavic Migrations

We have seen that there is no evidence that the Slavs or any part of them were present in the middle or lower Danube basin before the Christian era. The Gothic historian Jordanes, writing in 551 A.D., reports that in his day the Slavs were occupying the whole valley of the lower Danube from its junction with the Save river to the sea, and that they extended east as far as the Dniester and north to the Vistula. On the basis of this passage historians have frequently maintained that the Slavs did not reach the Danube valley until the migratory Germanic tribes had evacuated both Germany and Hungary, but that their movement was so rapid that they overran this area as soon as its previous occupants had left it. Since the Byzantine historian Procopius associates the arrival of the Slavs in the Balkans with the accession of the Emperor Justinian in 521, it was easy to conclude that the Slavic movement southward began about this date.

There are, however, grounds to believe that the Slavic march toward and across the Danube was a process of longer duration, and actually began considerably earlier. It may be recalled that those tremendous movements known as the barbarian migrations started in the first century A.D. Numerous Germanic tribes made their way from eastern Germany through the Sudeten

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174 defiles into Moravia even before the year 200. These shifts of
167 population are explicable by the pressure not only of the Lombards and the Goths, but also of the Slavs, and after the Goths reached the Black Sea during the third century, the Slavs were doubtless the chief impelling factor in such migratory movements. That the Slavic expansion was by no means a brief and spatially limited process is borne out by the fact that in the sixth century we find the Slavs already settled from the Elbe and the Saale in the west to the Don in the east, and from the Baltic in the north to the Adriatic and the Aegean in the south. They were thus occupying an area five times greater than their original home, and during the process of settlement they did not evacuate and abandon their primitive habitat, as so many German tribes (Goths, Lombards, Vandals, Burgundians) are known to have done. This fact alone indicates a slow expansion in all directions rather than a sudden shift of position.

We find in the sources some respectable evidence to support this opinion. In 448, for instance, the Emperor Theodosius II sent an embassy from Constantinople deep into Pannonia (modern Hungary) to buy off Attila and his Huns, who had recently menaced the metropolis. One member of the embassy, named Priscus, has left an account of its long and arduous journey, in the course of which he speaks of meeting in Hungary an hospitable local population whose language was not Hungarian, and who supplied a drink made of honey called
[273] *medos*. This form is probably nothing more than a Greek spelling of Old Slavonic *medŭ*, since honey beer is a traditional Slavic drink and Priscus would have written the word with an *i* if he had been talking about Gothic mead. Jordanes also mentions that the funeral of Attila was accompanied by a great feast called a *strava*, which is a well-known medieval Slavic usage, apart from the fact that the word itself is pure Slavic.

Somewhat earlier during the fourth century it is also recorded that the Sarmatians in the Hungarian plain were expelled from there by the subject rural population, who are

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identified soon after as Wends, that is, Slavs. Apart from these rather tenuous historical data, there are also a certain number of place names dating as far back as the second century not only in the western district between the rivers Drave and Save, but also in Hungary north of the Danube, which cannot be etymologized as anything but Slavic. It is therefore probable that some Slavic infiltration into this area began as early as the first century, and it is entirely certain that Slavs were present there between the third and the fifth centuries. We may thus conclude that the Slavs began to drift into the basins of the Danube and the Save at the very opening of the Christian era, appearing at first simply as isolated islands among an alien population. The slowness of this penetration would then explain the relatively isolated character of the early place names which reflect this drift. The Slavs did not therefore hit the Danube Valley in a sudden wave. After the first scattered settlers had arrived, the major movement set in during the third century when all populations north of the Carpathians were in a state of flux, so that by Jordanes's day (551) their occupancy of the Danube basin was an established fact of fairly long standing.

While it is not difficult to date in this fashion the arrival of the Slavs in the Danube basin, there is no evidence that they penetrated the Balkans proper before the year 500, unless we may suppose with some likelihood that isolated Slavic bands accompanied the numerous alien invaders known prior to that date. In any case, there is no question of real Slavic occupation of the Save and the Danube until the sixth century. Early in its course, when the Byzantine frontiers were being harassed by Huns, Bulgars, and Avars, the Slavs were also on the march southward, and they frequently made common cause with these invaders. Their chief center of population at this period was on the middle reaches of the Danube and in modern Walachia, but they attacked on a long front from Dalmatia to the very walls of Constantinople itself. With the Avars, energetic Turko-Tartars of Asiatic origin who had fought their way across the

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167 steppes to the Danube, they threatened the Greek peninsula,
174 where their first occupation dates from 581.

721 Contemporary chroniclers report that the Slavs had by that
167 time acquired wealth by pillage and fought even better than the regular Greek troops. On the Adriatic, they occupied the districts of Illyria, Dalmatia, and Istria early in the seventh century. Shortly afterward the Slavs on the western front (the Czechs and those on the Adriatic seaboard) overthrew the Avar hegemony and became independent, but after the Avars were thus weakened, the Slavs never menaced Constantinople again. Yet by the end of the seventh century the whole interior of the Balkan peninsula, especially Macedonia and its neighborhood, was populated by Slavs. They even took to the sea and reached Crete in 623. At the height of the Avar expansion, the Slavs had already passed through Thessaly, Epirus, and Attica, and reached the Peloponnese in 588. Here their occupation was so formidable that, for the next two centuries, a Byzantine Greek scarcely dared set foot in the southern portion of the peninsula, while in the north the Danube was never again fixed as the frontier of the Byzantine Empire after 601. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that the Slavs were ever in the majority in Greece proper. Subject Greeks still formed the mass of the population. Were this not the case, it would be difficult to explain the eventual and rather rapid subsequent disappearance of the Slavic element south of Macedonia.

101 Once the Slavs were firmly established in the Balkans, they
177 immediately became exposed to the older cultures they found there. Those on the Adriatic coast and in the western Danube basin felt the impact of Latin civilization transmitted through romanized native populations, through colonial centers, or through the cities of the seaboard. When they settled within the sphere of Greek influence, the dominant cultural pressure was Byzantine. The results of these accidents of location are still discernible in the intellectual orientation of the Balkan Slavs.

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The Slavs were curiously tenacious in retaining their own language, but extremely receptive to manners and techniques transmitted to them through contact with superior cultures. When they were present in a majority, they experienced no difficulty in impressing their language on the indigenous minority, whom they Slavicized rapidly by intermarriage. The Dalmatian coast from Veglia to Ragusa experienced this evolution from the ninth to the last century. On the other hand, remnants of the old Romanized pre-Slavic population, known as Vlakhs, persist in the interior of the peninsula to the present day, especially in southern Macedonia and the Pindus, while the Romanians, in spite of Slavic and Turko-Tartar admixture, are a concentrate of Romanized pre-Slavic native elements. Of the indigenous and un-Romanized population prior to the migrations, the Thracians in the eastern half of the peninsula disappeared altogether, while the Illyrians in the western half survive fractionally as the Albanians. The linguistic differences between Serbian and Bulgarian have sometimes been explained by the existence of an Illyrian substratum in the former, and a Thracian in the latter, since the areas occupied by the new vernaculars correspond roughly to the regions occupied by these two pre-Slavic elements. Of the migrant tribes who preceded the Slavs into the Balkans no trace remains. The Celts had passed from the scene before the Slavs arrived. The Sarmatians, driven into the Balkans from the steppes, were known as early as the fourth century only by scanty place names. A few Germanic islands kept their names until the fifth century. The Huns rapidly dissolved after Attila's death, while the Avars, after the Slavs threw off their yoke, were decimated by their wars with Charlemagne before the year 800, and the remnant was absorbed by the adjacent Slavs.

Though we find in the Balkans an uninterrupted set of Slavic dialects gradually shading into each other, from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, the three basic literary languages (Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgarian) are well-differentiated vernaculars. It is not to be supposed, however, that this

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197 differentiation originated after the dispersion. On the con-
167 trary it may be assumed that the germs of dialectal differentiation inherent in the proto-Slavic language even at the epoch of closest ethnic unity evolved into more conspicuous local characteristics as the race gradually spread. It seems probable that the sections of the proto-Slavs whose vernaculars were the precursors of the present South Slavonic languages were geographically placed in their original habitat in an order corresponding to their present locations. The Slovenes are the furthest northwest of the modern South Slavs. It would appear, then, that their proto-Slavic ancestors lived in the southwest corner of the proto-Slavic habitat on the upper Vistula. Similarly, the ancestors of the Serbo-Croatians must have lived in the vicinity of the central Carpathians (there is, in fact, some etymological relationship between the words *Carpathian* and *Croatian*). The proto-Bulgars lived further eastward and seem to have descended the Prut and the Seret rivers toward the lower Danube while the western proto-Slavs came through the Sudeten passes into Bohemia and Moravia.

167 The forefathers of the Slovenes, after crossing the Danube soon after the beginning of the Christian era, first appear in history after 592, when they attacked the cities of Istria and northern Italy and made war against the Duke of Bavaria in modern Styria. They were dominated by the Avars early in the seventh century, and after the Avars were dispersed fell first under Bavarian and then (788) under Frankish sovereignty. Then as now their settlement was most dense in southern Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, though their zone of occupation contracted appreciably under German pressure as time went on so that the northern Slovenian border was pushed south from the Danube to the Drave.

The Croatians and Serbs make their appearance in the western half of the Balkan peninsula south of the Slovenes somewhat earlier than the historical debut of the latter. They were thus reported along the coast at Salona in 536 and at Durazzo in 548. Their starting point was apparently the Vistula valley,

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though in their migrations they left important remnants in Silesia and the Riesengebirge which made their presence felt in local place names before they were assimilated by other Slavic elements of these areas. On the other hand, materials dealing with the early existence of the Serbo-Croats on the Balkan peninsula are strikingly scanty. Both assume historical importance only in the ninth century, when the Serbs collided with the Bulgars and the Croats with other Slavs and with Franks in the middle Danube basin. 167

The destiny of the Slavs in modern Bulgaria was subject to influences differing radically from that of their kindred in the western Balkans. The territory which they had occupied in the sixth century was traversed several times during the seventh century by a nation of Turko-Tartar invaders known as the Bulgars, who had come into the Balkans from across the steppe country, but at first retired behind the Danube after each of their incursions southward. About 670, however, when other powerful Turkic elements began to occupy the south Russian prairies and coastline, they were obliged to seek a residence in the Danube delta and south of it. They thus settled down in Moesia, the flat country between the Danube and the chains of mountains further south. During this process, they seem to have arrived without difficulty at an understanding with the Slavic residents, whose local princes became subject to the Bulgar khan. But here, as elsewhere, it was the invaders who were culturally assimilated. The Bulgars abandoned their own idiom for Slavic, and while Bulgars and Slavs were still differentiated in this area during the eighth century, they were viewed as identical in the ninth. It is thus clear that numerically the Slavs in Moesia must have been more numerous than the energetic and warlike Bulgars whose name they adopted. The new Bulgarian state rapidly expanded its influence to include Macedonia even down to Salonika and the Aegean coast. 167 177

The Slavic flood which overwhelmed the Greek peninsula in the last twenty years of the sixth century lasted until about

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167 177 800, but in the next two hundred years Byzantine authority was gradually reëstablished throughout Hellas proper. By the twelfth century, in fact, there were but scattered Slavic remnants to be found south of Epirus and Thessaly. Though place names still yield abundant traces of this Slavic occupation, historians have long since disproved the famous thesis of Fallmerayer that the race of the ancient Greeks had been annihilated in Europe. As a matter of fact, as soon as Byzantine supremacy was restored, what Slavs there were throughout the countryside became assimilated so fast that they disappeared altogether. In Macedonia, on the other hand, though Greek civilization tended to recover and even to dominate as time progressed, the local Slavs were still numerous enough to preserve their ethnic and linguistic identity. In Hellas, however, the native Greek element was too populous and the Slavic colonists too few to make such a survival possible. Somewhat the same situation prevailed further north in Transylvania and Walachia, where the Slavic settlers eventually faded out under Romanian pressure.

While the problems connected with the migrations and the settlement of the Southern Slavs are relatively simple, if we except the alien influences affecting the Bulgarians and the decline of Slavic domination in Hellas, the destinies of the Western Slavs are, for a variety of reasons, infinitely more complex. At the beginning of the Christian era the whole expanse of northern Europe from the Rhine to the Vistula and from the Baltic, first to the Sudetens and later to the Danube, was occupied by Germanic tribes. From the second to the fifth centuries, certain important Germanic units moved out of the basins of the Elbe, the Oder, and their confluents, so that by the fourth century eastern Germany was almost totally evacuated by its Germanic inhabitants. Though German savants have been traditionally loth to admit that there were any Slavs in this area during the first period of German settlement, there are a number of tribal names which the classical historians for lack of accurate knowledge bulked with the Germans,

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but which justify the hypothesis that there were at least some Slavic elements west of the Vistula in classical premigration times. Hence, the westward Slavic drift very likely began sometime before the Slavs actually appear on the Oder and the Elbe in the fifth century A.D.

Even with the Germanic tribes present, the area was sparsely enough settled, and it is illogical to suppose that this district was totally denuded of human habitation when they left to pursue their destinies elsewhere. Archaeologically, Germanic civilization comes to an abrupt halt in eastern Germany during the fourth century. Furthermore since the proto-Slavs had a chance to adopt the types of Roman provincial pottery, they must have begun to spread toward the Roman outposts before that date. It would, on the other hand, take us too far afield to belabor the point whether or not the Slavs were in German territory before the Germans descended from Scandinavia. We may thus limit ourselves to the admission that there were some Slavic elements in eastern Germany west of the Vistula even when this area was under German occupation before the migrations began, and the Slavs may well have been the *superiores barbari* who, according to Julius Capitolinus, set so many Germanic tribes in motion during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

But even if we thus suppose that the Slavs crossed the Vistula before 150 A.D., their occupation of Germany to the Elbe and the Oder is not historically confirmed until early in the sixth century. In 512 Procopius mentions that the Germanic Heruli, after defeat by the Lombards, made their way north to Denmark "through all the nations of the Sclaveni," and the Elbe and the Saale are elsewhere mentioned at the same period as the frontier between German and Slav. Apprehensive of Slavic penetration west of this line, Charlemagne in 805 fixed the Slavic boundary, the *limes sorabicus,* running roughly northward from Regensburg to the Saale and from the vicinity of Magdeburg northwestward across country to the estuary of the Elbe and the site of modern Hamburg. The border was later continued on a line roughly connecting the sites of Hamburg

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167 and Kiel. South of Hamburg there were actual Slavic survivals
177 almost into the nineteenth century, that is until 1798.

197 In an area including not only the whole of Germany east of the Elbe and the entire extent of pre-Hitler Czechoslovakia and Poland, important linguistic differentiations are inevitable. The Czech or Czechoslovak language developed in the upper basins of the Elbe and the Oder, and is especially notable for the fixation of the accent on the first syllable. While the variations of Slovak from Czech are doubtless of early origin, they were intensified by the comparative isolation of the Slovaks at some distance to the east on the edge of Hungary and, in more recent times, by close contacts between Slovaks on one hand and Magyars and South Slavs on the other. Another Western Slavic dialect, Sorabic or Sorbic, which also has a fixed accent on the first syllable, evolved in close proximity to Czech, but is in a sense a transitional dialect between Polish and Czech. This language survives only as spoken by some one hundred thousand people in a small area known as Lausitz, or Lusatia, on the Spree northeast of Dresden. A third dialect, Polabic (that is, the language of the Slavs on the Elbe, or Laba), along with Pomeranian, was spoken in the coastal area between Hamburg and the mouth of the Vistula. Of Polabic no vestiges remain, and there is some doubt whether Pomeranian, now represented only by the Kashubic survivors west of Danzig, is not more properly a northern Polish dialect. And finally, the Polish language evolved in the basins of the upper Oder and the Vistula.

177 With the exception of the numerically unimportant surviving descendants of the Pomeranians and the Sorbs (Kashubs and Lusatians), all Western Slavs in the Elbe basin and on the Baltic disappeared in the German movement of eastward colonization which began under Charlemagne. In spite of heroic efforts by medieval Slavic princelings to make a firm stand against the great Germanic empire supported by the Roman church, none of these Slavs escaped the German yoke later

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than 1167, and long before that date the process of extermination or assimilation had set in. 177

In view of the latest developments in modern history, let us pause a moment on the origins of the Czechoslovaks. The primeval habitat of Czechs and Slovaks was located north of the Carpathians between the headwaters of the Oder and the middle Vistula. The Czechs reached Bohemia and Moravia by the upper reaches of the Neisse and Oder and westward through the Sudeten range and between the Gesenke and the Jablunka. The Slovaks, on the other hand, arrived in their present location between the Morava and the Danube by passing the western Carpathians (that is, the Beskids and the High Tatra south of modern Krakow). The western limits of the Czechs were thus the Böhmer Wald and the Erzgebirge, while on the north they enjoyed a good natural frontier in the mountains from the Sudetens to the Carpathians. On the south the Bohemians and Moravians originally extended to the Danube, but were gradually pushed back along the river between Linz and Vienna until the twelfth century, though the Slovaks maintained contact with it at Bratislava (Pressburg). The western Slovak limit is still roughly the river Morava, which joins the Danube about thirty miles east of Vienna. 167

There is no longer much question but that the Czech and the Slovak languages were originally an identical dialect just as their speakers were primitively one group, but even in modern times there is an appreciable diversity of dialect, culture, and character among various sections of even the Czechs themselves, and the present differentiation of the Slovaks was conditioned and intensified by geographical separation from the Czechs and by the long-standing political dominance of the Magyars since 1029. The intellectual gap between Czech and Slovak is also due to the rapid Czech assimilation of German culture. Finally, at the extreme east end of the state of Czechoslovakia is an area known as Subcarpathian Russia. Its inhabitants speak a Ukrainian (Little Russian) dialect per- 197 184

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fectly distinct from either Czech or Slovak. They are thus not Western Slavs at all, like their Czech and Slovak neighbors, but descendants of South Russian tribes which retired into the mountains from the basins of the Bug and the Dniester to escape the inroads of Turko-Tartar nomads who swarmed across the steppe country in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Curiously enough, the early history of the Poles is more obscure than that of any other Slavic group, though they still inhabit primitive Slavic territory and their language provides ample evidence of their affiliation with the Western Slavs. Originally they were not as numerous a nation as they now appear, but simply a complex of small tribes, one of which, the Polyane, gradually expanded and subjected the rest. Even the Russian *Primary Chronicle,* that eleventh century narrative which is the principal source for the traditional and legendary early habitat of the Slavs along the Danube, divides the Poles (whom it calls Lyakhs) into two large tribes, the Polyane (Polyanians) and the Mazovians. The Polyanians were the Slavs who inhabited the flat country (or *pole*) on both sides of the Warta river, a district of which modern Poznań (Pozen) would be about the center. Their northern limit was the river Notecz, or Netze, because to the north, between this river and the Baltic, lived the Pomeranians, between modern Stettin and Danzig. Their western boundary was the middle Oder at Frankfurt and the Bober. The Mazovians inhabited the Vistula basin west of modern Warsaw. Various minor tribes of less numerical consequence were later absorbed when the Polish state began to form during the tenth century. Beside Poznań, Gniezno (also in Polyanian territory) was one of the earliest Polish civic centers. The differentiation between Lyakhs and Polyanians is believed to rise from the fact that, if etymology is any guide, the former inhabited untilled land and were therefore shepherds, hunters, and trappers, while the Polyanians, as their name implies, were cultivators and farmers. The eastern boundary of the Poles in their earliest national life would not

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131 seem to have differed greatly from the demarcation line established by the Russo-German agreement of 1939 and extending south from East Prussia to the west of Brest-Litovsk and on to the river San in Galicia. As far as the former "Corridor" is concerned, there is no early evidence whatever that the medieval Poles as such ever extended to the seacoast.

131 Before their expansion the original home of the Eastern
167 Slavs, forefathers of the Russians, included the basin of the Pripet River, and further eastward, those of the rivers Berezina and Desna, the first of which flows into the Dnieper from the northeast above the confluence of the Pripet, while the Desna joins the Dnieper from the east just north of modern Kiev. The East Slavic area probably included all of Volhynia as well. The Eastern Slavs thus did not cling to the slopes of the Carpathians and even in their earliest recognizable stages covered a larger area than any of their kindred. This area was, moreover, particularly favorable to further expansion. The Desna flows far eastward into central Russia, where its headwaters lie close to those of the Oka, a tributary of the Volga. The sources of the Dnieper itself are separated by easy portages from those of western Dvina, which empties into the gulf of Riga, and of the Lovat, which connects through Lake Ilmen with the Volkhov, which in turn flows into Lake Ladoga. This lake itself is connected with the Finnish gulf by the Neva River. The headwaters of the Seim, a branch of the Desna, approach those of the Donetz and the Don, while the Dnieper in turn was an ancient and important route southward to the Black Sea. To the west, the Pripet and its branches offer easy access to the Niemen and the Vistula. There are in this area no insurmountable natural barriers, and the rivers offer a far-flung network of easy communications in all directions.

167 The expansion of the Eastern Slavs depended not only on these factors, but also on the circumstance that to the east and northeast they met no serious opposition, for the Finnish tribes who resided there were scattered and offered little resistance. The early Thracian and Iranian neighbors of the Eastern Slavs

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167 (first the Cimmerians, then the Scythians and the Sarmatians) succumbed to the Gothic hegemony, which was broken by the Hunnish attack of 370 A.D. The Huns were the precursors of a long series of Turko-Tartar invaders who crossed the steppes in historical times and offered a succession of recurrent barriers to any large-scale and enduring East Slavic migration toward the Black Sea. The Huns were followed in the sixth century by the Avars, who did not remain long in the steppes, but pushed on into the Danube basin where we have already met them as allies and later masters of the Danubian Slavs during the migration period.

167 721 While the Avars were sowing destruction along the northern border of the Byzantine empire, a new Turkic power was rising between the Don and the Volga. The immense Turkic agglomeration, which extended in the late sixth century from Mongolia to the Sea of Azov, had divided into two parts, eastern and western. The center of the western section was located on the lower Volga, and its prince or khan was inferior in standing only to the Great Khan of the eastern Turks. To the inhabitants of this western Turkic state, the name Khazars was given by the Armenians, from whom the Byzantines borrowed it.

During the Avar disturbances along the Danube and in the Balkans at the end of the sixth century, the remnants of the Hunnish and Bulgar tribes (both Turko-Tartar) east of the Don had restored some semblance of union and developed for a brief period into an ambitious state. The power of the Avars was concentrated far to the west and exercised only an inefficient control over their eastern marches. One active Bulgarian princeling named Kubrat applied for Byzantine aid in casting off the Avar yoke and apparently received this support at the price of his conversion to Christianity. At his death in 642, Kubrat had come to rule over a broad territory known as Great Old Bulgaria, which extended from the lower Don down to the Kuban district in the northern Caucasus. After the demise of Kubrat, his realm fell a prey to the energetic Turks who were

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destined to develop the Khazar state. The advance of the Khazars inspired a wide dispersion of the Bulgars. One branch recrossed the Don and, continuing northward, eventually settled near the junction of the Volga and the Kama, where they appear in later Russian history. The other section moved westward and, after uniting with their tribal kinsmen who had preceded them into the Balkans, carried their standards to Salonika in 675 before they settled in Moesia and fused with the South Slavs already resident there. But the Khazars remained in the steppe country, and gradually spread out across the prairies until they reached the southern Bug.

From such indications as we have that the Eastern Slavs had penetrated as far east as the Sea of Azov in the sixth century, their contacts with the various waves of mobile Asiatic invaders must have been closer than the scanty data of extant sources record though, in view of the infinitely small number of Turko-Tartar loan words which found their way into the Slavic vocabulary prior to the recorded history of the Slavs, it is evident that this contact was productive of little intellectual influence on the Slavs themselves. In fact, thanks to their association with Iranian and Goth, the Eastern Slavs had attained a degree of civilization at least equal and probably superior to that of the series of Turko-Tartar nomads who traversed southern Russia between the fourth and the seventh centuries.

During this interval, in any case, the steppes between the Don and the Dnieper were the scene of constant shifts of population. Fleeing before the Huns, the Goths had moved back into central Europe. Driven by the Avars, the western Bulgars had pushed forward into the Balkans. The Avars themselves were ultimately demolished by combined Frank, Slav, and Bulgar offensives along the Danube, and the eastern Bulgar units were displaced by the Khazars. The period of Khazar expansion westward was thus an epoch peculiarly favorable for the progress of the Eastern Slavs down the valleys of the Dnieper and the Dniester. Traces of this colonization are preserved in the *Primary Chronicle,* which places the Slavic Uli-

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chians and Tivercians between the Dnieper and the Dniester as late as the ninth century, remarking that their settlements once extended as far as the coast of the Black Sea. These are, however, the same tribes who later took refuge in the eastern Carpathians and are the ancestors of the modern inhabitants of Subcarpathian Russia. In any case, after the elimination of the Avars, the East Slavic process of southward settlement was resumed until it was once more interrupted by the passage of the Magyars across southern Russia after the middle of the ninth century, and by subsequent inroads of the Pechenegs (Patzinaks), another wave of Turko-Tartar nomads, in the tenth century. Hence, among the earliest traditions preserved in the medieval Russian annals is that the South Russian Slavic tribes were ancient Khazar tributaries. In the early ninth century these subject tribes extended up the Dnieper as far as the river Sozh, well north of Kiev, and thus brought the whole initial extent of the subsequent principality of Kiev under Khazar tutelage.

The Khazars were a progressive race capable of rapid intellectual development and avid in the absorption of foreign ideas. Despite close diplomatic relations with Byzantium, they carefully sidestepped all influence toward conversion to Christianity with its political implications. Persecutions of the Jews in Byzantium during the reign of Leo III (717-740) caused a considerable Jewish migration from the Empire to the Khazar cities around the straits of Kerch. Since these Khazar centers (Kerch and Phanagoria, together with Itil, at the mouth of the Volga) were the chief transit points for Asiatic trade with the west, the Jewish settlers found abundant scope for their innate commercial talents, and rapidly came to exert a pronounced intellectual influence which culminated in the eighth century in the conversion of the Khazar ruling classes to Judaism. A remarkable feature of the Khazar polity was its religious tolerance, which guaranteed equal privileges not only to Jew and Moslem, but also to Christian refugees fleeing the rigors of the iconoclastic movement in Byzantium itself.

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Like the Scythian and Sarmatian kingdoms of which it was the functional successor, the Khazar state rested upon a fusion of agrarian and commercial interests. Its nominal ruler was the *khan* (*Khakan*), who was substantially a religious figurehead. The actual administration was in the hands of the *beg*, who commanded the standing army composed chiefly of mercenaries of Khwarizmian, Slavic, and later even of Scandinavian extraction. The Khazar capital was situated at Itil, near the site of modern Astrakhan, and in the eighth and ninth centuries Khazaria was hardly of less importance to Byzantine foreign policy than the Carolingian Empire. The Khazar domination over their northern tributaries was, however, loosely organized, and the small Khazar standing army was incapable of serious offensive operations, a weakness doubly menacing in view of the fact that the series of nomadic incursions from the plains of Asia was as yet unfinished. About 860 the Khazar state was shaken by the fierce inroads of a new Turko-Tartar tribe, the Pechenegs, who had previously dwelt between the Volga and the Yaik until set in motion by the pressure of other kindred peoples behind them. The Pechenegs drove the Magyars across the Dnieper and on into central Europe, caused a concentration of the Eastern Slavs on the middle Dnieper, and aroused such apprehension among the Khazars that the latter, to protect their interests in the steppe country, sought the aid of Byzantine engineers to construct the new fortress of Sarkel on the lower Don. From this point dates the decline of the Khazar state, which was also hastened by influences emanating from the specifically Slavic areas of the Dnieper valley. In fact the decline of Khazaria stimulated the evolution of the Kiev principate, the economic development of which stamps it as the logical heir of the Khazar polity.

The influence of the Khazars on the culture of the Eastern Slavs at the dawn of their history is greater than usually appreciated, since the Khazar dominance extended over a period of some two centuries and was the bearer of a relatively advanced civilization. In view of the fact that the Khazars are

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177 known to have kept a garrison at Kiev, it is even probable that the name of that city is of Khazar origin, that is, *küi,* "bank of a river," and *ev,* "settlement," which well accords with the lower part of the city as it still is today.

On the north and the east, the Eastern Slavs were eventually confronted by Finnish tribes. We have relatively little data on the primitive habitat of the Finns, but modern scholarship places it in the extreme eastern section of northern Europe, on the edge of the Ural mountains and even further eastward. They were thus concentrated from earliest times in the basins of the rivers Oka, the Kama, and the middle Volga, and it is from this nucleus that they spread westward to the Finnish Gulf, occupying not only Karelia and modern Finland, but also the southern shore as far as the Gulf of Riga, hence modern Esthonia and much of present-day Latvia. In central Russia their line of settlement extended as far west as modern Moscow, where they were in touch with an original Lithuanian population which has long since disappeared. Indeed, since these Lithuanian elements occupied a line running from the Baltic to the neighborhood of modern Smolensk and Kaluga, the actual contacts of Eastern Slavs and Finns cannot have begun until the Slavs themselves had already crossed the northern Dnieper and advanced toward the head of the Desna, and until the Finns themselves had begun to move westward toward the Baltic. This view is confirmed by the fact that it is only in the extreme north and east of the Russian area that Finnish linguistic influences are perceptible.

While there are some tribes known to Herodotus who may have been Finns, the Finns themselves are first mentioned with certainty by Tacitus, who did not think very highly of them, since he speaks of their remarkable ferocity at once with their sordid poverty, adding that they lived on herbs, dressed in skins, slept on the ground, and defended themselves with bone-tipped arrows. Jordanes, the Gothic historian, knew some identifiably Finnish tribes as subjects of the Goths. Our now familiar source, the Russian *Primary Chronicle,* composed after

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the expansion of the Eastern Slavs was an accomplished fact, /77
shows them in contact with the Finns on a long line from the Baltic to the upper Don. The chronicler distinguishes three groups of Finns: those on the Baltic, those beyond the upper Volga, and those on the middle Volga itself. The Finnish tribes south of Moscow and between Moscow and the Volga have disappeared, though the other groups are still abundantly represented even today.

Whenever the Eastern Slavs encountered the Finns, the latter either retired or remained passive. Though the Finns may have been bellicose in Tacitus's day, Jordanes knew them only as *mitissimi*—extremely pacific. In these early days the Finns showed no tendency toward urban concentration or to union for defense, while the Slavs, during the period in which [721] their greatest expansion at Finnish expense took place (the ninth and tenth centuries), were already profiting by the military technique and leadership of courageous and enterprising Viking immigrants from Scandinavia.

At this date but one people of Finnish stock undertook an energetic offensive with perceptible historical results. These were the Magyars, who had already been in contact with Turko-Tartar tribes and had thus acquired some warlike talents. The Magyars are related to certain still extant Finnish tribes (the Voguls and the Ostyaks) on the river Ob in Siberia. After splitting off from the ethnic nucleus in about the seventh century, they moved west into southern Russia, where they met the Khazars on the Don. Then, around 860, they pushed on into Moldavia, and finally, after various raids into Pannonia and the Balkans, settled down in the Hungarian plain, where their descendants have lived since about the year 900. Their subsequent contacts were thus largely with the Southern and the Western Slavs.

None of these Finnish tribes have any ethnic or linguistic /77
relationship with the Slavic tribes. But with the Lithuanians the situation is somewhat different. The Lithuanians are an Indo-European people, and their language shows affinity with

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177 Slavonic, although the two idioms have undergone widely
174 variant evolutions over a long period. It is generally held by competent scholars that there was at some early date an epoch of Balto-Slavic unity. Precisely when this unity existed it is not so easy to say. The facts that certain Iranian words appear in Slavic without a counterpart in Lithuanian, and that the Balts borrowed other words from Finnish which the Slavs do not possess, have given rise to the theory that the Balts and the Slavs had separated before the arrival of the Scythians and even early in the bronze age, hence before 1000 B.C. But these are very tenuous proofs, and the most we can say with certainty is that the Balts and the Slavs had been separated for a long time before history knew either of them.

177 The modern extent of Lithuanian (Baltic) territory in Lithuania, Latvia, and their environs is, moreover, much more limited than it was in an earlier age, for before the westward migration of the Finns from the Volga, the Letto-Lithuanian people occupied the Baltic coast from the Vistula to the Gulf of Finland and the interior across White Russia (Byelorussia) to the western limit of the Finns between the upper Volga and Moscow rivers north of the line of settlement of the early Eastern Slavs. There were Lithuanian survivals, a tribe known as the Galindians, near Moscow as late as the thirteenth century, showing that Slavic colonization in central Russia encountered not only Finns, but also Balts. The Russian *Primary Chronicle* thus knows not only the Galindians, but also the Prussians on the coast east of the Vistula, and the Lithuanians (a specific tribal name) and other Baltic units around the Gulf of Riga where the Letts now reside. It should be noted that the German Prussians derive their name from the old home of the Lithuanian Prussians, that is, modern East Prussia, the country south of Danzig and Königsberg. This area was subjugated by the Teutonic knights during the thirteenth century, after which the eradication of the original Baltic inhabitants proceeded so rapidly that the language had died out by the year 1700.

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It was necessary to dwell at some length on the contacts of the Eastern Slavs because the area which they inhabit is, after all, fairly remote, and the process by which they came to occupy it is likewise far from the ken of any but the specialist. As the Eastern Slavs branched out into the steppes toward the Black Sea and the Don and northeastward at the expense of Lithuanian and Finnish tribes, the old unity tended to relax in proportion to their dispersion. New centers of population formed at considerable distances from the old foci. The colonizers underwent new influences which varied with their locations. The southeastern settlers experienced Khazar influence, the northern colonies were close to Scandinavia of the Viking age, and the Slavs along the lower Dnieper were within the cultural sphere of Byzantium.

The Arabic geographers who described eastern Europe of the ninth century already noted four centers of Eastern Slavic concentration at that early period: one near Lake Ilmen, another on the Oka River near the city of Ryazan, one at Kiev, and a fourth in Galicia, and more detailed tribal designations among the Eastern Slavs were likewise known to both German and Greek sources of the same period. Finally, the oft-cited Russian *Primary Chronicle* preserves from traditions considerably earlier than the twelfth century not only a list of tribes on Russian soil, but also their locations. These tribes are the Croats, the Polyane, the Volhynians, the Dulebians, the Buzhane, the Dregovichians, the Polotians, the Novgorod Slavs, the Severians, the Krivichians, the Radimichians, the Vyatichians, the Ulichians, and the Tivercians.

The Croats mentioned were a remnant of the tribe of the same name which remained behind in eastern Galicia, Bukovina, and on the Prut and the Dniester rivers after others of their kindred had moved on into the Balkans. The Dulebians, the Volhynians, and the Buzhane (who are connected by their name with the river Bug in Volhynia) inhabited Volhynia in the neighborhood of modern Lutsk. The Derevlians (whose name is connected with Slavic *derevo*, "wood"), occupied the

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167 vast forests south of the Pripet River, and were, on account of
177 their remote location, culturally backward.

In this respect, they contrast with their eastern neighbors, the Polyane, who lived in the prairie country (their name characterizes them as plain dwellers) on the west bank of the Dnieper north and south of the ancient city of Kiev, which had been a point of settlement since far back into the stone age. It is not unlikely that the metropolis mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy in the second century and the *Danparstathir* of Gothic tradition and the Norse *Hervararsága* were settlements on the site of modern Kiev. Situated on a strategic trade route, the Polyane were exposed to the stimulating influences of both Scandinavian and Byzantine culture as the power of the Khazars waned. It is thus by no means accidental that their chief center became the nucleus toward which adjacent tribes gravitated and that center from which foreign culture radiated throughout the entire period before it was sacked by the Tartars in 1240.

The Ulichians and the Tivercians, the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Subcarpathian Russia, present a more complicated problem. According to the *Primary Chronicle,* they lived on the southern Bug and the Dniester, extending down to the Black Sea coast and as far as the Danube. They
[721] are without question the Eastern Slavic tribes which progressed the farthest toward the sea but, because of that same fact, they also occupied a position critically exposed to repeated nomad attacks. They can therefore hardly have moved south until after the departure of the Avars in the sixth century, and they were seriously menaced again by the incursion of the Magyars in the ninth century. We know from Arabic sources that the Magyars even enslaved much of the Slavic population in this area. Then, in the early tenth century, nomad incursions so increased in intensity and frequency that peaceful habitation in the coastal area eventually became impossible. The Ulichians and the Tivercians thus withdrew to the Carpathians and provided an important center of Slavic settlement in Tran-

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sylvania and northern Hungary. This settlement did not take /167
place, however, until after the tenth century, so that the Sub- /177
carpathian Russians actually did not come to occupy their present seats until some five hundred years after the dispersion of the proto-Slavs. There are, indeed, numerous place names even in the interior of Hungary which, by their Slavic origin, bear witness to the movement of these tribes.

The easternmost of the East Slavic tribes on Russian soil were the Severians. Though placed by the *Primary Chronicle* on the Desna and its eastern tributaries, they seem to have constituted the Slavic element which pushed as far east as the Don river in the sixth century and are even located by ninth-century Arab geographers on the lower Volga and in the northern Caucasus. But, like the Ulichians and the Tivercians, they too were exposed to Turko-Tartar impacts which drove them back to the region between modern Kursk, in the north-central Ukraine, and the left bank of the Dnieper. Their chief [361]
cities were Chernigov, on the Desna, and Pereslavl, southeast of Kiev on the left bank of the Dnieper.

North of the Derevlians, between the Pripet and the Dvina and as far east as the Berezina, lived the Dregovichians. Their area of occupation corresponds fairly closely to the modern White-Russian (Byelorussian) district, and thus would border on the zone of Lithuanian occupation. In fact, they are the Slavic group responsible for the contraction of this zone, since they pushed the Lithuanians back toward the Baltic coast and settled the basins of the Dvina and the Niemen rivers. Their [361]
chief cities were Turov, on the Pripet, and Pinsk, east of modern Brest-Litovsk. While their tribal appellation has been quite naturally connected with a word for marsh, it is, because of its termination *-ich,* more likely a patronymic.

To the east of the Berezina and straddling the Dnieper, the Radimichians were an unimportant and backward tribe which fell comparatively early under the sway of Kiev. Further east, even as far as the Oka River and modern Moscow, and thus on the edge of the eastern Finns, lived the Vyatichians, who were

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early colonizers in territory originally Finnish. The same observation applies to the Slovenes or Novgorod Slavs about Lake Ilmen, who thus approach the region of the great lakes. Just why they alone preserved the ethnic name of the Slavs remains an enigma. At any rate, they were, with the Polyane of Kiev, the most progressive of the Eastern Slavs. Located in an area ill-fitted for agriculture, they lived by hunting and trapping, by which they acquired material for barter with Scandinavian traders. Their pioneering spirit gradually carried them still further north toward Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and since only a short portage separated them from the upper Volga, we eventually find them pushing southeastward to insure a food supply from the grain fields of the Moscow district. They founded the city of Novgorod where the Volkhov flows out of Lake Ilmen, and economic and political collisions between this city and Moscow were a familiar feature of later medieval Russian history until the Muscovites emerged as victors.

Just south of the Slovenes lived the Krivichians, who dominated the headwaters of the Dvina, Dnieper, and Volga rivers and extended northwest until they collided with the Balts and Finns in the neighborhood of modern Pskov. Their chief centers, both of which owed their importance to river traffic, were Polotzk on the Dvina and Smolensk on the upper Dnieper. Since Smolensk is situated at an easy portage point between the Dvina, Lovat, and Dnieper rivers, it was one of the earliest points of Scandinavian settlement in the interior of Russia.

It stands to reason that, at the dawn of Russian history, these tribes must have in many instances progressed far beyond any patriarchal organization on the basis of kinship. Essentially an agricultural people, yet living also by hunting and trapping in newly colonized and sparsely settled areas, the Russian Slavs tended to develop beyond a purely patriarchal society as soon as they came to inhabit small farms grouped about a fortified village which served as a focal point for defense and as a rudimentary market for the exchange of their products. Such of these villages as were located on the chief watercourses developed

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into genuine trading posts and towns, the importance of which was enhanced by the penetration of foreign merchants at the beginning of the historical period. The rise of trading posts and towns gradually concentrated adjacent agricultural areas under the control of the former, producing at the same time accumulations of wealth in the hands of a new ruling class which appropriated to itself the influence formerly wielded by the elders of family, clan, and tribe. The growing prestige of the towns also broke down the various tribal differentiations, since portions of the same tribal area might fall for reasons of geography and communication under the control of different towns.

In general, the Russian tribes formed three groups distinguishable by their speech, which are reflected in our day by the tripartite division of the Russian language into three basic dialects. The northern group, comprising the Slovenes (Slavs) of Novgorod and the Krivichians, is the forerunner of the modern Great Russian dialect, the standard literary language. The central group, including Dregovichians, Radimichians, Vyatichians, and Severians, divided into two sections, of which the eastern joined the northern, or ultimately Great Russian element, while the western section (Dregovichians, Radimichians) came to form the White Russian element centering around Minsk. The southern group, made up of Polyane, Derevlians, Volhynians, Ulichians, Tivercians, and Croats, evolved into the Little Russian or Ukrainian element. In fact, the term *Ukraina* goes back as far as at least 1187, and means the southern border district. The differences among these three dialects have of course been intensified as time went on by the accidents of political affiliation and by diversified cultural influences. But these three groups are none the less parts of the same nation, so that either a White Russian or a Ukrainian is precisely as much a Russian as the purest Great Russian born in the shadow of the Kremlin.

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III

Conversion and Religious Divisions

175* While conversion to Christianity was an inevitable phase of
186 the process by which the Slavs were drawn into the general
797 movement of European civilization, it was by no means an unmixed blessing. When Slavic tribes had evolved to some semblance of national consciousness and even statehood, or were sufficiently remote from the center where religious influence was exempt from political pressure, they were able to retain their independence and to follow a characteristic course of development. But if they lived on the periphery of a powerful and aggressive Christian state, their political independence was frequently threatened, and if this state cherished colonial aims, the convert Slavs were very likely to face the choice between assimilation and enslavement, or, at the very worst, complete extermination.

797 The section of the medieval church which brought about the
795 conversion was also a factor of durable historical weight. The
178 Western Church was devoted to the tradition of Latin culture.
779 It insisted on the celebration of the Mass in the hallowed
191 language of the Church. Hence it evinced little concern for the creation of any vernacular culture. Though not possessed of
175* the same vitality, the Eastern Church soon found that it could evangelize the various pagans on the long Byzantine frontier more effectively if it allowed them to use their native languages

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in the service. Hence, though much of early south or east Slavic literature is either translated or imitated, the fact remains that the Slavs under Byzantine intellectual and religious influence developed significant national cultures much more rapidly than those under the domination of Rome. That these cultures, after a brilliant initial spurt, were later retarded and even brought to a halt which lasted several centuries is due, not to the source of conversion itself, but to historical accidents which supervened after conversion took place. Had not the Eastern and the Southern Slavs fallen victims, in one case to Tartar invasion and in the other to Turkish conquest, their intellectual lag in comparison with the rest of Europe would not have been so great. The Russians, for example, were completely deprived of all Western stimulation after the middle of the thirteenth century and nearly three hundred years elapsed before they entered upon the difficult process of assimilating the Western culture which had developed during that long and critical interval. The South Slavs, on the other hand, shook off the Turkish yoke only within the last century and thus were even more handicapped than the Russians in their struggle to catch up with the modern world.

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Of all the Slavs, the Slovenes in Carinthia and Carniola were the first to encounter missionary activities. Early in the seventh century, they had been temporarily combined with Czechs and Sorbs north of the Danube in the semilegendary kingdom under Samo, who led them victoriously against the Avars and simultaneously offered a temporary barrier to Frankish expansion southward. During his declining years in Switzerland, Saint Columban, the great Irish missionary, had thought, as early as 612, of setting out from Bregenz on a mission to the nearest Slavs, but, finding the task too difficult for his advanced age (he was already sixty-nine), he retired to Italy and ended his days at Bobbio.

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After Samo disappeared from the scene and his realm was dissolved, the Slovenes were unable to withstand the Avars, who soon held the Danube as far as the Enns. The Slovenes

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then applied for aid to the Bavarians. The latter beat off the Avars, but in 750 also seized control of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. Then, in 788, when Charlemagne deposed Duke Tassilo of Bavaria, all Bavarian dependencies fell under the sway of the Carolingian realm. Even before this date, some of the local Slovene nobility had been converted to Christianity and consequently intermarried with Bavarian families. A number of churches had thus been founded in this area by missionaries from Salzburg, and a considerable proportion of the local Slovene population had also been Christianized before the epoch of Carolingian sovereignty.

When this sovereignty became established, missionary activities were intensified. During the reign of Charlemagne there were two centers from which missionary activity reached the Slovenes: the archbishopric of Salzburg and the patriarchate of Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic. The former soon took the lead, and after Charlemagne defeated and dispersed the Avars in 796, the area between the Danube and the Theiss which they evacuated was added to the diocese of Salzburg. Bavarian missionaries accompanied German colonists into this district, where the new Slavic occupants were rapidly converted and Germanized, especially as the Slavic landlords were rapidly eliminated. The first bishop regularly assigned to the Slovenes was Deodoricus, ordained at Salzburg in 799. His diocese extended to the river Drave, which was the dividing line between the sees of Salzburg and Aquileia.

Similar missionary activity was also set in motion among the neighboring Croats south and east of the Slovenes. As the power of the Byzantine empire declined, the Frankish power gradually extended to the Slavs of the Adriatic coastline, so that the Dalmatian Croats were subject to the Franks from 803, and Frankish authority was but little impaired by the revolt of the Croat prince Lyudevit against Louis the Pious from 819 to 822. A few years later, for political reasons, an inland Croat district headed by Margrave Pribina, a Frankish feudatory with his headquarters in Pannonia near Lake Bala-

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ton, experienced a period of intense missionary activity stimulated by its chief. Pribina thus entered into the good graces of King Louis the German, and in 850 the archbishop of Salzburg consecrated the first Christian church in Pribina's dominions at Mosaburg, on Lake Balaton. Since fully half the notables present on this occasion bore German names, it is clear how intense German immigration had been and how far the policy of Germanization pursued by the Bavarian missionaries had proceeded. Within fifteen years Pribina's territory contained more than thirty-two churches and many monasteries. On the other hand, conversion and colonization also contributed to diminishing the area occupied by pure Slavic populations, and the rapid contraction of Slovene and Croat territory southward from the Danube is due primarily to this process.

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After the dissolution of Samo's kingdom about 650, the Western Slavs in modern Czechoslovak territory played no role in history until Charlemagne's campaigns against the Avars one hundred forty years later. On these campaigns the emperor's troops passed through Bohemia, and since the pagan Slavs of this area threatened the flank of the empire, they were subjected to Frankish attacks after the year 800. Louis the Pious already possessed numerous Bohemian vassals, and in 845 fourteen Czech chieftains appeared in Regensburg at the court of Louis the German to request baptism. Somewhat further eastward, the kindred Moravians were united under one prince, Mojmir, who, though still a pagan, was also a vassal of Louis the German and thus did not oppose the operations of missionaries from Regensburg and Passau.

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When Mojmir died in 845, Louis chose as the prince's successor the latter's nephew Rostislav, whom he regarded as stupid and who, he hoped, would be grateful for this elevation. Rostislav proved to be neither. Not only did he pursue Mojmir's consolidation tactics, but, while letting his allies, the disunited Czech tribes, fight against the Franks, he still maintained outward loyalty to Louis and actively promoted a policy

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797 721 175* of Christianization, hoping that a common faith would eventually combine all neighboring Slavic tribes under his sway. This ingenious policy soon worried Louis to the point where he sent a Bavarian force against Rostislav in 855, at the same time detailing another detachment to prevent the Czechs from helping him. This punitive expedition was a failure. Rostislav chased the Bavarians out of his territory and became virtually independent. The next few years were too full of complications in the west to allow Louis the luxury of reprisals against Rostislav, who extended his sway along the Danube at the expense of the disorganized Avars, and finally, in 860, deposed the Croat Prince Pribina in favor of the latter's son Kotzel. Since Pribina was loyal to Louis the German, this exploit was carried out under the pretext of making common cause with Louis' rebellious son Carloman, margrave of the Ostmark, who hoped to gain the empire with Slavic support.

797 643 175* In any case, Rostislav was at this juncture the independent chief of a large group of Slavic tribes, not only in Moravia but also south of the Danube. He could not be certain that Carloman, if successful, would deal any more gently with him than did Louis the German. Rostislav's expansion along the Danube had brought him into direct touch with the Bulgarians who, under the Khagan Krum before 814 and his successor Omurtag thereafter, had become a pagan state important enough to maintain diplomatic relations with both Franks and Byzantines. The Bulgarians supported Louis the German against Carloman, and Boris, their prince since 852, was now toying with the possibility of accepting conversion from Byzantium. Rostislav himself had succeeded reasonably well with the political emancipation of his countrymen. What more natural than that he should also seek their religious autonomy by creating a clergy who could use the vernacular, and would perhaps wield the book more efficiently than the sword? For the priests and monks from Salzburg and Passau were at least as good soldiers as they were clerics—the church militant in person.

Rostislav thus seems to have thought of Slavic-speaking mis-

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sionaries as early as 860. There is good evidence that he first applied to Rome in vain. After this failure, he turned to Constantinople, with enormous consequences for the future of Slavic civilization, not so much in his own domains, but throughout eastern Europe and the Balkans. Confronted, after the defeat of Carloman, by a new alliance between Louis the German and Boris of Bulgaria, Rostislav was now so placed that any political contact with the Greek empire, such as might result from closer religious affiliations, could be regarded only as eminently desirable insurance.

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A Moravian mission sent by Rostislav reached Constantinople toward the end of 862 and stayed there the rest of the winter. The Eastern empire had been ruled since 843 by Michael III, picturesquely nicknamed the Drunkard despite his military and administrative ability. The chief ecclesiastical and intellectual light of Byzantium in his day was the patriarch Photius, who had held this post since 858. From a political standpoint, the mission was successful. Boris of Bulgaria was detached from his alliance with Louis the German. But the religious results of the mission were even more striking.

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At Salonika, in the ninth century the center of an area largely populated by Slavs, there was stationed a Greek *drungarios* or battalion commander of noble birth by the name of Leo. He had two sons, Constantine and Methodius. Constantine had enjoyed a liberal education, studied under Photius himself, and became a professor of philosophy, but later gave up a brilliant scholarly career for monastic orders. He was eventually sent upon a missionary journey to the Khazars, on which he was accompanied by his elder brother Methodius. Likewise well-educated, Methodius had already held the post of district governor in a Slavic-speaking area not far from Salonika, but had abandoned the civil service to become a monk on Mount Athos, which he left only for the mission to Khazaria. The two brothers returned to Constantinople from this mission late in 861, about a year before Rostislav's envoys reached there. Constantine retired to private life, while Me-

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175* thodius became abbot of the monastery of Polychron, in the vicinity of Mount Olympus.

175* 212 The two brothers were recalled from their retirement by Michael III when Rostislav's mission asked for Slavic-speaking priests. Constantine in particular had demonstrated considerable linguistic talent on his mission to Khazaria, where he had learned Hebrew, and it is certain that both brothers spoke the Bulgarian dialect which prevailed in the environs of their native city. Upon accepting the mission, and before proceeding [779] to Moravia, Constantine invented a Slavic alphabet, and translated into the Slavic dialect he knew a selection of passages from the Gospels.

[538] This translation is the beginning of all Slavic literature, but the nature of the alphabet invented by Constantine is questionable. We have, as it happens, two early Slavic alphabets, the so-called Glagolitic, somewhat enigmatic in origin, and the Cyrillic, which is a combination of the Greek and Latin alphabets with some additions for specifically Slavic sounds. This latter is the ancestor of the modern Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian scripts. On account of the difficulty of the Glagolitic, it was later supplanted in Bulgaria by the Cyrillic, which is relatively close to the Greek. On purely psychological grounds, but in utter disagreement with many much more authoritative teachers and colleagues, I believe that the priority belongs to Cyrillic, since Constantine would (I assume), if only for reasons of convenience, have used an alphabet as close as possible to the one with which he was most familiar. Then later in Moravia, when he found that the German clergy viewed with suspicion and hostility everything Greek, I believe that he devised the tricky and crabbed Glagolitic, which does not resemble Greek script at all, to disarm his opponents.

175* 797 796 795 Accompanied by a few Greek priests who also knew Slavic, Constantine and Methodius arrived in Moravia during the spring of 863. They were well received by Prince Rostislav,

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though the local clergy from Passau and Regensburg viewed them as dangerous rivals, for these Greeks were scholars and men of action who had the advantage of speaking the local language. At first they celebrated Mass in Greek, which was as incomprehensible to the masses as the Latin of the Frankish clergy. Constantine then hastened to translate the whole service, which only added to the resentment of their competitors, despite the fact that he actually translated not the Byzantine ritual but the Latin missal. In Western eyes this was a drastic and unparalleled innovation. Whatever Rostislav's good intentions were, he was not for long in a position to support the Greeks wholeheartedly, for in the autumn of 864 he had been attacked and once more reduced to vassalage by Louis the German. Yet the mission prospered to the point where the problem of ordaining new priests presented itself. Constantine even made a visit to the son of Pribina, Prince Kotzel, on Lake Balaton, who became an enthusiastic admirer of the brothers' work and confided fifty young men to him for training.

Since it was obviously undesirable, if not impossible, for Constantine and Methodius to have their disciples ordained by the bishops of Passau or Salzburg, they decided, after three years of missionary activity, to journey to Rome, where they could obtain the endorsement of Pope Nicholas I. The brothers were by no means hostile to the Pope; on the contrary, in common with numerous other Byzantine ecclesiastics of their day, they regarded the Bishop of Rome not only as the patriarch of the West but also as the supreme head of the Church. News of their arrival in Venice inspired a special invitation from Pope Nicholas to wait upon him, but before they left Venice he died in November 867 and was succeeded a month later by Adrian II. Though the Frankish opposition to the Slavic liturgy had been transmitted to the Roman clergy, Adrian ordered the ordination of the candidates whom Constantine and Methodius presented, and authorized the use of the Slavic liturgy. Constantine survived his triumph but a few

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000 months. Broken in health, he retired to an Italian monastery where he assumed the name of Cyril and died on February 4, 869.

175* 795 793 Meanwhile, in Pannonia, Prince Kotzel became worried over the long absence of the young priests he had detailed for ordination. When he sent a special mission to inquire about them, the Pope dismissed Methodius and his followers with a letter addressed jointly to Rostislav, to the latter's nephew Svatopluk, and to Kotzel, stating that he was designating Methodius as an emissary not merely to Pannonia, but to Moravia as well, but, fearful of irritating the Frankish clergy, he momentarily abstained from naming Methodius Bishop of Pannonia, as Kotzel preferred, since this action would have detached Pannonia from the diocese of Salzburg. His hesitation was banished, however, by Rostislav's military successes against Louis the German in 869, which diminished the authority of the Frankish clergy, and also by the news that Boris of Bulgaria was turning from Rome to Byzantium. In order to block any further expansion of Byzantine influence and to tie the Danubian Slavs more closely to Rome, he thus consecrated Methodius as Archbishop of Pannonia and named him papal legate to all the Slavs.

175* 795 The success of this design was almost immediately compromised by unforeseen political developments. In 870, Rostislav was deposed by his nephew Svatopluk, who became a Frankish vassal. On his arrival in Moravia, Methodius was arrested and brought before a court comprising the bishops of Passau, Salzburg, and Freising, who professed total ignorance of his new episcopal status. Far from doing anything to protect Methodius, Svatopluk was actually present when Hermanarich, Bishop of Passau, struck the Greek bishop with his whip. Discovering, however, that he was merely the catspaw of the Franks, Svatopluk soon reversed his field and by 874 was independent. The curia meanwhile endeavored to ascertain what had happened to Methodius. The Bishop of Freising denied to

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Pope Adrian that he even knew him, but after Adrian's death in 872, his successor John VIII sent a special legate to Louis the German with orders suspending two of the offending bishops and directing the primate of Salzburg to release Methodius and to install him in his proper diocese. Unfortunately, however, John was obliged to placate the Germans, and compromised to the extent of forbidding Methodius the use of the Slavic liturgy, though he permitted preaching in the vernacular.

Since 867 events had moved rapidly in Constantinople itself. Basil I, the bold and able successor of Michael III, whom he had murdered, revived the Byzantine navy, drove the Arabs from the Adriatic, and gradually reëstablished Greek ascendancy over the Croat tribes of the shoreline, who maintained their independence from the Frankish yoke that weighed upon their inland kindred, and therefore for the moment gravitated toward Byzantium. Basil thus secured not only the submission of the Serbs and the coastal tribes as far as Dalmatia, but also sent missionaries to baptize any remaining pagans. Dalmatia was then subjected in 878, and more missionaries accompanied the new Greek administration. Since the Bulgarians had been affiliated with Constantinople since 870, this date represents the high watermark of Byzantine influence in the Balkans. In 879, however, the Grecophile Croat princes were opposed by a revolt which brought the Dalmatian coastal area once more into the Roman sphere. This development defined the future limits of Byzantine influence. It remained dominant in Serbia and on the Croat coast as far as Dalmatia, as well as among the Slavs in Bulgaria, Thrace, and the Greek peninsula.

In connection with the Serbs, we should note here that the faith reached them from two directions. The territory south of Pannonia and west of the Balkan Morava River, which joins the Danube east of Belgrade, was evangelized by Roman priests from the coast as early as the eighth century. On the other hand, the conversion of the Slavs in western Macedonia,

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175* 797 whether Bulgarians or Serbs, proceeded from Salonika at approximately the same time, but was most intense during the reign of Basil I.

175* 796 795 798 Methodius had not obeyed the Pope's injunction to abandon the Slavic liturgy but, when summoned to Rome in 879 to explain his position, was again victorious on even this point. John VIII, however, endeavored to conciliate Svatopluk, who had never been personally sympathetic toward Methodius, by naming as the latter's suffragan the Prince's favorite priest, one Wiching, who immediately took the side of the Frankish clergy and blocked Methodius at every turn. The Archbishop eventually decided to shift his activities further south, and in 881 set forth on a journey toward the valleys of the Drave and the Save, where he received an invitation from Basil I to visit Constantinople. The Patriarch Photius was, after all, an old friend, and the Emperor himself was well-informed of Methodius's activities in a frontier area not entirely alien to Greek interests.

Upon his return to his diocese Methodius at first concentrated his efforts on translating additional canonical books and ecclesiastical texts. Unfortunately for his pastoral work, however, John VIII was poisoned in 882, and under Stephen V hostile exchanges between Rome and Byzantium were resumed. Methodius himself died in April, 885, after designating as his successor Gorazd, his most capable disciple. Wiching, Methodius's old enemy, straightway renewed his intrigues and had no trouble in securing the favorable ear of a pope already irritated against Byzantium. Stephen V abandoned the Slavic liturgy altogether, Wiching's partisans secured the eternal exile of Gorazd and the other disciples of Methodius, and thus the work of twenty years in Moravia was wiped out.

175* 795 After the decision of Prince Boris of Bulgaria to accept conversion in 862, the next twenty years were marked by fruitless papal attempts to gain control of the Bulgarian church. In 870, indeed, the Eighth Oecumenical Council, under the influence of Basil I, had formally decided that the Bulgarian church was subject to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and

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Roman priests were thereafter excluded from the country. The archbishop of Bulgaria ranked next after the patriarch so that his diocese was practically autonomous, and Boris had good reason to resist all further Roman overtures and blandishments. Greek influence was therefore greatly intensified in Bulgaria, though the Byzantines were tactfully careful not to use their missionary activities for political ends. Besides Methodius, during his visit to Constantinople in 881, had given brilliant accounts of the results of his Moravian efforts in the vernacular. These reports aroused in both Basil I and Photius the idea that they could advance the good cause in Bulgaria by similar means, and a training school for Slavic priests was opened on the Bosporus.

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After the elimination of Methodius's disciples from Moravia in 885, some of them were sold into slavery and were accidentally discovered by a Greek envoy in the slave market at Venice. They were immediately redeemed by the Byzantine envoy and taken to Constantinople where Basil hastened to assign them to Bulgarian charges. At the same time Clement and the other disciples of Methodius who had been put across the Danube arrived at the Bulgarian frontier fortress of Belgrade, whence they were sent on to Boris's court at Pliska, where they were cordially welcomed. At the moment the Greek court favored Slavic priests, hence there could be no objection to their employment in Bulgaria, even if the local Greek clergy viewed them with a somewhat jaundiced eye.

Unfortunately, however, Basil I died in the summer of 886, and Photius, the great patriarch and the friend of Constantine and Methodius, was supplanted by an insignificant successor. Boris therefore decided not to provoke the influential Greek clergy needlessly. He kept them at his court, but sent Clement and his associates to work among the people in Macedonia, which he hoped might develop into a promising stronghold of purely Slavic Christianity.

Boris abdicated in 889, and during the next thirty years, under the rule of his son Simeon, Bulgaria, despite varying

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175* 795 fortunes, not only threw off even the vestiges of a Byzantine protectorate but also extended its domain far into Serbia. During this interval Clement's activity greatly expanded. He founded the great monastery of Saint Panteleimon at Okhrida, and on Simeon's accession he was consecrated a bishop. The legacy of Constantine and Methodius was thus preserved in all its wealth, to the great advantage of Bulgaria, which thus became a purely Slavic country with an autonomous church. Simeon was accordingly able to realize his father's ambition of proclaiming a Bulgarian patriarchate.

175* 795 538 779 Obviously the roots of the culture disseminated by the Bulgarian church, however nationalistic, were essentially Byzantine. Though a Slav by birth, Clement himself had been trained by Greek masters, and Simeon too was culturally so Hellenized as to be nicknamed the "half-Greek." Hence the literary productions of the Macedonian schools founded by Clement and his associates were, if not mere translations, usually slavish imitations of Greek texts. Simeon himself composed an anthology of texts compiled from Greek theologians. Though the influence of Byzantine letters during this epoch was limited to the theological and the liturgical sphere, it is of relatively enormous significance that at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth the Old Bulgarian language was being adopted for literary purposes under Greek influence, and that a large body of Slavic-speaking priests was being created who were capable of transmitting at least the ecclesiastical [797] aspects of Greek culture in their own tongue. The mission of Constantine and Methodius thus bore fruit, not on the ground they themselves sowed, but on territory closer to Byzantium, so that the results of what their disciples accomplished in Bulgaria could be easily drawn upon seventy-five years later when a much more extensive field was opened with the conversion of the south Russian principality of Kiev.

175* 795 797 At the same time, the Slavic liturgy which had been proscribed in Moravia was also transmitted through Pannonia into Croatia, but in general the popes saw no reason to use it

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as an instrument once Byzantine encroachments were no longer feared, especially since the local bishops were liable to Roman influence, and the Slavic princes themselves were anxious to placate the romance-speaking populations of the wealthy coastal cities. But with the exception of Croatia, the work of Constantine and Methodius brought all the South Slavs and later the Eastern Slavs under the cultural aegis of Byzantium.

The Slovenes, the Czechs, and the Moravians had fallen, as we have seen, to the lot of Rome. While the Slovenes, by withdrawing southward from the Danube, were able to escape total absorption by the Germans, their Slavic kindred on the Baltic coast and in the interior of Germany faced infinitely more critical circumstances. The Saxon clergy were eager for landed possessions, and the easiest way to obtain them was by evangelizing the Transelbian Slavs, whose conversion would also pour tithes into their coffers. German expansion at the expense of the Western Slavs was most drastically pursued during the reign of Otto I (936-973). Beyond the Elbe a swarm of bishoprics arose, half houses of God, half fortresses. The Slavs became tributary as far as the Oder. They retained their landed possessions, but all unoccupied land was transferred from the Slavic chiefs to the German crown. Royal vassals were placed in the tribal centers to operate the administration, and bishoprics were established along the eastern border. Forcible conversion of the Slavic natives became the order of the day. Narrow as their margin of living was, the Slavic peasants were driven to rigorous abstention from labor on the numerous saints' days. The spiritual content of their conversion was actually so slight at this period that it is actually recorded how the Slavic peasants who were laboriously taught to say *Kyrie eleison* in the right places sullenly parroted it with like-sounding Slavic words which mean "in a crooked alder-bush." Indeed, the avarice and oppression of both clergy and nobles provoked violent outbreaks of resentment among the Transelbian Slavs in 982, 1018, and 1066, which cost many German lives and threw the colonizers back across the Elbe, so that it was not until the middle

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of the twelfth century that German domination was reëstablished between the Elbe and the Oder.

The beginnings of the Polish state fall, as it happens, within the period characterized by German pressure on the Baltic Slavs during the reign of Otto I. About 963 the pagan Polish prince Mieszko I ruled over a realm east of the Oder and south of Pomerania and modern East Prussia, which included the middle and upper Vistula basin, stretching further southward to the Czech border at the Sudetens, and comprising most of Volhynia. The German Margrave Gero, whose territory included a good part of modern Saxony, subjugated the Slavic Lusatians (Liticians) and Milchanians of the upper Spree valley. These tribes extended eastward to the Oder and the Bober, and were thus in close contact with the western Polish peoples. At the same time, German penetration threatened Silesia southwest of the upper Oder, and in 979 the Margrave Odo even endeavored to force Mieszko to pay tribute on the area between the Oder and the War—the rivers (that is, roughly, between Frankfurt-Glogau and Posen). This expedition resulted in a German defeat, but the German menace had already induced Mieszko to improve his standing by affiliating himself with a Christian reigning family and to embrace the faith himself.

In spite of his previous record of polygamy, he married Dubravka (Bona), sister of the Czech prince Boleslav I, in 966, and was converted. The Polish bishopric of Posen was founded in 968. It was subject to the archdiocese of Magdeburg, and its first encumbent was a German cleric. Mieszko then made his submission to Otto in Quedlinburg on Easter Day, 973. After Otto I's death, German relations with Poland were more or less in abeyance until 984. Meanwhile Dubravka had died in 977, whereupon Mieszko married Oda, previously a nun, the daughter of the Margrave Thiedrich. Mieszko himself died in 992 as a faithful vassal of Otto III. His son and successor, Boleslav the Brave, maintained the same policy with such success that he won the respect of both Otto III and Pope Sylvester II

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(Gerbert d'Aurillac). Otto's temperament was singularly open to foreigners, and he conceived an intense regard for Boleslav which the latter was not beyond exploiting. Knowing that Otto's friend Adalbert, former Bishop of Prague, had been slain on a missionary journey to the Prussians in 999, Boleslav successfully endeavored to recover his relics. Otto was thus induced the next year to make a pilgrimage to Gnesen, where they were preserved. He relieved Boleslav of the previous tribute to the empire, made Gnesen an archbishopric, and transferred Posen to the archdiocese of Mainz. Polish bishoprics dependent on Gnesen were also set up in Breslau, Krakow, and Kolberg (Pomerania). Though he could not entirely throw off German vassalage, Boleslav thus made the Polish church practically independent of German influence.

During the ninth century ambitious Vikings from Sweden settled in the Slavic trading centers on the Russian water courses, established themselves as a ruling class, and organized two strong points at Novgorod and Kiev at either extremity of the great trade route from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Extending its authority over neighboring tribes and cities, Kiev in the tenth century became a rising principality largely supported by commerce. Its princes raided the shores of the Black Sea, and its commercial contacts with Byzantium were regulated by extant treaties as early as 907. One Kievan prince even ventured to attack Constantinople in 941. Another member of the ruling house, the Princess Olga (she was of pure Swedish blood), visited Constantinople and was converted in 957. Though there were some Christians in Kiev from that early date, her son Sviatoslav refused to change his faith. During his campaigns of 967-971 in Bulgaria, he seriously menaced the Greek capital. But his son Vladimir was destined to play an even more conspicuous role in Byzantine diplomatic and dynastic history.

Vladimir succeeded to the principate in 977. He had extensive Scandinavian connections, and was highly successful in subjecting Slavic tribes of the periphery. He was in close con-

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tact with the Poles, and among his concubines were several Christian girls of either Greek or Slavic blood. He was not without interest in religion as such, having staged a sort of pagan revival in Kiev at the opening of his reign. There is some likelihood that frequent exchanges with Byzantium had caused him to entertain the idea of conversion before 987, but in that year an unusual combination of circumstances pushed him toward a decision.

John Tzimisces, one of the greatest of Byzantine generals and victor over Vladimir's father Sviatoslav in Bulgaria, had died in 976 after reigning as emperor of Byzantium for six years. He was succeeded on the throne by two youthful sovereigns, Basil II and Constantine. Since their prestige was slight, their authority was almost immediately menaced by a military revolt, the leader of which even occupied Scutari, opposite Constantinople. As soon as the revolt broke out, Basil entered into correspondence with Vladimir in the hope of winning an alliance and auxiliary troops. Vladimir was disinclined to furnish this aid without commensurate reward, and coupled with his assent the condition that the emperors should give him their sister Anna in marriage. Up to this point Byzantine sovereigns had normally been chary of marrying their female relations to alien princes. Constantine Porphyrogenitus had laid down the principle twenty-five years before that no Byzantine princess should marry a foreign potentate unless he were baptized. The German emperor Otto I had vainly negotiated in behalf of his son for the hand of the emperors' sister whom Vladimir now sought. But the situation of the empire was too critical to brook long delay, and the emperors consented to the marriage provided Vladimir would accept conversion.

The Prince of Kiev then supplied six thousand troops who helped to repress the rebellion during the summer of 988. But once the fortunes of the emperors began to rise, they showed manifest reluctance to execute the part of the bargain which concerned the Princess Anna. Vladimir, for his part, had taken this stipulation very seriously and intended it should be en-

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forced. So while his troops were still assisting the Byzantines during the summer of 989, he besieged and captured the Greek city of Chersonesus on the western Crimean coast about three miles south of modern Sevastopol, after which he sent envoys to Constantinople with the warning that if the princess were not sent to meet him he would attack the capital. Basil and Constantine were thus induced to carry out their share of the contract, and Anna departed tearfully with a numerous suite for Chersonesus, where Vladimir's baptism and his marriage were duly solemnized.

After restoring Chersonesus to the Greeks, Vladimir returned to Kiev accompanied by the priests in Anna's entourage, and there proceeded to convert his subjects with the same forthright energy he showed in other crises. He caused the local idols to be overthrown, and the local population was subjected to wholesale baptism in the Dnieper river which flows past the city. As conversion progressed, the principate was divided into eight eparchies, each under a bishop. During the next century, however, Christianity spread rather slowly, as is indicated by outbreaks of paganism fifty and even eighty years later under the leadership of local shamans.

The conversion of the masses was to some extent accelerated by a facile syncretism which assimilated the figures of Christian belief to the chief dieties of the rudimentary pagan Slavic cult. Perun the thunderer was identified with the prophet Elijah in his chariot of fire, and it was also an easy step from belief in Svarog, the god of fire, and in his son Dazhbog, the life-giving solar orb, to an elementary conception of Almighty God the Father and the Son, the light of the world and of truth. The pagan Slavs' conceptions of an omnipotent multitude of benign or hostile supernatural beings were satisfied by the Christian notions of the Virgin, of saints, and of devils. Conversion also provided the upper classes with a general basic philosophy or *Weltanschaung* and with abundant ritual answers to their common human speculations. It likewise endowed them with an ideal of conduct which, though hardly

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175* 797 771 attained by every individual, nevertheless produced some admirable characters among early medieval churchmen and laymen.

175* 793 797 The sources from which Vladimir drew his clergy present a problem of some importance and complexity. Adequate evidence exists that Greek priests were sent to Russia both in the suite of the Princess Anna and after her marriage to Vladimir. Since there were isolated Christians and at least one church at Kiev prior to Vladimir's conversion, there must have been a small nucleus of Russian-speaking clergy in the city itself before 989, though these clerics were probably of Greek nationality. Vladimir's well-attested activity in wholesale conversion even among the masses at widely separated points makes it likely, however, that some provision was made for evangelizing the people in a language comprehensible to them. Priests with the appropriate linguistic qualifications could be found at this period only among members of the Byzantine clergy who had been active in Bulgaria or among the Bulgarian clergy themselves, since the differentiation between the spoken languages of Bulgaria and south Russia in the late tenth century was so slight as to constitute no barrier to common understanding.

175* 779 The tradition of vernacular religious culture under Greek intellectual auspices had been established in Bulgaria during the reigns of Boris (852-889) and Simeon (894-927). In the light of the eventual transmission to Kiev of a large body of ecclesiastical literature in Old Bulgarian translations, it is an accepted and doubtless correct convention of Russian literary history in the pre-Tartar period to assume that these works were first transmitted to Kievan Russia through the medium of Byzantium as priests were sent out into the Russian field. But, curiously enough, there are no historical data behind this respectable hypothesis, nor does any explicit evidence point to the slightest direct contact between the charges of Bulgaria and Russia during the principates of Vladimir and of his son through 1045.

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While some ingenious theories to the contrary have been expounded, the fact remains that Byzantine relations with Bulgaria were constantly hostile from Vladimir's conversion to his death in 1015. Basil II would thus hardly have attached to an enemy state the young church founded by his brother-in-law. There is therefore no motive for believing that the Russian church at its foundation was other than an eparchy of the Byzantine patriarchate, even if we admit the contention that there was no metropolitanate in Russia during Vladimir's lifetime. In the transmission of Slavic liturgical and theological texts at this period the mediation of Constantinople was inevitable, and the priests at Vladimir's disposal must have likewise been chiefly Greeks, some of whom possessed a smattering of Bulgarian from work in Bulgaria itself or, like the proto-apostles Constantine and Methodius, from their contacts in the northern and western marches of the Byzantine Empire.

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That Vladimir assimilated certain intellectual interests along with the faith is indicated by his insistence upon some degree of education among the children of his followers. The *Primary Chronicle* reports:

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He took the children of the best families and sent them for instruction in book learning. The mothers of these children wept bitterly over them, for they were not yet strong in faith, but mourned as for the dead.

It is not clear whether Vladimir intended that these youths should be trained as priests or as civil servants, but from the facts that within the next fifty years educated Russian priests come to the fore and that extensive reference is made in the sources to the culture of Vladimir's son and successor Yaroslav the Wise, it is fair to suppose that Vladimir had his eye on both professions. In Constantinople at the close of the tenth century interest in higher education was restricted by the general attention to military problems and conquest, so that book learning was primarily a matter of personal and private

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871 study. It is therefore unlikely that Vladimir had before him
175* any models calculated to inspire the establishment of schools in the modern or even the medieval sense of the word, but rather that he employed the priests sent from Byzantium as private teachers for the younger members of prominent families connected with his court.

871 At any rate, extant literary monuments dating from the last
538 half of the eleventh century give evidence of an expanding nucleus of culture in Kiev itself which is the direct result of
175* Vladimir's concern for education. It was hardly to be expected
779 that a tremendous outburst of literary energy would ensue as soon as the seeds of learning were sown among a younger generation sprung from illiterate Varangian and Slavic sires, but the readiness with which Byzantine hagiographical and annalistic models were assimilated and imitated even before 1100 indicates an extensive interest in reading among circles brought up in a tradition of culture to the founding of which Vladimir contributed. That the basis of this culture was mere literacy—the ability to read the Psalms, the Gospels, and such Byzantine religious or historical compilations as had been translated into old Bulgarian in the days of Boris and Simeon—by no means lessens the importance of Vladimir's zeal for intellectual progress.

175* To Vladimir also belongs the credit for initiating the con-
346 struction program which within the next century transformed
[361] Kiev into one of the most impressive medieval cities. The crowning structural exploit of Vladimir's reign was thus a stone church of the Virgin, begun in 989, for the erection and decoration of which he imported artisans from Greece. It was completed and consecrated in 996. At its dedication Vladimir endowed it with a tithe of his property and income, from which donation is derived its customary name, The Church of the Tithe, or *Desiatinnaia*. Originally a basilica, it was reconstructed with five cupolas after a fire in 1017, and collapsed under the weight of a crowd of refugees when the Tartars took

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Kiev in 1240. No remnant of it now survives except the ruins of its foundations. 175* 346

In Vladimir's day the clergy rapidly assumed a place among the ruling class. Apart from introducing new notions of judicial procedure derived from the Greek *Nomokanon*, the early clergy also undertook to advise Vladimir on affairs of state and local policy. In 992 the bishops advised the substitution of corporal punishment for fines in order to suppress brigandage and similarly suggested that the proceeds of fines in other cases should be spent on military equipment for defense against the menacing nomads. The ecclesiastical courts also assumed jurisdiction over numerous social problems and offenses which took new significance in the light of the Christian moral code: bigamy, divorce, heresy, sacrilege, witchcraft, and adultery. Vladimir thus tolerated the fusion of church and state on the basis of contemporary Byzantine usage. 175* 793 565 693 [681] [684] [688]

By the process of conversion among the various Slavic groups, the bases of cultural and political differentiation were thus laid before the year 1000. Exposed to Christian influences since the seventh century, the Slovenes were converted by Bavarian clergy, and after their absorption into the Carolingian empire in 788, remained until the first World War in submission to one German state or another. The Croats, though in contact with the mission of Constantine and Methodius, reverted to Rome after the disciples of Methodius were expelled from Moravia, and have come down through the ages as Catholics, whatev[illegible] [illegible]eir political allegiance. The Slavs along the Elbe and the Baltic were subjected to the most violent political and religious pressure from Saxon priests and nobles with the result that, despite heroic revolts, they were slowly pushed back toward the former Polish frontier. The Byzantine influence in Moravia lasted but a quarter of a century before the work of the proto-apostles, Constantine and Methodius collapsed, and the Moravians, like the Czechs, remained under the pastoral care of bishops of the Roman rite. Though the 175* [797] 795

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175 spirit of Bohemian individualism rose again during the Hussite
795 Wars of the early fifteenth century, and was not extinguished even after the accession of the Hapsburgs in 1526, in our own time, after triumph and defeat, it will (we hope) rise to play a worthy role in a better world.

The Poles have never departed from the faith that Mieszko I brought them in 963, and their whole cultural evolution is intimately dependent upon the civilizing mission of the Roman Church; if ever their faith was firm, they need it doubly now. The Serbs and Bulgarians were ecclesiastically dependent from the ninth century on Byzantium, and we have seen how the intellectual nationalism of Boris and Simeon built up a treasury of native Slavic culture derived from Byzantine sources. Upon this treasury the Russian Church drew as soon as it was founded, and without Simeon's policy of ecclesiastical autonomy the rapid advance of medieval Russian culture would have been greatly retarded. After the fall of Byzantium before the Turks in 1453, Russia remained the sole great repository of Byzantine and Greek Orthodox religious tradition until thirty years ago.

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IV

The Formation of Russia

We have already spoken of the contacts of the primitive Slavs with the Goths during the latters' migrations of the early Christian era and the succession of invasions from Asia into the steppe country which exerted political and some cultural influence upon the Eastern Slavic tribes. At the time of the conversion of the Russians in 989 during the reign of Vladimir I at Kiev, the principality of Kiev was already a state of growing area and rising influence. It is now relevant to discuss the process by which this principality was founded, and to carry the history of the Russian state five centuries beyond Vladimir to the domination of Moscow, showing the course of events by which the national nucleus was transferred from the Ukraine to the younger northeastern principality. 175*

In Scandinavia, and particularly in Sweden, the period from 750 to 800 A.D. was marked by pronounced activity in organization and conquest. During the ninth century Swedish interest in oriental commerce developed rapidly and caused such an active search for lines of eastward communication that before 850 Swedish settlers appeared on the southeastern shore of Lake Ladoga. About the year 900, a Swedish colony was founded at Gnezdovo, near modern Smolensk, and Swedish immigration reached the headwaters of the rivers Volga and Oka. Finds of Swedish *objets d'art* of the ninth and tenth 175* 487

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175* centuries along the northern Russian watercourses which
487 provide an easy route between the Baltic and the Volga indicate a lively activity in oriental trade, and the Swedish colonies in this area result from the opening, by the Swedes, of a new trade route to the Orient via the Volga.

175* In 859, according to the Russian *Primary Chronicle,* "Varangians from beyond the sea" imposed tribute on the northernmost Slavs in Russia and their Finnish neighbors. Within the next four years, the tributaries revolted and expelled the invaders, but finding themselves unable to preserve order, they were obliged (according to the *Chronicle*) to invite the return of their oppressors. The story continues that in response to this plea, three Varangian brothers, Rurik, Sineus, and Truvor, migrated to Russia with their kin. Rurik settled in Novgorod, two of his retainers wrested Kiev from the Khazars, and Oleg, allegedly, the regent for Rurik's young son Ivor, took Kiev from them after Rurik's death. The legendary date of the traditional calling of the princes thus harmonizes with the archaeological evidence as to the period of Scandinavian immigration. Both the *Primary Chronicle* and Arabic geographical sources refer to these immigrant Scandinavians as Rus (Russes), a name which was later applied to the Slavs they subdued and to the
[487] state which grew from the principalities they created. The Volga trade route which they first discovered rapidly declined in importance once they found that the Dnieper offered relatively easy access to Byzantium.

The civilization which the immigrant Swedes brought with them to Russian territory was essentially that of the Viking Age. The Scandinavian artifacts of the ninth and tenth centuries discovered in Russian territory indicate that their makers and owners were possessed of no mean talent in working metals (bronze, silver, gold), and were found of tasteful adornment. From their northern homes they brought a highly developed capacity for handling iron tools. Not only had the Vikings in general mastered the technique of timbered houses, but they were also capable of constructing clinker-built sea vessels up to

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fifty feet in length and sturdy cargo boats of as much as 175*
fifty tons' burden, though for river navigation they used
lighter craft. Where the aboriginal Slav of the Russian plains [411]
and forests was poor in weapons—even his word for sword
(as we know) he had been forced to borrow from the invading
Goths—the Swedish adventurer wielded a heavy, straight,
two-edged blade and the battle-ax which later became the distinguishing weapon of the Byzantine emperors' Varangian guard.

In the main the Scandinavian immigrants to Russia from Sweden belonged to the yeoman class and apart from naval raids on the Black Sea coast generally abstained from the deeds of violence which characterized Viking visitations in Western Europe. The native Slavs were too humbly endowed to offer rich booty, and the Russes were manifestly more interested in setting up ordered and profitable commercial settlements than in the commission of futile barbarities other than those incidental to the habitual slave traffic. The tradition that Rurik and his brethren were accompanied by their kinsfolk would suggest that the social organization of the immigrant Swedes was still on the clan basis, and that the senior of the clan functioned as chieftain or *konungr,* supported by a *comitatus* (bodyguard, retinue) of his more or less distant relatives and accepted retainers. The Scandinavian energy and skill at arms, coupled with a pronounced gift for discipline and organization, stood the scattered Eastern Slavic tribes and embryonic towns in good stead at a moment when a cohesive impulse was essential for their survival.

Having settled along the Dnieper as far as Kiev, the Russes 175*
soon entered into commercial relations with the Khazar khan- 439
ate, and after a raid on Constantinople in 860, regular commerce developed between the Greek empire and the cities on the Dnieper trade route. The chief Russian points of origin for this trade were Novgorod, Smolensk, Lubech, Chernigov, and Kiev. The Norse sources also mentioned Murom, Rostov, and Suzdal on the northeast, which owed their importance to

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175* the Volga artery. It is a historical fact of prime importance that
439 the Scandinavian warrior-merchants who settled among the
361 primitive Eastern Slavs founded no new towns themselves, but by their superior energy and military prowess made themselves the ruling class in urban centers of population which already existed. They were not the creators of the river-borne commerce from which they gained their livelihood. The routes and staples of this commerce had been defined far back in the early ages of the Mediterranean world, and the Russes who built up prosperous commercial relations with Byzantium simply renewed a system of exchange temporarily disjointed by the vicissitudes of nomadic movements.

175* Kiev was the chief trading post of the lower Dnieper valley,
631 the center at which merchandise was collected for shipment to the Crimea or to Byzantium. The Viking or so-called Varangian chief who controlled Kiev was thus likely to surpass in wealth and prestige his competitors in the more northern cities. The domestic activity of a Kievan prince of the early tenth century consisted chiefly in collecting tribute in kind, the proceeds of which not only supported his family and the retainers on whom his military power was founded, but also served as a basis for trade, which was under the prince's direct control. As the early Varangian princes imposed their sovereignty over successive towns, they delegated a viceroy to each, but the practice of assigning junior princes of the ruling family to subject cities begins only with Prince Sviatoslav (956-972), father of Vladimir I, under whom the Russians were converted. By the early tenth century, the outlying tribes had been tied together in a loose confederation connected with Kiev by economic interests dictated by trade with Constantinople, and this trade was regulated by a formal treaty as early as 907.

175* The magnificence of the Byzantine capital early exercised its attraction on the Kievan aristocracy. Vladimir's grandmother, the Princess Olga (a lady of pure Scandinavian stock) not only administered the principality after her husband's violent death, but in 975 became a convert to Christianity and

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made a ceremonial visit to Constantinople, where she was 175*
sumptuously entertained by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who has left us a detailed account of the occasion. Her son Sviatoslav, Vladimir's father, remained a convinced pagan, and is best known to history for his overthrow of the Khazar khanate in 962, his extension of Kievan authority to the upper Volga, and his disastrous attempts to subjugate Bulgaria between 968 and 971. He was, in fact, slain by the nomad Pechenegs at the rapids of the Dnieper while returning home from a crushing defeat at the hands of the Byzantine emperor John Tzimisces.

After his father's death Vladimir, who at the time was prince 175*
of Novrogod, opened hostilities against his half-brother who 643
had succeeded Sviatoslav, and by his opponent's death became heir to Kiev. Before his conversion he had consolidated his power in the Dnieper valley, confirmed his father's conquest of the region between the Dnieper and the upper Volga, pushed his domains to the northeastern river courses feeding the Baltic, and made important gains at the expense of the Poles in Volhynia and Galicia. His ingenuity transformed a loose confederation with but weak control of its periphery into a unified Russian domain. That this unity was maintained with difficulty under his immediate descendants and was eventually dissolved was a consequence of local particularism aggravated by economic derangement, of feuds in the princely family, and of the pressure of nomad invaders.

The principality of Kiev became a state of European im- 175*
portance by Vladimir's conquests and conversion. The reign of 643
his son Yaroslav the Wise from 1017 to 1054 is the meridian 631
of its greatness. Yaroslav himself was a prince of rare intelligence and broad international contacts. He had himself married Ingigerd, a Swedish princess who had earlier been engaged to King Olaf Haraldsson of Norway. His sister Maria married King Kizimir I of Poland; of his daughters, one married King Henry I of France; a second Harald the Severe, King of Norway; a third King Andrew of Hungary. His son Vsevolod

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175* was the husband of a Greek princess, and the son of this union
643 eventually became the consort of Gytha, daughter of the Saxon
631 Harold who fell at Hastings in 1066. Kiev was thus united with contemporary European states by a series of dynastic alliances foreshadowing the customs of modern times.

175* Yet for all his power and wealth, Yaroslav governed by the
643 same simple mechanism that had prevailed under Vladimir. The prince won his position by force and maintained it by personal supremacy, supported by Varangian mercenaries recruited from Scandinavia whenever domestic levies proved insufficient or disloyal, and consulting with his chief military aides, with the city elders, or with church dignitaries on matters of general
[671] policy. Yaroslav began the codification of customary civil and
[795] ecclesiastical law, encouraged both translations and original literature, and endeavored without success to emancipate the Russian Church from the Byzantine patriarchate. By his crushing victory over the nomad Pechenegs before the walls of Kiev in 1036, he made the marches of his principality safe for thirty-five years.

175* Beside rebuilding his father's Church of the Tithe after it
643 was damaged by fire in 1017, he carried out a large-scale con-
346 struction program which made Kiev one of the most notable
532 medieval cities. His great cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev, with its five apses and thirteen cupolas, still contains the largest extant yardage of eleventh-century Byzantine frescoes and a series of remarkably preserved mosaics of impressive beauty. This is the one medieval Russian church which has been exhaustively studied by American archaeologists in coöperation with native Russian colleagues.

175* The underlying weakness of the Kievan principality lay in
643 the fact that its stability was assured only by the prestige and
186 ability of the ruling prince. There was as yet no sentiment of
631 solidarity, national unity, and group interest which guaranteed that the whole system would not be overthrown by some ambitious and resolute rival from among the kindred princes in outlying cities loosely subject to the authority of the prince of Kiev and envious of his power and wealth.

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Kiev and envious of his power and wealth. Yaroslav himself was unable to obviate this danger. Before his death he endeavored to perpetuate the system his father and he had created by assigning the succession at Kiev to his eldest surviving son, and by apportioning to his younger sons the other important cities in the order of seniority of the princes and of the relative prestige of their several districts, with the recommendation that the younger brothers should regard the eldest as their sovereign and as the arbitrator of eventual disputes. Yet he omitted from his assignment his grandson and the descendants of his deceased brother, who thereupon constituted a potential threat to the tenure of the ruling line, even if the latter managed to keep peace among themselves.

The mode of succession established by Yaroslav thus placed the principality in the hands of a fraternal partnership. The apportionment of domains on the basis of seniority was theoretically feasible, however, only as long as the ruling family was small. But with the normal increase of direct and collateral descendants, mutual jealousies were bound to produce internal strife and to enfeeble the whole structure of the state. Mere seniority was no proof of either innate capacity or of the energy and tact required to allay disputes or to pacify ambitious rivals, and any weakness of the central authority impeded effective resistance to nomad attacks on the southern frontier. These attacks demanded at all times a vigorous defense, since cutting the Dnieper trade route meant decline of trade with Byzantium and interruption of the economic exchanges on which the prosperity of the principality depended. As it turned out, Prince Iziaslav, Yaroslav's son and successor, was unable to keep his rivals in check or even to maintain discipline among the unruly population of his capital. The Pechenegs, abolished as a menace by Yaroslav, were succeeded from 1062 by the nomad Polovtsi, whose boldness depended on what resistance they encountered. The disorders of Iziaslav's principate thus foreshadow a centrifugal movement destined to grow in volume until the preponderance of Kiev was utterly lost.

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175* This process was occasionally delayed, if not arrested, by the
643 appearance of competent princes who reëstablished for brief periods the stability and prestige of Kievan authority. For example, Vladimir Monomakh (1113-1125), grandson of Yaroslav, fought during his entire adult life either against the nomad Polovtsi or to maintain the unity of the principality against his kinsfolk, but such formal agreements as were reached for the assignment of domains to the various princely families were seldom of long standing. At the same time, the minor principalities of the western border were exposed to Polish or Hungarian aggression, and many southern frontier towns in the steppe country were either wiped out by the Polovtsi or abandoned because they might be.

175* The confusion which prevailed during the sixty years after
661 Yaroslav's death in 1054 marks the onset of the decline of Kiev.
567 While the feuds and disputes among the kindred princes were fought out by the princes themselves and their servitors, the lower classes of the population—the free peasants and the humble urban artisans—saw their fields laid waste and their earning power curtailed. If one prince occupied by force the domain of another and then was forced to withdraw, he frequently dragged off with him on his retirement the peasantry of the area he had temporarily occupied, and turned them into slaves in his own district. The result was a decrease in the free population and an enormous increase in the number of slaves available for work on princely estates.

175* By the end of the reign of Yaroslav the steppe country for
162 one hundred miles or more south of Kiev had been settled by
166 an agricultural population composed partly of free farmers, partly of war captives whom Yaroslav had located there, and partly by semicivilized pagans who had given up their nomad existence to live peacefully among their former foes and to form a sort of border militia. It was on this frontier population that the raids of the Polovtsi fell most heavily. The resulting migration from these exposed positions was most marked after 1125, but it began almost half a century

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earlier, and is reflected in the increased importance of the more remote northeastern domains of Rostov, Suzdal, and Murom, between the Oka and the Volga where the nomad menace did not reach.

While the inarticulate masses bore the brunt of the crisis, the wealth of the ruling class was for the moment not impaired, but rather enhanced. As long as the princes and their retainers were prosperous, the wealth of the Church also increased by grants and gifts. Monasteries multiplied and new churches were erected. Contact with Byzantium was still preserved. Through the expansion of the hierarchy under Greek guidance and example, the intellectual progress initiated by Yaroslav was intensified. To be sure, this culture remained aristocratic and ecclesiastical, but in this respect it hardly differed from the contemporary civilization of Western Europe, even though deprived of the continuity of classical tradition which lay at the root of the culture developed under the aegis of Rome. Marital alliances with German, Hungarian, and Polish princely families show at the same time that the Russian princes attached but slight importance to differences between the Eastern and Western Churches even after the schism of 1054.

No sooner had Vladimir Monomach died in 1125 when strife among the princes became rife once more. Competition for the control of Novgorod developed between the prince of Kiev and Monomach's son George whose domain lay at Suzdal in the northeast. Rival princes sacked and plundered one another's domains. One unpopular prince was even lynched by the angry Kievan populace. In 1149, Prince George captured Kiev himself, thus proving the vitality and resources of the northeastern area, but was unable to hold the metropolis permanently before 1155. When George died in 1160, however, the city had been fought over so constantly in the previous thirty years that practically all its dependent territory had been nipped off by neighboring principalities and it had been stripped of every element of its political prestige. Hence the possession of Kiev no longer conferred upon the ruling prince

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175* the slightest claim of primacy. Indeed, George's able son An-
631 drew entertained no respect for Kiev at all and concentrated his
721 efforts on enriching and adorning his own northeastern domain, which he ruled so autocratically that he was assassinated in 1174. Andrew's son Vsevolod who possessed equal capacity and better judgment, was recognized as a leader by all adjacent local princes, though he interfered but little in Kievan affairs and on the western Russian frontier the prestige of Vsevolod's domain was balanced by the rise of a powerful Galician principality. Kiev itself was disastrously sacked by the Polovtsi in 1203, and of this event a chronicler wrote, "No such woe had ever befallen Kiev during the whole time since conversion."

Amid the uncertainties of Russian political life at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the shadows of future events were already gathering. The German knights were moving up the Baltic coast, where Riga was founded in 1201. Their intrusion impelled the threatened Lithuanian tribes to unity, with the result that a Lithuanian state arose which began to absorb the northwestern Russian cities, though Russian culture
[648] in turn absorbed the conquerors. The Russians were not friendly to the Latin Empire of Byzantium after 1204, and it was in 1206 that the Mongols under Temuchin (better known as Genghis Khan) began their military expansion. But the Russian princes continued their petty quarrels, not suspecting the catastrophe that was impending.

The Mongols or Tartars first reconnoitered the country west of the Caspian in 1220, and the next year they menaced the Crimea and the steppe country, thus forcing the Polovtsi to apply for support to the Russian princes against whom they had so often fought. Since 1212, Kiev had been in the possession of Prince Mstislav, a member of the ruling family of Smolensk, able, courageous, and erratic; his wife was the daughter of a Polovtsian khan. The princes of Kiev, Chernigov, and Volhynia thus united with the Polovtsi against the Tartars, whom they met on the river Kalka, in the steppes near the

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Sea of Azov, in May 1224. Though the Russians were defeated /175* and Mstislav of Kiev with other princes was slain, the Mongols 631 contented themselves with pursuing the fleeing remnants of 721 the Russian force to the Dnieper and then retired to Asia. Since the casualties at the Kalka entailed several dynastic changes, the domains of Chernigov, Kiev, and Galicia were now drawn into a loose confederation, while Suzdal controlled Novgorod, which opposed the Teutonic order and subjected the Finns of Esthonia and Karelia.

Meanwhile Genghis Khan had died in 1227, and eight years later his son and successor decided to renew the campaign into Europe under the command of Genghis Khan's grandson Batu. In 1237, after subjugating the Volga Bulgars near Kazan, Batu crossed the Volga to capture and sack the city of Ryazan, about one hundred miles southeast of Moscow. During the winter of 1237-38, the Mongols turned northward and burned the city of Vladimir, east of Moscow, after a successful siege. When Prince George II of Suzdal, whose family had perished, attacked the Tartars, he was defeated and killed. The invaders next started for Novgorod, but suspended the campaign because of the spring thaw, and went into summer quarters in the south near the mouth of the Don. Chernigov fell in 1239. The following autumn the Mongols appeared before Kiev and, as the *Chronicle* says,

> *The Tartars took Kiev, and sacked St. Sophia and all the monasteries. And they took the icons, the holy crosses, and all church ornaments. But all the people, from small to large, they slew by the sword. This woe occurred before Christmas, on St. Nicholas' day.*

By the fall of 1241, the Tartars had defeated the Poles at /175* Liegnitz, crushed the Hungarians, and appeared before Vienna. But the fortunes of Europe changed, for Ugedei, the Great Khan, died, and Batu retired east to await the election of his successor. Yet he maintained his hegemony over Russia and

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175* set up his capital at Sarai on the lower Volga, just below Stalingrad, to which for two centuries the Russian princes, who were the vassals of Tartars, traveled to make submission.

175* The Tartar invasion aggravated the depopulation of the
166 Kiev area which had begun under the Polovtsian menace. About the year 1300, even the metropolitan bishop of Kiev moved to Vladimir on the Klyazma, east of Moscow, and the remaining population took to the forests and hills. The result was a concentration of new settlements in the area immediately south of Moscow and considerable additions to the population of the western principality of Galicia-Volhynia, which became known as Little Russia, as opposed to Great Russia of the northeast. At the same time the northwestern principalities fell more and more into the hands of the rising Lithuanian state. The Galician-Volhynian principate was in a fair way to becoming an important national unit when it was devastated in 1283 by a Tartar expedition into Poland, with the result that Volhynia was taken over by the Lithuanians and Galicia by the Poles, who have held it intermittently from 1349 to the beginning of the second World War.

175* The economic results of the Tartar invasions were drastic even in the northeast. What national wealth was not destroyed by their pillage was extracted piecemeal by the process of collecting tribute. A population which had previously lived by hunting and fishing, importing its grain from the more fertile south, was now obliged to practice agriculture on com-
[439] paratively unfavorable soil. A small amount of outside trade in furs, honey, and wax was maintained in order to secure silver with which to pay taxes, but domestic commerce was
175* paralyzed and did not recover till the fifteenth century. Fur-
421 thermore, even prior to the Tartar conquest, the Russian princes, despite their mobility, had begun to acquire fixed estates and thus to become landed proprietors. This process was accelerated by the Tartar hegemony since, for one thing, it was easier to collect tribute from a prince who was fixed, and besides it was difficult to obtain grants of new domains

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from the Tartars if a prince lost or surrendered his previous holdings. Hence the princes came to set more store by personal estates, and since the Tartars in their own interest were unlikely to tolerate any large principalities, the resulting dismemberment of the major units produced a large number of smaller domains, or appanages, which passed on by inheritance, whether or not the holder might become prince of some other area by the tender mercies of the Tartars. At the same time, the Tartar invasions greatly increased the number of landless peasants—dispossessed or impoverished small farmers—who became tenant farmers for large landlords on a quitrent basis.

Under Tartar hegemony the princes of Vladimir maintained at least a nominal control over the neighboring principalities and were the spokesmen of the Russian princes before the Tartar khans. These functions were, at any rate, sufficiently important and lucrative to inspire some rivalry for the possession of the title. In 1367 Prince Dmitri Donskoi erected a stone kremlin, or citadel, at Moscow and endeavored to subject the neighboring princes to his will. He met with some resistance from Prince Michael of Tver, who tried to purchase Tartar approval for himself, but was later forced to become Dmitri's vassal. The conditions of vassalage were such that dependent princes were obliged to supply Dmitri, as their overlord, with military aid, and when Dmitri won his famous victory over the Tartars in 1380 (the first case of successful Russian resistance), they supported him in this way.

The decline of the Tartars, manifested by conflicts of authority in the khanate itself, had begun almost a century before, and even prior to the year 1300 there were moments when the existence of two competing khans placed the Russian princes in a quandary. The struggle for supremacy between the princes of Tver and Moscow (which first became critical shortly before the year 1300) for supremacy as holders of the title Prince of Vladimir was also fought out in this interval. The dominance of Moscow was recognized in 1327 when Prince Ivan I secured authority to farm the Tartar taxes and began to in-

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175 721 crease his patrimony toward the north and east. The leadership of Moscow was further enhanced by the fact that the metropolitan of the Russian church moved over from Vladimir and took up his residence there. The rivalry of Tver was diminished and the chief competing power on Russian territory was Lithuania, which controlled most of White Russia and the northwest corner of the Ukraine.

Both the rise of Moscow and the further expansion of Lithuania were encouraged by dissensions which broke out among the Tartars in 1359 and considerably accelerated their decline. Olgerd, the reigning prince of Lithuania, captured Kiev in 1363 and advanced to the Black Sea. He then supported Tver against Moscow and in 1368 was barely prevented from taking the latter city by the new stone battlements which had just been constructed. He was then diverted from his central Russian operations by a war with Poland which cost him western Volhynia; his death in 1377 relieved Moscow for the moment of any Western threat. The Muscovites had no intention of handing back to the Tartars any privileges they had won while the latter were weak, and they were ready to fight for their retention. Such was the motive behind the provocative tactics by which Dmitri Donskoi jockeyed the Tartar Khan Mamai into a punitive expedition which the Russian prince defeated at great cost at Kulikovo Polye (Snipe Field) on the upper Don in 1380. However excessive the loss of life in this operation, the prince of Moscow became through this spectacular exploit the recognized national leader and his city the nucleus of patriotic sentiment. Unfortunately, the effort was so great that two years later the Tartars had no difficulty in entering and sacking the city of Moscow while Dmitri was absent. These events aroused once more the ambitious princes of Tver, whose influence Dmitri was able to cancel only by resuming a loyal feudatory relationship with the Tartars. It is significant nevertheless that Dmitri, on his death in 1389, bequeathed Vladimir to his son Basil I, though Basil was still

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obliged to secure Tartar ratification of his succession. 175*

Events on the western front had meanwhile not stood still. 721 Upon the death of King Kazimir the Great of Poland in 1370, his throne passed to his nephew, King Louis of Hungary. Louis in turn died in 1382 without male issue, so that the Polish crown devolved upon his thirteen-year-old daughter Yadwiga. Plans were then made to marry her to Prince Yagailo of Lithuania who had succeeded his father Olgerd in 1377. Upon becoming king of Poland in 1386, Yagailo made his cousin Vitovt prince of Lithuania. In this capacity Vitovt maintained friendly relations with the Tartar Khan Tokhtamysh, and he also married his daughter to Prince Basil I of Moscow. But when Tokhtamysh was deposed and fled to Vitovt's court, the latter's refusal to extradite him to his successor resulted in a collision with the Tartars in which Vitovt was soundly beaten. This defeat very largely eliminated the Lithuanian menace, and the consolidation policy of Moscow thus gained greater chances of success. It was momentarily checked in 1408, however, by a Tartar raid to the very gates of the city.

After the famous battle of Grünwald-Tannenberg in 1410, when the Polish-Lithuanian forces defeated the Teutonic knights, Vitovt's stock rose once more to the point where he was practically autonomous as the ruler of a principate which stretched from Memel and Smolensk to the Black Sea. Until his death in 1430 he never abandoned the hope of mastering Moscow, which at this period controlled an area barely one-third as large as his own. But his successor Svidrigailo became involved in a quarrel with Poland which prevented him from exerting any serious pressure on Moscow during the minority of Prince Basil II from 1425 on. Basil was also favored by the fact that many Tartar princes quit the disintegrating khanate and took service with Moscow, while others merely made themselves independent and under the name of Kazaks settled various localities in the Russian steppes. These independent Tartars are, then, the first Cossacks.

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175* 721 Basil II was to encounter, however, not only defeat and imprisonment at the hands of the Tartars but also the cruelty of a usurper who had him blinded. Luckily, however, the usurper's support was weak, and with aid from Tver Basil was restored. In 1452 he founded the Tartar principality of Kasimov under a friendly Tartar prince on the upper Oka east of Kyazan as a buffer against the hostile Tartars of Kazan, but now that not only Kazan but also the Crimea had split off from the old khanate, the latter was no longer a political threat of any consequence, and Basil II thus became the first prince of Moscow to emancipate himself completely from Tartar vassalage. Almost at the moment that Moscow became free Constantinople fell before the Turks, and the prince of Moscow became at one stroke the chief defender of the Orthodox faith and residuary legatee of the Byzantine tradition. Basil II was also successful in strengthening Muscovite influence in Novgorod, which had hitherto been prone to intrigue with Lithuania.

175* 648 The expansion of Muscovite prestige undertaken amid such great difficulties by Basil II gathered new impetus during the reign of his son, Ivan III, who inherited the principality of Moscow in 1462. After first checkmating the Tartars by diplomatic agreements with adjacent oriental states, he attached himself to the Byzantine dynastic tradition by choosing, as his second wife, Zoe (Sophia) Palaeologa who, though stout and unattractive, was the niece of the last emperor of Byzantium. The Pope hoped this marriage might advance the union of the Eastern and the Western Churches, since Zoe had been raised a Catholic as his ward, and when she went to Moscow to be married in 1472, a papal legate accompanied her. He made no progress in his attempts to initiate negotiations, and Zoe's arrival was far more fruitful through the activities of the Italian architects and artisans whom she brought with her and who were soon adorning the Kremlin with Italianate churches 175* 721 and palaces. Ivan's designs against the Tartar khanate in the south were crossed by the Turks, who in 1475 subjugated both the khanate and the Crimea, and remained in southern Russia

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until the reign of Catherine II. At Novgorod, the pro-Lithuanian faction was still active despite the pledges exacted by Basil II. In 1475 Ivan personally visited the northern republic and three years thereafter the great commercial metropolis, long the only stronghold of democracy in Russia, was incorporated into the principality of Moscow. Thirteen years later the Tartar khanate of Kazan as a result of local dynastic rivalries also became a vassal, and an expedition in 1481 broke up the last vestiges of Tartar power on the Volga, where only Astrakhan remained in Tartar hands. 175* 721

Ivan's reputation soon spread to western Europe, with the result that Emperor Maximilian I in 1488 sent an envoy to Moscow offering the prince a royal crown. Ivan was not unwilling to make a treaty with Maximilian covering mutual aid in case of a war with Poland, but remarked he did not need German confirmation of his royal status. On the Lithuanian side Ivan was equally fortunate since he forced the Lithuanians to abandon all claims on eastern Russian cities and to recognize him as "sovereign of all Russia" (*gosudar vseya Rusi*), while his daughter became the wife of the Prince of Lithuania. Under Ivan's son Basil III, who came to the throne in 1505, Pskov and Ryazan were added to the Muscovite domain, but relations with the Tartars both at Kazan and in the south were so far impaired that constant defensive measures were necessary on the southern frontier along the Oka. 175* 648

When Basil died in 1533, his son Ivan IV (later known as the Terrible) was but three years old. The regency thus devolved till 1538 on the lad's mother, and from that date to 1547, when Ivan was crowned as tsar, upon a council of nobles in which factional politics were rife. It was from his experiences during this period that Ivan derived his intense hatred of the older feudal nobility as a class. Ivan finally conquered Kazan and annexed Astrakhan, thus placing the whole course of the Volga under Muscovite control. From that moment begins the Russian expansion into Siberia and the initiation of diplomatic relations with Khiva and Bokhara. At the same time the Eng- 175*

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175* lish, through Chancellor's expedition to the White Sea in 1553, At the same time the Eng-
721 opened up the northern sea route. Ivan was also conscious of
706 the economic advantages of owning a Baltic port and began
716 operations against the Livonian order of German knights which controlled both the Gulf of Riga and the Gulf of Finland. After capturing Narva, he founded the Russian navy a century and a quarter before Peter the Great by confiscating and arming a number of German merchant vessels, for which he employed German and Swedish officers as commanders. Ivan's early successes proved a boomerang, however, since the Livonian order was dissolved and Esthonia was turned over to Sweden. This event automatically produced a collision with that country, allied with Lithuania, so that war became incessant on the western front until Ivan's death in 1584.

175* By that date the formation and the future policy of modern Russia was clearly defined. It was a foregone conclusion that future Russian sovereigns would extend Russian territory to the Black Sea. It was only a question of time when the weakening of Poland and Lithuania would bring the Dnieper valley and White Russia under Muscovite sway. It had become a cardinal item of Russian policy to control the Finnish Gulf, and maritime commerce with the west would traverse those waters
[177] as soon as ports were either conquered or developed. The long period of Russian isolation from Europe was ended, and the difficult process of acquiring modern European techniques was about to begin. Russia had graduated from oriental domination and was on its way to becoming a major European power, never to approach the East again, save in the hope of conquest.

642 In view of the gradual evolution of Muscovite sovereignty,
632 it is important to understand also the origins of autocracy in Moscow itself. For autocracy was by no means inevitable or universal in medieval Russia, and in the principality of Kiev the early princes had always had to reckon with town assemblies which supervised and even frequently deposed them. The influence of these assemblies was large in any medieval Russian city of which the economic and political status had been deter-

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mined independently of the princes, for one can appreciate that 642
normal life went on even when princes shifted through inherit- 632
ance or dynastic quarrels.

As a matter of fact in Novgorod, which was comparatively 175*
remote from either Kiev or Vladimir-Suzdal, the resident 642
princes were merely delegates of the dominant state which mo- 632
mentarily enjoyed the lordship over the northern metropolis, but these resident princes changed so often that the citizens began to choose elective burgomasters early in the twelfth century. Eventually the princes surrendered even their control of the local courts, and in the course of time the whole administration of Novgorod and the areas it controlled became elective. The resident prince was thus transformed into a mere figurehead whose chief duty was to lead the military forces of this city-state. Popular sovereignity was expressed in the city assembly made up of all free citizens of whatever rank, and since this body was able to signify its will only by acclamation and sometimes even by pitched battles, the executive functions were exercised by a council composed of the bishop and various high elected officials, whether active or retired. The outlying 175*
domains of Novgorod—for eventually the republic colonized 631
the territory as far as the White Sea and the Kola peninsula—enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy, but always under the surveillance of a viceroy from the metropolis, though there are cases where citizens of these colonies participated in the city assembly at Novgorod itself. Pskov began its historical career as a dependency of Novgorod, but established its independence in 1347, when the men of Novgorod bound themselves by treaty not to send any viceroy to Pskov or to exercise any further judicial rights there.

The republican principle thrived in Novgorod and Pskov 642
because actually the princes had contributed nothing to the 175*
civic and economic growth of these areas, which owed their ex- 421
pansion purely to the energy of their own citizens. But in northeastern Russia the situation was quite different. There, of the two dominant forces in contemporary society (the city assembly

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175* and the prince) only the prince remained, and became a landed
642 proprietor who organized the economic activity of his subjects.
421 If he shared his authority at all, it was not with the community but with other landed proprietors and with organs of the church to which he resigned judicial rights and the collection of dues. As early as the second half of the twelfth century, when immigration from the Kiev area to the northeastern principalities assumed large dimensions, Vladimir Monomach's grandson Prince Andrew already ruled as an autocrat in the domain of Suzdal and refused to recognize the rights either of nobles or of commoners as expressed in the town assemblies. This policy cost him his life, but after his assassination the older towns in this area were unable to maintain the principles of urban democracy even before the Tartar conquest wiped out this ideal. These towns were few in number, and the rural settlements were too scattered to acquire political cohesion. Later the onslaught of the Tartars so much impoverished even such towns as then existed that their pauperized inhabitants were more concerned about their daily bread than about political rights. Furthermore, the choice and confirmation of princes depended for the time being on the caprices of the invaders, so that this function, which had formerly belonged in practice to the city assembly, died out altogether, and when the assemblies occasionally convened, it was generally with the intention of rioting and revolting against Tartar exactions. The prince, ruling on Tartar sufferance, thus became the sole remaining possessor of local authority.

175* As we have seen, not until the middle of the fifteenth cen-
421 tury was it absolutely clear that the nucleus of statehood in
631 eastern Russia was definitely located at Moscow. By that time, the regional princes were permanently attached to their several domains which they ruled as feudal lords, supported by the contributions paid by the subjects who worked their lands, and there was no difference between minor and major princes in their proprietary attitude toward their landed possessions. Since their interests were thus predominantly economic, these

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princes began to develop a new group of aids who administered these interests, and such aids (who were actually officials, not nobles concerned with warfare) evolved into a new form of prince's council, or *duma*. The larger domains were split up into districts around important towns, and the districts into minor administrative divisions, all handled by appointees of the prince. These officials were far less concerned with the maintenance of public order or of civil rights than with seeing that the prince received his due financial return from the subject population, although church properties were usually exempt from their attentions. It is thus an open question whether there was any public law whatever in the early Muscovite period. In any event, the system shows the characteristic features of medieval feudalism: the dismemberment of state authority and its fusion with land ownership.

The rise of Moscow naturally produced a slow recovery from this parcellation, as the minor regional princes either voluntarily or under pressure surrendered their domains to the more powerful center. Novgorod was annexed outright by Ivan III after conquest had seriously diminished its outlying possessions. But especially during the last half of the fourteenth century, the gravitation toward Moscow moved with ever-increasing speed. On the other hand, the early Muscovite princes handled their new acquisitions purely as personal property. They bequeathed sections of it to their heirs, although soon it was the recognized practice to bequeath the lion's share to the oldest son. The logical conclusion from this tendency was first drawn by Ivan III after witnessing as a youth the vicissitudes of his father Basil II, who had almost lost the Muscovite domain because of feudal rivalries. Ivan refused to dismember his domain even in the interest of members of his family. His title of Great Prince (or Grand Duke) of all Rus he interpreted not merely in an honorific but in a juridical sense, and made it clear that he considered the whole domain as his personal patrimony. In this attitude he was confirmed less by pure selfishness than by the realization that only a unified state could

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175* resist both the Tartars and Lithuania, though in his will he did
631 not break entirely with tradition, but bequeathed to his eldest
421 son two-thirds of his landed possessions. Even so, however, the remaining regional princes ceased to be a menace, and the fact that his younger son was bound to serve Basil III as his overlord made the latter "sovereign of all Rus" in fact as well as in name. Such few regional princes as still existed merely held estates with rights of judgment and tribute, and were factually subject to the prince of Moscow. The title of tsar was first used by Ivan III in 1484, and in 1502 his son, Basil II, added the title "autocrat" (*samoderzhets*).

175* Such is the political, economic, and ideological process by which the power of Kiev was dissipated and, despite the competition of Lithuania, what was once a mere hunting lodge of the princes of Suzdal and Vladimir became the nucleus around which the modern Russian state took shape. It would be idle to pretend that this ideal was not realized without abundant propaganda from the Orthodox clergy who, particularly after the fall of Constantinople, wished to see the Prince of Moscow the head of Orthodox Christianity and the heir of Rome. Under the pressure of this new tradition, Basil III in particular, as the son of a princess of Byzantium, adorned his court with new ceremonial and assumed the device of the doubleheaded eagle which had belonged to his Byzantine forebears.

175* Thus the personal rule which had its origins in the decline of
643 republican usages in northeastern Russia both before and since the Tartar conquest evolved into an absolutism founded upon dynastic tradition and supported by a nationalistic legend propagated by the church. The Muscovite tsar was not only the owner of his domain; he was God's anointed whom his subjects could approach only with fear and awe. The tsar's will was the will of God. As the heir of the Byzantine emperors, he acquired new authority over the church as the defender of the Orthodox faith. He confirmed the appointment of metropolitans and archbishops, even sometimes naming them without calling church councils, and clerics referred their disputes

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to his arbitration. Hence the tsardom of Muscovy became the finest flower of caesaro-papism. [643] 175*

While the last remnants of the old feudal regime were not entirely wiped out until Ivan the Terrible waged a war of annihilation against the jealous survivors of the regional nobility who opposed his system, its basis was securely laid before he came to the throne, and we therefore need not concern ourselves for the moment with his neurotic eccentricities or his administrative innovations.

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V

Foundations of Russian Culture

175* 177 Russia makes a relatively late appearance on the stage of European civilization. A specifically Russian culture does not even begin until nearly 1000 A.D. with the conversion of Prince Vladimir I of Kiev in 989. In Western Europe, since the fall of the Roman Empire, a new civilization had by that time evolved from a fusion of Christian ideals with the survivals of classical culture. But medieval Russia derived its faith from Byzantium and from the Eastern branch of the church in which purely Latin culture played a subordinate role, since the dominant elements of Byzantine civilization were Hellenistic and oriental. The tradition of classical Latin culture, the influence of which never died out in Western Europe, was but one of the intellectual factors to which Russia was not exposed until its contact with the West was intensified by Peter the Great at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

178 814 Another vital agent in Western civilization which never touched Russia directly was the complex of humanistic and renaissance ideals both in life and in literature. During the fourteenth century when the rising tide of humanism in Western Europe had revived the study of philosophy, politics, and science on the basis of classical sources, and when a fresh aesthetic pleasure was found not only in the imitation and the study of the ancients but also in the creation of new and popu-

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lar forms in vernacular letters, Russia was just recovering from the economically destructive and intellectually paralyzing effects of the Tartar conquest which had weighed the nation down since 1240. Medieval Moscow had nothing of the thirst for knowledge and the ambition for culture that inspired the foundation of German universities during the last half of the fourteenth century. It lacked the close contacts with Italy of the sixteenth which meant for Western Europe the infusion of art into literature and bore fruit in France in the works of Ronsard and the Pléiade or in England in the brilliance of Spenser and Sidney. This heritage was transmitted to Russia only in the eighteenth century as an element in the literary models and traditions then taken over bodily from the West.

Apart from the classical tradition of the Middle Ages and the revival of intellectual and artistic creative fervor during the Renaissance, there was a third important element in Western culture to which Russia was not directly exposed: the spirit of the Protestant Reformation. Russia had received the Christian faith from Byzantium. But the Eastern Orthodox and the Western Roman Catholic Churches were split by the schism of 1054, sixty-five years after the conversion of Kiev. The Eastern Church intensified its emphasis on mysticism and asceticism without the balance of social and cultural interests which fertilized the labors of the Roman Church in Western Europe. Then, after the contacts between the Russian Church and Constantinople became difficult because of precarious communication, and still more after the fall of the Byzantine Empire fifty years before Columbus discovered America, the church in Russia became petrified in dogma and sunk in debased formalism. It maintained no such tradition of learning, no such cult of scholastic philosophy as made the Roman Church a nucleus of productive thought even in those periods of European political history in which popular culture was at its lowest ebb. It was incapable of producing such bold and independent thinkers as a Wyclif, a Hus, a Luther, or a Calvin. Indeed, had such thinkers arisen, it is doubtful whether, even in the church or

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among the limited section of the upper class which was literate, there could have been found a receptive public in whom their ideas could have taken root.

Thus, when the Byzantine intellectual influence (such as it was) died away, the Russian Church lost its function as a repository of culture, and never regained it before it was reduced to social impotence in our own day by revolutionaries angered at its pernicious coöperation with the autocracy. Nor had there ever arisen in Russia any fruitful movement of inspired protest on theological grounds which opposed the spirit of individual critical intelligence to the inertia of a dogma-ridden hierachy. All three of these crucial factors in the formation of the Western European outlook (the perpetuation of classical culture in the Middle Ages; humanism and the Renaissance; the Protestant Reformation) fall quite outside the purview of Russian intellectual life until introduced as contributing elements of the Western culture imposed upon Russia by Peter and his successors in the course of the eighteenth century.

When the Swedish warrior-merchants moved down the Russian watercourses, they established themselves as the economic and military ruling class in the small towns which the Eastern Slavs themselves had founded at strategic points for trade and defense. The impulse which first unified the Eastern Slavs into what eventually became the principality of Kiev resulted from the Varangian immigration, and though the immigrants were rapidly Russified by intermarriage with the native Slavs, the princes of Kiev still maintained intimate contact with Scandinavia. At the same time, their economic needs kept them in close relations with the Byzantine Empire for a century before the conversion of Kiev and for two centuries and a half thereafter.

Although Byzantine culture had its weaker aspects, we are too prone to underestimate its level and its service to the world, since nearly five centuries separate us from its collapse before the onslaught of the Turks. For while Western Europe was going through the painful process of civilizing the Germanic

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invaders as they fused with the native stocks, the Eastern Empire had grafted upon the legacy of Rome the picturesque and flamboyant features of oriental Christianity. Its autocratic sovereigns were the agents of God on earth under a system which combined in them the attributes of emperor and pope, and this factor ought especially to be borne in mind, because it not only explains the autocratic tradition later set up by the princes of Moscow but also lies at the root of the Russian tendency to attribute to all their rulers a sort of superhuman status. The superlative adulation showered on Joseph Stalin in our own day is in part a remote reflex of Byzantine influence. Then too, Constantinople before the arrival of the Crusaders was the greatest center of material civilization in the occidental world. Its buildings rivaled Rome in its prime. Its highly organized and stratified society, the splendor of its religious observances, its military prowess under the more gifted emperors, and its general atmosphere of wealth could not fail to create a lasting impression on visitors from less advanced regions.

But Byzantine civilization lacked the punch and the drive which characterized the best days of the Roman Empire or the realm of Charlemagne. In intellectual and literary matters the Eastern Empire was conservative. It studied the past without rivaling it with the products of contemporary creative imagination. It was compilatory rather than original. Byzantine scholars were the most learned men of their day, but their learning was accumulative, not productive. Byzantine historians composed voluminous chronicles without evolving a philosophy of history, while Byzantine theologians dissipated their energy on amenities of dogma argued with a bitterness which we should nowadays associate only with partisan politics. The Byzantine Church was more political than the Roman, more closely affiliated with the state, and hence less fundamentally spiritual in outlook. The literary tradition transmitted by the Byzantine Church was stiff and formalistic. and it was the misfortune of medieval Russia that the Byzantine influence was weakened by political events before it was absorbed by the

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814 younger state in a volume which might have served as a firm
829 basis for the development of a characteristic native culture.
175* The Russians before the Tartar invasion were always pupils; they originated very little that was independent of Byzantine models either in literature or in art.

177 In art, however, this imitation was productive and created
341 an architectural and a decorative tradition which lasted down into modern times. By the date of Vladimir's conversion, the basilica as a type of church architecture in Byzantium had been largely replaced by the cruciform church with one or with five cupolas. This was the type transmitted to Russia and still worthily represented by the great medieval churches of Kiev, Novgorod, Vladimir and even Moscow, though in the metropolis the more exotic forms and the onion-shaped dome derived
177 from wooden architecture prevail. The highly conventionalized
532 art of the icon dominated Russian painting until Western influences began to seep in during the seventeenth century, but this tradition was still vital enough before the first World War to influence the art of nineteenth-century religious and historical painters. For where the Byzantine tradition had taken firm root, the aesthetic appeal was long-lived and enduring.

538 In literature, along with lapidary works of religious implica-
186 tion, the Russian national spirit began to manifest itself in historical compilations during the eleventh century, and literary reflexes of folk poetry had already appeared before the Tartar conquest. But a truly national literature stems from a long educative process, and this process was interrupted in medieval Russia both by domestic politics and by nomadic inroads.

177 Where domestic disorders merely retarded the intellectual
714 advance of medieval Russia, the Tartar incursion brought it to a full stop. It has already been noticed what material impoverishment it had caused. But the Tartar domination was a far more serious factor in the deterioration of cultural and spiritual values. The church, to be sure, was treated with tolerance by the Tartars because it preached submission to

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the established authorities, and the princes, as we have seen, became Tartar vassals. In earlier days Byzantium had been at least a model to be emulated in material culture, literary and artistice endeavor, asceticism, and piety. But now central Russia was totally cut off from all contact with the West, while the Mongols, a seminomadic race which won new conquests by the aid of Turkic soldiery, promoted a lower level of political morality and a hypocritical subservience to alien authority which left an indelible print on the Russian character. The princes of Vladimir had always tended to be more absolutist than their Kievan forebears. Now the Tartar example ingrained in the Russian ruling classes a notion of tyranny and autocracy which became basic in the Muscovite state that rose more or less on the ruins of the Tartar khanates. Once this autocratic practice was later hallowed by the prestige of the Byzantine legacy and the conception of the divine rights of the prince or of the tsar of Muscovy, it was inevitable that an untrammeled throne with religious support would long be able to resist any but the most cataclysmic efforts to overthrow it.

The gap between the cultural levels of the Tartars and the Russians was too great to allow the Tartar domination to penetrate deeply into Russian life or to shake its foundation. Yet even contemporary monastic commentators were less impressed by material destruction and losses than by the lowering of the spiritual standard. The Tartars were not like the Spanish Moors, who bequeathed to their Spanish Christian subjects the relics of a highly developed Arab civilization. They were Asiatic nomads who preserved their semibarbarous existence unmodified. And among the fruits of their influence in Muscovite times may be numbered cruel torture, the use of the knout (the very name for whip in Russian, *nagaika,* is of Tartar origin), the relegation of women to haremlike seclusion which prevailed till Peter I's day, and the inconsiderate attitude of superior toward inferior which is the essence of tyranny.

We have seen how much interest the early Christian Kievan princes took in education, and the chronicles frequently char-

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acterize them as well-read and good linguists for their day and time. But during the Tartar hegemony such items are totally lacking. Not only the princes but even the higher clergy were frequently illiterate. Dmitri Donskoi could hardly read, and Basil II, Ivan the Terrible's great-grandfather, could neither read nor write. At the Council of Florence in 1439, Pope Eugene IV was told that the contemporary Russian bishops had little learning, and a feeble light of culture was kept burning in the Russian Church of this period solely by the appointment of Greek metropolitan bishops in Moscow. Only at the end of the fifteenth century do we encounter new interest in the foundation of schools for training the clergy, and considerable pressure in this direction was exercised by the Greek and South Slavic scholars who emigrated to Russia to escape the yoke of the Turks.

The advancement of clerical scholarship during the reign of Ivan III (1462-1505) was accompanied by a characteristic effort to acquire foreign techniques. Here, of course, we have an early example of what was to repeat itself so often in later days whenever the advancement of Russia required new mechanical skills. Under Ivan III Italian specialists were particularly active. The Bolognese architect Rudolfo Fioravanti not only built the Cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin, but also cast cannon, while Alevisio Novi, of Milan, designed and built the adjacent Cathedral of Saint Michael, in which were buried all subsequent Muscovite tsars to the time of Peter the Great. Miners, silversmiths, masons, and even an organist were imported from Hungary. Ivan the Terrible settled on the outskirts of Moscow in the so-called German suburb all German metalworkers who had been captured in his Livonian wars, and in 1567 obtained from England a doctor, an apothecary, and various goldsmiths. The Tsar was interested not only in material progress but also in raising the intellectual level of priests and officials, for it had been noted in the Church Council of 1551 that the opportunities for education were as yet slight. Besides, as the principality of Moscow developed into a

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national state and a world power, the need for trained personnel in the government services and in commerce became evident if only for practical considerations. Ivan the Terrible himself was comparatively well-educated, while Boris Godunov, his progressive but ill-fated minister and eventual successor, was obliged by the innate conservatism of the clergy to abandon a promising project for the establishment at Moscow of an academy with learned foreigners as teachers.

For, despite isolated outbreaks of rationalism which manifested themselves in heretical movements, the intellectual horizon of the Russian clergy was discouragingly narrow. After the Council of Florence, they considered themselves the sole repository of Orthodox rectitude and resented even competent criticism. That learned scholar from Mount Athos, Maxim Grek, who had studied in Italy and heard Savonarola preach, was accused of heresy and imprisoned when he ventured to suggest textual corrections of the accepted liturgy, and though he lived on into the reign of Ivan the Terrible, he was always regarded with suspicion and never allowed to return to his native country until his death in 1556.

Whatever material progress was registered under the Muscovite princes, the introduction of new intellectual concepts encountered serious barriers. From a social standpoint also the Muscovite regime was responsible for the establishment of one institution which cast its dark shadow over Russia far down into the nineteenth century. Though slavery was not unknown, universal agrarian serfdom does not date from the origins of Russia. On the contrary, its evolution was gradual. In the early Muscovite period there were two classes of peasants: first, those who had lived for some time on state, church, or private land and payed various fixed duties on the parcels they occupied; second, the so-called movable peasants who rented parcels on term contracts. As the princes assigned estates to deserving officials who did not belong to the old landed aristocracy, some competition developed among proprietors for peasants to till their lands, with the result that by the middle of the sixteenth

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566 century any transfer of the so-called fixed, or black, peasants
175* was forbidden. The movable peasants, on the other hand, enjoyed the customary privilege of changing landlords when they desired. Ivan III's legislation thus guaranteed them the right to shift within the weeks on either side of St. George's day, in the autumn of each year, though the tax they paid for the enjoyment of the privilege was relatively high.

On the other hand, the need for help was so acute that landlords might frequently pay this tax and whatever other debts a movable peasant owed in order to induce him to settle on their estates, but a peasant not thus aided could no longer move and, if the advances received from his landlord in cash or kind were considerable, he too became permanently attached to the soil unless another landlord bailed him out. With increasing frequency, since a shift of landlord was rapidly becoming impossible, the peasants bound themselves not to withdraw, but to remain in permanent service under one master, under penalty of being returned by force in case they ever broke this contract. Apart from these developments, the fact that the majority of peasants had no capital whatever also tended to reduce to effective servitude such peasants as borrowed from landlords and bound themselves to serve the lender on his estate until the loan was liquidated. In principle such a borrower could free himself by paying the debt. In practice, however, all his labor was devoted to paying the interest rather than wiping out the capital, so that he never succeeded in liberating himself. The operation of this system was legally restricted during the sixteenth century, but it was at one with the other tendencies which contributed to immobilizing and enslaving a rural population which at its origins had been unattached and free. In the sixteenth century it was still free in theory, but in the seventeenth even this theoretical freedom vanished when the master wanted the peasant's labor and the government his taxes. To indemnify the landlord for his collective responsibility for the tax payments of the peasants on his estates, the latter were literally turned into the chattels of

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the landlord. In this way, under the early Romanovs, between 1630 and 1650, freedom of agricultural labor was abolished in Russia, and this situation prevailed until 1861.

The Muscovite system suffered a severe blow in 1598 when Theodore, Ivan the Terrible's son, died intestate and the old dynasty tracing its descent from Rurik became extinct. Since the realm and its inhabitants were regarded as the absolute property of the sovereign, the disappearance of the ruling family was a major catastrophe. Any tsar, however legitimately elected by the general assembly convoked by the patriarch of Moscow, was bound to be weakened by his dynastic illegitimacy. Hence with the reign of Boris Godunov began a period of violent revolution which lasted until 1613, largely motivated by the effort of the nobles to free themselves from exactions and restrictions which tradition forced them to endure from a scion of the old line, but which they would not suffer from anyone else.

When Michael, the first of the Romanovs, was finally elected to the throne in 1613, political self-consciousness had developed to the point where there was some realization that the sovereign actually depended on the people and not the reverse. On the other hand, this realization was strongest among the great nobles, the landowners, and the high officials, and they set up the new dynasty at the price of privileges not otherwise obtainable. It is also notable that the rudiments of parliamentary government, typified by a popular assembly, likewise existed in the early years of Michael's reign, but failed to mature because the level of popular political intelligence was not high enough to appreciate that elective representatives of the people had a real weapon in their potential control of finances. Hence there was no protest when the governing class allowed it to lapse. The government became intensely centralized, and with the establishment of serfdom the nobility and the gentry inevitably became a permanent ruling class upon which the crown was dependent. Since townsmen were forbidden to move into the country, and peasants could no longer establish them-

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175* selves in the cities, there was as yet no prospect for the forma-
566 tion of a growing and self-conscious middle class whose aspirations might have sown the seeds of progress. As a result, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all intellectual advance was confined to the aristocratic and ruling minority.

175* In the seventeenth century, however, the door was again
177 opened to Western influence by the need for self-defense. Foreign mercenaries entered the Russian army, which now became a professional force. New mines and arsenals were opened. The foreign colony founded at Moscow by Ivan the Terrible (the German suburb), though scattered during the upheaval of 1598-1612, was soon repopulated with merchants, technicians, and artisans, and their advanced notions of material comfort influenced those Russians who came into contact with them. Artamon Matveyev, the able foreign minister of Michael's son, the Tsar Alexis (in turn Peter the Great's father), married a Scotch lady, and was one of the first Russian nobles to set up his household on a Western scale. Through him notions of contemporary culture penetrated even to the court.
[562] Natalia Narishkina, Peter the Great's mother, was Matveyev's ward, and though Scotch on her mother's side, was probably the first Muscovite lady of her day to receive even a moderate education and to emancipate herself from the seclusion in which noblewomen had vegetated since the Tartar conquest.

177 While material progress was largely implemented by the
871 German technicians resident in Moscow, new theological and
797 literary ideas penetrated the empire by another route. It may be recalled that Kiev and the Dnieper valley were conquered by the Lithuanians in 1363. Then by the fusion of Poland and Lithuania at the end of the fourteenth century, the whole Ukraine became exposed to Polish colonization and cultural influence. By the sixteenth century, Polish intellectual life was entirely under the control of the Jesuits, who developed an intense but largely unsuccessful proselytizing activity among the Orthodox Ukrainians. As a counterpoise against Jesuit influence, the Orthodox clergy of the Kiev area opened schools

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which taught the late renaissance disciplines on which the Poles themselves were fed. This process culminated in the establishment of a college at Kiev which was founded in 1622 by Peter Mogila, the great Orthodox Bishop of Kiev. An alumnus of this school, Simeon Polotski, who was already known to Tsar Alexis as a scholar and poet, migrated to Moscow in 1663, where he founded a small monastery school, and in 1667 became tutor to the Tsar's eldest son. Simeon was the first influential exponent at Moscow of renaissance scholarship on a Latin basis, and from 1667, when the Ukraine was ceded by Poland to Moscow, the impact of Western influences through Kievan channels was immediately intensified. That this infusion of a new spirit did not take place without violent opposition goes without saying, but destiny was on the side of the progressives, even though progress was appallingly slow.

It is apparent, however, that increasingly broader breaches had been splitting the Chinese Wall of Muscovite self-sufficiency ever since the time of Ivan III. But Peter the Great set out to demolish it with one charge. For a prince of Moscow, his upbringing was exceptional. His education had been fragmentary, but his free contacts with foreign technicians while he lived in the country near Moscow during the regency of his sister Sophia embued him with a profound taste for military and naval science and mechanics. Essentially practical and rationalistic, he departed from Muscovite tradition in caring nothing for the church as a vessel of dogma and used it only insofar as it was adaptable to his purposes. His boundless energy strained toward goals far beyond the comprehension of any but an infinitesimal minority of his subjects, the rest of whom he undertook to reform and modernize by brute force. But he knew Russia could not become a major European power without the knowledge by which to use the fruits of modern technique. This knowledge he literally drove into the Russians at the point of the bayonet. Since his eye was permanently fixed on material progress, he cared little for abstract learning. His idea of literature was propaganda, and the for-

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175* eign works translated in his reign were mostly technical hand-
643 books. He insisted on Western European costume, not from
177 any aesthetic consideration, but because it was more practical and more comfortable to work in than the old Muscovite kaftan with its long sleeves. To prosecute his ends, he was obliged to create a bureaucracy whom he recruited from all strata of society, having little regard for origins if they were intelligent and efficient. Russian culture in Peter's day consisted of the tsar and his pathetically small group of specialists working at killing speed and pressure to overcome the national inertia.

484 But Peter abolished previous restrictions on foreign travel,
175* and young aristocrats were sent abroad to study and to learn
643 how the Europeans actually lived. The tsar traveled in foreign
177 countries himself. Foreign specialists entered the Russian service in unparalleled numbers. His reign brought to light no liberal tendencies, however, since the nobility absorbed the new bureaucracy and strengthened its hold on the national substance. Yet the channel was opened for a new complex of ideas. Peter forced his subjects to go abroad to study engineering and anatomy, and they observed humanity and the mechanism of states. Unsuccessful attempts to limit the absolute power of the throne were made immediately after Peter's death in 1725.

175* New notions of the amenities of social intercourse and of the
177 pleasures offered by arts, music, the dance, and literature were
535 added to Peter's more materialistic innovations when his
536 daughter Elizabeth came to the throne in 1741, with the result that French civilization acquired a dominance in Russian intellectual life which it began to lose only at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The origins of the Russian ballet go back to 1735, in the reign of Elizabeth's cousin Anna, who also introduced Italian opera, but the French theater reached St. Petersburg in Elizabeth's reign, which also witnessed the beginnings of the native Russian drama composed in the French pseudoclassic vein of Corneille, Racine, and Molière.

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Russian poets with more form than talent now began to celebrate official occasions and generous donors with ponderous odes. Handbooks of French pseudoclassic literary theory, like Boileau's *Art Poétique*, were translated and annotated. The Academy of Sciences, founded by Peter's widow in 1725, included not only imported German luminaries, but the first Russian natural scientist Michael Lomonosov, sometimes characterized as the Russian Franklin, but whom, on account of the universality of his talent, Pushkin, greatest of Russian poets, called "Russia's first university." He is also notable as the first proletarian in secular Russian letters, for he started his career as a poor fisherman's son far north on the White Sea. The first modern Russian history was composed during the reigns of Anna and Elizabeth by Basil Tatishchev, a former collaborator of Peter the Great. The purely intellectual progress in the thirty years after Peter's death was thus considerable, even though (with rare exceptions) it was confined to the aristocracy.

It is a matter of record that when Catherine II came to the throne in 1762 she was already familiar with the theories of the eighteenth-century French political philosophers and would have welcomed an opportunity to apply them. But her position had been won wholly by the aid of the landed gentry and the aristocratic guard regiments, who were unlikely to surrender any of their prerogatives or to consent to any mitigation of the institution of serfdom on which their economic existence was based. The great empress thus contributed little to social progress, and her educational innovations remained for the most part on paper. Yet through her interest in the satirical journal and in the drama, she stimulated the progress of Russian letters even if her social initiatives were weak. In that field others carried the torch. A Russian customs official, Alexander Radishchev, who had studied at Leipzig and digested the liberal philosophy of the day, in 1780 fired the opening gun against serfdom, and though the exploit sent him to Siberia, its echoes did not die away until the institution was abolished. At the same time, the spirit of social service inspired

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125* the idealistic Freemasons, whose leader, Nicholas Novikov, as
814 a humanitarian publicist, founded lending libraries and endowed with textbooks the rudimentary schools of the day, even though he too paid for this initiative by long imprisonment after the French Revolution closed Catherine's mind to liberal
538 ideas. The spirit of satire also awoke, and inspired Denis Fonvisin's two masterly comedies in which the brutality and backwardness of the lower nobility and the venality of the state administration were bitterly attacked. These men foreshadow the role of nineteenth-century Russian literature as an organ of protest and an instrument of reform.

125* By the end of the eighteenth century, the stiffness of the
538 French pseudoclassic influence began to retreat before new
186 currents deriving from German and English literature, which
177 give more play to individual self-expression and concerned themselves not so much with any aristocratic ideal as with the fortunes and the betterment of the common man. Through sentimentalism Russian authors graduated from the mere imitation of form to the expression of a new national spirit. Under the influence of French prose style, the literary language now attained a flexibility and a force fully comparable to that of other vernaculars, and within a decade or more after 1800 a few talented poets had adapted to Russian every verse form practiced by the German poets of the *Sturm und Drang* period and of the various romantic schools.

178 The tempo of Russian social thought and literary expression
177 from this point forward keeps pace with the rapid evolution of European history. In Peter the Great's day and during the first half of Catherine II's reign, the throne had stood in the vanguard of progress. But vested interests rarely move as fast as the most gifted and public-spirited thinkers. When Catherine died in 1796, even her own Russian world had passed her by, and during the entire nineteenth century until 1917 the autocracy continued futile efforts to delay a process which no official hand could stay. In the course of the Napoleonic wars, the young Russian officers who participated in Western Euro-

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pean campaigns were inoculated with the republican ideas disseminated by the French revolution. Essentially patriotic, they were eager to apply these ideals to their own country, to abolish the autocracy, promote republican government, raise the standard of education, and do away with the abuses of serfdom They continued with greater energy, though often with little judgment, the task begun by Radishchev. 178 177

Here the Russian revolutionary movement begins among an enlightened fraction of the ruling class. Great writers like Pushkin and Lermontov, each after brief romantic digressions, grew up to treat the seamy side of reality, both in the tragedy of the humble who are scarcely considered human by those they serve, or the misfortune of the gifted individual denied a chance at productive activity by the contemporary organization of society. Both these talents were suspected and harassed by the autocracy, and though each met his death in a duel, they were as truly victims of official conservatism as those young enthusiasts who had participated in the Decembrist conspiracy in 1825 after the death of Alexander I, and paid for it on the scaffold or amid the snows of Siberia. But from 1825 the cleavage between the government and the thoughtful section of society, once opened, was never bridged again. 185 538

This mutual hostility first became acute during the reign of Nicholas I from 1825 to the Crimean War. The Decembrist conspiracy had revealed that the turn to the right by Alexander I after 1815 had created great bitterness. The same judicial and administrative abuses that marred Catherine's reign were still rampant, state finances were disordered, and the peasants were rudely exploited. Nicholas at first had some notion of reform, but his suspicion of extragovernmental initiative was such that he hesitated to take any concrete step. The most pressing problem was serfdom: the landlords were heavily in debt and short of capital to provide employment for a rapidly increasing peasant population. Peasant disorders were menacingly frequent, but only in the western Ukraine and in Poland were reforms introduced. Educational institutions were fettered and 175* 642 175* 185 [566]

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175* muzzled lest they should become centers of liberal thought, but
185 in spite of galling restrictions they performed precisely this function.

175* In the presence of such challenging problems, sociological reflection was inevitable. At the University of Moscow, a bril-
829 liant group of young students absorbed the philosophy of
185 Hegel and were attracted by the utopian socialism of Saint-
668 Simon. From 1840-1880 Russian authors were rare who had not been touched by the socialist idea. Of the younger generation, Belinski, the father of systematic Russian literary criticism, Bakunin, once a friend of Karl Marx and later an active anarchist, and Herzen, the father of Russian revolutionary journalism, all passed through this school. The place of Russia in European civilization was actively debated. The so-called "Westerners," hateful of the autocracy under which they lived, demanded that Russia should complete the common course of European political and social evolution, but at an accelerated speed. The socialists thus hoped that Russia might skip entirely or escape in large degree the injustices and errors of the bourgeois system. The Slavophiles, with more romantic loyalty, believed that Russia should follow a special path which they deduced from a mistaken interpretation of medieval Russian social conditions. Turgenev, the great novelist, dedicated his youthful career to the destruction of serfdom. These liberal aspirations were rudely interrupted by a stiffening of government resistance after the revolutionary events of 1848, but were merely driven to cover. The Crimean War revealed all the weaknesses of the autocracy, and the reign of Alexander II after 1855 saw not only the emancipation of the peasants but a large and promising body of administrative reforms.

538 The greatest age of Russian letters extends from 1855 to the
829 death of Dostoevski in 1881. Sociological criticism inspired by socialist ideals defined the role of literature. The spirit of realism, established by Gogol in the forties was perpetuated by Turgenev in his portrayals and criticisms of the rising nihilistic generation, suspicious of all beliefs of their fathers, and in his

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pictures of the decaying landed gentry. Goncharov composed 538
the classic of Russian imagination paralyzed by inertia. Tolstoi 829
studied the peasant problem, painted the first twenty years of the century on the magnificent canvas of his *War and Peace,* and returned to contemporary agrarian and urban problems with *Anna Karenina.* Dostoevski, after poignantly describing the bitter life of the humble in *Poor People,* acquired still deeper sympathy in his exile, and having expounded his doctrine of atonement through suffering in *Crime and Punishment,* attacked the radicals in *The Possessed,* and revealed the whole scope of his psychological penetration and the breadth of his religious philosophy in *The Brothers Karamazov.* With other authors of scarcely less merit describing contemporary life, these three decades constitute an outburst of brilliance unequaled in any world literature. Russian verse of the period was no less meritorious, and even Russian painters chose subjects which reflected the contemporary state of mind.

While the aims of political and social thinkers expanded, 668
the tempo of the reforms gradually slowed down with danger- 175*
ous results. Active revolutionary groups had begun to take shape even in the heyday of reform, and strove for rapid democratization in the public interest. Even in the fifties, literature had ceased to be an exclusive perquisite of the aristocracy and was professionally practiced by many young men from the new middle class who were impatient at the slowness of change. Some of the young radicals made unfruitful efforts to form a community of interest with the peasantry. Others attempted to force the hand of the government by acts of violence. Marxist socialism became known in Russia during the seventies and, while it supplied the young radicals with a more aggressive program, it suggested a transfer of their missionary efforts from the peasants to the urban industrial workers who were expanding in numbers with the progressive industrialization of the country.

The rising tide of radicalism stimulated repressive measures 175*
by the government, which gradually lost much of the sympathy 656
668

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175* which it had previously enjoyed in more moderate spheres,
652 and even rejected loyal proposals for conservative reforms ad-
668 vanced in order to discourage the repeated outrages of the terrorists. In 1880 the situation came to a head with an explosion in the Winter Palace itself at St. Petersburg in which the whole imperial family narrowly escaped a violent death. Alexander II then called liberal statesmen who enjoyed the public confidence to work out a series of innovations which, though not aiming at a constitution, were at least conciliatory and progressive. These reforms were viewed with apprehension by the radicals, who not only feared to lose their public but also believed (mistakenly, as it proved) that the elimination of the tsar would be the prelude to a great popular uprising. They thus assassinated Alexander II on March 13, 1881.

The results were devastating. Moderate opinion was profoundly shocked, the government relapsed into a reactionary policy which endured until 1917, only briefly interrupted by the revolution of 1905. Political freedom and even political thought were discouraged, and many conscientious liberals were reduced to disillusion and despair by the bitter conviction that progress was impossible. The situation was not helped by the economic crisis of the eighties which followed an inflationary period of hasty industrial overexpansion.

829 This disillusion is most clearly reflected in the dramas of
538 Chekhov, those twilight pictures of a class which vegetates without hope of change, without faith in its capacity to influence events. To this situation the accession of Nicholas II in 1894 brought no cure; since he was largely surrounded by ministers who deprecated even local self-government as only a step toward constitutionalism. But beneath the surface a new
175* spirit was about to break ground. Some of the younger genera-
668 tion could no longer accept the resignation which Chekhov's characters practiced. For them, failure, however tragic, was not an everlasting stop-signal. Marxism gave them a program and a method. It warned them not to expect salvation from the middle class, and preached the virtues and strength of the so

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far silent but ambitious proletariat. The lower strata of society 175*
were no longer looking for sympathy. They wanted power, and 668
if properly led would break down all barriers to its attainment.
The voice of the grumbling dispossessed first sounded clearly [538]
in Russian literature through Maxim Gorki's early stories, which began to appear in 1892. The best example of the young intellectual who discovered saving graces in Marxism was Lenin. He began to study Marx's *Capital* in 1888, organized a group of Marxists at Kuibyshev (Samara) in 1893, and was a social-democratic propagandist in St. Petersburg the next year. The emergence of Marxism as an active political and economic system in Russia dates from this period.

The rise of the Social Democratic party and the foundation 175*
of the more activist section known as the Bolsheviki (the maxi- 665
malists) headed by Lenin himself preceded the outbreak of the 668
Russo-Japanese war by barely one year. At the same time, another radical party, the Social Revolutionaries, revived the tradition of terrorism as practiced before the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. The government pursued a policy of [661]
repression even when the necessity of prosecuting a war for which the nation was totally unprepared might well have dictated a more conciliatory attitude. Profound resentment now mastered not only the middle class but the urban proletariat, and though the police resorted to desperate provocatory acts in order to discredit the agitators, a united front against the government was rapidly forming. When open revolution broke 175*
out early in 1905, neither the middle-class liberals nor the 668
radical Marxist groups possessed an organization equal to or- 642
ganizing and directing a mass movement. As a result, after the government made various constitutional concessions and the extremists showed every sign of fighting to a finish, the moderate groups gravitated away from the revolutionary idea, leaving the Marxist leaders and the workers isolated. With the urban middle class again passive, the government speedily recovered its sangfroid and applied repressive measures of forbidding severity which were far from supplying any basis for

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175* 668 642 reconciliation with society. The new parliament was never allowed to function efficiently, and excessive parcellation of parties within it also prevented the formation of a workable united front against the government, though the fundamental tone was one of hostility.

The first World War began in this atmosphere of mutual distrust between government and society, and only a brief interval of patriotic *entente cordiale* intervened before official incompetence as revealed by repeated military defeats once more opened the breach, which was further widened by a complete collapse of transportation and economic life. General resentment was intensified by evidence of a total lack of comprehension of the situation by the tsar and his advisers, and culminated in the events of March, 1917, by which the tsar was forced to abdicate and a democratic regime was set up. The vacillations of successive moderate provisional governments played into the hands of the Bolshevik leaders, who could always bank on the support of the urban factory workers and certain sections of the army, and on November 7 they were masters of Petrograd. The subsequent fortunes of the Soviets are so close to our own times as to be matters of common knowledge.

175* 829 538 517 The chasm which existed between government and society between 1894 and the first World War did not prevent simultaneous developments in Russian intellectual life. In spite of government surveillance and occasional restriction of educational facilities, a highly educated and talented middle class had evolved in Russia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Though literature declined in some degree after the death of Dostoevski, Tolstoi lived on to combine moral philosophy and creative letters until 1910. Chekhov's later plays expressed his own prevision that an epoch was about to end. A younger generation of prose writers revived traditional Russian realism in a more individualistic spirit without regard to the political and social aims that had inspired their predecessors. In poetry, symbolism sought to penetrate and express deeper

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[538] elements of truth which lay behind the veil of everyday reality
517 as presented to the senses. In painting, the social angle and
829 exclusively realistic technique were abandoned for impression-
175* ism and the development of stage decoration. The romantic ballet which had dominated the theater for half a century was replaced by the more plastic creations of Diagilev and his group. In almost every phase of intellectual life Russia had now joined Europe and in music and the arts of the theater was
[815] rapidly assuming a position of leadership, while Russian scientists, though usually trained in French or German schools, originated theories and techniques which still influence modern scientific practices and conceptions. The Russian schools of historians and philologists were on a par with those of countries whose culture was the result of much longer growth to the point where several of us at Harvard are proud to acknowledge our debt to these masters. Whatever the backward-
184 ness of the Russian political system, the old empire at last came
517 to possess an intellectual minority which in gifts and productivity was without superior in the history of modern civilization.

Yet at best it was a minority, and the mass of the population, especially in the rural districts and among the numerous non-Slavic elements, participated but remotely in its eminence. The task of spreading European culture to the masses thus devolved upon the Soviet government as soon as it had consolidated its position and reëstablished some semblance of ordered political
658 and economic life. Even if we admit that the rise of Soviet
871 culture is hampered by communist ideology, especially in the social sciences, the fact remains that the progress of popular education under Soviet auspices deserves the respect and grati-
[212] tude of the world at large. Illiteracy, once a curse, has been stamped out in the cities and greatly reduced in the countryside. Though the caliber of the teaching staff in higher institutions of learning has obviously been reduced by political factors, access to technical schools and universities is now open to a class whose representatives could barely walk past their

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871 entrances in the old imperial days. Linguistic minorities which
658 never even had alphabets, let alone schools, now have both. Their cultural representatives are hailed as contributors to the intellectual life of the nation, which has a chance of not remaining purely Slavic or European, but may instead draw new life and inspiration from the resident Asiatic and other alien stocks. The intermediate and elementary school system has been extended into the most remote districts, and in non-Slavic areas the native tongue has an equal chance with the official Russian.

186 The pressure of doctrine which long lay heavy on literature
[656] and art, however, has been intensified in recent years. The trend of the times is naturally in favor of a somewhat romantic and dogmatic picture of reality, since it would not be in the interest of the prevailing system to admit that its present imperfections are permanent departures from the ideal which has been set up. Present-day Soviet culture is intensely patriotic, not to say nationalistic. But of the great legacy of the nineteenth century surprisingly little has been lost. The classics are the models for present-day writers. But upon the accomplishment of the past have been grafted the materialistic aims of a new society which aims at a degree of organization and technical achievement which even the great progressives of the sixties would not have deemed possible. For though the autocracy of the Soviet State echoes more than once the spirit of the Muscovite Middle Ages and sometimes applies the methods of the Tartars for its self-preservation, the fact still remains that this autocracy is inwardly devoted to a program of national service, the execution of which we may only hope will not be too seriously hampered or interrupted by international factors and power politics which divert national energy and resources from domestic growth and construction to baser military ends.

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VI

German and Slav

While speaking of the process by which the Western and some of the Southern Slavs were converted to Christianity, it has been mentioned that German missionary efforts were accompanied by widespread colonization not only along the Danube but likewise in Central Germany itself. It may be recalled also that, after the Germanic migrations, the Slavs by the sixth century had expanded from their former boundary at the Vistula westward to the Elbe and simultaneously occupied the Baltic coast from the peninsula of Jutland eastward to the former Polish corridor. While they were in Bohemia and Moravia, as well as in the Vistula basin, they set up large and comparatively strong Slavic social and political organizations which, despite many handicaps, have maintained themselves down into modern history. But the Slavs who occupied the course of the Elbe and the Baltic seaboard formed nothing more than weak tribal federations which not only possessed little internal cohesion but also collapsed easily at any external shock. At the same time the Slavs south of the Danube, and especially the Slovenes, were unable to form lasting ties with any more powerful Slavic group which would guarantee them against German pressure and infiltration; consequently they were gradually forced to contract into their present restricted frontiers.

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000 Along the Danube the banner of German expansion was carried by the Bavarians. They were the descendants of the powerful tribe of the Marcomanni, whose prowess taxed the arms of Marcus Aurelius in the second century. The earliest known German habitat of the Bavarians was between the Saale river and the Bohemian border, from which they spread southward to the Danube and then followed its course eastward into upper Austria, the Salzburg area, and the Tyrol. Their nominal submission to the Franks in the sixth century was inspired by the same Avar menace which in turn dictated the surrender of the Slovenes in Carinthia to the Bavarians a hundred years later. The Bavarians themselves were Christianized only in the seventh century. Salzburg, their first bishopric, was founded in 696, but before the Bavarians were completely subjugated by Charlemagne in 788 their country was already swarming with Benedictine cloisters. German colonization of the middle Dan-
175* ube basin was thus primarily monastic and aristocratic. The Slovenian villages maintained but a precarious existence among the lands of newly established monasteries and of German settlers imported en masse from the valleys of the Rhine and the Moselle to clear and work the estates of immigrant proprietors.

000 After the Avars, the chief impediment to peaceful penetration along the Danube, had been defeated by Charlemagne in his campaigns of 791-796, he founded the Ostmark, which immediately became the goal of intensively organized colonization and eventually developed into the Duchy of Austria. Though the German advance had crossed the Danube into modern Hungary by the last decade of the ninth century, its progress was halted in 881 by the invasion of the Magyars, who defeated the Bavarians at Bratislava in 907, and for the next forty-five years repeatedly devastated the Ostmark until they were repulsed by Otto I on the Lechfeld, near Augsburg, in 955. From this moment, despite occasional Magyar raids, colonization was resumed along the right bank of the Danube between

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Passau and Vienna, and the area devastated by the Magyars 000
was largely reoccupied by the year 1000.

At this period,[1] German missionary work in the Slavic dis- 175*
tricts south of the Danube proceeded not from Regensburg or 797
Passau, which were mainly occupied with the German settlements along the Danube, but from Bamberg. Missionaries from this diocese lived among the Slavs of Carinthia which was rapidly settled by colonists from Franconia and the middle Rhineland, as opposed to the predominantly Bavarian origin of the German settlers in Austria itself. While Bamberg was thus active in Carinthia (roughly the valley of the Drave east and west of Villach), Bavarian missionaries from Freising in Bavaria occupied themselves with Carniola (Krain), the region of the Save valley somewhat further southwest (the hinterland of Trieste), and here the colonists were again Bavarian. The Slovene population found by these German newcomers in Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria (originally a portion of Carinthia), was less driven out or exterminated than it was repressed. Documentary evidence reveals German and Slavic personal and place names side by side. The politically and socially [513]
dominant class was everywhere German. In Austria along the Danube, from which the Slavic population had been driven by the Avars before Carolingian times, the peasantry was almost exclusively Bavarian. But in Carinthia and Carniola, German peasants lived in close proximity to the native Slovenian peasantry which remained most numerous southwest of the Mur river in the valleys of the Drave and Save. Peculiar conditions on the right bank of the Danube thus explain the southward contraction of the Slovenes away from this river and their constant subservience in later days to Austrian political influence.

German influences in Moravia and their unfortunate conse- 175*
quences for the mission of Constantine and Methodius have 177
already been mentioned. Even while the brothers were still active, the struggle for Frankish supremacy was going on and

1 [10th century -- Analyst]

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175* by 874 the vassalage of Moravia was definitely established.
177 After the epoch of Constantine and Methodius, all prospect of Moravian independence was destroyed by the Magyar invasion of the year 900, and for a century this region remained under Hungarian control until it was acquired by Bohemia in 1003. The decline of Moravia was paralleled by the rise of Bohemia. Early in the ninth century Charlemagne had invaded Bohemia, and in 849 the Bavarian Nordgau was founded as a barrier against the Czechs. This same epoch witnessed a gradual consolidation of the Czech cantons into a single state, as well as the baptism of numerous Czech notables at Regensburg. By the close of the ninth century, Bohemia became a vassal state of Germany and a part of the Regensburg diocese. German colonization into the district of Eger, only recently a bone of contention between the Czechs and Germans, began early in the tenth century, and paralleled Bavarian aggression on the southwestern frontier. The first half of that century was signalized by repeated German invasions of Bohemia from the north, and the situation was not stabilized until 971 when, under Otto I, the first Bohemian bishopric was established at Prague and subordinated to the Archbishop of Mainz. Soon thereafter Benedictine monasteries were founded, and aristocratic Czech circles were rapidly imbued with German culture.

Contacts between Czechs and Germans were intensified all during the eleventh century. German colonists (traders, farmers, technicians) arrived in large numbers. The annual fair at Prague came to be dominated by resident German merchants who occupied a position of virtual extraterritoriality, having their own magistrates and living under German law. Benedictine foundations were supplemented by Premonstratensian and Cistercian religious houses, who competed with their predecessors for privileges and donations. The mountainous parts of Bohemia were not opened to German colonization until nearly 1200 when numerous German settlers moved in through the Eger valley, and during the next century the Germans settled the southern, western, and eastern frontiers of

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Bohemia. Sometimes a Bohemian village received so many 175*
German colonists that it was practically changed into a Ger- 177
man settlement. Czech towns frequently were obliged to alter their traditional character and adopt German usages. The nobles began to resurvey and repartition the lands attached to these villages, forcing the Czech peasants to pay rent and to assume all obligations applied to the newer settlers. The Czechs were obliged to accept these innovations for fear of being dispossessed in favor of the German newcomers, and this process continued until the early fifteenth century and the period of the Hussite Wars.

The Germanization of Bohemia progressed most rapidly after the year 1200. King Václav (Wenceslas) I was a great friend of the German colonists, even to the point of driving the Czech peasants out of his native town and settling it with Germans, and his example was eagerly followed by the Bohemian nobility. It even became the custom to rechristen local castles with German names and to give new ones such names to start with, till the country bristled with Löwenbergs, Steinbergs, Rosenbergs, and Rosenthals. New monasteries were 175*
headed by German abbots who systematically forgot the Old 177
Slavonic liturgy and the great tradition of Methodius, though 175
he was buried at Velehrad, from 1201 the site of a Cistercian house. Among the German militant orders, the Knights of St. John were permitted to settle German colonists anywhere upon their lands. These settlers were exempt from local laws and freed from local duties and obligations. Both Templars and Hospitallers had established churches at Prague before 1255. About the same period, Dominicans and Franciscans also founded their first Bohemian houses, including both German and Italian friars. The German colony at Prague was the oldest 175*
and richest foreign group within the country, since all other 177
German settlements were either in rural districts or in the mountainous mining regions.

The favors extended to the Germans at Prague were not dictated by sentiment but by practical interests, since they

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175* 177 insured the commercial and economic prosperity of the country. The section of Prague now known as the Old Town was by the year 1200 almost wholly occupied by Germans, and was fortified by its own wall and moat. German law, craftsmanship, and commercial ability were particularly fruitful in the development of provincial civic centers during the twelfth century, and in the next hundred years they attained a high level of prosperity with flourishing handicrafts and agriculture. [439] Their trade relations extended to Venice, Rome, Hamburg, Brandenburg, and Flanders; the primary article of Bohemian export was textiles. German colonization not only founded [311] towns but also increased the number of free farmers. These German rural colonists were most interested in the settlement of the less fruitful districts, especially in the forests of the western and northern borders of Bohemia. Since the development of this land required much hard work, the native Czech peasantry had never been intensely concerned with it, and it therefore yielded no profit to the landlords until the Germans began to exploit it. Hence the colonists received attractive terms in the guise of local self-government and tax exemptions in order to induce them to take it up. These circumstances thus favored extensive German settlement in the border districts simultaneously with the evolution of a prosperous and wealthy German middle class in the growing Bohemian cities.

175* 177 It is important to dwell on these conspicuous factors in the early development of Bohemia in order to show that the German penetration into this basically Slavic area occurred far back in the Middle Ages and is by no means a situation of recent growth. Since German settlements in the frontier districts actually took up land which the Czechs themselves had never occupied, any attempt to establish the frontiers of Czechoslovakia only on strategic considerations without regard to the conditions under which the country developed simply did violence to history and was inevitably destined to provoke discord. Whatever one may think of Nazi policy toward Czechoslovakia, the fact remains that the Germans had contributed

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just as much to the building up of Bohemia as did the Czechs. 175*
Apart from the early conflicts by which Bohemia became a 177
German vassal, the colonists were brought into the country voluntarily by Bohemian princes and barons, and they could therefore hardly be regarded in our own time as an inferior element with restricted rights in an area to whose economic and cultural development they had been generously contributing for seven hundred years.

It is fair to observe, however, that internal conflict between 175*
Czech and German broke out at the time of the Hussite Wars 721
of the fifteenth century. The radical Hussites bitterly attacked 186
the German population, which was in the main composed of faithful Catholics, and even wiped out the entire German citizenry of numerous cities and towns, while such German residents who compounded with the Hussite extremists were subjected to a violent campaign of Czechization. The results of this epoch of conflict were catastrophic. Most of what the German element jointly with the Bohemian had built up in three centuries of faithful effort was destroyed in less than half a century during which the Czechs split with the Germans on account of their loyal Catholicism. The weakness of the Hussite movement was that, while doubtless promoting a healthy national spirit, it broke down the traditional contacts which in previous centuries had contributed appreciably to the advance of culture and to the international prestige of the nation. The succession to the Bohemian crown first passed to the house of Austria in 1437, and Bohemia subsequently remained under the sovereignty of the Hapsburgs uninterruptedly from 1526 to 1918. During this period of nearly three hundred years there was obviously little doubt of the dominance of German influence.

Before turning to early German relations with the rising 175*
Polish state, let us follow the fortunes of the Slavs who emi- 167
grated westward to the basin of the Elbe. While the burden of German colonization on the Danube front was carried by the Bavarians with some aid from the Franconians, the same

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175* function was performed in north central Germany by the
167 Saxons. The first thrust of Slavic westward pressure had been felt in the fifth century by the Thuringians, whom the Slavs drove westward into the Thuringian forest and the Harz
167 Mountains. As soon as the Thuringians were subjected by the
721 Franks, the age of Slavo-German conflict set in, and hostilities
175* were intermittent in eastern Franconia during the seventh century. Then, in the eighth century, the establishment of numerous monastery-fortresses on the frontier between the Danube and the Weser heralded an aggressive German offensive which developed as soon as the Franks in 804 had conquered the great tribal duchy of Saxony in lower Germany between the Elbe and the Rhine. The German *Drang nach Osten* which resulted in the dispossession and practical extermination of the Slavs on north-German soil thus began in Charlemagne's day, and continued for nearly four hundred years. Charlemagne opened the contest in 789 by attacking the Wilzi, a federation of Slavic tribes residing east of the Elbe in the vicinity of modern Berlin, and their spirited resistance induced him to give his eastern frontier a solid military organization. New fortresses were built on the lower Elbe to protect Saxony from Slavic invasion. Under Louis the Pious, Hamburg and Würzburg became advance posts of German missionary activity, but the last half of the ninth century witnessed almost constant warfare along the Slavo-German frontier from Hamburg to Bohemia, and these border clashes were a fruitful source of slave labor for the vast properties of the new German monasteries of the eastern front.

In 919, with the election of Duke Henry of Saxony as King of the Germans and successor to Conrad I, the last of the Carolingians, the period of large-scale Saxon aggression against the north German Slavs began. The first Saxon conquest recovered the area between the Saale and the upper Elbe, roughly between modern Halle and Meissen. Then, in the winter of 928-929, Henry pushed across the Elbe and captured Branibor, the stronghold of the Slavs on the Havel west of

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Berlin, transforming it into a fortress which is the ancestor of modern Brandenburg. A Slavic coalition inspired by this offensive was defeated in 929 near Wittenberg, and the Saxon sphere of influence was thus extended to the Oder river. While Henry I showed little interest in colonizing the area he had won, and was solely concerned with collecting tribute, a movement of colonization was first reflected by a large number of fortified German settlements established east of the lower Elbe under Henry's successor Otto I, and a similar practice prevailed further south in the reconquered territory between the Saale and the upper Elbe. The German treatment of their Slavic subjects was far from gentle: captives taken in war were ruthlessly butchered, and chieftains invited as guests were treacherously slain. As a result, a Slavic revolt of 983 threw the Saxons out of Brandenburg. For a hundred and fifty years the Slavic coastal area from Lübeck to the Oder was thus free of Saxon encroachment, and it was not until after 1125 that the linguistic frontier in this region advanced beyond where it had stood in Charlemagne's day.

With the election of Duke Lothar of Saxony as King of the Germans in 1125, the situation altered. Even before his accession to the throne, Lothar had been known to the Slavs as a dangerous adversary, and no such drastically anti-Slavic policy as his had been seen since Henry the Fowler two hundred years before. His collaboration with the Danes broke up the Slavic principalities on the Baltic shore east of Holstein, and after Lothar's death in 1137 the coastline between Kiel and Rostock was soon in German hands. Wholesale colonization by Westphalian and other Low-German settlers immediately ensued under reasonably peaceful conditions, which unfortunately were interrupted by a fanatical crusade against the Slavs in 1147, in the vicissitudes of which most of the newly won territory was cruelly devastated. The result was thirty years of conflict in which the last independent group of Baltic Slavs was obliterated. Meanwhile Brandenburg had come back under German control when its Slavic chief died intestate

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175* in 1150 and willed his holdings to the neighboring German
721 margrave. German influence was thus restored in this area to
167 the Oder frontier which it had temporarily reached two hundred years before.

000 Albert von Ballenstedt, called "the Bear," Margrave of the Nordmark, into whose hands Brandenburg fell by legacy, is the most sympathetic figure of the German colonization period. He refused to participate in the Wendish crusade of 1147, and thus won the confidence of his Slavic subjects. Brandenburg was free from the trivial and exasperating obligations that weighed upon the peasantry of the older settled regions. There were no traditional rights and no antiquated feudal interests, with the result that as population increased in the west, pioneer colonization toward the east was intensified. The analogy is frequently drawn between this medieval German colonization of the eastern marches and the American migration west of the Alleghenies at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As one French historian wrote in 1875, "the German emigrant in the Middle Ages went beyond the Elbe in order to find free land as today he is crossing the Atlantic." Albert himself died in 1170, but well into the thirteenth century, under his successors, this colonization moved on toward the Polish borderland, and Frankfurt on the Oder was founded in 1253.

175* As a matter of fact, German contacts with Poland date back to the latter part of the reign of Otto I, who occupied the German throne from 936 to 973. Under Otto I the German margrave subjugated the Slavs of Lusatia, and extended his sway into Lower Silesia as far as the Bober river, but when one of his successors somewhat later endeavored to extend German influence east of the Oder into Polish territory, he was thrown back in 979. As it was mentioned in dealing with the conversions of the various Slavic nations, Prince Mieszko I of Poland had abandoned paganism in 966 upon his marriage to Dubravka, sister of the Bohemian prince Boleslav I, and three years later founded the bishopric of Posen, which

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was dependent upon the archdiocese of Magdeburg. On 175*
Easter Day 973, Mieszko, together with his Czech brother-in-law, was present as a vassal at Otto I's court in Quedlinburg. In spite of varying fortunes, the Polish ruler subsequently remained a reasonably faithful feudatory of the Saxon emperors until his own death in the summer of 992.

His son Boleslav the Brave at first pursued the same policy, aiding Otto III against the rebellious Elbian Slavs in 994-995. But he subsequently rewarded himself for this aid by stretching his own territory westward to the Bober, and was on sufficiently good terms with Otto to receive his visit to Gnesen in the year 1000 and to see his capital raised to an archbishopric. Then, after Otto's death in 1002, while internal difficulties occupied his successor, Boleslav calmly appropriated the whole march of Meissen east of the Elbe and even subjugated Moravia. For the next decade all efforts to pry Boleslav loose from his gains proved unavailing, and it was only in 1013 that he made peace with Henry II because he had ambitious plans connected with the succession of Vladimir I of Kiev, whose son Boleslav's daughter had married. Later, by the Peace of Bautzen, concluded in 1018, Boleslav guaranteed himself the possession of Lusatia, thus biting still deeper into the march of Thuringia, and it was only in 1031 that Conrad II managed to drive the Poles out of it and to restore Poland to a state of vassalage.

The next two hundred years were marked by a serious de- 175*
cline in the energy and authority of the Polish state, caused by 793
the weakness of its princes and the long struggle for domination between the throne on one hand and the magnates and the clergy on the other. It should be noted that the early clerics in Poland were mainly foreigners of either German or Bohemian birth. They held their charges directly from the king or prince and represented a stage in the administrative hierarchy, making the church an official institution. The clergy in general was supported by a tithe from villages and counties.

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175* 793 423 The monasteries were, on the whole, the only large private landowners, and supplied an example by their organization of large manors worked by half-free peasants.

175* With the throne weakened by the pretensions of the Polish nobility, an aggressive foreign policy was unthinkable. After Vladislav Hermann accepted the status of a German vassal in 1080, no Polish prince dared assume the title of king for two centuries. The Elbe valley and Silesia were definitely lost, together with the Pomeranian seaboard west of the Vistula. Then, early in the thirteenth century, when the still pagan Prussians menaced Duke Conrad of Mazovia (along the Vistula northwest of Warsaw) he turned for aid to the knights of the Teutonic Order, who entered Mazovia and occupied the districts ceded to them in 1229. They immediately founded strong points at Thorn, Kulm, Elbing and elsewhere, and by placing themselves under papal protection obviated any chance of Polish sovereignty. The next fifty years were occupied by the struggle of the Teutonic Order, supported by the margraves of Brandenburg and Meissen, against the Prussians. Königsberg was founded in 1255, when the Slavic Duke of Pomerelia, on the lower Vistula north of Thorn, became a vassal of the Margrave of Brandenburg, and Danzig fell into German hands for the first time. The Brandenburgers, however, were unable to hold it, and it was not until 1343 that Polish claims to the so-called Pomorze were given up.

175* 721 Apart from domestic disorders, Poland was also shaken during this period by a disastrous invasion of the Tartars, who in 1241 burned Cracow, invaded Silesia, and sacked Breslau. The depopulation caused both by civil war and this invasion impoverished the Polish princes and induced them to encourage German immigration. The movement had started even before the onslaught of the Tartars, for German villages began to appear in Silesia as early as 1140. But after the Tartar incursion, German settlements spread to every part of Poland. The belt laid waste by the Tartars had been thickly settled since the principal commercial highways between the west and the

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Levant passed through Breslau and Cracow. The German 175*
settlers therefore followed the line of least resistance and were 721
spared the usual hard pioneer work because the soil they occupied had already been under cultivation for long periods. The colonists received exemption from taxes over a certain fixed term, and could build their towns as they desired, living under their native customs and enjoying absolute home rule.

By the middle of the fourteenth century there were some 175*
150 German village settlements in the modern province of Posen alone, and at the same time cities destroyed by the Tartars were resettled by German colonists, who also founded new towns in Polish territory. Among the rebuilt cities largely populated by Germans in the fourteenth century we may note Sandomierz, Cracow, and Breslau, and among major German settlements at previous Polish centers, Gnesen, Posen, Kalish, Lublin, and even Warsaw itself. As late as 1480, three quarters of the burghers of Warsaw had German names. By the metropolitan cities of Germany these settlements were rightly regarded as outposts of German trade and civilization. The pro- [563]
portion of German population in Poland at the middle of the fourteenth century is estimated at 25 per cent, though many of the German colonists were polonized by the sixteenth. The wave of German settlement extended even beyond Cracow into Eastern Galicia toward Przemysl and Lemberg (Lvóv). Until 1470, indeed, no one but Germans sat on the Lemberg city council.

Simultaneously with the conflict between the Teutonic Order and the Prussians, German conquest and colonization pursued its way up the Baltic seaboard toward the Gulf of Finland. Settlers from Lübeck established themselves for trading purposes at the mouth of the Dvina as early as 1150, but the conquest of Livonia did not begin until the year 1200. Riga was founded as a city and as a missionary bishopric in 1201. The militant Order of the Sword Bearers was then organized to combat the Finnish tribes of the seacoast and the Letts of the interior. They were subject to the Bishop of Riga, and

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were granted one-third of the land they thus captured. In 1236, however, after a defeat by the Lithuanians, the Sword Bearers combined with the Teutonic Order, and their joint ambitions would have made them masters of the north Russian city-states of Pskov and Novgorod if they had not been defeated by Prince Alexander Nevski on the ice of Lake Peipus in the winter of 1242.

We have dwelt in some detail on these developments to show how remote are all the origins of the political quarrels which have been resumed before our own eyes during the course of the second World War. Yet this extraordinary process was not without its halts and interruptions. Poland recovered much of its driving power under the administration of Kazimir the Great from 1333 to 1370. Meanwhile, the pressure of the Teutonic Order had contributed to unifying Lithuanian resistance, and a strong Lithuania had now developed with a culture predominantly Russian. By 1363, indeed, as we have seen, the Lithuanians had captured Kiev and were advancing toward the Black Sea. The union of Poland and Lithuania, consecrated by the marriage of the Lithuanian Prince Jagailo with Queen Yadwiga of Poland in 1386, was a severe blow to the Teutonic Order, since the conversion of the Lithuanians to Christianity largely deprived the Order of its missionary pretext for existence. The Polish victory at Grünwald-Tannenberg on July 15, 1410 broke its power, and after some further military exchanges a peace of 1422 limited German holdings in East Prussia to frontiers which lasted generally until the Treaty of Versailles.

The activities of the Order in the eastern Baltic continued until the sixteenth century. In Livonia and Esthonia there had been no colonization by German peasants, and the country was thus held only by the nobility, the church, and the citizens. The Muscovite thrust toward the Baltic affected not only the city-states of Pskov and Novgorod, but also the coastal possessions of the Order. The knights successfully resisted Ivan III, but Ivan the Terrible, as we know, took up the task which his

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grandfather had begun, and as a result of his victories in 1559 the Order was dissolved. Esthonia became Swedish, Livonia fell into Polish hands, and Courland became a hereditary duchy and a fief of the kingdom of Poland. Esthonia and Livonia did not definitely become Russian until the Peace of Nystadt in 1721, and Courland fell into Russian possession only by the third partition of Poland in 1795. Early in the second World War we witnessed the final German surrender of all vested rights in this area acquired since the beginning of the thirteenth century. 175* 721

Though Poland of the sixteenth century was by no means a peaceful state, it felt the influence of the Protestant reformation and, at least until a Catholic reaction set in under Jesuit direction about 1564 after the Council of Trent, had a reputation for religious tolerance. As a result, the religious wars in Germany started a new current of emigration into Polish territory, especially into the Posen area. At the same time, Low-German Protestants (Mennonites and other reformists) moved into the Pomorze around Danzig, where the local population had been decimated by the thirteen-years' war waged by Kazimir Jagiellonczyk against the weakened Teutonic Order from 1453 to 1466. This Low-German immigration took on greater proportions after Stephen Batory's siege and capture of Danzig in 1577, extending particularly to the courses of the Warthe and Netze rivers. Though the counter-reformation was by this time in full swing throughout Poland, these Protestant settlers, because of their industry and skill in agriculture, were guaranteed religious freedom, and remained free peasants even in an age when serfdom was the native Polish farmer's universal lot. At the same time, however, other settlers came into the lower Vistula valley from Brandenburg and Pomerania under much more onerous conditions, since they were without capital and completely subject to the caprice of their landlords. 175* 798

This migratory movement was resumed in the seventeenth century during the Thirty Years' War, though many of the refugees from Brandenburg returned from Poland to their

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175* homes after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. In Silesia, how-
798 ever, the persecutions incident to the counter-reformation caused the migration into Poland of some 200,000 Germans, who were responsible for the creation of the textile industry in western Poland. In eastern Poland as well, the German element played a prominent role. In 1648, for instance, when the Cossack Hetman Bogdan Chmelnitski, aided by the Crimean Tartars, threatened eastern Galicia, the German inhabitants of Lemberg paid one third of the ransom by which the city was saved, and German officers and soldiery fought on the Polish side in all the battles of the period.

175* Sweden came out of the Thirty Years' War greatly strength-
131 ened by the momentary possession of the mouths of the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser, and its king, Charles X, thinking to gain the support of the Elector of Brandenburg for further conquests at Poland's expense, recognized him in 1656 as Duke of Prussia, thereby bringing East Prussia under the sovereignty of Brandenburg. Then, by the Treaty of Wehlau, the next year, the Poles surrendered their claims to East Prussia, thereby assuring the rising Prussian state of the undisputed possession of this area until the Seven Years' War, though it was returned to Prussia after the death of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia in 1762. Silesia was regained by Prussia the next year, the Vistula valley south of Danzig fell to the German share by the first partition of Poland in 1772, and the Posen area followed by the second partition of 1793. Such, then, in its broadest outlines, is the process by which the political frontier between Germany and Poland was determined prior to 1914.

177 Until the nineteenth century there was little racial hostility
175* between German and Slav. The German expansion eastward
648 during the Middle Ages had been dictated by religious and economic motives, and the conflicts in which Poland, as an independent state, was involved with its neighbors before the partitions were the result of dynastic ambitions and jealousies rather than of any collision of national ideologies. The practical services rendered to the development of agriculture, trade,

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and industry by German immigrants to Bohemia and Poland 175*
require no demonstration. By virtue of its close political asso- 177
ciation with western Europe, Bohemia was speedily drawn into 648
European intellectual life, and as early as the thirteenth century Bohemian authors were reproducing in their own language the forms and content of German medieval literature. International culture was still more widely disseminated after the foundation of the University of Prague in 1348, and the Hussite movement produced a wave of intellectual activity which lasted until the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century.

Poland, because of its comparative remoteness and political 175*
instability, was not subject to the same cultural stimuli, and 177
the services rendered by the German settlers in Polish terri- 517
tory were exclusively practical and materialistic. The influence of the Polish crown was never strong enough, nor were its holders cultured enough to exert a civilizing influence comparable to that which radiated from Prague. Only in the six- [871]
teenth century do we meet with a striking development of Polish literature, and here the productive influences were more those of the Renaissance than specifically German, especially since local education was dominated by the Jesuits and strictly limited to the classical curriculum. While German economic influence was strong in both the great western Slavic states, it was Bohemia which profited the most from the absorption of German culture, and it was not until the seventeenth century that political events halted the intellectual advance so auspiciously begun.

Yet it was in Bohemia that the first seeds of a new Slavic 182
racial consciousness sprouted early in the nineteenth century. 814
The age of enlightenment had emphasized the ideals of humanity, tolerance, and culture, and these ideals were spread throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy by the reforms of Joseph II. As a matter of fact, the principle of nationality was first formulated by a German, for it was Goethe's great friend and mentor Johann Gottfried Herder, who declared that "the

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most natural state is a state inhabited by a single nation with a single national character." This principle provoked a grateful echo in the minds of several outstanding Bohemian scholars and patriots. An ex-Jesuit, Joseph Dubrovski, the founder of Slavic philology as a discipline, was the first modern Bohemian patriot of nationalistic stamp, and his works gave to the whole Bohemian literary movement a pan-Slavist direction. He condemned Germanization, but not the Germans, and sincerely believed the Slavs destined to become the bearers of a new civilization. Through Dubrovski, the Czechs began to feel themselves a part of the great Slavic community, and expected to find support for their national aspirations in the new conception of a Slavic civilization.

Contemporary with Dubrovski (who died in 1839) was Joseph Jungmann, translator of *Paradise Lost* and of Châteaubriand's *Atala* who, by his compilation of the first Czech dictionary, revealed the wealth of the mother tongue and by his studies in literary history disclosed the richness and diversity of prior Bohemian literature. Dubrovski's work was carried on by the great antiquarian Paul Joseph Šafařík, a Slovak by birth, whose studies of the origins and expansion of the Slavs constitute a brilliant apologia for the Slavic nations. What Šafařík accomplished in the broad field of philology was duplicated in history by his younger Bohemian colleague, Francis Palacký, and these patriotic and scholarly efforts laid the foundations for a renaissance of Bohemian literature and of general Slavic intellectual life. The first models of the new literature were the products of the romantic movement in German letters, but Bohemian authors soon passed on to independent creation, and it was Joseph Kollár who, animated by his contacts at Jena with the literature of Young Germany, composed eloquent sonnets in which he called the scattered Slavs to solidarity and coöperation in the great work which he, as a disciple of Herder, believed was their destiny. In particular, Kollár preached a community of interests with the South Slavs, a principle which, had it been properly appreciated by

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the Austrian authorities, might have had incalculable consequences for the maintenance of their Empire.

The ideals preached by Palacký, who was as great a journalist as he was a historian, were first formulated in political terms just prior to the revolutionary year 1848, which signalized the end of Metternich's regime and the dawn of constitutionalism in Austria. It was thus Palacký who advocated an autonomous Bohemia including all the lands which had formerly belonged to the Bohemian crown, together with as much of Hungary as was populated by Slovaks: the principle, indeed, upon which the Czechoslovak state was subsequently erected. It is significant, moreover, that the German elements in Bohemia were inclined to support the Czechs in their agitation for autonomy. But the federal idea was never realized in Austria-Hungary before the monarchy dissolved in 1918, and Bohemian hopes in this direction were dashed by the Austrian Constitution of 1867, which gave the Hungarians a preferred position, as compared with the Slavs, by establishing the principle of dualism, by making Hungary practically autonomous, and by settling the Magyar domination upon Slovaks and Croats. This loss was to some extent offset by educational concessions to the Czechs, since in the previous twenty years Bohemian national consciousness had consolidated to an extraordinary degree through the increased use of the native language and the improved status of both peasants and the middle class. The romantic emphasis laid by Palacký on the glorious past of Bohemia thus proved an altogether healthy spur to the national ambition.

Though after 1867 there was never any real reconciliation between Prague and Vienna, the material prosperity of Bohemia advanced rapidly in the next fifty years, and the part still played by the German element in Bohemia before the war of 1914 is evidenced by the fact that, though they comprised only 37 per cent of the population, they paid 50 per cent of the taxes. But while the Czechs never lost sight of the federalist ideal, this principle was looked on with disfavor by the Viennese

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186 autocrats, who felt that any increase in Bohemia's degree of
563 independence would only weaken the whole structure of the unified Austro-Hungarian state. This difference in political philosophy was aggravated by the fact that there was too little will to compromise and too much reverence for history among the Bohemian leaders. Oppressed nations always overestimate the practical importance of past tradition. The dominant position long occupied by the kingdom of Bohemia in the Holy Roman Empire, if the Czechs had only realized it, was of far less moment than any rational compromise which would have permitted Bohemia to enjoy to the full the material advantages it commanded as the most highly industrialized section of Austria-Hungary and, at the same time, to cultivate a national spirit, language and literature, without making itself obnoxious to its neighbors by always harping on the same string. It is, however, an unfortunate truth that the composition, within a staté, of quarrels rising from linguistic differences complicated by racial, temperamental, and confessional motives and by the carefully cherished traditions of the past which are, or suppose themselves to be, oppressed, is a problem of baffling complexity. On the other hand, the experience of the twenty years before 1939 definitely showed that this problem is not solved by merely setting up these disaffected areas as national units.

175* Now while it is true that the Czechs did not find themselves
565 precisely in clover under the Hapsburg monarchy, the fact
186 remains that they achieved a high level of material prosperity and culture during the nineteenth century. They had, to be sure, advanced further along the path of social evolution than the Poles, among whom the middle class had actually contracted when the partitions interrupted the evolution of the nation. When Poland fell there were virtually but two classes in the country, the landowning gentry and the peasants. Serfdom was abolished in the Prussian section in 1821, with a subsequent rapid economic improvement in the peasants' status. After the partitions, the middle class evolved most speedily in the Russian section, and at a slower rate under the German regime.

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in the Russian section, and at a slower rate under the German regime. After 1867, the Poles under Austrian sovereignty enjoyed the greatest relative degree of freedom. The local administration passed entirely into Polish hands, the universities of Cracow and Lemberg were Polonized, and Polish was admitted as the official language everywhere except in the military and the postal services. In the Prussian area, the German administration adopted a liberal policy until 1830, when German became the official language, though the local church and the school system remained Polish.

Before 1848, however, pan-Slavic ideals filtered in from Bohemia, and that year saw open revolt in the Posen area. As the middle class grew in numbers, the influence of the nobility waned, and improved educational facilities favored the dissemination of Polish culture and national ideals among the masses. As industry grew in western Germany, there was also a considerable emigration of German residents from the Polish province. German authorities estimate that this movement shifted some three million Germans out of this area during the last half of the nineteenth century. Their places in the cities, which had hitherto been predominantly German, were taken by Polish workers who came in from the country, with the result that the proportion of German population in the Polish cities under German rule declined. At the same time, the general prosperity of Germany benefited the Polish district, the wealth and productivity of which were greatly enhanced during the nineteenth century, and educational opportunities naturally far surpassed those available in either Russian Poland or Galicia.

This survey of relations between German and Slav from the earliest times to the last century demonstrates with reasonable clarity that once the barbarities of the medieval German expansion period were over, every advance in civilization which the Germans experienced was passed on to such of the Western Slavs as were ripe to receive it. Though the Bohemians lost their political independence in the sixteenth century, they had already acquired such a high degree of culture that they were

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177 not likely to lag behind the general movement of European civilization. Though not independent, they nevertheless enjoyed a degree of political stability which the Poles lacked. On the other hand, even if the partitions splintered the Polish state, the material and intellectual progress registered under German rule in Posen and under Austrian sovereignty in Galicia also brought the Poles into closer touch with Western Europe and made them participants in the march of progress.

600 We should not for one moment wish to belittle the Bohemian or the Polish thirst for independent statehood, nor ignore the oppressive measures to which Poles and Czechs alike were frequently subjected by their masters who spoke a different language. But on the record there is no insuperable reason why peaceful coöperation between Slav and German is not possible, and there is no prospect for peace in Europe until this coöperation is reëstablished. Time and the pressure of events will wipe away the official German opinion that the Slavs are an inferior race, just as it has wiped out the brutal German ruling class which holds this opinion. But it is the task of our generation to work out some system whereby political sovereignty is not the ultimate aim of national aspirations, and whereby national units not economically self-sufficient—as none of the Western Slavs are—may join in political associations which guarantee their economic welfare without jeopardizing their characteristic cultures and ideals.

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VII

The Balkan Principalities

101 The Slavs of the Balkan peninsula include the Slovenians,
144 the Croats, the Serbs, and the Bulgarians. It has already been
197 pointed out that the Bulgarians, though Slavic in language, are not pure Slavic racially, since they are the product of the fusion of Turanian invaders with a previous native Slav popu-
[131] lation. The northernmost of these groups, the Slovenes, are concentrated in Carniola (the territory immediately east of the Italian coastal strip behind Trieste) together with southern Styria as far as the Mur River. They speak a language akin to Serbo-Croatian, but clearly differentiated from it, and number about one and one half millions. Until 1918 their history was identified with that of Austria, and most of their cultural impulses came from colonies of Slovenian emigrants in the United States, especially around Pittsburgh and Cleveland. As a portion of the post-1918 Yugoslav state, they enjoyed linguistic and cultural autonomy with a flourishing Slovenian university at Laibach (Ljubljana). The Croats and the Serbs are one people racially and linguistically, apart from minor dialect
[795] differences and the fact that the Croats, being Catholics, use the
[212] Latin alphabet, while the Serbs, as members of the Orthodox Church, employ a Cyrillic alphabet closely resembling the Rus-
131 sian. Since the Croats are found in the western part of Bosnia and in Dalmatia, their residence may be roughly defined as a

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131 strip running eastward from the Adriatic coast between Fiume and Zara to the Drave river, where they collide with the Magyars, together with a triangular enclave with the middle of its base at Spalato (Split) and its apex just north of Sarajevo.

The Serbs occupy the pre-1914 kingdom of Serbia, northern Macedonia, and the major portion of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The territory inhabited by the Serbs is generally rugged and [487] mountainous. Only at its eastern extremity was it touched by the ancient route from the West to Constantinople, which crossed the Danube at Belgrade, followed the Morava River south to Nish, and then turned eastward into the Bulgarian plain. Geographically, the Serbs were well-protected from foreign invaders, but at the same time internal communication and national union have been hampered until fairly recently by the same factors. That the dividing line between the Eastern and the Western Roman Empires runs straight through the center of Serbian territory (from Lake Skutari to the Drina, and along this river northward to the Save near Sirmium) constitutes a political factor of long-standing importance. The early Serbs had no geographical frontier on the east, and thus blended gradually into the Bulgarians along a line from the junction of the Timok and the Danube southward through Pirot and Kustendil to Macedonia, where the border territory has been hotly contested since the epoch of earliest settlement.

175* Like their northern kin in Poland and Bohemia, the Balkan 619 Slavs were originally split into minor tribes, headed each by a chief called a *zhupan*. From their first settlement in the Balkans to 1196, the Serbs were at least nominally under the sway of Byzantium. During the height of Bulgarian ascendancy in the ninth and tenth centuries, and again in the thirteenth, considerable portions of eastern Serbia (especially the Morava valley) were also under Bulgarian control. From time to time a more ambitious Serbian chief succeeded in combining several tribes under his sway, but none of these combinations were in 175* any degree permanent. From a geographical standpoint, the country was divided into two main sections, the *pomorje* and

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the *zagorje*, that is, seaboard and hinterland. In the ninth century, the advance of the Magyars into Hungary cut off the Serbs from central Europe and the region known as Slavonia, northwest of Belgrade (between Save and Drave), along with Croatia, were absorbed by Hungary in the twelfth century, to remain under Hungarian rule until the end of World War I. In the tenth century the rising power of Venice had also gained control not only of all the islands off the Dalmatian coast but also of the coastal cities. 175*

The first political centers in Serbia rose during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries: the first in the region of Rashka on the Ibar river, near modern Novipazar, the second in Zeta (modern Montenegro), and the third in Bosnia. The last-named fell first into Byzantine and later into Hungarian hands, so that it never really formed a part of any Serbian state until modern times. 175* 635

For two hundred years between 1170 and 1371, the principality of Rashka was the dominant Serbian center. Its rise began with the seizure of the principality by an able local prince, Stephen Nemanya, whose efforts at its expansion were favored by the decline of Byzantine prestige after the defeat of the Greek arms by the Seljuq Turks at Myriokephalon, in Asia Minor, in 1176 and especially after the death of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus in 1180. In the next fifty years, the Bulgarian state also degenerated under combined Tartar and Greek pressure, while the Tartar invasions held the Magyars in check. Friendly relations with Venice and commercial exchanges through Ragusa (Dubrovinik) gave the new Serbian principality contacts with Western civilization and some degree of economic prosperity. Stephen Nemanya's domain included the Adriatic seaboard between the Narenta river (west of modern Sarajevo) on the north to the Boyana river (northern boundary of modern Albania) on the south, and extended inland to the Morava river on the east, and southward as far as Prizren. Stephen abdicated in 1196 to enter a monastery at Mount Athos, where his youngest son Savva had already taken [459] 175* 792

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175* 792 holy orders, and together they founded the famous Khilander monastery on the holy mountain.

He was succeeded by his son Stephen Nemanyich (1196-
175* 643 1228), a clever and gifted prince trained in Byzantine culture, a skilful diplomat and a good troop commander, who was the son-in-law of the extremely incompetent Byzantine emperor Alexius Angelus. Since Stephen, though designated for the succession by his father, was junior in the family, he was faced by the revolt of his jealous elder brother, Vukan, and his situation was further jeopardized by Magyar and Bulgarian invasions. The danger was eventually removed by Stephen's still younger brother, the monk Savva, who reconciled his warring brethren. At the fall of Constantinople before the Crusaders in 1204, Stephen put away his Greek wife, the Princess Eudoxia, and later married Anna, granddaughter of the Doge Enrico Dandolo of Venice. Through Venetian intervention he was then able to have himself crowned king by a papal legate in 1217, and was thereafter known in Serbian history as Stephen the First-Crowned. This momentary deviation toward Rome was short-lived, however, since Stephen initiated friendly relations with Theodore Lascaris, the despot of Nicaea, so that his brother Savva was made autocephalous Orthodox archbishop
[538] of Serbia in 1219. Savva not only developed a useful activity in the organization and expansion of the Serbian church, but also distinguished himself as an author of monastic rules and of a short biography of his father: his royal brother Stephen also wrote on the same subject, so that these two princes are actually the first native Serbian authors.

Before his death in 1228, Stephen designated his son Radoslav as his successor, but the latter proved a weak and ineffective ruler. After the Latin seizure of Constantinople in 1204, Michael Angelus had become the ruler of Epirus. His brother and successor, Theodore Angelus, after capturing Salonika in 1222 and thus extending his realm from the Adriatic to the Aegean, had himself crowned Emperor of the Greeks. As early as 1216, Stephen had sought to marry Radoslav to Angelus's

* [Stephen Nemanya -- Analyst]

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daughter Anna, but the Greek clergy had objected. But now 175*
that Theodore had climbed higher, this objection was aban- 643
doned and the marriage took place. In consequence, Radoslav as king of Serbia was entirely under the thumb of his ambitious father-in-law, but Theodore's power was destroyed in 1230 through his disastrous defeat by the Bulgarians, who thereupon drove Radoslav out of Serbia in 1234 and set his brother Vladislav on the throne.

Vladislav's reign is remarkable for the invasion of the Tar- 175*
tars who, after devastating southern Russia, destroyed Cracow and Breslau, defeated the Magyars, and in 1241 penetrated even to the Adriatic coast where, though unable to reduce the fortress of Spalato (Split), they ravaged as far south as Antivari, in Montenegro. Though the Serbs suffered comparatively little, because they hid themselves in mountain and forest fastnesses, yet by the time the Tartars withdrew in 1242, Vladislav's whole realm was disorganized to the point where little remained of it save the coastal districts. This remnant he therefore resigned in 1243 to his younger brother Stephen Urosh I, and the next eighty years were enlivened by a series of recurrent conflicts with Hungary, Bulgaria, and Byzantium. This period was marked nevertheless by a considerable economic advance because of the wealth derived from the renewed exploitation of the old Roman gold and silver mines, which provided the means for building up a strong military force aimed at the Byzantine Palaeologi.

The high point of medieval Serbian history was reached 175*
during the reign of Stephen Urosh's great-grandson Stephen 643
Dushan, who served as junior regent under his father from 1321 until ten years later he deposed the latter and became king in his own name. Dushan's court at Skoplje included Serbs, Bulgarians (for his mother was Bulgarian), Greeks, Albanians, Saxons from the mining towns, German knights, and merchants from Venice and Florence. It thus possessed a marked international character. Apart from his campaigns, Dushan concerned himself with laws, with the introduction

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of an orderly administrative and judicial system, and with the protection of trade routes. Friendly relations were maintained with Ragusa. Unfortunately, like many other early Slavic rulers elsewhere, he was unable to curb the overwhelming influence of the nobility. The sudden expansion of Serbian territory during his reign led to the acquisition of excessive power by the various district governors, and since his successor proved to be a youth without talent or capacity, the kingdom rapidly transformed itself into an unstable oligarchy. Dushan's rapid acquisition of Macedonia, Albania, Epirus, and Thessaly was facilitated by disordered conditions in the Byzantine Empire, and carried through without one major military operation. He neglected his northern frontier, however, which was not always secure against the Hungarians, nor could the Bosnians be driven from the coast above Ragusa. Dushan remained on good terms with Venice and also with Bulgaria, in the latter instance thanks largely to family connections.

Dushan's gains to the south were made possible by the fourteen years of civil war which followed the death of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus III in 1341, and the ease with which these conquests were accomplished led him logically to the hope of seizing the whole empire, even the metropolis of Constantinople itself. As one Byzantine commentator remarked, "The great Serb, like an overflowing river that has passed far beyond its banks, has already submerged one part of the empire of Romania with its waves, and is threatening to engulf another." He betrothed his young son in 1343 to the sister of the Emperor John V Palaeologus. In 1346, with the consent of the Serbian parliament of nobles (*drzhavni sabor*), he proclaimed himself "Tsar of the Serbs and the Greeks," and upon notifying the Venetians of his impending coronation "in imperio constantinopolitano," he offered them an alliance for the overthrow of the empire, which the Venetians declined with thanks. According to Byzantine notions, an emperor should be supported by a patriarch. So Dushan, without the consent of the Byzantine hierarchy but with the willing support of the

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Bulgarian and Serbian prelates who were dependent on his 175*
favor, named his own Serbian archbishop as "patriarch of the 643
Serbs and the Greeks," and then had himself crowned as emperor by this patriarch at Skoplje on Easter Day, 1346. He proceeded to organize his court on the Byzantine basis, and in 1349 promulgated his own law code, or *Zakonnik*.

Dushan's last years were disturbed by constant war with the 175*
Bosnians on the seacoast, and in October 1350, while he was 721
on a campaign against them, news suddenly arrived that the Greeks had taken the offensive in Macedonia and captured Salonika. The situation was complicated not only by the coexistence of two competing Byzantine emperors but also by the menacing presence of the Ottoman Turks across the Bosporus. While Dushan might have captured Byzantium in the absence of the Turks, they too were aiming at the metropolis, and his troops were not capable of withstanding their well-marshaled forces. Recognizing the danger inherent in the first Turkish settlement on the European side at Gallipoli in 1353, Dushan the next year sent an embassy to Pope Innocent VI at Avignon, by which he offered to join the Roman Church if the latter would designate him as supreme commander against the Turks. The Pope was favorable to this proposal, which was also approved by Charles IV of Bohemia. Unfortunately, however, King Louis of Hungary chose this moment to invade northern Serbia, and a new turn of events eliminated one of the contending emperors at Constantinople. The papal envoy was thus coolly received at the Serbian court, and departed in a huff for Hungary to urge the Magyars to speed up their operations against Dushan. The Venetians, disturbed by the possibility of a Hungarian threat to the Dalmatian coast, were negotiating with the Serbs for the purchase of certain coastal towns when Dushan himself died on December 20, 1355, at the age of forty-eight years.

The existence of Dushan's monarchy was of such short 175*
duration that in its history little is to be observed save its forma- 642
tion and its disintegration. Ten years after Dushan's death his

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empire seemed something of the remote past. We are, however, somewhat better informed about the social and political consistency of the Serbian state in Dushan's day than in later periods. In the fourteenth century Serbia did not differ very essentially from the western nations of the same age, since its king was dependent on the estates, while nobility and clergy formed the ruling caste, and exploitation of the peasantry was becoming more intense. Though many princes of the house of Nemanya were gifted, they were not surrounded by nobility of equal attainments. The Serbian magnates had no understanding of the need for a strong central authority, with the result that their selfishness and rising influence brought the Serbian state to collapse far earlier than was the case in Poland. The king had no fixed capital, but moved from one castle to another according to seasons or political developments. He was surrounded by a council of prominent dignitaries, while the old Serbian diets, which usually were convened by royal command in royal castles at high festivals, were composed of officials, major and minor nobility, and church dignitaries.

The Serbian hereditary military nobility developed only from the tenth century, while a higher nobility made up of members of the royal family, chiefs of clans, and royal officials did not appear till two centuries later. In practice all arms-bearing free commoners belonged to the lower nobility, while the peasants bore the characteristic name of *sebri,* meaning tenants or mortgagors. The country population exclusive of the nobles was split into two classes, the farming peasantry, which gradually became more attached to the soil, and the much freer shepherds. Small farms rather than large estates were the rule. The shepherds were for the most part immigrant Vlakhs (that is, Danubian Romans who had come into the country since the fifth century under the pressure of nomadic movements) and Amarets or Albanians.

The establishment of a national church dates from the consecration of Savva as archbishop of Serbia in 1219, and its traditional nucleus was at Peć (Ipek), about forty miles south of

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modern Novipazar. The Roman Church was strong only along 795
the coast, with a bishopric at Antivari, though most of the Nemanyich princes maintained friendly relations with the curia. The cities of Serbia were partly old communities of Ro- 631
man or Greek origin and partly new centers formed since the thirteenth century at trading posts and mines, though these newer towns never reached the stage of development attained by many urban communities set up in Croatia and Hungary after the Tartar incursion. The Romanic municipalities on the coast, with definite fixed boundaries, enjoyed considerable autonomy. They were ruled by general assemblies which gradually transformed themselves into aristocratic councils. They possessed their own law codes, and elected new judges every year. In each such city the king of Serbia had a representative known as a *comes* or *knez*. The native cities of inland Serbia were mainly unfortified market places in the vicinity of some fortified stronghold to which the inhabitants might withdraw in time of danger.

Compared with neighboring areas (for instance, Bulgaria, 434
periodically disturbed by incursions of nomads from the south Russian steppes, or the declining Byzantine Empire), Serbia, especially from 1282 to 1355, may be classed as a rich country. The national wealth, mostly in the hands of the king, the nobility, and the clergy, consisted primarily of cattle. Agriculture suffered from labor shortage. Placer gold mines were operated [316]
near Novipazar and Prizren, while silver was found in Bosnia. Judged by modern standards, these mineral deposits were scanty, but the high value of precious metals before the discovery of America made extraction worth while.

Upon the death of Stephen Dushan, his conquests rapidly 125*
melted away because none of his successors possessed the energy 721
or the prestige to hold the country together. By 1358, the Hungarians were in possession of the whole Dalmatian coast as far as Ragusa, while the Greeks recovered Epirus and Thessaly. The Turks continued to spread through Thrace, and in 1371 laid the foundation for their future domination of the South

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175* Slavs by defeating at the Maritza river a Serbian force moving
721 to attack the Turks at Adrianople, which had been in Turkish hands for the preceding ten years. Turkish cavalry raiders now harried Macedonia as far as Thessaly and Albania. The local Slavic princes were reduced to the status of tributaries one by one, till the Pope even consulted with the King of Hungary and the Doge of Venice as to means of meeting the impending
175* danger. From 1371, Serbia was no longer a unified kingdom,
721 but an agglomeration of districts held by individual nobles,
631 while the title of king was in dispute. Only to the extreme north, along the Danube and Save between the Morava and the Drina rivers did one small and well-ordered district survive. By 1386, the Turks had conquered Nish, broken into Bosnia (which had heretofore been a feudatory of Hungary), and even pushed into the Narenta valley of Sarajevo.

175* In 1388, the defeat of a Turkish force in Bosnia inspired the
721 Sultan Murad to undertake a major campaign against Serbia and the Adriatic coast. Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians united for resistance, and met the Turks in a disastrous battle fought at *Kossovo Polje* (Magpie's Field) north of Skoplje, on St. Vitus's Day (*Vidov dan*), June 15, 1389. A Serbian noble suspected of treachery proved his courage that day by entering the Turkish camp as a deserter and assassinating Murad in his tent. His son Bayazid was immediately proclaimed emir in his stead and won the battle, but was obliged to retire to Adrianople to consolidate his forces. When the Turks thus withdrew, the news was sent out to Italy and to western Europe that the Christians had gained the victory. Such was not the case, however, for this fatal struggle broke the resistance of the peoples in the northwestern section of the Balkans and founded the Osmanic hegemony which was to endure in this area for five hundred years.

The Turkish menace hung heavy over the Serbian people for the next century, and this situation was rendered more serious by the constant Hungarian threat from the north. The pressure was momentarily relieved in 1402 through Bayazid's

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defeat by Tamerlane, and Stephen Lazarevich, the energetic prince of northern Serbia, threw off the Turkish yoke to become a vassal of Hungary. The respite was short-lived, however, and by 1428 Stephen's nephew and successor George Brankovich, after losing his hold on Nish and the valley of the middle Morava, was obliged to accept Turkish sovereignty once more.

The middle years of the fifteenth century are replete with joint Hungarian and Serbian efforts to drive back the Turks, sometimes with temporary success, but more often without positive results. After a brief breathing spell in 1451, Mohammed II made his culminating attack on Constantinople, which was captured on May 29, 1453. Without waiting for the expiration of the existing truce with Hungary and Serbia, Mohammed reopened hostilities. His first campaign netted 50,000 enslaved Serbian prisoners, the devastation of the entire country, and a Turkish advance to the gates of Semendria, the stronghold built by George Brankovich on the Danube at the mouth of the Morava. After a successful retaliatory raid southward by Hungarian forces, the Turks returned to the assault in 1455, but were defeated and repulsed before Belgrade the next year. Unfortunately the ensuing deaths of the able Hungarian commander John Hunyadi and of Brankovich himself, both of whom had been the guiding spirits of resistance to the Turks, paralyzed further efforts to protect Serbia, and with the fall of Semendria in June 1459 the history of the old Serbian state came to a close.

Bosnia, which had hitherto suffered only from sporadic raids, now became the goal of attack. Prior to 1377, the Bosnian princes had been vassals of Hungary, but one of them then profited from Hungarian complications with Poland to declare himself independent. Herzegovina split off from Bosnia only in 1448. But the Turks invaded Bosnia in 1463, when they captured and slew the last local king, and after that their conquest of the country was complete and rapid. A great exodus of Slavic population ensued, but numerous landowners adopted Islam

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175* to retain their possessions, a fact which explains the relatively
797 large number of Slavic Mohammedans in Bosnia to the present day. Twenty-years later Herzegovina met the same fate, while Zeta (modern Montenegro) held out until 1496. At the end of the fifteenth century, the Turks were masters of all the Serbian districts except Croatia and Slavonia, which belonged to Hungary, and the Dalmatian coastline, which was divided between Hungary and Venice. The only center in which medieval Serbian culture survived was Ragusa (Dubrovnik), and the decline of the Turks, signalized by rapid Austrian reconquest in Serbia, Bosnia, and Romania, began only with the victory of Don Juan of Austria at Lepanto in 1571.

797 We have seen that Christianity was introduced into Bulgaria
721 in 865 by the conversion of Prince Boris, who subsequently
175* gave shelter to numerous disciples of Constantine and Methodius after their flight from Moravia. At the beginning of the tenth century, under the rule of Simeon the Great, younger son of Boris, Bulgaria attained a high degree of power and prosperity, including most of the Balkan peninsula south of the Danube and east of the Serbian rivers Morava, Ibar, and Drina. Simeon plays somewhat the same role in Bulgarian history that Stephen Dushan does in the Serbian annals. He too wished to conquer Byzantium, and in 917 he advanced his banners almost to the gates of Constantinople, but was diverted from his purpose by a Serbian revolt inspired by Byzantine diplomacy. After seven years of intermittent warfare, a precarious peace was negotiated in 925, and two years later, after involving himself in a disastrous Serbian campaign, in which his troops were soundly defeated, Simeon passed to his reward.

175* During Simeon's reign, Bulgaria made significant progress
871 in culture and wealth, and the Macedonian school at Okhrida founded by Clement, Methodius's disciple, developed a number of competent scholars who translated and adapted works of Greek ecclesiastical literature. This labor was continued and expanded by the school founded by Simeon himself at his new

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capital, Preslav, on the little river Tutsa, some sixty miles from [871]
the port of Varna. Here Simeon endeavored to found another 175*
Constantinople, and adorned the city with ostentatious splendor. The country profited by sales of grain and cattle to the
Greek Empire. Its coastal roads also carried merchandise to 439
and from the steppe country of Russia, while the main route from central Europe to Constantinople entered the Balkans at Belgrade, followed the Morava river down to Nish, and there divided, the western branch running down the Vardar to Salonika, while the eastern fork touched Sardica (now Sofia), and went on to Philippopolis (Plovdiv), Adrianople, and Constantinople. Simeon did not hesitate to undertake military reprisals against the Greeks when the commercial interests of his subjects were interfered with.

Upon Simeon's death, however, his realm disintegrated as 175*
fast as Stephen Dushan's was to melt away in the fourteenth century. His successors proved incompetent, and were menaced by rebellious princes, first in Serbia, then in Macedonia. After 963 the whole western section became independent, and the eastern half was to all intents and purposes a Greek protectorate. The authority of the Bulgarian princes was also under- [979]
mined by the rapid spread of the picturesque Bogomile heresy, whose adherents refused submission to either church or state and resisted both taxation and military service. They were frankly dualist, contrasting God with Satan, good with evil, light with darkness, spirit with matter, and considering both forces equal. The progress of civilization in Bulgaria came to a standstill. We have, for example, the description of a Bulgarian envoy who appeared at the Byzantine court in 968 quite unwashed, with his head shaved, and wearing a brass belt to keep his trousers up.

Meanwhile, the Byzantine Empire was gaining in strength 175*
with the military prowess of Nicephorus Phocas, the conqueror 721
of the Saracens. An ill-judged Bulgarian demand for tribute in 965 provoked an immediate hostile response. Nicephorus not only invaded Bulgaria, but bribed Sviatoslav, Prince of

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175* Kiev and father of Vladimir I, to overrun the country. For the
721 next four years Sviatoslav was master of Bulgaria and thought of settling there permanently. In fact, he began to cherish designs on Constantinople itself. Nicephorus had been murdered in 969, and the Byzantine throne was now occupied by the energetic and unscrupulous John Tzimisces, who was not disposed to tolerate Sviatoslav's pretensions. In the spring of 971 he thus drove the Russians out of Preslav, and defeated Sviatoslav at Silistria, on the lower Danube.

643 The defeated Russian agreed to return to Kiev, but before taking ship, he requested the privilege of an interview with his victorious adversary. John Tzimisces rode down to the Danube panoplied in golden armor and escorted by numerous horsemen equipped with equal splendor. The Prince of Kiev approached in a little boat, rowing with the other oarsmen. He was of robust build and moderate stature, with bristling brows, blue eyes, and a flat nose. His beard was sparse, and he
[302] wore long mustaches. His head was shorn save for two long braids at either side, which designated his high station. In one ear he wore an earring set with two pearls and a carbuncle between them. In dress he was undistinguishable from his fellows, except that his white tunic was cleaner than theirs. Having thus confronted the incarnation of Byzantine glory, Sviatoslav set out for the capital which he had deliberately abandoned and was never more to see, for he was slain the next spring on his homeward journey by the nomad Pechenegs near the site of the modern Dneprostroi dam.

175* After eastern Bulgaria was thus subjected to Byzantium, the
721 national spirit lived on only in Macedonia. By 973, a local prince named Samuel was establishing his supremacy, and Bulgarian envoys appeared at the court of the German emperor Otto I. After 976, when John Tzimisces died and his young successors were involved in the civil wars which subsequently gave Vladimir I of Kiev a chance to marry the Princess Anna and become converted, Samuel profited by these diversions to extend his sway southward into Thessaly and eastward

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into Thrace. In 986, a Byzantine punitive expedition was 175*
overthrown, and Samuel's realm grew through Bulgaria to 721
the coast of the Black Sea. He had thus restored the empire of Simeon the Great. In 985 he captured Berrhoea, west of Salonika, and in 989 Philip of Macedon's old capital at Larissa in Thessaly, which he held for seven years. Despite the recovery of Larissa by the Greeks in 996, Samuel concentrated his attention on the Adriatic coast while the Emperor Basil II was engrossed with hostilities against the Saracens in Syria. But Basil returned to the charge in 1001, and in four years Samuel lost the entire eastern half of his realm. Successive defeats soon decimated his forces, and in the autumn of 1014 he died. Basil's repeated campaigns continued until 1019, when the whole of Bulgaria was subjected to Byzantine authority.

Of the internal history of Samuel's reign we know next to 175*
nothing beyond the fact that taxes were paid in kind, and that this Macedonian prince, though a great builder of fortresses and churches, did not share the concern for learning which had characterized Simeon before him. The nation was, in fact, totally lacking in cohesion and organization, and thus owed its offensive power purely to the energy of a gifted leader. Once he was taken from the scene, the centrifugal tendencies of the feudal nobles won the day.

The last upsurge of medieval Bulgarian nationalism took 175*
place late in the twelfth century. Byzantium was by that time 669
frankly decadent as the feudal power of the great provincial 186
landlords increased, to the manifest detriment of imperial authority, while the empire had been weakened by disastrous wars with the Seljuq Turks in Asia Minor, complicated by friction with the Western crusading states. In 1186, one year after the accession of Isaac Angelus, a spendthrift and a cruel nonentity, Bulgarian dissatisfaction with Byzantine rule provoked a revolt in eastern Bulgaria which centered at Tirnovo. It was headed by John and Peter Asen, two members of the old Bulgarian nobility, who had grown up among the Vlakhs, or Romanians, and the latter also participated actively in the

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175* insurrection. This movement coincided exactly with the rise
669 of Rashka in Serbia under Stephen Nemanya, who allied him-
186 self with Peter Asen. The allies endeavored to secure the favorable ear of Frederick Barbarossa, who in 1189 passed through the Balkans on the Third Crusade, but without obtaining any binding assurance. Even so, the Bulgarians inflicted a crushing defeat on Isaac Angelus, and in 1195 he was deposed by his brother Alexius, the father-in-law of the Serbian prince Stephen Nemanyich, the First-Crowned. A year later both John and Peter Asen were murdered as a result of Byzantine intrigues, but their policy was continued by their young brother Kaloyan.

175* During the struggle between Stephen Nemanyich and his
721 brother Vukan for the Serbian throne, Kaloyan had seized Nish and held all eastern Serbia from the Danube south to Skoplje. His position in this area was threatened by the Magyars, but Kaloyan, who had been brought up in Constantinople, had some notions of diplomacy. He accordingly opened negotiations with Pope Innocent III, with the result that a papal legate crowned him as king of the Bulgarians and the Vlakhs late in 1204. The Crusaders, who had just taken Constantinople, then endeavored to establish their sovereignty over Kaloyan, who rejected the notion flatly, and after allying himself with the nomad Polovtsi or Kumans north of the Danube (it may be recalled that their kin in the steppe country were the chief source of worry at Kiev during the twelfth century), undertook numerous raids into Byzantine territory. Baldwin I, the Latin Emperor of Byzantium, led a punitive expedition against Kaloyan, but was defeated and murdered. Then, after further success, Kaloyan himself was murdered while preparing to attack Salonika in 1207.

175* Ten years of anarchy ensued before Kaloyan's son John
643 Asen II firmly established himself on the Bulgarian throne in 1218. One of his daughters married Vladislav of Serbia, son of Stephen the First-Crowned, and another was married to Manuel, the brother of Theodore Angelus, despot of Epirus,

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since 1223 emperor at Salonika. Asen himself, though not a conqueror, was talented and educated, and he expanded the boundaries of the kingdom, which he had received in a disorganized state, to limits it had not reached in several centuries and never achieved afterward. Tolerant in religious matters and clement, he left a good name not only among the Bulgarians but among the Greeks as well. In fact, when Robert de Courtenay, Latin Emperor of Byzantium, died in 1228, Asen was seriously thought of as possible regent for his eleven-year-old son Baldwin, but the project collapsed before the opposition of the Latin knights and clergy.

Asen had been allied up to this point with Theodore Angelus, the Greek emperor at Salonika. On hearing of the regency proposal, Theodore, who himself had natural designs on Constantinople, became jealous of Asen and opened hostilities. Asen's defeat of Theodore in 1230 broke the power of the empire at Salonika and at one stroke made Asen master of Thrace to Adrianople, of Macedonia, and of Albania, while through his son-in-law Vladislav he was factually the sovereign of Serbia as well. Allied with John Vatatses of Nicaea and Manuel Angelus of Salonika, Asen in 1235 coöperated in an attack on Constantinople, but he soon saw the danger for himself in any reunion of the rival Greek factions which might rehabilitate their sovereignty at Constantinople, and again became a defender of the Latin Empire. He thus joined Baldwin II in a campaign against the Greeks in Thrace in 1239, which he suddenly abandoned on receiving the news of the death of his wife and son from the plague at Tirnovo, and then died himself in 1241.

Asen's successors dropped his pro-Latin policy to ally themselves with the able despot of Nicaea, John Vatatzes, the chief Greek pretender to the Byzantine throne, who extended his possessions on the mainland at the expense of Asen's weaker heirs, and by 1257 the Asen dynasty was extinct. The nobles then chose as king a grandson of Stephen Nemanya, the Serbian Prince Constantine, who was hard-pressed by Hungarian

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175* 721 invaders. Involved by his Greek wife in Byzantine politics (for the Latin Empire had fallen in 1261 and Michael Palaeologus was now emperor), he secured the aid of the Tartars (who were by this time established in Russia and eagerly seized an excuse to devastate Thrace), but was later murdered by an ambitious commoner. Under Constantine's heirs a series of pretenders, intrigues, and Tartar invasions paralyzed the Bulgarian state, and it fell easily into the hands of Stephen Dushan's father in 1330. A year later Stephen Dushan usurped the Serbian throne, and strengthened his position by marrying a Bulgarian princess whose brother served as regent of Bulgaria.

In 1356, one year after Dushan's death, the Turks crossed the Hellespont. Ten years later, Adrianople was already the capital of Sultan Murad. In 1389, the sultan forced John Shishman, the last tsar of Bulgaria, to become his vassal, and the next June came the disaster at *Kossovo Polje*. Bulgaria was again attacked in 1393. Tirnovo was destroyed, and the patriarch of the Bulgarian church barely managed to exchange death for exile, so that Bulgarian Christians fell under the control of the patriarch of Okhrida. John Shishman was killed by the Sultan Bayazid in 1395.

175* 18 The Turkish domination over Bulgaria lasted for four hundred eighty-four years, from 1393 to 1878. Because of its geographical configuration and accessibility, Bulgaria was more rapidly and more completely reduced to subjection than Serbia, and it was slower to emancipate itself. National life and [566] aspirations were at a standstill. Those who wished to live [798] peaceably under Turkish rule could do so only as serfs or as Moslems; anyone resisting this choice had no alternative except to become an outlaw in the mountainous districts. On the other hand, the Turkish regime was no more brutal than the various native rulers had been during the period of disorder which had ensued after the death of John Asen II. Yet it was oppressive, and it provoked resistance and revolt for the repression of which the Turks used violent and cruel means.

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Their religious tolerance was greater at the height of their power than during their decline when the central authority grew weaker and the authority passed into the hands of despotic governors. The situation was also complicated by the Greek control of the Bulgarian church. This control was vested in the Greco-Bulgarian patriarchate of Okhrida, in Macedonia, from 1393 to 1767. Positions in this hierarchy were purchased from the Turkish authorities at high prices which could be met only by those Greeks who had made money as officials of the Turkish bureaucracy. Hence the Bulgarian Christians were spiritually governed from Stambul (Constantinople). The independent patriarchates were abolished in 1767, and Greek dominance thus became absolute. The Greek hierarchy made every conceivable effort to wipe out the last vestiges of Bulgarian national spirit in the church, thus arousing among the Bulgarians a bitter hatred which lasted well down into modern times.

The lot of the Serbs under Turkish dominion was, if anything, lighter than the situation under which their Bulgarian kindred labored. Apart from being more remote, Serbian territory was precipitous and irregular, so that conquest and supervision were more difficult. The very fact that Serbian nationality was split between various nuclei, like Serbia proper, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro, was doubtless a bar to unity, but this parcellation, though a handicap to political union, guaranteed that the national consciousness would not be easily extinguished. Many Serbs also migrated to neighboring countries not under Turkish rule, especially where other closely related Slavs resided, for a Catholic Croat was infinitely preferable to the infidel as a neighbor or a master. Dalmatia, Slavonia (between Drave and Save), and the so-called Banat in Hungary north of Belgrade, were the chief destinations of this movement, which began even before the fall of Semendria in 1459 and, as the Turks drove farther north, the Serbian settlements extended still more deeply into Hungary. These border districts in Hungary and Croatia were organized by the Aus-

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175* trians as a military buffer against the Turks, and the immi-
167 grants received special privileges. A similar situation prevailed in Dalmatia, where the Serbs performed the same function for Venice. One unfortunate result of this migration was the almost complete depopulation of southern Serbia, which was resettled by Albanian mountaineers, while the intellectuals moved to Russia or to Walachia and Moldavia. The strong Slavic influence on Romanian culture dates from this period. Ragusa, though tributary to the Turks, remained a wealthy commercial city and was the only center of Serbian literature during the Middle Ages.

175* After the fall of Semendria in 1459, the old Serbian pa-
795 triarchate of Peć (Ipek) was abolished, and the Serbs, like the Bulgarians, were subjected to the patriarchate of Okhrida. This situation lasted, however, only until 1557, when it happened that a high Turkish official of Serbian origin resurrected the patriarchate of Peć for his brother, a Serbian monk who had not adopted Islam. This patriarchate controlled not only the Orthodox Church in Bosnia and the neighboring districts, but was even set by the Turks to supervise resident Catholics. Peć was abolished in 1767 along with Okhrida, however, and the Serbian Christians suffered the same Phanariote Greek oppression as their Bulgarian brethren. Serbian resentment against the Greek clergy ran so high that conversions to Islam
[796] became frequent. Though the Slavic liturgy did live on in the remote Bulgarian villages, Serbia had until the nineteenth century only Greek bishops who knew very little Serbian or Church Slavic, and it was on the whole a fortunate circumstance that by this time Greek culture had sunk to so low a level as to be incapable of exerting any attraction on the South Slavic populations exposed to the influence of the Greek clergy. The whole situation of the Orthodox Slavs under Turkish and Greek tutelage explains why religion does not play the same role among Serbians and Bulgarians as it did among the Russian masses prior to the present century.

000 Because of their long Turkish subjection, all these events of

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Because of their long Turkish subjection, all those events of the late Middle Ages are much closer to the Balkan Slavs than to nations which have enjoyed longer periods of independence. Had these Slavs ever achieved an enduring sense of unity, their resistance to Turkish conquest would have been more resolute and effective.

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VIII

Servitude and Liberation

175* 186 During the Turkish supremacy from 1496 when Montenegro was as last subjected to 1796 when the Montenegrins drove the Turks back to Skutari and were thus the first South Slavic state to win virtual independence, the very dispersion of Serbian national life which had been a weakness under the old kingdom made it difficult for the Turks to wipe out the Serbian spirit of independence, which was also fostered in the emigrant communities where Serbs lived exempt from the Turkish yoke.

175* 721 The prime of the Ottoman Empire was reached early in the sixteenth century. The battle of Lepanto, won by Don Juan of Austria in 1571, was the first portent of its decline. Yet it was not until a century later, after the repulse of the Turks before Vienna in 1683, that a great occidental reaction against the Ottoman menace developed. The Austrians took the offensive, and in 1689, by the Treaty of Karlovcy, at Turkish expense extended their possessions in southern Hungary as far as the river Theiss, northeast of Belgrade. Then, in 1717, Prince Eugene of Savoy regained Slavonia, between the Danube and the Save, and the Turks not only abandoned a portion of Bosnia but also retired south of the Danube, while Dalmatia was returned to Venetian control. Unfortunately, however, this gain was only temporary, since the unsuccessful campaign of 1737-1739, which was accompanied by a Serbian uprising, resulted

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in an Austrian withdrawal north of the Danube, followed by cruel Turkish reprisals against the rebellious Serbs. 175* 721

While the Austrians up to this time had regarded their Serbian colonists as a military asset, about the middle of the eighteenth century their attitude was reversed. Since the Empress Maria Theresa (1740-1780) was favorably disposed to the Hungarians, her reign witnessed systematic persecution of the Orthodox Serbs resident in Hungary to whom pressure was applied for the purpose of turning them to Catholicism. As a result, a considerable number emigrated to southern Russia. The situation was relieved during the short reign of Joseph II (1780-1790), who allied himself with Catherine II to drive the Turks out of Europe. Serbian volunteers composed about one-sixth of the Austrian troops in the resulting operations, and a Serbian uprising took place in the lower Morava valley. But when Leopold II came to the throne in 1790, Austrian fortunes turned for the worse, and in 1791 the treaty of Svishtovo gave back the whole of Serbia to the Turks, though some Turkish garrisons were withdrawn. Conditions in Serbian territory were thus, for the moment, somewhat improved, especially in consequence of increased trade with Austria. This development was, however, halted by the disintegration of Turkish authority, which was no longer able to maintain discipline in its frontier provinces. Strife between rival pashas (local governors) thus became the rule, and the atrocities of the janissaries were resumed.

The tyranny of the semi-independent pashas and their minions eventually stirred the quiescent Serbs to revolt, not so much against the sultan as against their local oppressors. Indeed, certain loyal Turks even encouraged the Serbian rebellion. The leaders of the rebels were, in the main, men who had acquired some property, especially in cattle trade, and were therefore concerned about the instability prevailing under Turkish rule. In February, 1804, the rebels chose as their leader Karageorge or Black George Petrovich, from Topola in Shumadiya (northern Serbia), who had had military experi- 175* 669

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175* ence as a guerrilla fighter and as a noncommissioned officer in
669 the Austrian volunteer service—illiterate, but clever and active for his fifty years. Among the prime movers stood various prominent members of the Serbian clergy, while numerous Serbs in the Austrian military service joined the uprising, and prosperous Serbs resident on Austrian soil contributed money and equipment. At the same time, contacts with racial kin in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro gave the movement a general character. The Austrians offered no assistance to the Serbs, but the Russian Tsar Alexander I, despite his contemporaneous conflict with Napoleon, supplied both money and moral support.

By 1807, practically unaided, the rebels cleared the Turks from northern Serbia and gained possession of Belgrade and
175* other cities along the northern frontier. The Russians then
631 took the field on the lower Danube, but after some successes
642 hostilities were halted, and the resulting lull was enlivened by dissensions among the Serbian leaders, who were ready to fight one another if no common foe was available. The new state was at first simply a free union of independent districts, and the local chiefs recognized Karageorge only as their military
[645] leader. Upon a Russian suggestion, however, a small council of state had also been set up in 1805 with combined judicial and legislative functions. There likewise existed an assembly,
[646] or *skupshtina,* composed of district commanders and chiefs, which voted taxes and military levies and controlled public expenditures. Such a *skupshtina* elected Karageorge chief of state in 1808, at which time he recognized the council of state as a supreme court and as an executive body.

175* When the Russians once more resumed hostilities with the
721 Turks in 1809, the Serbs coöperated by invading Bosnia and
648 at the same time starting two southward offensives, one toward Novipazar and the other toward Nish, with the idea of cutting the Turks off from the west. A junction was also successfully effected with the Montenegrins. The Serbs registered some successes in Bosnia and old Serbia, while the Russians operated

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largely on Bulgarian soil, and under Kutuzov's command seriously defeated the Turks at Rustchuck (on the Danube) in 1811. But early in 1812 Napoleon allied himself with Prussia and Austria against Russia, which hastily concluded the Peace of Bucharest with the Turks. This treaty provided that the sultan should thereafter deal with the Serbs as an autonomous tributary, but that the conditions of peace between Serbs and Turks should be directly negotiated between the interested parties. The Serbs protested at this Russian policy, but the Russians pointed out that with Napoleon marching on Moscow they had lost control of the situation. Knowing this, the Turks stalled off negotiations for six months until the Russian troops had been withdrawn, and then indicated that the only possible conditions of peace would be a return to the status quo before the uprising of 1804, that is, that the Serbs should give up everything they had won in the previous seven years. When the Serbs rejected these terms, the Turks invaded Serbia from three points, and by September 1813, they were once more masters of Serbia, while Karageorge fled across the Danube into Austria. Before the subjection of Serbia, Napoleon had in 1805 secured all previous Venetian possessions on the eastern Adriatic coast down to the Bocche di Cattaro, together with Carinthia and Croatia south of the Save River, but the Congress of Vienna of 1815 returned this territory to Austria.

175* 721 648

After the recapture of Serbia, the Turkish rule was more onerous and cruel than ever before. The first reaction against it began in the fall of 1814, but was brutally suppressed. As a result of Turkish barbarities, a secret meeting of Serbian patriots the next year initiated a second rebellion, the leadership of which they entrusted to Milosh Obrenovich, equal to Karageorge in bravery and energy, but his superior in self-control and diplomacy. The uprising began during Holy Week. When the Turks prepared to take revenge for its initial successes, they were deterred by a threat of Russian intervention, so that a peace was negotiated in 1815 on the basis of the autonomy of northern Serbia under a pasha resident in Belgrade. The

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skupshtina of 1817 then elected Milosh as hereditary prince of Serbia, which he was to rule as the sultan's viceroy.

Though Milosh made some progress toward restoring domestic order in a region where conditions were chaotic and crimes of violence appallingly frequent, he still had difficulty in regulating his relations with the sultan, for the Peace of 1815 had never been ratified and the Turks refused to recognize his status as hereditary prince. Not until 1826 was a satisfactory solution reached, when Nicholas I of Russia brought pressure to bear on the Turks toward an accurate execution of the Treaty of Bucharest at a moment when the Turks were occupied with war in Greece and threatened by a revolt of the janissaries in Stambul itself. The result was the Convention of Akerman (near Odessa), whereby the Turks recognized the protectorate of the Russian tsar over Serbia. The rights guaranteed under the Treaty of Bucharest were more clearly defined, with the stipulation that they should enter into effect within a year and a half. Serbia was to remain a Turkish dependency, but with complete autonomy, and Turks were to be allowed to reside in only eight garrison towns.

Milosh announced these terms at a great *skupshtina* held at Kraguyevatz in January, 1827, but the Turks, according to their usual practice, refused to execute it when it came to a showdown. A few months later Great Britain, France, and Russia demanded an armistice preliminary to settling the Greek question, which had been acute since 1821. When the sultan refused to accept the mediation of these powers, the allied fleet fought and won the battle of Navarino, in which the Turkish fleet was destroyed. Then, since the Turks still refused to carry out the Akerman convention, Nicholas I declared war. His forces crossed the Danube, and by the capture of Varna, the Bulgarian port, opened the road to the Balkans. The peace concluded at Adrianople in 1829 reaffirmed and applied the terms of the Treaty of Bucharest. At last these conditions were carried out. Milosh was later recognized by the sultan as hereditary prince of Serbia, the territory of which included most of

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its area before 1914, that is, from the Save and the Danube 175*
southward between Drina and Timok as far as Nish, though 648
Bosnia, Herzegovina, Novipazar, and Macedonia remained in 728
Turkish possession.

Milosh accomplished much for Serbia, but became increas- 175*
ingly unpopular because of his autocratic methods and bearing 643
among an essentially democratic people, with the result that 642
in 1835 a constitution was forced on the country by the tsar and the sultan jointly. The prince was irritated by this restriction of his hitherto absolute power, and even engineered a popular protest against it. For this reason, he was forced in 1839 to abdicate in favor of his son Milan, and retired to his extensive estates in Romania. After the untimely death of Milan, the council of state chose as Prince Milosh's second son Mikhailo, then but sixteen years of age. He met with Turkish opposition, however, and was replaced in 1843 by Alexander, the son of old Karageorge, the hero of the early wars of liberation. During his reign, after the Crimean War, the Treaty of Paris (1856) abolished the Russian protectorate and placed Serbia, along with the other Balkan communities, under the joint protection of the Great Powers, while all Turkish armed intervention in Serbian domestic affairs was henceforth forbidden.

Alexander was in constant conflict with the council of state, some members of which even conspired against him, but he was ultimately forced by the Turks to cancel the sentences against the convicted conspirators. Under pressure from his [646]
advisors and from a large section of the populace, Alexander in 1859 convoked the first elected *skupshtina* (all previous ones had been appointive), which voted his removal and invited old Milosh Obrenovich to return.

Upon his resumption of the principate, Milosh revived his previous autocratic tactics, disregarded the wishes of the assembly that had recalled him, and was none too scrupulous in his attitude toward the public treasury. In 1860, during negotiations for the evacuation of the Turkish garrison towns,

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175* Milosh died and was succeeded again by his son Mikhailo,
642 who had gained discretion with years, and proved to be one of
643 the best rulers Serbia ever had. His administrative reforms all aimed at increased independence from Turkey and at intensified democracy.

175* Relations with Turkey soon became strained once more as
721 a result of an insurrection in Herzegovina. Early in the summer of 1861 a street brawl in Belgrade developed into a general *mêlée* between Turkish soldiery and Serbian populace, culminating in the bombardment of the city by the Turkish commander of the fortress. With the support of the Powers, offended by this incident, Mikhailo secured a promise that all but four Turkish garrisons should be evacuated. Egged on by the Austrians, however, the Turks delayed executing these stipulations until the outbreak of the war between Prussia and Austria, when Mikhailo secured British and Russian backing for his demand that all remaining Turkish garrisons should be withdrawn, and that Turkish civilians should also leave Serbia. Handicapped by events in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, the Turks were in no state to resist, so that the last four fortresses were surrendered on April 6, 1867.

175* At the national assembly convoked on the following October,
643 Mikhailo could thus truthfully declare, "The Turkish garrisons have been removed from Serbia; the cities on the banks of the Save and the Danube are in our hands, and the freedom and the domestic independence of Serbia have become a firm reality." Mikhailo now proceeded to aid in the liberation of the other oppressed Balkan Slavs, supporting with funds the rebels in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, beside projecting an alliance with the Greeks. His promising career was cut short by a conspiracy engineered by Austria and Turkey, which resulted in his assassination on May 29, 1868. Since Mikhailo died childless, the principate was passed by a vote of a special national assembly to his sixteen-year-old cousin Milan Obrenovich, who at the time was a student in Paris. There was to be a regency of three members till his majority in 1872. Milan

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proved neither gifted nor industrious, though during the regency a new constitution was elaborated (1869) which introduced the principle of ministerial responsibility. 175* 643

At this period, the disorder and violence prevalent in Turkish territory once more stirred Bosnia and Herzegovina to revolt, which aroused such intense popular sympathy in Serbia that in 1876 Milan was obliged against his will to declare war on Turkey. The Serbian military establishment was too ill-equipped to withstand the well-organized Turkish forces, which before long had gained so much ground that the Serbs were obliged to call on Russia for intervention. The Turkish advance down the Morava was thus halted by the peace of 1877 which restored the status quo. 175* 721

This peace was of short duration, for within a few months Russia was itself at war with Turkey, and during the ensuing campaign the Russian troops advanced as far south as Adrianople, which they captured in January 1878. Simultaneously the Serbs moved southward through Nish to Kossovo, which they had not traversed as victors since the tragic defeat of 1359, and the Montenegrins captured several strongholds on the Adriatic seaboard. Though the Treaty of San Stefano, extracted by the Russians from the Turks at the point of the bayonet, was rejected by the Great Powers, the settlement later arrived at by the Congress of Berlin entailed great gains for Serbia. With Montenegro, it now became for the first time totally independent of the Turks, and was territorially increased by the acquisition of the southern areas which it had conquered during the campaign. Montenegro was given the sections it had won by hard fighting in the interior together with a small coastline which included the insignificant and practically useless ports of Antivari and Dulcigno. It was, however, a major catastrophe that the so-called Sanjak of Novipazar, the cradle of Serbian independence (for it was none other than the medieval principality of Rashka, from which Stephen Nemanya's expansion had begun in the twelfth century) was turned over to Austrian occupation and remained 175* 728

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175* a thorn in the side of the Serbs until 1918. Serbia's arrival at
728 full statehood was then consecrated by Milan's assumption of the royal title in 1882, though seldom did a crown grace the head of a less competent monarch, as his later reign and marital entanglements amply proved.

000 The subsequent evolution of Serbia belongs to phases of modern political and economic history which lie beyond our scope. But in the seven hundred years of Serbian history which we have treated, we have seen the rise, fall, and rebirth of a singularly gifted and instinctively democratic people, handicapped both by their own individualism and by the depressing effects of foreign domination and intrigue, who in our own day, after being territorially reunited, passed through the throes of a military dictatorship and then returned to the practice of democracy before World War II.

175* Bulgaria, on account of its geographical situation and ac-
721 cessibility, was more completely reduced to subjection than Serbia, and thus was slower to emancipate itself. In this process the Bulgarians, like the Serbs, were aided by the Russian offensive against the Turks, which began under Catherine II in 1771, and was successfully continued by Kutuzov's operations on the lower Danube in 1811, which culminated in the Peace of Bucharest. After a long interruption during the Napoleonic wars and the latter part of Alexander I's reign, operations against the Turks were resumed in 1827 by his brother and successor Nicholas I. The subsequent Convention of Akerman and Treaty of Adrianople are already familiar from the course of Serbian history, but were of no practical benefit to Bulgaria. As early as 1852, however, Nicholas had plans for the independence of Serbia and Bulgaria, but met with the concerted opposition of England and France, which feared any expansion of Russian influence at Stambul and were ready even to drive Russia out of the Danube provinces of Walachia and Moldavia, which the Russians had occupied during the summer of 1853. This occupation led up to the Crimean War, which broke out the next year. A joint Anglo-French expeditionary

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force reached Varna in Bulgaria, whereupon the Russians abandoned the Danube provinces, which were then occupied by the Austrians. As we have seen, the international settlement after the Crimean War resulted in the Russian renunciation of the previous protectorate over the Orthodox subjects of the sultan. 175* 721

During the first twenty years of the reign of Alexander II, Russia was too engrossed in the great reforms and in Asiatic expansion to play an influential role in Turkish affairs. But in 1875 the Bosnian uprising and its accompanying events attracted general European attention, especially after the terrible massacres which followed a Bulgarian revolt in sympathy with the Bosnian rebellion. Russia secured Austrian support for Russian intervention at the price of a promise that Bosnia and Herzegovina should fall to Austria if action were taken. The tsar also informed the British that he would occupy no more than Bulgaria. Still apprehensive of a possible growth of Russian prestige in the Balkans, the London government made every effort to put through a peaceful solution, but was handicapped by the obstinacy of the Turks, so that the Russians, whose public opinion was now wildly excited over the fate of their Orthodox kin, declared war against Turkey in April, 1877. 175* 648

Since the Russian army was not particularly efficient, progress was slow, but during the next winter the Russians captured Sofia and, after crossing the Balkan chain, took Adrianople in January, 1878, and reached the seacoast. Within two weeks British intervention produced an armistice, since the English were resolved not to tolerate a Russian occupation of Stambul. The Treaty of San Stefano, concluded between Russia and Turkey in March, 1878, created a Bulgarian principality which would have extended from the Danube to the Aegean, including the whole of Macedonia as far as Albania. This principality was to be ruled by a Christian prince who, though a Turkish vassal, would have been supported by a Russian commissioner backed by a Russian occupationary force of 175* 648 728

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175* fifty thousand men. Here again British jealousy of Russia came
648 into play, with the result that by the Berlin Conference all
728 these arrangements were scrapped. Bulgaria between the Balkan mountains and the Danube became an autonomous state under Turkish sovereignty. It was deprived of any Aegean coastline, since the area south of the Balkans, now termed Eastern Rumelia, was to remain subject to Turkish rule under a Christian governor to be appointed by the sultan. Macedonia stayed in Turkish hands, and the Dobrudja, the area between the Black Sea and the lower Danube, was allotted to Romania. Southern Bessarabia, held by Romania since the Treaty of Paris (1856) was returned to Russia.

175* Despite its complex racial background, Bulgaria was socially
105 an extremely homogenous nation. Primarily agricultural, it consisted almost entirely of peasants, with no middle class and no intelligentsia, while the church, as we have seen, had been exclusively under Greek control since the abolition of the independent patriarchates in 1767. Such intellectual development as took place during the first fifty years of the last century was sponsored by wealthy Bulgarian merchants resident in Bucharest and Odessa. The committees formed in the Bulgarian interest at these centers represented opposite poles: the Romanian committee favored peaceful regeneration, while the
[871] Russian advocated direct action with violence if necesary. The first Bulgarian school was established in 1835. The first actual step at intellectual emancipation was the divorce of the Bulgarian Church from the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1860, followed by the establishment of the Bulgarian exarchate twelve years later, though the exarch himself resided in Stambul till 1908.

182 The Bulgarians, though indebted to the Russians for the
648 freedom they enjoyed, resented Russian pretentions to dominating influence. The Bulgarians also, perhaps on account of their mixed blood, always felt themselves a shade above their Slavic neighbors in the Balkans. Dynastic affiliations (two successive German princes) doubtless played some role in the

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gradual alienation of Bulgaria from general Slavic aims and ideals, and contributed to the closer contact which long prevailed between Bulgaria and the German powers of the Triple Alliance before 1914. Economically also, in view of railroad connections and the avenue of trade into Central Europe provided by the Danube, the practical interests of Bulgaria drew it away from Russia. This fact also applies to Serbia, and would have been a stronger influence had the Austrians before 1914 ever been disposed *to* give the Serbs an economic square deal. And further, the Bulgarians had traditional designs on Constantinople which made them potential opponents of the Russian hope for possession of the Straits themselves.

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin, the first Bulgarian constitutional assembly convened at Tirnovo on February 10, 1879. Though efforts were made to impose a conservative document which would have given the landholders, capitalists, and small middle class a dominant influence, the result was an extremely democratic fundamental law based generally on the accepted British principles of constitutional monarchy. While the constitutional assembly was still sitting, a national assembly was elected by popular vote, which chose as Prince Alexander of Battenberg, who assumed office on June 25. Alexander resisted the paramount Russian influence to the best of his ability but, after trying and abandoning a dictatorial policy, he was constantly in hot water with the domestic political parties. In 1885, he successfully carried through the annexation of Eastern Rumelia, and resisted with good results the Serbian attack which followed, but was forced to abdicate the following summer by Russophile elements in the army. Though returned to power barely a week later by a counter-revolutionary movement headed by the liberal leader Stephen Stambulov, Alexander had lost the support of the Russians, who again forced him to retire.

Stambulov, who was an intense Russophobe, now became practically dictator, and engineered the election of Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg as Prince of Bulgaria. Leaving the reins of

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175* 143 government in the hands of the domineering Stambulov, Ferdinand concentrated his efforts on strengthening his diplomatic standing. When Stambulov was assassinated and Tsar Alexander III died in 1894, a reconciliation with Russia followed, with the sultan recognizing Ferdinand as prince of Bulgaria and governor-general of eastern Rumelia. Ferdinand's reign was also marked by a rapid economic advance. At the beginning of the present century, conditions in Turkey became so chaotic as to produce the Young Turk revolution of 1908, in the course of which Ferdinand proclaimed the independence of Bulgaria and assumed the title of tsar. A third independent Slavic state was thus established in the Balkans, though Bosnia and Herzegovina were formally annexed by Austria-Hungary, which also retained under its sway a large population of Slovenes, Croats, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and Ruthenians, whose liberation was to follow ten years later at the close of the first World War.

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IX

Conclusion

175* We have thus traced the evolution of the Slavs from their origins to the beginning of the second World War. At the beginning of the Christian era, we found them residing as a loose ethnic unit north of the Carpathian Mountains between the upper course of the Vistula River and the middle reaches of the Russian river Dnieper. We saw them exposed to cultural influences transmitted by Iranian and, still more, by migrant Germanic tribes, but noted that their primitive civilization does not stamp them as an inferior race. There are indications of their early expansion southeast into the steppe country, where they were frequently barred by Asiatic invaders, and to the northeast, where they met little opposition from the Finns of central Russia. Their drift across the Carpathians into the Danube basin was then intensified during the third Christian century, and by the end of the sixth century they had penetrated even further south in the Balkan peninsula than their present area of expansion now extends. After the great German migratory movements between the years 100 and 400 A.D., the Slavs moved west of the Vistula into the area which the removal of the Germanic tribes had left but sparsely settled, until the Western Slavic frontier lay at the Elbe. We noted that even in the proto-Slavic habitat the germs of dialectal differentiation were present, and found that these differences became

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intensified during the period of Slavic expansion to produce the various Eastern, Western, and Southern Slavic tongues.

The subsequent political and cultural history of the Slavs was then conditioned by their locations and by the source from which they assimilated Christianity. The Slavs adjacent to the Danube were, we saw, the first to encounter Christian missionaries at the close of the eighth century, and were soon subjected to the Frankish realm which drew its spiritual guidance from Rome. Early in the ninth century, these influences expanded to Bohemia and Moravia, while the bold German political and missionary offensive which dispossessed the Slavs along the Elbe and the Baltic coast began at the same time and lasted nearly four hundred years.

During the second half of the ninth century, Byzantine Christianity penetrated Bulgaria, and political combinations in Moravia inspired the historic mission of Constantine and Methodius which, though fraught with far-reaching consequences for the Eastern Slavs, was barred from success in central Europe by the jealous opposition of the German clergy. The first quarter of the tenth century then witnessed an intense growth of Bulgarian culture under Byzantine influences which was destined to bear fruit after the conversion of Russia, and with the exception of the Croats, the Balkan Slavs all received the faith from Constantinople. Christianity was transmitted to Poland from Bohemia toward the middle of the tenth century. And finally, near the close of the tenth century, political events produced a situation in which conversion through Byzantine agency became advantageous for Prince Vladimir I of Kiev, through whose efforts the medieval Russians first abandoned paganism.

The Eastern Slavs, ancestors of the Russians, we found at the dawn of their history split up into sparsely settled and disunited tribal units, with a tendency to group themselves around trading posts and strong points strategically located on the course of the middle and upper Dnieper and on the northern rivers which empty into Lake Ladoga and the Baltic.

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The first impulse to union was supplied in the ninth century by immigrant Swedish warrior-merchants exploring the Russian watercourse in search of a route to the Orient. As they settled in the primitive Russian towns along the Dnieper trade route, they established themselves as a ruling class, drew together the hitherto disunited Russian tribes and towns under the leadership of the Prince of Kiev, and were rapidly Russified by intermarriage with the native Slavs. Trade with Byzantium enriched the rulers of Kiev, and after 978 Vladimir transformed the previous loose confederation into a closely knit domain which extended from the Baltic to the Volga. From the time of his conversion the Russians rapidly absorbed the elements of Byzantine civilization, but from 1100 on the vitality of Kiev was sapped by princely feuds and the intensified menace of Asiatic nomads swarming across the southern prairies. A movement of migration to the safer northeast and the site of modern Moscow began at this period, and proved valuable for the maintenance of Russian national spirit and culture after the Tartars overran and subjected Russia in 1240.

The western principalities of Galicia and Lithuania which grew up after the decline and fall of Kiev eventually drifted into the Polish orbit, but with the gradual disintegration of the Tartar autocracy the fortunes of the princes of Moscow described a rising curve from the early fourteenth century. Successively defeating and absorbing domestic competitors, the Muscovites stood off the Tartars as their offensive power waned, and by the fall of Constantinople in 1453 Moscow became the residuary legatee of Eastern Orthodox tradition while it was tightening its control on the Volga and reaching out toward the Baltic coast. The struggle between the Muscovite throne and the feudal nobility was not finally settled until the reign of Ivan the Terrible, a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth but during the previous century it became obvious that ultimate victory lay with the prince when Ivan's grandfather began to use the title of tsar.

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175* The seventeenth century witnessed both the accession of the Romanovs and the institution of serfdom, though even before the time of Peter the Great the walls of Muscovite isolation were being battered as western techniques and cultural influences seeped in. This process was accelerated by the reforms of Peter and his successors in the course of the eighteenth century, during which Russia not only became recognized as a great European power but also began the process of catching up with Western culture and civilization which has continued to our own day. We have already traced the rise and fall of the early medieval Balkan principalities under Boris, Simeon, Samuel, and the Asen dynasty in Bulgaria between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries, and in Serbia under Stephen Nemanya in the twelfth and Stephen Dushan in the fourteenth century, but we noted that, except in the presence of an exceptionally able and energetic reigning prince, the centrifugal tendencies of the local nobility deprived both these states of a firm foundation. The resulting dispersion of effort prevented any effective resistance against the invading Turks, whose domination weighed heavily on the Balkan Slavs from the late fourteenth century well into modern times.

The conflict between German and Slav, a phase of which was fought out before our eyes during World War II, begun when Bavarian colonists began pushing the Slovenes back from the Danube during the ninth century, was inherent in the contemporaneous opposition of the Frankish and Bavarian priesthood to Constantine and Methodius, and was intensified by the process through which the Western Slavs were driven back from the Elbe to the Polish frontier of 1919. The colonization of the Baltic coastline by the militant German Order, which created the rivalry between Germans and Poles for the possession of the lower Vistula, and between Germans and Russians for the ownership or control of the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland, was an incident in the process of energetic German expansion which has kept this conflict alive.

The material and intellectual contributions of German

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The material and intellectual contributions of German settlers in Bohemia and Poland, not only during the later Middle Ages but also in more recent times, were a vital factor in the progress of Western Slavic civilization. The very ideals of nationality which inspired modern agitation for the revival of Western Slavic national states sprang from the brains of German philosophers and political theorists. Even the basic concepts on which the dictatorship of the proletariat was erected in the Soviet Union stem from the theories of the son of a converted Jewish family in the Rhineland who was steeped in the philosophy of Hegel. After the kingdom of Bohemia became subject to the Hapsburgs in the sixteenth century, and after the partitions of Poland brought sections of the former kingdom under Austrian and Prussian sovereignty, the dominance of German influence in these areas was still more firmly established, and there can be no question that the Western Slavs, even under alien rule, participated fully in the advance of Western civilization with which they were in close and lasting contact. 175* 177

Nationalist aspirations, as we have seen, developed during the first half of the nineteenth century and, while most keenly shared by the Western Slavs, were also transmitted to their South Slavic brethren by the Serbian and Bulgarian students who studied abroad. These aspirations were natural and logical. On the other hand, there was a marked tendency among the Western Slavs to minimize the economic security they enjoyed as members of larger states and to exaggerate the cogency of such traditions of national independence as they possessed. Their nationalistic sentiments were also stimulated both by the spectacle of the difficulties endured by their kindred under Russian rule and by the assumption of superiority by their German masters. There is no question but that the life of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy would have been prolonged had the constitution of 1867 been so modified as to grant its Slavic elements a degree of autonomy comparable to that possessed by German Austrians and by Magyars, since the Bohemians never secured equal political rights in Austria, 175* 186

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while the Slovaks and the Croats were under an obstinately nationalistic Hungarian control. The Austrian opposition to legitimate Serbian economic aims also intensified Serbian agitation among the Southern Slavs within the monarchy, while the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 was a direct challenge to Serbian national sentiment, and tended to make of Serbia a Russian pawn in the game of international politics—a situation the more dangerous because Bulgaria fell increasingly under the sway of German and Austrian diplomacy.

The interplay of foreign diplomatic influences in the Balkans was interrupted by the World War of 1914, and at its close interest naturally concentrated upon Central Europe where the French, with British support, were engaged in erecting a protective cordon of minor states around Germany. It is worth remarking that in 1914 Bohemian ambitions had not extended beyond vague hopes of eventual autonomy within a federalized monarchy, while the utopia of independence was conceived mainly in the minds of émigré leaders like Professor Masaryk and Dr. Beneš. It was not until 1917 that the domestic Bohemian attitude became definitely revolutionary, and Slovak sympathy was not finally secured until May, 1918, through the celebrated Treaty of Pittsburgh, which guaranteed the Slovaks a degree of autonomy which they never attained until just before the Czechoslovak Republic was dismembered by Hitler. As a matter of fact, the relations between Czechs and Slovaks were never so dovelike as Bohemian statesmen would have had us suppose, and at the Armistice, Czech troops had simply marched in and occupied the Slovak section of Hungary.

We now know enough of medieval Slavic history to realize why the process by which the Bohemian border areas were opened to medieval German settlement rendered dangerous in 1919 any boundary adjustment dictated by a spirit of revenge as a consequence of which these districts, for strategic reasons, were turned over to Czech rule. Eloquent warnings against

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this procedure were uttered at Paris by such eminent specialists in Central European affairs as the late Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge, but these warnings were fruitless because of the technical ignorance of the chief American delegates and of the strategical prejudices of the Allied Powers, whose statesmen were as poorly grounded in the essence of these problems as their American peers. In Poland as well, it is hardly necessary to recall that the establishment of the Danzig corridor was made risky by a series of complications which date back to the cession of certain Mazovian districts to the Teutonic Order in 1229, and were rendered still more serious by the various waves of German immigration which had created large German populations in every city of the district. Only a policy of determined self-restraint could have obviated friction between the ruling Poles and their new German subjects, and neither party had sufficient imagination or judgment to foresee the explosive consequences inherent in this situation.

The causes of World War II can thus be summed up in the fateful trio of revenge, strategy, and nationalism. If there is any lesson to be learned from the experience of the last thirty years, it is that setting up a series of economically weak national states solely on the basis of romantic ideals and strategic aims is no guarantee of peace. To bolster up their weak budgets or to favor local industry, such states erect tariff barriers which prevent the normal flow of commerce and exchange on which their very life depends. If their territories contain linguistic minorities, the latter are discriminated against in business and politics until they seek support from the nearest larger state to which they are akin, and eventually provide that state with a natural pretext for intervention. In order to counterbalance their more powerful neighbors or checkmate some adjacent state with good diplomatic connections, these little states unite in ententes and alliances which become the pawns of international politics, and give statesmen of these minor organisms a chance to assume positions of influence for which they are not qualified by experience or vision. But with the pro-

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gressive industrialization of the world and the need of reapportioning both essential raw materials and export markets, there are already enough problems confronting the major nations in their dealings with one another without the risk of becoming embroiled over the petty aspirations, mistakes, and quarrels of these minor units.

During the last century and a half there has been much discussion of the so-called missions of the various nations. This altruistic concept of the romantic philosophers derives from the conviction that each nation has a role to play in the progress of the world and is destined to bring something new to its fellows. It originated in the observation that different nations arrive at various degrees of political, material, or intellectual advancement at different times, and their innovations and accomplishments are then passed along to their contemporaries. Herder thus wrote in 1774, "The Slavs are destined to say the last word in the development of European humanity." The great Italian patriot Mazzini added in 1861, "The Slavic movement comes next to the Italian movement in importance for the future of Europe. If this movement is helped and hailed as a providential occurrence, it will rejuvenate the life of Europe by new impulses and potentialities." Even Nietzsche declared, "Modern Germany is an advance post of the Slavic world and prepared the way for a pan-Slavic Europe."

I submit that this is romantic nonsense. The same notion of a national mission lay behind the dynamics of the Nazi party and is equally fallacious. Insofar as any nation at the present day can be said to have a mission, it consists in assuring the maximum prosperity for its members, in refraining from acts which antagonize its neighbors, and in contributing by its native gifts to the sum total of human progress. No nation has a mission of aggression at the expense of others, and the Slavs least of all. But they do have a right to evolve and develop their native talents under a maximum of liberty. The fruits of their talents will then be transmitted in due course to the world at large, just as Russian literature and music have

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become the prized possession of an international public. Unfortunately, however, the Slavs in Central Europe are so placed geographically that individual states based on purely linguistic frontiers are not economically self-sufficient, while frontiers which do not follow linguistic boundaries perpetuate the struggle between German and Slav.

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A CENTURY OF A PHANTOM
PANSLAVISM AND THE WESTERN SLAVS

by S. Harrison Thomson

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AMONG the gorgeous phantoms of history, none has had a more rich or variously enticing story than Panslavism. It may well be that more literate Europeans have enjoyed the thrill of frightening themselves by it and more designing political manipulators have used it as a stage illusion than would be true of any other fiction. On the other hand there have been published several serious histories of the spectre.

By 1848 Panslavism was already an old and ripe story. To go back to the empire of Samo in the early seventh century is perhaps to be too inventive, but we can certainly trace the idea of Slavic reciprocity in the plans of Boleslaw Chrobry (the Hardy) of Poland, who, around the year 1000, planned a western Slavic empire comprising the Poles, the Czechs, the Moravians, the Elbian Slavs and the western Ukrainians. His obvious purpose was to block further German expansion eastward.[1] Whatever their motivation, those grandiose plans proved ephemeral, as did others conceived by Polish or Czech rulers for centuries thereafter. There is no discernible difference, so far as we can judge, between the territorial and dynastic maneuvering that went on among Slavic princes and that of Austrian, Hungarian and Wallachian rulers in these centuries of the formation of national states. One Slavic people was as likely to be antipathetic to a neighboring Slavic people as to a neighbor who was Germanic or Turco-Ugric. Territorial nationalism or dynastic combination were already the prevailing patterns.

But from the seventeenth century on concepts of a common ethnic and linguistic background begin to grow and take shape. From the Croat Juraj Križanić in the seventeenth century,[2] who spent fifteen years in Siberian exile after proclaiming his Panslav ideas in Russia, to the great Slovak poet, Jan Kollár, in the early nineteenth century, we can trace an unwavering line of western Slavic intellectuals who formulated and reformulated the idea of a glorious Slav race which should of right be united in heart and body, preferably under one paternal Slav ruler.

Somewhat ironically a Baltic German, Johann Gottfried Herder, had contributed much to the most recent upsurge of this Slav feeling by glori-

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[1] On whom the classic study is St. Zakrzewski, *Boleslaw Chrobry Wielki* (Cracow, 1925); and cf. more recently, Z. Wojciechowski, "Boleslaw Chrobry i kryzys stosunków polskoniemieckich" in *Przegląd Zachodni* IV (1948), 369-383.

[2] Smurlo, E., "From Križanić to the Slavophiles," *Slavonic Review* VI (1928), 321-335; of A. Fischel, *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1919), p. 20ff.; P. G. Scalardi, *Krijanich, messager de l'unité des chrétiens et ère du panslavisme* (Paris, 1947).

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fying the Slavic race and treating it as one, from the Moldau to the Urals. He would doubtless have been disturbed to be credited with partial parenthood of both Pangermanism and Panslavism. Early in the nineteenth century most western Slavs were of necessity romantics. Romanticism was the only recourse left them: Poland tragically partitioned, the Slavs of the Austrian Empire barely existing under Metternich, the South Slavs predominantly under the Ottoman Turk. Any voice even faintly suggesting a prouder past, and by implication a comparable future, would be welcome. Their history was their refuge and their hope in time of troubled humiliation.[3]

Philology, poetry and letters, history and the trend of international events in the forties of the nineteenth century all combined to deepen and broaden the feelings but dimly and sporadically aroused a half century before by the wildfire spread of the ideas of the French Revolution. There was now, after decades of scholarship, scientific and historical ground for the concept of Slavic community. The ferment of the Slav Revival, however, romantic it may have been in a technical sense, was a psychological fact of great moment to all the western Slavs, whether living under Magyar repression in Slovakia or Croatia, clumsy Austrian Biedermeier in Bohemia, or awkward Hapsburg pampering in Galicia. The springs of hope and confidence were filling. The single great Slavic state to the east—Mother Russia—was still victoriously radiant from defeating Napoleon, and her very glamor drew irresistibly the yearnings of the Slavic millions enslaved by alien peoples. In many quarters among the western Slavs there was talk of the all-Slavic Tsar, while in Russia there was not infrequently an expression of interest among scholars and publicists as well as among reflective politicians in the possibility of strengthening the natural bonds between Mother Russia and her temporarily estranged children in the west. Pushkin's lines, written after the Polish revolution of 1830-31

> Will the Slavic rivulets pour into the Russian sea,
> Or will it dry up? That is the question.

reflected current Russian thought.[4] A. S. Chomyakov, the Slavophil poet,

[3] See the illuminating discussion of Panslavism by Wacław Lednicki in *European Ideologies* (New York, 1948), pp. 808-951, particularly rich in literary background. His earlier study, "Poland and the Slavophil Idea," *Slavonic Review* VII (1928-29), 128-140, 649-662, can also be consulted with great profit. It is significant that this study of Polish Slavophilism ends about the middle of the nineteenth century. See also W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej w okresie przezbiorowym*, I (Lwów, 1913) *passim*. For the echoes of this current of thought in Polish literature, and an explanation of how and why it took a line divergent from that in other Western and Southern Slavic countries see Zofja Klamerowna, *Słowianofilstwo w literaturze polskiej lat 1800 do 1848* (Warszawa, 1926), *passim*.

[4] See Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 168ff., and Lednicki *passim*. The literature on Russian

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in the next year spoke dramatically of "the brothers in fetters, who wait yearningly for thy call and thy protective embrace." There was much more, a good deal of it more effusive, and all of it tinged with theology, from poets, essayists and even historians, but mostly urging the western Slavs, and particularly the Poles, to recognize their divinely appointed lot as part of a great Slavic nation, naturally under Russian leadership. The Slovak Kollár's "On Slavic Reciprocity" was first published in German in 1837, then appeared in Russian in 1838 and a second time in 1840, but the concept of reciprocity was interpreted by the Russian editor and Russian readers in a Russian sense.[5] It would be difficult to determine whether the Russian espousal of Slavophilism was more or less enthusiastic than that of the western Slavs in the period before 1848, but it is certain that Russian Slavophilism could, even at this early date, be more properly called Panrussism than Panslavism.

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We can indeed thus early discern a fairly clear and perhaps radical split in the aims of those who supported Slavic unity. On the one hand the western Slavs thought in terms of reciprocal aid, comfort and support, implicitly and explicitly favoring the independent existence of the several Slavic peoples. On the other hand the Russian Slavophils, from their proud vantage-point of an independent state existence, regarded the lesser Slavic peoples beyond their borders as strayed, lost or stolen children who should return to the mother's heart and hearth, the mother of course being Russia. Their principal concern, indeed, was that Russia herself should perceive her providential mission to carry on the torch of the true Christian faith which was visibly falling from the hand of the weakening West. It was taken for granted that the errant western and southern Slav brethren would accept the new situation with appreciation and even enthusiasm.

Decades of Romanticism, the European enlightenment followed by three-quarters of a century of Slavic renaissance in philology, poetry, ethnography, history and science, has made the dispersed Slavic peoples very sensible of their similarities and their differences, and eager to grasp and hold their own future. The events of February 1848 in western Europe only precipitated these feelings into action. German nationalism had found its voice in the Frankfurt Parliament. It was only natural that the western Slavs should answer with a Slavic assembly. In April the Slovak Ljudevit Štur was agitating in Prague for a meeting of representatives of the Slavic

Slavophilism is tremendous. Of the more recent literature in western languages, see Charles Quénet, *Tchaadaev et les lettres philosophiques* (Paris, 1931); A. Gratieux, *A. S. Khomiakov et le mouvement slavophile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939); Alexander von Schelting, *Russland und Europa* (Bern, 1948); and Bernhard Schultze, *Russische Denker* (Vienna, 1950).

[5] Clementis, Vl., *Panslavism Past and Present* (London, 1943), p. 38.

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peoples, and Dr. Fr. Brauner received a letter from Ondrzej Moraczewski in Poznań, dated April 23, inviting the Czechs to initiate a Slavic congress.[6] But the first public suggestion to this effect came from the Croat Ivan Kukuljević in the April 20 issue of the *Narodni Noviny,* and a revised call to meet was published on April 30 in the same paper over the signature of Palacký and 19 other leading Czechs.[7] A public statement was issued on May 5 to "our brothers of the Austrian Empire" inviting them to convene in Prague on May 31, in order "to deliberate on our common interests ... We are resolved to remain faithful to the hereditary house of Habsburg-Lorraine ... and to maintain the integrity and independence of the Empire by all means in our power. We therefore reject all accusations of separatism, of Panslavism, of Russianism, which might be brought against us by ill-intentioned accusers.... Our undertaking is essentially conservative in nature and should in no wise disturb our liberal and justice-loving non-Slavic fellow-citizens." This was the voice of Austro-Slavism.

Of the 340 participants, 237 were Czechs and Slovaks, 42 South Slavs, 60 Poles and Ruthenians, and one Russian. Of the Poles several were from Prussian Poland, and the Russian—Bakunin—did not officially represent Tsarist Russia. The very thought of revolution of any sort was uncongenial to Tsar Nicholas I. The Poles would have preferred to have the Congress declare for a restitution of all of Poland, but there was little support for so revolutionary a concept.[8] The ruling motivation was anti-German and anti-Magyar. It was certainly not pro-Russian. Bakunin, the sole Russian present, a voluble guest, was quite un-Russian in his advocacy of Slavic federation.[9] The enthusiasm was tearful and tremendous, the speeches were moving, the parades, dinners and celebrations were elaborate and mystic. Palacký's speech of June 12, resuming the conclusions of the several commissions, specifically demanded a federalized Empire, with Slavs enjoying equal rights and privileges with the Germans and the

[6] Tobolka, Zd., *Politické dějiny československého národa od r. 1848 až do dnešní doby,* I (Prague, 1931), 77.

[7] Published in J.M. Černy, *Boj za pravo* I (Prague, 1893), 183 and F. Palacký, *Spisy z oboru politiky* (Prague, 1898), p. 24f. See also F. Roubík, *Český rok 1848* (Prague, 1948), p. 199, and K. Kazbunda, *České hnutí roku 1848* (Prague, 1929), p. 182ff.; Albert Pražák, "Slavonic Congress of 1848 and the Slovaks" in *Slavonic Review* VII (1928-29), 141-159.

[8] Batowski, Henryk, *Współpraca słowiańska* (Warsaw, 1946), p. 53. See also W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej* I (Lwów, 1913) 288-291.

[9] *Bakuninovů Zpověď* (Prague, 1926), p. 72ff.; see also B. P. Hepner, *Bakounine et le panslavisme révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1950), pp. 236-284; and on Bakunin's Panslavism and his participation in the Prague Congress see V. Cejchan, *Bakunin v Čechách* (Prague, 1928), pp. 14-30. It seems quite clear that Bakunin had little or no understanding of the orientation of the Slavs of the Hapsburg monarchy.

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Magyars.[10] This was the last plenary session of the Congress. Tumultuous events in Prague, not directly connected with the Slav Congress, made further meetings impossible, and on June 28 it was adjourned *sine die*.[11] An attempt was made to carry on the work of the Congress through a society bearing the name *Lipa slovanská* (the Slavic linden tree), but it did not survive the reaction that set in the next year. There remained, however, for a few years, one insistently free voice. Karel Havlíček, one of Palacký's adjutants at the Congress, refused to be quiet, and through his journal *Slowan* continued, for the two years he was relatively unsilenced, to defend the rights of the Slavs in the Hapsburg Empire, and went so far as to warn Vienna: "If they will not allow the lesser Panslavism in Central Europe they should take care lest the greater crash on their necks."[12] This is especially suggestive in view of the fact that Havlíček had but recently returned from a trip to Poland and Russia completely cured of any pro-Russian sentiments.[13] There was no western Slav who spoke more frankly than this in the early 'fifties.

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Thus as of 1849, Austro-Slavism had apparently had its day within the Hapsburg Empire, and Tsar Nicholas I, after reading the statements written out by Ivan Aksakov in answer to a police questionnaire, wrote in the margin of Aksakov's plaidoyer two comments: "Under the guise of compassion for the pseudo-persecution of Slavic tribes there is hidden a criminal thought about an uprising against the constituted authority of neighboring and partly allied states and about a general unification, which is expected, not from God's will, but from a revolution, which is perilous to Russia." "Only God can determine what is being prepared in the distant future, but if an accumulation of circumstances would indeed lead to such

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10 Palacký, Fr., *Spisy z oboru politiky*, p. 46ff.

11 Roubík, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

12 Quoted in Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 307f. See Karel Tuma, *Karel Havlíček Borovský* (Prague, 1883) who follows the development of Havlíček's thought in these years with extensive quotations from his letters and editorials. In addition to T. G. Masaryk's classic work, *Karel Havlíček* (Prague, 1896), see the more recent work of Jaromír Bělič, *Karel Havlíček Borovský a slovanstvo* (Prague, 1947), especially pp. 27ff. and 180ff. This latter section is particularly illuminating in its analysis of the changes of attitude Havlíček went through toward the Poles, the Russians and Slavism in general.

13 Jirásek, J., *Rusko a my* II (Prague, 1946), 161f.; Tuma, *op. cit.*, pp. 71ff., 92ff. Havlíček saw no reason to modify his unfavorable opinion of Russia even after the failure of the Congress and the onset of reaction. He wrote in the August 30, 1848 issue of his issue of his *Narodní Noviny* (quoted by Tuma, *op. cit.*, p. 234f.): "If Russia were a free constitutional country the Austrian Slavs (in case Austria were to be broken up), could consider a union with their blood brethren like the Germans, the Magyars or the Wallachs. They would then be a part of one of the most honorable, and perhaps leading countries of the world. But Russia is a land of despotism, and the rest of us free Slavs must, unfortunately, consider this our brother as our worst enemy."

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unification, it would be for the peril of Russia."[14] Not only did the Tsar disapprove of Slavophilism, but the presence of Russian armies in Slovakia as allies of Habsburg repression in the same year did not encourage Slavophilism among the western Slavs.

For the better part of a decade, both among the western Slavs and within Russia little is heard of Panslavism or even of Slavophilism. The interest of the Russian intellectuals was taken up, in these years, by the polemics focussed around the question of the relations of the Orthodox to the Roman church. The encyclical of Pius IX to the Eastern Christians set off the sharp dispute.[15] In the Empire the reaction of Bach was severely anti-Slav,[16] and Tsar Nicholas would not hear any talk of Slav federation. But the end of the Crimean war, coinciding with the death of Nicholas I and the end of his absolutism, heralded a change in the Russian attitude toward the lesser Slavic breeds beyond the pale. Russia defeated was more receptive to ideas of Slavic reciprocity than before. But to the western Slavs, for a time at least, the shock of Russia's military vulnerability was a bitter disillusionment.[17] This feeling of despair lasted for a number of years until Austria herself was humbled on the plains of Lombardy. Then hope welled anew. Bach's régime was through and Vienna was a suitor for the support of her Slavic peoples. It is not without interest that at about the same time, 1857 and 1858, a Slavic Benevolent Committee was organized in Moscow,[18] and the Foreign Minister, Prince Gorchakov, gave it his blessing. Its benevolence was preeminently directed toward strengthening cultural and ecclesiastical ties with the southern Slavs, particularly the Bulgars. The Tsarevitch was the patron. The list of the founders of the Committee included all the living Slavophils, of both currents—the romantic Panslavists and those we must henceforth call Panrussians. The significance of the junction of these two currents cannot be missed. This date may in fact be taken as a convenient dividing line between the earlier theoretical, romantic, Muscovite Slavophilism, best represented by the poet Chomyakov, the two Kireyevskys, Samarin and Konstantin Aksakov, and the later political Panslavism which should properly be called Panrussism.[19]

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[14] *Ivan Sergeyevich Aksakov v jego pismakh* I, ii (Moscow, 1888), 154-55, 160. I am indebted to Professor Leonid I. Strakhovsky for this quotation.

[15] von Schelting, A., *op. cit.*, p. 147ff.

[16] Denis, Edouard, *La Bohême depuis la Montagne Blanche* II (Paris, 1903), 353ff.; Tobolka, *op. cit.*, I, 187ff.

[17] See chapter VI, "Polonia farà da se (1857-1863)" of W. Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen (1795-1914)*, (Berlin, 1917). This German work is not identical with the previously noticed Polish work of the same author

[18] Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 367ff.; cf. also B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans* (Oxford, 1937), p. 60ff.

[19] Benes, *Umsky o Slovanstvi* (Prague, 1947), p. 79ff. C. Ouénet, *Tchaadaev* etc., p.

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Theoretical Slavophilism was influenced by poorly understood western thought—Rousseau, Hegel, and Fichte—into paths of unrealistic and unhistorical grotesquerie and then grafted onto Uvarov's threefold motto of nationality, orthodoxy and autocracy.[20] 175 186 668

It is a simple axiom of diplomatic history that a great and powerful state does not interest itself "benevolently" in other and lesser peoples unless it either needs their help or hopes to profit from that "benevolence." The change in the momentum of Russian Slavophilism in the late fifties of the nineteenth century clearly illustrates this axiom. Before 1855 Russia was too strong to need the support or loyalty of the western Slavs, and her leadership reasoned that her strength lay in the centralized autocratic system. As the system was regarded as good *per se* it was proper to support it elsewhere, in Prussia, in the Hapsburg Empire and, with qualifications, even in Turkey. But the Crimean War revealed considerable weaknesses in her state structure, and Vienna's affections had shifted to the enemies of Russia. Under these circumstances help, psychological at least, was welcome. Panslavism, it was obviously reasoned, might actually have its points, particularly since most of the western Slavs were in the Hapsburg Empire anyway, and a little discreet discontent there might pay diplomatic dividends. This period is thus a decisive period in the history of the theatrical property known as Panslavism.[21] 829

The Benevolent Committee actively wooed the South Slavs with appeals to their Orthodoxy, developing the thesis that West and East were irrevocably separate, that Slav, Eastern and Orthodox were and of right ought to be synonymous with Russia. Then came the January 1863 revolution of the Poles, put down by the butcher Muraviev with brutal ruthlessness. The Benevolent Slavic Committee was able to convince Russian opinion that it was all the Poles' fault, that their Catholicism blinded them to the truth of their Slavic heritage and made them guilty of the "great betrayal,"[22] but after Muraviev the western and southern Slavs were farther than ever from accepting the doctrines of Muscovite Slavophilism.[23]

408, would call this movement "the second slavophilism." See also M. Prelog, *Pouť Slovanů do Moskvy r. 1867* (Prague, 1931), p. 4.

[20] See T. G. Masaryk, *Rusko a Evropa* I (Prague, 1930), 406ff. The English edition, *The Spirit of Russia* (London, 1919), was based on the German text which Masaryk revised for the 1930 Czech edition.

[21] P. N. Milioukov has a chapter in his *Le Mouvement intellectuel russe* (Paris, 1918) p. 377ff., entitled "La décomposition du slavophilisme" in which his explanation of the processes of Russian thought from *ca.* 1848 to the publication of Danilevsky's *Russland und Europa* is treated mystically. Any resemblance between his discussion and the realities of Russia's changed position in European politics after 1855-56 is not even coincidental.

[22] Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[23] Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen*, p. 223ff., and contemporary literature there cited.

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175 Among the South Slavs a considerable element of enlightened opinion,
186 particularly the younger generation,[24] supported the Polish revolutionaries,
and among the leaders there was much openly pro-British and anti-Russian
668 expression. Nevertheless the dominant sentiment, both among Serbs and
829 Croats in the 'sixties was one of nationalist aspirations and, as between other Slavic peoples, benevolent neutrality.[25]

Palacký remarked in 1863 that "Russian Tsardom was not based on Slavic principles but upon an amalgam of Mongolian and German principles."[26] The fact that European opinion had largely turned against Russia finally came home to many of the Russian Slavophils and a natural desire to repair the damage by allaying the suspicions of non-Russian Slavs soon made its appearance. In line with this feeling the Slavic Committee and the recently founded (1863) Society of Friends of the Natural Sciences projected an Ethnographic Congress to meet in Moscow in the summer of 1867.[27] Invitations were broadcast to learned societies throughout the Slavic world. Between the invitation in 1866 and the following summer several events transpired to give the Congress more potential significance. Austria had lost another war—this time to Prussia—and, within the Empire, the Compromise *(Ausgleich)* which divided the Empire into two parts, Hungary and Austria, had become law. The Slavs of the Empire were thus not only split, but put under their enemies, Magyars and Germans. Their long-standing aspirations for an equal share in a federative Empire were roughly dashed.[28] The outlook was black for the western Slavic peoples and it is not surprising that, with the exception of the Poles, the invitations to the Ethnographic Congress at Moscow were eagerly accepted.

In the meantime Ivan Aksakov, enthusiastic over the implications of the visit of so many leading personalities among the western Slavs to the Congress, constituted himself the propagandist of the Exposition, and many editorials in his journal *Den*, beginning with February 1867, concerned the Slav question. He emphasized the bonds between the Russians and other Slavic peoples, and expressed confidence that they had only to know each other to reject foreign, non-Slav control and join forces with

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24 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 13ff.

25 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 13ff.

26 Palacký, *Politisches Vermächtnis* (Prague, 1872), p. 26, quoting himself in 1863.

27 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 27ff.

28 Louis Léger recounts the opinion he met on a trip among the South Slavs in 1868, when their participation and hopes in the Moscow Congress were frankly explained to him. See his *La Panslavisme et l'intérêt français* (Paris, 1917), p. 232ff., reprinted from *La revue moderne* of April, 1868.

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their motherland.[29] His line was followed by most of the Moscow journalists.

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In Prague the *Národní Noviny*, the organ of the Young Czech party, avowed openly the political aims in the minds of the Czechi representatives:

> "We make not effort to conceal the fact that the Moscow Exhibition has for us who are going not only philological or ethnographic interest, but a significance deeply political. We are not responsible for that significance; rather those who have inaugurated dualism in Austria and have endangered the independence of the Czech crown and even of the Czech people... those who have turned the Slovak nation over to the mercies of the Magyars, those finally who are recklessly sacrificing the heroic Croatian people to the greed of the Magyar magnates."[30]

The majority of the Czech delegates, though men of intellectual and often scientific attainments, were yet men active in political life. The delegates of the South Slavs were exclusively non-political. Bishop Strosmayer and Franji Rački, who were especially invited, did not join the delegation, though the Bishop gave the expedition his active support. Ljudevit Gaj, the leading Croat nationalist journalist, went to Moscow, but was unaccountably quiet.[31]

In the realization that the Poles would not be represented, Palacký and Rieger were anxious to show their consideration of Polish sensitiveness and went to Paris to explain their reasons for making the trip when the Poles refused to go. Prince Adam Czartoryski and Andrew Zamojski urged the Czechs not to go, and the son of Adam Mickiewicz wrote them an impassioned letter begging them not to attend the Congress. Another special delegation of representative Polish emigrés waited on them to the same intent.[32]

Opened by the Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich on April 23, the Congress was ostensibly an academic and scientific meeting, but railway passes had been given the foreign guests. The western Slavs, on their way to the Congress, crossed the Russian frontier at Granice (i. e. in Polish Silesia) on May 16 and on the 20th reached St. Petersburg.[33] On the way receptions and entertainment were provided by a number of municipalities, though the government took no official action in the matter. Enthusiasm was unbounded. The Czechs and the Serbs were received by Gorchakov

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29 Aksakov, I. S., *Slavyanskii vopros* (Moscow, 1886), pp. 117-122.

30 *Národní Noviny*, 1867, no. 11, quoted by Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

31 Fric, J. W., *Die Kehrseite der slavischen Wallfahrt nach Russland* (Prague, 1867), *passim*.

32 A considerable literature has accumulated on Gaj's trip and activities. See Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 43ff. and literature there cited.

33 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 68ff.

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in separate audiences and greeted with honeyed and unintelligible words. The Tsar received 20 of the leaders of the various delegations in Tsarskoe Selo on May 26. He is reported to have said to them: "May God hearken soon to all your prayers," a hope which thus relieved the Tsar of any further need for action or hearkening. But he called them his "blood brothers here on native Slav soil" and thereby caused a sensation in western Slav capitals.[34] There were copious banquets and eloquent speeches by learned professors and publicists that left no room for doubt that the messianic hope of close Slavic collaboration was well on the way to realization.[35] They were so busy collaborating that there was barely time to visit the elaborate ethnographic and archeological exhibits for which the Congress had been called. The ghost of absent Poland did discreetly appear at several of the more formal occasions, but it was almost dispelled by confident and urbane diplomacy, which naturally deceived no one. The meeting made a deep impression upon everyone present. The Benevolent Committee was profusely congratulated for its felicitous initiative. But very few felt that much had been accomplished. Gorchakov apologetically stayed aloof, save to opine that the Czechs were apparently working for the King of Prussia. General Peter Suvalov acidly remarked that the pilgrims were pursuing a phantom, and the Austrian minister, Revertera, was told that the Russian court regarded the whole spectacle as foolish.[36] In the western Slavic press reports were, in a slight majority, critical and skeptical. The Moscow Congress may have been the high point in public tribute to the numerous concepts in the center and at the periphery of Slavophilism, but it left much disillusionment in its wake. The Poles were disgruntled at the Czechs for participating against their expressed wishes. The Austrian government had, or affected to have, more than grave doubts of the sincerity of the Czech leaders in their devotion to Austro-Slavism, and even the Catholic clergy saw in the expedition a leaning to Orthodoxy and a defection from Catholicism. Within the Austrian Empire the large Slavic public had lost confidence in the political sagacity of their leaders. There was, of course, after the Congress, not the slightest trace of implementation of all the high-sounding resolutions calling for increased cultural reciprocity between the general Slavic peoples.

About 1870 the vaguely variegated sensitivities and aspirations fo-

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[34] Kazbunda, K., *Pouť Čechů do Moskvy 1867 a rakouská diplomacie* (Prague, 1924), p. 63, and M. D. Miličević, Etnografska izložba a slovenska sastanak u Moskvi 1867 (Belgrade, 1884), p. 18ff.

[35] The classically bitter report on the Congress is that by Julian Klaczko, "Le Congrès de Moscou et la propagande panslaviste" in *Revue des deux mondes* LXI (1867), 132-181. Klaczko, a native of Wilno, had been the editor of the Paris *Wiadomości Polskie*, which ceased publication in 1861. A much more valid short account is that of Louis Léger in *Le Panslavisme et l'intérêt français* (Paris, 1917), pp. 211-249.

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cussing around the two general concepts of Slavism and Russian expansionism began to coalesce and crystallize. In that year there appeared a small book by General Rostislav A. Fadeyev under the title: *Thoughts on the Eastern Question.*[37] It had passed the censor in 1869. Fadeyev, as a soldier, was primarily interested in strengthening Russia's strategic position and in pointing the way to achieving her natural strategic aims—the control of the Straits. To him the Hapsburg Empire was the principal enemy, and not England and France. As the peoples of the polyglot Empire were mostly Slav, Russia should obviously take them under her wing, and eventually head an all-Slav state. This was Panslavism, clearly put, for Russia's political benefit.

A much more radical and thorough treatment appeared by separate chapters in the periodical *Tsarja* in 1869 and, revised, in book form in 1871: Nikolai J. Danilevski's *Russia and Europe.* He was a trained botanist and geographer, and his broad approach covered questions of race, religion, climate, politics, and strategy. Because of its thoroughness and easily comprehensible conclusions, it became immediately the Bible of Panslavism.[38] Danilevski posited a deep-rooted antagonism between West, that is the Latin and the German, Catholicism and Protestantism, commercialism and pointless diversity, and East, that is the Slav, the orthodox and the ordered universal. Russia had a destiny to realize. She should save the smaller and weaker Slavic peoples from the curse of europeanization. The Poles had indeed gone farthest in that sinister direction, hence the great tension between Russia and the Poles. In their case Russia had had to be severe, but it was properly not with their Slavic nature but with its europeanized, Catholic perversion. The Poles should realize that Russia had had to discipline them for their own salvation. To Danilevski Panslavism, so far as it was good, was Panrussism.

It would be difficult to say which of these two works, Fadeyev on the Eastern Question or Danilevski's *Russia and Europe* had the more in-

[36] Revertera, on the other hand, had been instructed by Beust in May to give the whole matter no unnecessary notice. The two governments affected not to count it as of any political significance. See Kazbunda, *Pouť Čechů do Moskvy,* p. 57. Revertera was recalled the next year by Beust and the Tsar told his successor, Albin Vetsera, that he disliked the whole incident and regretted that it had occurred. "Russia is large enough for me; I want nothing from my neighbor" and disavowed any slightest desire to entice away from the Emperor any of his Slav subjects. See Kazbunda, *op. cit.,* p. 121f.

[37] English translation by T. Michell (London, 1871), *Opinion on the Eastern Question.* See also Fischel, *op. cit.,* p. 400ff.

[38] German translation by Karl Nötsch (Berlin, 1920), somewhat abridged, *Russland und Europa.* See further Beneš, *Uvahy,* pp. 98-107, and the recent study of Alexander von Schelting, *Russland und Europa,* where the focus is on the relation of Danilevski to the church. On p. 238 he calls Danilevski "der eigentliche Systematiker der panslavistischen Weltanschauung."

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fluence. Their arguments were so dynamic in their implications that together they are a landmark in European psycho-political history. Panrussism now had a divinely appointed mission and a program for political implementation.[39] Those whose interests lay in cultural exchange with their western Slav brothers no longer felt unsupported, and those who had before been politically Pan-Russian could not rejoice in the moral support of the intelligentsia. It was a perfect coalescence of ideals and interests. There is no wonder that Gorchakov, the foreign minister, felt very gratified about the jelling of enlightened public opinion. He had shared the distrust felt by the court at cultural Slavophilism, so vocal at the Moscow Congress. It implied equality among the various Slavic peoples. Russian policy would be much happier if Russia's "leadership" and of course "benevolent" hegemony were generally accepted. It is hardly necessary to mention that the acceptance of Russian Orthodoxy—no longer Greek Orthodoxy—was by now assumed as a *sine qua non* of the whole Slavic program. It is not difficult to see how the atmosphere created by the wide circulation of these two sensational books may have convinced Gorchakov and the court that Ignatyev's reports and suggestions from Constantinople correctly represented the proper policy to be pursued—at least in the interests of Russia.[40] We are here far removed from any semblance of the Panslav sentiments of Kollár, or the Austro-Slavism of the Prague Congress of 1848 or even from the implications of Slav cultural reciprocity so fervently expressed by most of the leaders at the Moscow Congress of 1867. We are dealing with realistic political opportunism which makes use of the slogans and stage illusions evoked by romantic or even philosophical Panslavism. Gorchakov and Ignatyev and certainly—and indeed avowedly—Fadeyev, were quite aware of the political semantics fluttering around the words Slavophilism, Panslavism, Slavic solidarity. The fact that the words sent shivers up and down the spines of western diplomats and at the same time thrilled the Russian people and some western Slavs could only please the anti-western party at the Tsar's court.

In 1874 an Archeological Congress was held in Kiev under the auspices of the Moscow Archeological Society. It was sparsely attended by non-Russian Slavs, about a dozen in all, out of a total of 206 delegates. Several unpleasant incidents at this Congress showed that the resentments and tensions between, particularly, Poles, Russians and Ukrainians, were

[39] See Lednicki, *art. cit.*, p. 845ff., and Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 75ff. Feldman, *op. cit.*, says bluntly: "Unter den Russen vollzieht sich nach dem Jahre 1870 eine Umwandlung der alten slavophilenBewegung in einen selbstbewussten politischen Imperialismus."

[40] On Ignatyev see Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 73ff., and his article in *Slavic Review* XI (1932), 343- , 569-

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deep and lasting. Slavic solidarity was certainly not advanced by this meeting.[41] 175 186 627 668

It is true that the Bulgarian atrocities precipitated a resurgence, in Russia herself, of the emotional index of the Panslav idea, but basic political realities were not thereby at stake. The participation of Russian soldiers as volunteers in the Serbian army could not obscure the fact that Russia already saw clearly that Turkey was no longer a major antagonist. Indeed the Balkan wars of 1876-78 were only an incident which, if anything, confirmed the political Panslavists (*lege* Panrussians) of the necessity to consolidate their political program and its psychological and moral bases for use in a coming struggle with enemies much stronger than the Ottoman Empire. The Russian campaign of 1877-78 could have been lifted bodily from Fadeyev or Danilevski.

The fact that Gorchakov and Ignatyev had to retire from public life after the Treaty of Berlin has several interesting if not ironic aspects. What must have played a large part in their downfall was the fact that their aggressive Panslavism or Pan-Russism or Russian nationalism had gained less for Russia at Berlin than was popularly expected.[42] Yet they themselves, and here lies the irony, were substantially responsible for inducing Russian opinion to expect so much. The significant fact is the generality of the adoption of the Russian nationalistic thesis, and, in retrospect, the large-scale perversion of the thesis of Slav reciprocity. What, less than a half century before, seen from Paris or London, had been a cloud, small as a man's hand, on the eastern horizon, now seemed a swirling thunderhead, about to loose a torrent and a tempest. This menace bore the label Panslavism. No wonder the west shivered at the word. Yet it was by this time in no sense Panslav but pure Russian expansionism.

It would be of interest to examine the trends of thought among the western Slavs in these years. It was among them that the ideas of Slav reciprocity had first arisen. The great Croat leader, Bishop Strossmayer, had not modified his stand in favor of a South Slav federation and cultural reciprocity with the lands of Orthodoxy. Professor Jaroslav Jagić and George Daničić, the renowned South Slav philologists, both advocated a union of the Croats, Serbs and Bulgars. Nowhere among these leaders do we detect any desire to join a larger Slavic world led by Russia, or any urge to make Orthodoxy the common Slav faith.[43] Their insistence on their cultural and political independence constitutes an emphatic rejection of the

[41] Léger, *Le Panslavisme . . .*, pp. 242-249. Léger was present at the Congress.

[42] Gorchakov's last years have been frequently discussed. See in brief B. Nolde, *L'Alliance franco-russe* (Paris, 1936), pp. 199ff. and 209ff.

[43] Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 347ff.; see also R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question* (London, 1911), p. 126ff.

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so-called Panslavism emanating from Moscow in these decades. The fact that, under Magyar rule, any move by South Slavs or Slovaks to cultivate their native language or culture was proceeded against as "Panslavism" and conseqently regarded as high treason[44] is obviously irrelevant, because erroneous in its factual bases. Palacký in his *Politisches Vermächtnis* observed that he had come to the conclusion that a Russian universal monarchy would mean "violent compulsion, absolute subjugation and enslavement of all civilized Europe, the suppression and suffocation of every free and noble thought and aspiration of the human race." He added that he thought that the enlightened minds of Russia would likewise regard the expansion of Russia westward as a misfortune.[45] He might not have counted Dostoyevski among the enlightened minds of Russia.

The Poles, crushed between Russian and Prussian calculated oppression, sought solace from their dire despair in their own literature and art. It was all that was left them. Memories of the Russian soldiery of Muraviev certainly estopped any warmth of feeling toward the Slavs they knew the most about from personal experience.[46] The less they had to do with the Russians the better. Orthodoxy was Russian and therefore they clung to their Roman Catholicism with deepening gratitude. The Poles were grateful also to Austria for the relative freedom they enjoyed in Cracow and Galicia, and used it to fortify their nationalism in literature and science.[47]

By the end of the century, whether because of absorption into a more potent and definitely programmatic Russian expansionism, or because its vagaries had repelled the western and more rational Slavs, or because the anti-Panslav campaign from Berlin, Paris and London had been effective, or because Russian imperialism was not too successful, the Panslavism of the Prague Congress of 1848, of the Moscow Slavophils, or the Moscow Congress of 1867 or even of Ignatyev, was dead. It might be more exact to say that the ghost had been laid.

The subsidence of the noble sentiments of Slavic reciprocity, of "interslavism," did not mean, however, that the scarecrow of Panslavism was not still usable. Eduard Beneš recently put these developments in urbane terms:

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[44] Cf. the Vakanović memorandum of 1872, quoted by Palacký, *Politisches Vermächtnis* ,p. 13; cf. also Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 353f. It would appear that the Magyars were the most consistently fervent believers in Panslavism. At any rate they thought every Slovak was a Panslav. The record contains many instances of such fantasy almost too ludicrous to believe. The most fantastic aspect of this complex is its literal truth. See, e. g. Thomas Capek, *The Slovaks of Hungary; Slavs and Panslavism* (New York, 1906), pp. 47-52.

[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

[46] Kucharzewski, Jan, *Origins of Modern Russia* (New York, 1948), p. 349ff.

[47] Chlebowski, Bronisles, *La litterature polonaise au XIXe siecle* (Paris, 1933), chs. XXVIII and XXIX; and see Feldman, *op. cit.*, chapter IX, "Aufleben der Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen im Zusammenhange mit modernen sozialen Ideen."

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"Panslavism then, up to 1905, solved no question fully, it failed to attain its aims, and could not be transferred into the field of politics in any concrete form. Finally it became a synonym for Tsarist Russian nationalism and as such, in the form of a political doctrine, could only be prejudicial to all concerned: to the Russians, to the other Slavs, to Europe and to the world. It was harmful to the Slavs because, above and beyond the fact that it was in political fact in great measure a fantasy, it was used and misused against them by their opponents to such an extent that not only the Magyars and the Germans but all of western Europe saw in it a real danger and frequently, because of it, opposed them even where the Slavs were in the right. Against us Czechoslovaks it was for instance used during the first world war and here and there one heard echoes of it even during the second."[48]

The year 1905 brought a marked change, not only in Russia's external prestige and her internal constitutional structure, but also in the attitude of the western and southern Slavs toward the whole question of their own future and the relations between them and Tsarist Russia. Whereas for over a half century, since at least the Prague Slavic Congress of 1848, they had consciously or unconsciously looked to powerful Russia for moral or physical support, now, that Russia had been militarily humbled and they found their own strength growing and their interests in their western connections in a more satisfactory perspective, the prospect of a future independent of Russia was not unpleasing. The vestiges of admiration for Russia that remained clouded but did not basically alter the vision of the future that opened out before them.

As for the Poles, who had never accepted the thesis of Russian leadership, the harsh campaign for russification under Alexander III only increased their hatred of everything Russia stood for and their determination to maintain their separate polonism.[49] Among the Czechs and the Slovaks the "realism" of Masaryk, by which he had meant simply that they should trust in their own moral strength and the logic of national development in order to win out over an already corrupt, artificial and doomed monarchy, had made much headway and was destined to capture the dominant place in the people's thought. The South Slavs had not forgotten the disillusionment brought by the Congress of Berlin and had quickly adjusted themselves to the thesis that they should and could make substantial gains in cultural and political autonomy on their own initiative in the Balkan ambit.[50] The coup of 1903 in Belgrade furthermore opened vistas of actual independence from the Hapsburg monarchy. All the western Slavs had sensed vividly for a full quarter century that Russia had been increasingly

48 Beneš, *Úvahy o Slovanství*, p. 127f.
49 Cf. M. Zdziechowski, *Wpływy rosyjskie na duszę polską* (Cracow, 1920), p. 53ff.
50 Cf. E. Denis, *La Grande Serbie* (Paris, 1920), p. 121ff.

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disinterested, indeed bored, with them and their problems. What fleeting political *rapprochements* took place at top levels did not touch real public opinion save to confirm the general belief that arrangements between dynasts, foreign ministers and such like were cynical and opportunistic. In this case at least it would have been difficult to prove this instinctive judgment erroneous.

On a basis of these psycho-political developments among the Slavs within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and along her borders the decade between 1905 and the outbreak of the war of 1914 witnessed the rise to dominance of what is usually described as Neo-Slavism.[51] The leading and best known exponent and expositor of this short-lived but significant movement was the Czech politician, Dr. Karel Kramář. The essence of this movement, fundamentally indigenous and unconnected with Russia or the accidental fact that Russia was largely Slavic, was an effort to counterweight Central Europe and the Balkans against the aggressive expansion of Germany in every field of political, economic and social life in that area. Seeing that Austria-Hungary was weakening in the face of the steady pressure from the north, the Neo-Slavs even advocated support of the Empire on condition that it be federalized. If Austria-Hungary could be weaned away from Germany and the Triple Alliance broken up, Russia and Austria-Hungary could draw closer together. Pan-Germanism would then be blocked and the western Slavs could move and have their being in this larger atmosphere. Along these lines there was even, *mirabile dictu*, talk of a Polish-Russian *rapprochement*. Late in 1905 Swiatkowski, an energetic Russian journalist, proclaimed that the German danger made Slavic cooperation absolutely necessary,[52] and he proceeded to beat the drums for a broad-gauged campaign to bring it about—among the Sokols, in the press, by congresses, by cultural and social relations on every level. He envisaged a political union of some sort, but specifically an economic and customs union to which the non-Slavic states of Central Europe should also be invited. In the next two years the idea grew that it was time for all the Slavs to get together again, as in 1848 and 1867, to further their mutual interests. The leader of the movement in Russia was Lt. Gen. Volodimirov, whose recent retirement left him with time on his hands. He enlisted some publicists and men of letters of a poetic cast of mind, travelled to Warsaw, Cracow and Prague, where he found other optimists.

The second Slavic Congress of Prague, which met in July, 1908, was the result of this agitation. It was attended by representatives of most, though

[51] Benel, *op. cit.*, p. 134ff. The most complete discussion of this movement is the collaborative work, *Slovanstvo: Obraz jeho minulosti a přítomnosti* (Prague, 1912), with a foreword by Dr. Kramář.

[52] Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 507f.

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not all, of the Slavic peoples in Russia, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans.[53] The slogans were unity, solidarity, reciprocity, equality and unification, though few if any of the delegates knew precisely what they meant. Roman Dmowski, the leader of the Polish delegation, ostentatiously shook hands with Krasowski, the head of the Russian delegation,[54] and the whole Congress echoed for days with the miracle that had been wrought. It all sounded like the ominous approach of peace and good will. But the fact is that the whole idea behind the Congress was based on a completely untenable assumption: that the interests of Russia and Austria-Hungary did not conflict.[55] It can only be charitably said that the organizers of the Congress had, in a greater degree and with even less excuse than their predecessors of 1848 and 1867, failed to think through their program, its logic and its practicability. Questions which the literate man on the street in Prague, Belgrade or Warsaw knew had to be faced either did not appear on the agenda or were greeted by bland smiles and silence. Two further facts highlight the absurdity of the meeting. The old Panrussians, now benignly veneered with liberalism, were in control of the Russian delegation and there is not the slightest reason to doubt that all their vocal support of the new Slavism was utterly cynical. Neo-Slavism in general and the Prague Congress in particular never aroused any enthusiasm among the Serbs. Roman Dmowski told Beneš in 1917 that his aims at the Congress of 1908 were solely the independence of Poland, and in no sense Slav.[56]

The roseate aura of Slavic amity and hope engendered by the Congress lasted less than three months. Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina and the hopes of the western Slavs for an acceptable *modus vivendi* within the then political framework were rudely dashed. The next year it became evident that the promises made to the Poles in Russia in 1905 of modest recognition of their nationalistic feelings were valueless and that reaction was again in the saddle in St. Petersburg.[57]

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[53] Léger, *Le Panslavisme* ..., p. 271ff.; Beneš, *op. cit.*, 139ff. A rich source of documentation is the printed (but not published) record of the trial of Kramář, Alois Rašín, V. Červinka and Josef Zamazal, which went on from Dec. 6, 1915, to June 3, 1916. Letters, documents and testimony of all sorts on the whole movement, including the various congresses, are printed *in extenso*. See further Paul Milyukov, "World War and Slavonic Policy" in *Slavonic Review* VI (1927-28), 268-290, particularly interesting in its critique of Kramář's ideas and Beneš' opposition to them.

[54] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 149. Dmowski published this same year his *Niemcy, Rosja i Kwestja Polska* (Lwów) in which he argued that Poland's principal enemy was Germany and that it was to the interest of the Poles and the other western Slavs to support Russia.

[55] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 155f.

[56] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 154f.

[57] One of the resolutions passed at the Prague congress to which most weight was

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175 Yet there were still pleasantly optimistic souls among the Slavic in-
156 tellectuals. Another Congress was called for Sofia in 1910. It makes even
829 more fantastic reading than those that preceded it. Dr. Kramář was fre-
668 quently eloquent. No Pole was present as a delegate. The Russian delega-
tion was almost exclusively conservative. No Ukrainian representative came and the Bulgarian Tsar was ostentatiously absent from Sofia during the Congress. This was the last Slavic Congress before the outbreak of hostilities in 1914.[58] Almost everybody save the leading Czech slavophil Dr. Kramář left Sofia fully aware that he had witnessed the *rigor mortis* of an ailing phantom—indeed a cooling thought. The Neo-Slav movement had had a short life and an inglorious end. If it accomplished anything it proved that Slavism as a gospel, so long at least as there was an Austro-Hungarian Empire, had insufficient grounding in the tissues of international relations to have the slightest influence upon the trend of events in Central and Eastern Europe.

It is a commonplace among German historians and analysts of the origins of the first world war that it was essentially a defensive struggle by Germandom against Slavdom. Bethmann-Hollweg made the statement early, and so weighty a study as Fischel's *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* is avowedly devoted to this thesis. But it will hardly bear careful examination. There were Germans on one side—there was a majority of Slavs on the other. But that is more accidental than essential. Along with many Slavic-German issues there was in fact a greater number of issues completely unrelated to the Slavic-German question which in the inevitable logic of history would have had to be decided completely regardless of ethnics and culture. After the war, out of which arose three new or revised west Slavic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the principal inter-Slav questions were solved and there was hardly a whisper of Panslavism. Bolshevik Russia, emphasizing its multinationality and its supranational foundations, in the early years at least, had no interest in Slavic countries *per se*, and Panslavism, Slavophilism, Neo-Slavism and even Pan-Russism became historical curiosities, objects of antiquarian research.

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attached was to the effect that St. Petersburg should be the meeting place of the next Pan-Slav conference the following year. Léger (*op. cit.*, p. 278) says: "l'on se sépara en se donnant rendez-vous pour l'année suivante à St. Petersbourg. Ce rendez-vous ne devait pas se réaliser." S. B. Fay, *Origins of the World War* (New York, 1929), 401, and B. E. Schmitt, *Annexation of Bosnia 1908-1909* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 248, mention the congress in the summer of 1909 and the circular letter sent to Slav organizations in the Balkans. The contradiction is only apparent. There was such a conference and such a secret circular, but very few South Slavs attended the meeting. See dispatch from Count Brockdorff-Rantzau (German chargé d'affaires in Vienna) to Bethmann-Hollweg of July 25, 1909, in *Die Grosse Politik*, XXVI, 844f.

[58] See the *Kramář-Prozess*, pp. 402-407, for interesting sidelights on the meeting.

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This should cause no surprise. Whenever in the past these national groups had existed as independent states there had not been any discernible urge for exceptional collaboration on a basis of their consanguinity. They had pursued their particular needs, in the same way as France, Italy and Spain, also related by history, language, religion and ethnic bonds, had, throughout their history, tended toward particularism and strenuously rejected any centripetal pressures. It would seem reasonable to allow Slavic peoples to act according to a pattern assumed to be rational and even enlightened farther west.

The Little Enente was, quite accidentally, two-thirds Slav. Its collapse was precipitated by the early defection of Yugoslavia, one of the Slav thirds. The Balkan Entente followed no noticeable Slavic pattern.

The aggressive war of 1939 was variously advertised. It was directed against any people that objected to being nazified, Slav, Teuton, Baltic or Latin. The fourth partition of Poland, shared in equally by Russia and Germany, made it abundantly clear that it was not a war against Bolshevism or of German against Slav. It would have been difficult to arouse among western Slavs any enthusiasm for the Slav idea from August 23, 1939 to June 22, 1941.

At this point it is possible to draw some deductions from the history of the variations in Slav feeling. The sense of Slavic community weakened, or perhaps more accurately shuffled into the unrealistic or academic empyrean, in times of peace. Under stress and strain or in times of crisis Slavophilism became again, with the limitations of the moment, an active force.[59] But all wars, the ultimate in national interest, have acted as rapid solvents of these fond dreams. This failure of the idea to stand any real test will explain why we use the term phantom or illusion of the whole concept.

From 1941 on one heard much of Slavic solidarity. There were All-Slav congresses at Moscow in August 1941, April 1942 and May 1943. The Russian speakers emphatically repudiated the political Panslavism and Pan-Russism of the nineteenth century and appealed "for the union of all Slav strength in the struggle against Hitlerism."[60] There was to be a unity of equals with equals, all bound together in a happy family of democratic peoples. Thereafter Slavic committees sprang up and Slavic congresses were held in London, Detroit and Pittsburgh, and in 1945 and following years, in Sofia, Belgrade, Bratislava, Prague and Warsaw. The themes of all these meetings followed the same lines: rejoicing in new Slav unity

[59] Cf. A. Mousset, *Le Monde Slave* (2nd. ed., Paris, 1947), p. 385.

[60] Vl. Ozmanin, Secretary of All Slav Committee, in May, 1943, quoted by Mousset *op. cit.*

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175 under the leadership of Soviet Russia. Whereas the pre-1914 congresses
186 were usually gatherings of professors and publicists, and the realist poli-
529 ticians generally abstained, the post-1941 gatherings were almost exclu-
668 sively made up of politicians and poets. The trained professorate was in a noticeable minority. It would perhaps be superfluous to quote many of these political leaders on the subject of Slav unity, but it would not be difficult to discover a marvelous, perhaps inspired, unanimity.

There were numerous speeches in all the western Slav capitals which emphasized "the Slavic bloc, directed by the great Russian people"[61] "for the protection of their freedom and democracy."[62] There is no room for question as to what was meant. The signing of every new treaty, of commerce, mutual defense or cultural friendship, was accompanied by headlines, radio propaganda and ministerial banquets, in all of which inter-Slavic devotion was lauded with profound conviction. Ceremonial visits of chiefs of state were exchanged, there were many elaborate parades and happy reunions. In between, naturally, there were visits to Moscow. M. Georgiev, the Bulgarian President, remarked, on landing in Moscow on Jan. 7, 1946: "I am happy to be in the fortress of the Slavic peoples which, thanks to the wise direction of Generalissimo Stalin, has become the hope of all democratic humanity." M. Vishinsky then visited Sofia.

The years 1946 and 1947 brought electoral and diplomatic victories to Russia. As all the Slavs were now safely enjoying their Slavic solidarity, it was no longer necessary to emphasize Slavism. Marxian Socialism was a more comprehensive concept into which Magyars, Rumanians, Austrians, Germans and Balts could conveniently be made to fit. We have therefore to remark upon the relative silence of western Slavic spokesmen on the subject of Slavic solidarity in the years 1947 and 1948. That stage illusion was no longer necessary, at least in so urgent a fashion as before. On the other hand it would be incorrect to say that it had been completely withdrawn from circulation. The enforcement of Russian language instruction in the schools, the extended tours of Russian artists, authors, scientists and athletes throughout all the Slavic countries, the dominant place in areas of cultural expression, education, science, press, radio, screen and stage, given to the products of Russia, all reveal the underlying plan. It should not be overlooked, furthermore, that the Orthodox Church has, with the support of the Kremlin, been incorporated into the program of implementation of the plan with considerable success in at least Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the Ukraine. Whereas under Tsarist rule the trilogy of

[61] Quoted by Mousset, *op. cit.*, p. 237, from Zdeněk Nejedlý, Czechoslovak Minister of Education.

[62] Nikolov, President of Slav Committee, at Sofia, quoted by Mousset, *op. cit.*, p 262f.

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175 nationalism, orthodoxy and autocracy was the slogan reserved for Russia
186 herself, one is justified in remarking that Russian nationalism has now be-
829 come Slavic nationalism or Slavic unity, Orthodoxy is being encouraged
668 outside Russia, and of autocracy throughout the western Slavic states there appears to be quite adequate evidence. We have, on the other hand, little positive proof that thus far the various Slavic peoples love each other more than they did, say in 1860, 1890 or 1935. Titoism rather speaks for itself, and the great popularity of Gomulka in Poland would indicate, if there were any need, the continuity of Polish separatism from time immemorial. A thousand years of determined and consistent western orientation and nationalism are not obliterated in a decade of government by loud speakers, force and fear.

As we look back over the last century of Slav thought, interaction and political mutuality, several broad lines of change strike our notice. In 1848 Slavophil enthusiasm stemmed mostly from within the polyglot Hapsburg monarchy. A century later, not only has this Empire, officially a bulwark of Germanism with all its westward leanings, disappeared, but its place and much more has been taken by the heirs of the Tsars. In 1848 Slavic thought was largely centered on cultural and moral reciprocity. A century later the Slavic nations, under the direction of Russia (excepting, for the moment, Yugoslavia), constitute a solid and ruthlessly integrated political, economic and military unity, more tightly welded with each passing day. But nothing seemed more sure, and indeed necessary, in 1848 than the Hapsburg Empire. Yet that imperial idea was in actuality soon after 1848 rejected by those who had theretofore felt it to be necessary. Under similar circumstances there is every reason to think that the present, stronger than imperial, concept will be rejected. Of their own volition the western Slavs have never in their long history shown any general desire to become part of an inclusive Slav empire. They have at various times experienced the imperial idea only to repudiate it. Nor, in spite of present conditions, is there any evidence that the people of these nations have lost their historic particularism. All the verifiable evidence is in the opposite direction. These peoples have lived long and are wise from bitter experience, a teacher whose lessons last longer than those of ministers of propaganda. Nowhere is the common man more anxious to claim citizenship of the world than in Central Europe, where the western Slavs for much more than this past century have been exposed to the repeated appearances of, only to reject, the phantom of Panslavism.

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THE WORLD OF THE SLAVS

BY

ALBERT MOUSSET

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PREFACE

FEW Westerners, even in the ranks of the cultured, have a precise notion of the historical meaning of the expression 'Slav solidarity'. To most of them, under the influence of pre-war German ideas, it suggests a phenomenon of racial nationalism, tinged with Orientalism.

Yet the idea of Slav solidarity was born, not in Russia, as we are tempted to suppose, but among the oppressed Slav peoples, Catholics by religion. It appeared for the first time in *Osman,* the epic written by the Croatian poet, Ivan Gondoulich, then in the work of his compatriot, Juraj Krizanich, a Catholic priest. It was then invoked in appealing for help with a view to emancipating the Slavs who were still under a foreign yoke: Slovaks, Slovenes, Serbs, Bulgars. (These Slavs were, at the same time, the ones farthest removed from Russia.)

It was only intermittently that the Poles were to be affected by the Slavonic idea, which was to be definitely adopted by the Czechs as soon as they realised that separation from Austria was an essential condition for full national independence.

As for Russia, she used Slav solidarity as a diplomatic card against Turkey, and against Habsburg Austria. She emphasised or brushed aside its manifestations, to suit the changing international situation.

So, in the perspective of history, this solidarity expresses less a racial *mystique* than the feeling of a common misfortune; while the idea of a community of ethnical origin gave it subconscious strength in the eyes of the masses, its value for the *élite* was, for long, only secondary. The conception of a common Slav culture, that of a large State comprising all the Slav peoples, [162] was never envisaged, except by a few visionaries. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that a deep gulf of history and civilisation separated the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, and Slovenes—all Catholics, all steeped in Greco-Latin culture, from the Orthodox Slavs: Russians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Bulgars. Among the first of these, Russian influence was limited to that of her literature—which, moreover, enjoyed no more popularity

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186* 178 than that of France, Germany or England. And even the Serbs and Bulgars, while they were affected by Russian influence, yet preferred to go to Western Europe in quest of models for their civilisation and institutions.

Moreover, when their political interests were at variance, the Slavs did not hesitate to make war on each other. Not until the last World War were they to be found in the same camp, during a European conflagration.

That was what gave the Soviet Union an ideal pretext for posing as the animator and leader of Slav solidarity—considered, not as an end in itself, but as the means of creating, in the Slav masses, a wave of feeling favourable to Russian imperialism.

Whilst reviving historical memories well calculated to exalt Russian patriotism, the Moscow Government organised Slav congresses, with united resistance to German oppression as their chief theme: upon the Soviet Union had devolved the role of liberator of the Slavs.

That, again, was only a diplomatic move. Panslav propaganda was the rule from 1942 to 1945. Then Moscow perceived the danger attendant on maintaining a scale of preferential treatment among the various peoples placed under Soviet influence—some of which, such as Hungary, Rumania and Eastern Germany had, in the course of their history, lived in a state of permanent hostility to the Slavs. 'Panslav' slogans disappeared from official oratory. And the 'Titoist' diversion, setting Belgrade in opposition both to Moscow and to Sofia, once more broke Slav solidarity.

[829] With the exception of Poland, all the Slav peoples had desired greatness for Russia, but within certain limits: that of their own independence. When, from being a liberator, Russia became a dominator, the notion of Slav solidarity was purged of its political content, and the ties binding the countries of Eastern Europe to Moscow then depended entirely on Marx-Leninist unity.

[656] The Slav peoples saw the Russians at work in their own countries, replacing the *mystique* of emancipation by a policy of assimilation and force. The progress of 'Titoism' in Bulgaria and in Czechoslovakia is really nothing but a manifestation of the old Slav individualism, rising once more against imperialist hegemonies.

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The significance of this reaction was not missed by Moscow And so, whilst laying aside Panslav phraseology, she endeavoured to make Russian the sole 'cultural language' of the Slav peoples. Hence the campaign to eliminate the teaching of the French, English, and German languages—a campaign facilitated by the Marxist hold on power in the popular democracies, but combated by the hostility of generations educated on Western lines. 186* 177 19 191

Thus the Soviet Union ensures two lines of penetration into Eastern Europe: Marxism and Russianisation. It used to be said that German was the Esperanto of the Slav peoples. Today the Kremlin dreams of making Russian a universal language.

It cannot be denied that the psychological role played by Slavism in the struggle which ended in the collapse of Germany was by no means negligible. But the peoples who led this struggle are today forced, by the Soviet Union's exploitation of the principle, to revise its very foundations. What they sought from it was the reconquest of their national independence; it was to this end that Slav solidarity was understood and cultivated amongst them. 186*

Now this solidarity has been exploited by the Kremlin for the opposite purpose: the enslavement or absorption of their brothers in race.

Like causes produce like effects: the old instinct of *rénitence* which roused the Slavs against Hamidean Turkey, Habsburg Austria, Kaiser William's or Hitler's Germany, will be unleashed tomorrow against the Moscow Dictatorship. 000

Panslavism is a pre-war legend. It became a political reality in international life only during the Second World War, to give way, in the new organisation of Eastern Europe, to Marxist solidarity.

Thus it lasted for four years only.

A. MOUSSET.

Paris.

January 1, 1950

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Chapter One

SLAVISM MENACES THE WEST

178 THE collapse of Germany inaugurated a revolutionary era in Europe. In the political domain, it was the prelude to transfers of strength whose full consequences cannot yet be gauged, although we can say definitely that it is the Slavs—and primarily the Russians—who will benefit by them.

[162] In this connection, the war has simply hastened a process to which a relentless impulse had already been given by the demographic rhythm of modern Europe. To-day, out of every three Europeans, one is a Slav. In three-quarters of a century from now, with the differing birth-rates in Western and in Eastern Europe, we shall find this ratio reversed.

563 [161] On the eve of the war, our continent had 454,400,000 inhabitants. The Slavs numbered 145,072,000, distributed as follows: Poland, 27,181,000; Czechoslovakia, 13,611,000; Yugoslavia, 12,017,000; Bulgaria (a Slavicised rather than a Slav country), 6,080,000; Great Russia, 55,548,000; Little Russia, 27,664,000; White Russia, 4,204,000.[1] It should be mentioned, in passing, that Russia, which common opinion (by metonymy) considers as the 'Slav country' *par excellence,* is on the contrary the only one which, within its State frontiers, includes at least an equal proportion of inhabitants of other races. For this reason it is also, whatever its political structure, the country where the national problem is at least easily reducible to a concept of ethnical homogeneity. It is as well not to forget this.

As far as any biological factor can do so, this prospect of demographic superiority in Europe gives stability and solidity to the political advantages which the Slavonic world may derive from the collapse of its age-long enemy—Germanism.

563 829 We shall use the term 'Slavonic world' or 'Slavonic community', rather than 'Slavonic race'. It was at the time when science was abandoning its convictions regarding race-discrimina-

[161] [1] Between 1930 and 1939 the population of Russia rose from 158 to 192 million, i.e. an annual increase of 3,700,000 persons—which constitutes a world record.

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563 tion that Hitlerite Germany adopted this discrimination as a
829 creed. We have seen whither this folly led. A less dangerous,
144 but more general, illusion leads historians to falsify the time-perspectives of the events they record by giving to the words 'national conscience' a racial import which is, more often than not, simply a gross anachronism. The most one can concede is that 'race' intervened as a disturbing element in international life at a time when the latter had, to all appearances, lost its homogeneity and its original authentication marks. The case of the Slavs is, in this respect, irrefutably eloquent. If we accept what the learned Genevan anthropologist, Professor Eugène Pittard,[2] has written, we lack precise information, and even clarity, regarding the original populations of the Slav countries; the data are too scanty for us to write their history on an anthropological basis and to establish definite relationships. Great Russians, White Russians and Little Russians present rather widely differing morphological characteristics. Neither does the Polish nation constitute a pure race. The Czechs of Bohemia and those of Moravia cannot be placed on the same level as the Russians and the Poles; on the other hand, Lusatians, Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks *do* seem to be the offshoots of one single ethnical stock. According to M. Pittard, the Slovenes would appear to be only Slavicised; a large proportion of them can be attached to the Adriatic or Dinaric race. The Croats and the Serbs used to form one single group; many of them must belong to this same Dinaric race: they are, again, Slavicised people, anthropologically far removed from the Slavs of the North, that is to say, of the districts today considered as the most specifically Slavonic. The same can probably be said of the Bosnians and the Montenegrins. The Bulgars do not represent a pure race, and different origins are attributed to them: Thracian, Tartar, and others; they too are Slavicised. In short, and without forgetting the reserves with which M. Pittard surrounds conclusions which he is very careful not to put forward as final—the Slavs of the South are probably not related to the Slavs of the North, and the identity of race of the former is apparently itself unconfirmed. Comparing this picture with the emotive manifestations of Slavonic solidarity which

113 [2] *Les Races et l'Histoire*, in the collection "L'Evolution de l'Humanité," pp. 273 *sqq.*

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Europe has witnessed during the past century, one is tempted to wonder whether the modern nations are not groups of human beings, mainly united by a common illusion as to their origins and an identical aversion to their neighbours. 563 829 144

But history is often only a distortion of the legend concerning the lives of nations. It matters comparatively little if scholars criticise and refute theories which human societies, wittingly or otherwise, have turned into living realities. Up to the sixteenth century the French believed in their Trojan origin, and even today they place an exaggerated faith in their 'Latinity'. 000

Consequently, as far as the Slavonic community is concerned, we will keep to the idea of it which is held by its component nations, without discussing its basis. Now it is evident that the feeling of this community, existing in embryo in former centuries, has gone on intensifying during the past hundred years, and to-day constitutes a fundamental factor in European life.

* * *

'The first nation to impose its virile will on the invaders, and decree the destruction of the enemy, was a Slavonic nation', said the German novelist, Heinrich Mann, in a letter he addressed to the Association of Soviet Authors, in May, 1942. It was, indeed, the Russian armies which, at the cost of never-to-be-forgotten steadfastness and unheard-of sacrifices, annihilated the most formidable military organisation the world has ever seen.

This victory represents more than the physical balance-sheet of a trial of strength, the settlement of an account, outstanding for a thousand years, between two nations. Regarded from the angle of European destinies, it is an event of quite different magnitude. It is the prelude to a reintegration of the Slavonic world, hitherto split up among the powers and interests which speculated on its division. For a century, the Western Chancelleries used and abused the word 'Panslavism'. We shall see, later, what to think of this word, which is unknown in the Russian language. But it was nothing more than a diplomatic slogan, a scarecrow utilised by the Habsburg monarchy in times of crisis, with a view to mobilising the West against Tsarist diplomacy. It is only today that we can speak of a Slav 186* 829 648

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186* 829 648 solidarity capable of disturbing the balance of power in Europe. And even so, we have to give an objective definition of this solidarity—a task rendered difficult by the traditional prejudices, the historical misinterpretations which, in the minds of many Westerners, have falsified the laws and motives which govern the expansion of Slavism.

563 829 No need to go far afield to see the effects of this ignorance of Slavonic realities, even when it is not reinforced by a feeling of animosity. In witness, I will simply cite this passage from a speech pronounced in the Tribunal of the French Senate on May 4, 1933, by the Chairman of the Committee for the Budget on Foreign Affairs:—

> 'That is a point to be noted, *viz.*, the awakening of the Slavonic race. . . . The objection is raised that Rumania is not essentially Slavonic: agreed. But there is Poland, there are the Baltic States, and, farther off still, the wholly Slavonic U.S.S.R., which is, so to speak, the mother of all the Slavonic nations of Central and Eastern Europe'.[2]

These few sentences, from the mouth of an authoritative speaker, contain as many errors as there are words. Rumania is not Slavonic, either essentially or in appearance. Still less the Baltic States. Far from being entirely Slavonic, the Soviet Union is hardly more than fifty per cent so. As for considering it the original habitation of the Slavonic tribes of Central and Eastern Europe, to do this is to settle, with an enviable assurance, a problem whose solution the most eminent ethnologists are still seeking.

Such was, however, the idea current in our official circles, on the eve of this War, concerning one of the determining factors of European peace.

186* 829 208 Even so, the honourable Parliamentarian who pronounced these gross untruths before his colleagues of the Senate was not prompted by malevolence when he spoke of an awakening of the Slavonic nations. This was not always the case with our journalists and their supporters. It would be possible to compile an anthology of ill-disposed or apprehensive judgements on the Slavonic world, from the pens of French intellectuals, or of men responsible for pronouncements on foreign policy. Is it necessary

[2] *Journal Officiel* of May 5 (1933), p. 791, col. 1.

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to add that, from the last quarter of the nineteenth century up to the Sarajevo outrage, Slavonic problems were localised in the Balkans, and that this did not help to facilitate their understanding, nor to procure for them an impartial judgement? 186* 829 208

European 'volcano,' or 'rheumatism,' 'nest of vipers'—day in, day out, metaphors such as these flowed from the pens of our propagandists and diplomats when they were reviewing Balkan politics, because they were not prepared to admit that the crises in which these politics involved Europe were simply the repercussions of rivalry and scheming among the Great Powers.

If we leave diplomatic and political circles and pass to the public at large, we find that the word 'Slav' aroused more distrust than curiosity. For some people, it smacked of Nihilism or of Revolution; for others (forgetting that more than a quarter of the Slavonic world is Catholic) it held a menace to the unity of the Church. Slav refugees had fought on all the barricades during the nineteenth century; their names figured largely in the police alien records. In short, this word 'Slavism' suggested a set of psychological characteristics, rather than a geographical or national reality, and these characteristics—or their interpretation—made up a picture which the average Frenchman did not find very reassuring for Latin civilisation.

Whereas the political world adopted the caricature of Slavism outlined by the diplomats of the Ballplatz, the intellectual world, in its turn, often fell under German influence when dealing with the problems of Slavonic life. There was, in France, especially after 1870, a brilliant school of Slavicisers, who had studied the question on the spot. But for a long time it was restricted to a small number of enthusiasts, who lacked a sufficiently numerous audience to popularise their teaching. [814]

Moreover, the early history of this teaching was unfortunate. The first holder of the Chair 'of Slavonic Language and Literature' at the *Collège de France* was Poland's most celebrated poet, Adam Mickiewicz. He was denounced to the Senate as a 'Panslavist'—a vague, but serious offence. For the time being, a well-chosen plural was sufficient to remove this offence: the chair changed its title and became the 'Chair of Languages and Literatures of Slavonic Origin'. Later on, however, Mickiewicz, accused of exaggerated mysticism and eccentricity, was obliged to give up lecturing altogether. The fate 186* 558

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186* 558 of his successor, Cyprien Robert, from Anjou, was scarcely less romantic. After the 1848 rising he was suspected of having left for America, with the followers of Cabet, in search of Icaria. This sufficed to give credence to the idea that Slavology tends to unbalance those who profess it.

186* 814 With Louis Léger, it is true, this science found its equilibrium and its discipline. But under Léger's guidance, Slavonic research tended to centre around Philology, and this orientation seems to have been permanent. The instruction gained in solidity what it lost in breadth; its beneficiaries, necessarily restricted in number, have never succeeded in forming a political team of Slavicisers such as would have given our diplomacy the orientation it lacked at the time of the two great crises of the present century.

Apart from what we may call Germanic interference, the Slavs have done a great deal towards helping to obscure or to emphasise their own characteristic features. What chance was there, in the past, of forming impartial ideas about the Russians from Polish testimony, or vice versa? About the Czechs, from Russian testimony? Or about the Catholic Slavs, from the testimony of the Orthodox? Outside an *élite* of thinkers, poets, scholars, who were the promoters and leading spirits of Slavonic Congresses, there was, between these nations, presumed to be of the same stock, nothing but rivalry, quarrels, and mistrust—piously encouraged, moreover, by their powerful neighbours. Denominational differences were stronger than race-solidarity; the Moujik felt that a Rumanian who made his sign of the cross with three fingers was nearer to him than the Slovak or the Croat who made his with his whole hand, or than the Czech philosopher, persecuted by the Austrian authorities as a 'dangerous Panslavist'.

[177] The inter-penetration of the different sections of Slavonic culture was so little developed that the great Russian poet, Pushkin, was deceived by Mérimée's literary hoax, when the latter published, under the title of *Guzla,* a so-called translation of Dalmatian songs.

186* 538 When Russian literature was revealed to the West, the latter greeted it with a defiant, or perverse, curiosity. *Monstrum invenimus.* French scholars saw in it less a new philosophy of life than an intellectual or sentimental pathology. De Voguë, who introduced the Russian novel into France, warned his readers

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that 'The floating soul of Russia drifts about among all philosophies and errors'. He thought he was speaking as a Cartesian and a Catholic. But he added that this soul was redeemed by charity, humility, and that preoccupation with the universal mystery which haunts Dostoyevsky's heroes. He introduced *The Idiot* as a sort of clinical novel, the reading of which would be more beneficial to doctors and psychiatrists than to scholars. On the contrary, Jules Lemaître maintained that, in the Russian authors, there was nothing we could not find in our own. No doubt his temperament, imbued with the clarity characteristic of Touraine, made him ill-prepared to explore the twilight regions, so attractive to Russian thought. Yet Lemaître was nearer the truth than de Voguë, in feeling that Russian literature would not impose itself by its 'Dantesque' aspects but by its note of sincerity and by its more faithful rendering of human inconsequence.

But, while awaiting a balanced judgement, which was to come only from the pen of André Gide, the picture of the Russian nation which the French gathered from Dostoievsky's novels was in the form of a fresco of grimacing figures leaning over abysmal depths, and of this picture they retained only the disturbed or less desirable aspects. 'Russia, Sir', says Lebiadkin, one of Dostoievsky's heroes, 'is a freak of nature—nothing more'. The well-read Frenchman's judgement on Russia would have been quite different if our nineteenth century had made contact with that country through the medium of Pushkin instead of through Dostoievsky and Tolstoy. The work of Pushkin, the most national of the Russian poets, would have created heroic, romantic stereotypes, which would have appealed to the popular imagination more than the Nihilist gospel of Tolstoy or the anti-Westernism of Dostoievsky. The 'discovery' of Gorky, translations of whose works were first published by *Humanité Nouvelle* in 1899, emphasised the revolutionary aspect, the reflected glare of incendiarism, through which Russian thought appeared to us; 'right-thinking people', and the conventionalists, followed its intrusion with increasing anxiety; for them, Russian influence or Slav influence meant one and the same thing, the revival, through ideas, of the tendency to 'bogging' under which Asia had submerged medieval Europe.

Russian art, on the other hand, cast around the Eastern world

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829 a nostalgic halo. It was no doubt the manifestation of Russian spiritual life which was responsible for the wildest craze in [535] France. At the beginning of this century, Serge Daghilev's ballets had a pronounced effect, not only on choreography, but [533] also on the decorative arts. Music and the dance were, for a decade or two, the messengers of Russian civilisation which met with the best reception. This means that they reached only an *élite*. Naturally, this is not the place to trace the history of the penetration of the Russian genius into France; we can only note those of its revelations in which, according to current opinion, a specifically Slavonic character could be recognised.

As for the political manifestations, they awakened more curiosity than understanding. The visit of the Russian sovereigns to Paris in 1896 aroused the enthusiasm of a crowd which seems to have seen mainly its exotic aspect. Amusing as it may seem, moreover, what little popularity Imperial Russia enjoyed in France was due to Jules Verne's novel, *Michel Strogoff*. An anthology could be made of the works of pure imagination which have moulded the images under which nations see each other. (*Carmen*, for instance, still sums up all that many French people know of Spain.) The figure which, to the Russians, has long represented the average Frenchman, is borrowed from the younger Dumas and from . . . Paul de Kock, whose novels enjoyed, in Russia, a vogue we have never suspected.

186* Of the other Slav countries—except Poland, the cult of which was kept alive by romanticism and sacred eloquence—we knew practically nothing. It is in the *Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux* that we find particulars of the two dynasties which disputed the throne in Serbia—just as though these were events taking place in the Antipodes! It was not only the political scene that Russia monopolised; her spiritual brilliance threw into the shade the other Slavonic peoples, whose aspirations—whose very existence even—were revealed to the average Frenchman by the 1914–1918 War. These peoples occupied an as yet unexplored suburb of Europe. To which of them did the famous 'Slavonic charm', discussed in French society, refer? Most certainly, not to the hard-working, rather reserved Czechs, nor to the Bulgars, distrustful and positive. Perhaps to a certain section of Polish society—but, more probably, to refugees who had long since lost all contact with their native soil.

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Enamoured of simple concepts and inclined, from his own experience, to envisage nationality only within the framework of the State, the attention the Frenchman paid to the Slavonic element was never proportional to its importance. At a time when the eyes of the Slavonic peoples were turned towards Paris and they were considering our humanism as the complement of their own culture, we were paying scarcely more attention to the latter than to the civilisations of Central Asia. For us it was a distant, inconsistent world, turbulent and archaic, decked with charms and blemishes which it never really possessed. How were we to recognise, under this airy, fanciful image, lacking both geographical contours and historical dimensions, that Cinderella of Europe, whom a calvary of ten centuries' duration had not yet brought to emancipation, and for whom history had meant simply a regular recurrence of injustice and humiliation? Impossible to imagine a more complete misunderstanding between two Christian worlds, separated by a few hundred miles!

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Chapter Two

RUSSIA AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE SLAVS, OR THE MYTH OF PANSLAVISM

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IN a Latin treatise, published in 1826 and devoted to the universal Slav language, the Slovak writer, Herkel, uses the expression, 'verus panslavismus'. He was the father of a word which, taken in a political sense, was destined, after 1848, to ring through the world.

If the word was new, what it denoted was old. The notion of Slav solidarity, implying a more or less organic plan for union among Slavs, progressed for three centuries along the paths of philology and literature. It was originated by a poet, the Ragusan Ivan Gondoulich (1588–1638), author of *Osman,* an epic poem in the style of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered.* He formulated the idea of mutual assistance among Slavs, with a view to the redemption of the Turk-oppressed race, by singing the victories of Prince Ladislas, the future Ladislas IV, who routed the infidels on the banks of the Dniestr. It was a hymn of gratitude and hope, offered up by the Catholic Slavs of the Adriatic coasts, and addressed to Poland after her ephemeral successes.

Shortly after Gondoulich, a Catholic priest of Croatia, Youraj Krijanich (1618–1683), spoke in burning accents of the 'Slavonic nation'; his work, a mixture of linguistics, history and politics, bears traces of exalted intellectual and sentimental emotions, influenced perhaps, in a confused way, by memories of Byzantium. In Krijanich is shown, for the first time, a clear consciousness, developed beyond the limits of a poetic formula, of the unity of the Slavonic race. Turning no longer towards Poland, but towards Russia, he had a prophetic conception of that country's rôle as a consolidating factor for Slav energies. [198] Krijanich, a Croat, a Papist and a Russophile, expressed himself in a strange dialect—a mixture of Croatian, Russian, and Paleoslav—in the hope of creating an idiom of intellectual solidarity for use among all Slavs, whom he called 'our people'. The result is that we are uncertain whether to class him with Russian or with Croatian literature. Whereas Gondoulich saw

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no oppressor of the Slavonic race other than the Turk, Krijanich added the German. He was the ancestor of the Russian Slavophiles of the nineteenth century. He was completely out of harmony with his age, which could not understand an argument combining the Slavonic idea with Roman Uniatism. He met the usual fate of a precursor. Having offered his services as Librarian to the Czar Alexis Mikaïlovitch, he obtained from Moscow a mission to reform Russian spelling; the manuscript of this work was recovered at Tver in 1888. But it was not long before he was suspected of being a Papist agent, and was deported to Siberia, in circumstances which have never been cleared up. At Tobolsk he drew up a treatise on 'Politics' which, on the lines of Machiavelli's work, was intended to deduce, from the principles of good and evil, the laws of the art of government. Was Peter the Great acquainted with this treatise, and was he influenced by it? Unfortunately, that is a matter which scholarship has not yet been able to decide. After that we lose trace of Krijanich. A Dutch traveller relates that a monk of that name died under the walls of Vienna, in the ranks of Sobieski's army; such would seem to be the crowning adventure of that strange visionary, promoter of a doctrine which was to be revived two hundred years later by a pleiad of thinkers and scholars and which, freed of its denominational utopianism, will remain the 'credo' of the apostles of Slav solidarity.

After the capture of Azov from the Turks by Peter the Great in 1696, the centre of gravity of Slavonic hopes was fixed in Russia. If we exclude the Polish point of view, it remained there for more than two centuries. The three reigns of Peter the Great, Catherine II, and Alexander I, helped to awaken the Russian national conscience by contact with the Slavs of the Balkans, Austria, and Hungary. This contact set up currents of mutual influence between sister-nations, discovering each other after long centuries of isolation and mutual ignorance. A Serbian Academician, M. Stoyanovich, published a series of testimonies from Serbs who were contemporaries of Peter the Great, from which it appears that, from this time onwards, the Southern Slavs considered Russian successes as their own.

Readers will not be surprised at the omission here of any reference to the 'Will of Peter the Great', which the Chevalier d'Eon, of dubious reputation, was said to have brought from

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186* Russia to the Court of Versailles. This belongs to the prolific family of apocryphal documents in which the presumed projects of deceased monarchs have found an imaginary embodiment. But this forgery has often been invoked as an argument in favour of the existence of 'Panslavism'. Now, it does contain a programme of Russian expansion, and allusions to the Balkan Christians, but nothing more specifically affecting the Slavs. Which proves, at the very least, that his own contemporaries did not regard the founder of Modern Russia as the instigator of a policy of Slav solidarity.

186* 175 648 Under Catharine, every war against the Ottoman Empire was the occasion of levies of Slav contingents. After the failure of their risings, large bodies of Slavs took refuge in the South of Russia, where vast districts were allotted to them. During the Napoleonic wars, Admiral Seniavin's fleet, at the Cattaro Delta, assisted the combined Montenegrins and Serbs. But, at the Congress of Vienna, a failure on the part of Russian diplomacy caused the Cattaro Delta to be handed back to the Austrians. It was alleged that Alexander I had agreed to this betrayal of the Slavs, as the price of a night spent with the beautiful Madame de Metternich. Notwithstanding, Suvorov's victories prepared the way for the Serbian insurrection; when this broke out, the Russian general, O'Rurck, joined Karageorge, to beat the Turkish army at Varvarino, to the north of Nish.

Up to the nineteenth century, the Empire of the Tsars remained aloof from the European concert. When it did join in, through the expedient of the Holy Alliance, it espoused interests which were not its own, and for which, moreover, it showed little concern, by backing up the Balkan risings. In this way it tried its utmost to sponsor solidarity among the absolutist régimes, while at the same time supporting the Orthodox minorities.

186* 178 814 But the movement whose watchword was defence of 'brothers in race', did not arise in official circles. It was a creation of the 'intelligentsia'. It received its first impetus from the immense work of the German historical school in the second third of the nineteenth century. 'Sanctus amor patriae dat animum', the epigraph to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, inspired Chafarik's *Slavonic Antiquities* in 1837, and Palatsky's *History of Bohemia*. The Slavs threw themselves passionately into these

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studies, and allowed themselves to be infected with that racial pride which German science displayed, with a tremendous orgy of texts and compilations. 186* 178 814

Kollár, a Slovak, Koukouljevich, a Croat, Kopitar and Stanko Vraz, two Slovenes, with Vuk Karajich, a Serb, formed the pleiad of romantic scholars and men of letters who revealed to the Slav peoples the common basis of their culture and their traditions. Their scientific offensive, which Renan was to call, somewhat disdainfully, 'Comparative Philology transplanted to the political domain', was the prelude to an era of ferment, when far-seeing minds could foretell the catastrophe which would abolish the work of the Congress of Vienna. Never had pure learning let loose such a storm. It was destined to pile up, under the throne of the Habsburgs, the explosive forces whose work of destruction has been completed under our eyes.

The movement was precipitated by the recrudescence of racial antagonism in Hungary. The 1848 Revolution had scattered powder-trails throughout Europe. Austria-Hungary found herself, in the years that followed, a prey to two opposing currents, representing the different life-aspirations, rather than political conceptions, of two enemy groups among the nations of this heterogeneous Empire. While the Liberals of Vienna, in revolt against absolute power, marched in unison with the Frankfurt Parliament, and included in their ranks the Germans of Austria; while the Magyar Liberals broke with the Habsburgs and bore Kossuth to power, the Slavs of Cis-Leithania and Trans-Leithania, by a repercussion natural to oppressed races, rebelled against tendencies aiming at the strengthening of the two hegemonies, Germanic and Magyar. The ethnical crisis attained its peak in Hungary, where the Croats marched to the defence of the throne under the leadership of the Ban of Croatia, Jellachich, while the Slavs of Hungary (Slovaks and Serbs) kicked against the persecutions of a régime which Western journalism confused with Parliamentary Liberalism. Russia intervened in 1849 not only, as was long believed, to save the monarchical principle, but also under moral obligation not to let the Slavs of Hungary succumb. By the victory of Vilagos, the Russian armies restored to the Habsburgs Hungary, which they were on the point of losing. Six years later Austria, by her anti-Russian attitude in the Crimean War, was, according to a famous 186* 175 648 668

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186* saying, to astound the world by her ingratitude. It is said that
175 Nicholas I, towards the end of his reign, visited Warsaw and,
648 standing thoughtfully in front of Sobieski's statue, said: 'That's
668 the first of the fools who worked for the Habsburgs. And I was the second'.

175 It was in the thick of these racial tussles that the Slav peoples
186* held their first conclaves. Bohemia, the most civilised of the
668 Slav nations, was the first to extend her hand to her sisters. By way of a counter-stroke to the German Assembly in Frankfurt, the Slav Congress took place in Prague in June, 1848. Object: the establishment of periodical relations between the Slav peoples and the drawing up of a programme of action for such of those
[171] peoples as were subject to Austrian or Magyar domination. The language spoken at the Congress was German, then regarded as the Esperanto of the Slavs, thus enabling the Germans to claim the Slavs as belonging to their *Geistesleben*. This Congress, attended by three hundred and sixty-three members, under the chairmanship of the Czech historian, Palatsky, was divided into three sections: Russo-Polish, Jugoslav, and Czechoslovak. Whilst protesting its loyalty to the Habsburgs, it claimed, for the Slav populations, the rights and guarantees granted to the Germans and the Magyars. Outbreaks occurred in Prague after this meeting, and the manner in which they were repressed showed that the Slavs could not expect much from Vienna. Once more, the eyes of the Slavonic world turned towards Russia.

186* Bakunin, in his *Confession*, has left us a picturesque sketch
668 of this Congress of Prague. He had pleaded the cause of the Russian revolution, and of the Federative Republic of all Slavs. 'The Slavs', he said, 'are real children, but I have found among them an unbelievable freshness, and incomparably greater innate intelligence and energy than among the Germans. The Slavs' predominating sentiment is hatred of the Germans. The forceful, if not very polite, expression, "accursed German" ("*prokliatni Nometz*") pronounced alike in nearly all the Slavonic dialects, has produced an incredible result in every Slav. . . . Hatred of the Germans formed the inexhaustible topic of all conversations; it served as a greeting between strangers. . . . As regards the Congress itself, it was, like all the other political

[i. Slav Congress, June 1848 – Analyst]

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Congresses and Assemblies of the time, void of ideas, and absurd'.[1] 186* 668

The poet and precursor of the Russian Slavophile current had been the Muscovite, Alexis Khomyakov, who was born in 1804, and died of cholera in 1860. Although a man of very wide and varied general culture (he invented a gun, and a new type of shell), he was deeply attached to national and religious traditions. Moving in literary and philosophical circles, which looked to the West for their standards, he felt a frenzied need for reaction. To the cosmopolitanism of ideas and to the philosophy of Schelling, with whom his contemporaries were infatuated, he opposed a new system, based on the obligation, for any nation wishing to attain its full development, to preserve its original atmosphere of faith, manners, and traditions. Thus, while the Czechs, the Croats, the Slovenes, had at first perceived in Slavism an instrument of joint solidarity and of liberation, Russia began by regarding it as a rampart against the intrusion of Western thought. 186* 156 829

The fundamental idea of the so-called Slavophile school was this: the West was in full decay; it was up to Russia to keep herself free of all contaminations, in order to play the regenerating role assigned to her by Providence. In the history of the universe, it was the destiny of each nation to realise one aspect of human genius and to carry this realisation to its point of perfection. Ancient Greece expressed plastic beauty, Rome's mission was to realise the conception of the State, and of Law. The Christian peoples of Western Europe had developed Rationalism and its applications to actual life by giving special prominence to individualist doctrines; witness Luther's doctrine, English political Liberalism, French equalitarianism. 186* 812

The late-comers in history, Russia and the other Slavonic peoples, still had a decisive role to play in the evolution of humanity—to define the social value of love and brotherhood. The Slavonic race would find, in its mentality and institutions, the necessary conditions for fulfilling this mission. All it had to do was to foster and develop its original characteristics.

That was the psychological and providential aspect of the Slavophile thesis, in which we find unconscious reminiscences of

[1] *Confession*, p. 105 *sqq.*

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186* 812 the Hegelian philosophical construction, whence came the German Ultranationalist ideal, and which was now, through Khomyakov and his school (Kirejevsky, Constantin and Ivan Aksakov, Youri Samarin), to give rise to a powerful anti-Germanist reaction.

186* 539 Khomyakov's odes constitute what we might call the epigraph of Muscovite Slavophilia. They are a pathetic and prophetic appeal to Slav solidarity: 'Look Southwards over the vast steppes, and the distant West. . . . Numerous are they, in the Carpathians and in the chasm of the Balkans, numerous are our brethren, slaves of the Turk or of the German. . . . Warm them at the fire of your love, and the day will come when the eaglets, our brethren, bursting their bonds with their brazen beaks, will, in their turn, fly off, as eagles fly'. (*Ode to the Eagle,* 1832.) The *leitmotiv* of these odes is the divine mission of Russia, who is to raise up her brethren and snatch them from the oppressor's yoke. But this mission does not go beyond a moral hegemony. 'Be not proud', says the poet elsewhere, 'in your dealings with Belgrade, O Prague, capital of the Czech countries! Despise not the Bohemian sanctuary of Vychegrad, O Moscow of the gilded domes! Brothers in blood, let us all remember that we owe each other equal and fraternal affection'.

186* 208 The Slavophile school, in its early days, had what we should now call a 'bad press'. The Westernists, who then controlled the critics and moulded opinion, represented Khomyakov's [292] friends as Chauvinists and Obscurantists. People made fun of their faith in the native virtues of the *moujik,* their extravagances in the matter of dress, the *mourmolka,* the traditional bonnet which they had adopted with the Russian costume, and especially at their illusions as to the expansion-power of Russian culture at that time. Nothing is so dangerous as a metaphor cast into the whirlpool of international life. Pushkin had one day written this unfortunate line:—

> 'Will the Slavonic streams all come and lose themselves in the Russian Ocean?'

186* That was sufficient to lend credence to the idea that Russia considered herself to have a divine mission, that of liberating her racial brethren, and grouping them around her. When the Russians spoke of 'Slavophilia', the West persisted in understanding 'Panslavism'. Yet they were two very different things.

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A folk-lore, and an historical myth, are not sufficient to create a community of political interests. Nor, even, is a 'Cultural Front'. As Pypine, a Russian Westernist, remarked: 'Before imposing a Slavonic civilisation, this would first have had to be created'. 186*

For, in Russia itself, there were two opposing currents regarding the problem of the destinies of the Slavonic world. One, with Tchadaiev, saw Russia's past merely as a chaos of historical misunderstandings, and events devoid of meaning. Such was the doctrine of the Westernists, whose chiefs, moving in aristocratic or liberal circles, considered Europeanism as the measure of good and evil. The other, with the Slavophile school, refused to acknowledge the European culture as universal, and maintained that the country's future lay entirely in the development of her own values. 181 829

Between the two schools, Danilevsky, a biologist hostile to the Darwinian theories, about 1860 formulated the problem of the relations between 'Russia and Europe', with all its implications.

He began by stressing the anomaly represented by the notion of Europe—a survival of the *orbis romanus*. There was no real separation between the European and Asiatic continents; the Urals were not a frontier. Now the question of a distinction between Europe and Asia was of prime importance to Russia, placed as she was, like a hinge between these two worlds. 181 829 177

This distinction, although a geographical anachronism, nevertheless corresponded to indisputable facts in the domains of history and civilisation—facts which sufficed to demonstrate that Russia had no decisive bonds with Europe. Danilevsky summed them up as follows:—

The Romance and Germanic peoples had a certain number of features in common, none of which was found in Russia's past.

They divided up the heritage of the Roman Empire, in which Russia had no part.

They were influenced by Germanic institutions, around which crystallised the notion of the State. The West was the patrimony of the countries who succeeded to the Empire of Charlemagne. Now Russia remained outside this community, which the Middle Ages designated under the name of 'Christendom'.

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181 829 177 Russia knew nothing of Feudalism. She remained aloof from the intellectual current which began with Scholasticism and ended with scientific investigation. She was untouched by the Reformation. Whenever she entered into conflict with the Holy See, it was simply as a foreign power.

In short, Russia did not belong to the European family. If she was connected with it, said Danilevsky, it was by adoption, in the manner of a wild stock, on which an exotic branch has been grafted.

181 829 771 But had not religion, at least, engendered a spiritual solidarity between her and the West? Was not Orthodoxy a disruption of the Christian community and had not six centuries of Œcumenism forged indissoluble bonds between the Germano-Roman and the Slavo-Greek worlds?

No, replied Danilevsky. The Western Church was the triumph of Rationalism, differentiated by a positive sign among the Catholics, a negative one among the Protestants. Rome sacrificed internal to external unity, the Reformation sacrificed true liberty to the idea of external liberty. The Eastern Church was neither a system nor a hardened doctrine; it was all love and renunciation. Much more than dogmatic opposition was involved—these were two concepts of the spiritual life which were poles apart. That explained why the Orthodox Christians had come to regard Islam as the involuntary and unwitting saviour of Slavism. By tolerating independent churches under her sway, Islam protected them against the assimilating or unifying ascendency of Latin Catholicism. A Patriarch of Constantinople had said that *Providence had chosen the Osmanlis to defend Orthodoxy against the Western heresy.*

186* 829 So that Russia, according to Danilevsky, saw in Europe nothing to give her a feeling of historical or spiritual solidarity. Such was, moreover, the point of view of the great Russian novelist, Dostoievsky; to show oneself a true Russian was, for him, *to place oneself on the battleground of all European hostilities.* It was to constitute a unity, not *in* Europe, but opposed to it.

The thesis of the biologist met that of the novelist. A harmful policy (said Danilevsky in his turn), during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, associated Russia with the European balance of power. Now this balance of power affected only the

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heirs of Charlemagne. It had no meaning for Russians, who must reject any permanent agreement with the States of the Continent, and keep her hands free, paying no attention to the doctrines by which other governments are inspired. 186' 829

These ideas found fuller development in the well-known speculations of the Slavophile schools on the decadence of the West. Each civilisation, said Danilevsky, slowly exhausted the sap which had nourished it. There was the time of flower and the time of fruit, and Europe had flowered two centuries ago. She had then passed her maturity, and could but degenerate—so the Russian nation had nothing to expect from her. History, added Danilevsky, showed that spiritual supremacy tends to function 'spirally'; to pass from one human group to another; China, India, Egypt, Greece . . . Europe's mission was completed, he concluded.

These long quotations were necessary, in order to establish the starting-point of the Slavophile movement, and its anti-European aspect, manifesting itself at the very time when one section of Russian thought, and the whole of the other Slavonic peoples, were expecting 'light' from the West alone.

The word 'Slavophile' itself, to designate this specific form of Russian nationalism, was originally a derogatory nickname, given to Chichkov and his partisans, who were taxed with Obscurantism. In fashionable society, it was always to have an unpleasant ring about it. When Dostoievsky makes the hero of his novel, *The Idiot,* enter a drawing-room, people excuse his strange behaviour by saying, 'He's a Slavophile, or something very like it, but not a dangerous case'. [196]

This movement did not monopolise all the appeals to collaboration among Slavs. There existed a counterpart, of opposite and revolutionary tendency. In the Polish section of the Congress of 1848, Bakunin had denounced the illusions fostered by Tsarist propaganda. 'I have no doubt they anticipate the time, in a distant, very far distant future, when all the Slavonic peoples will form part of the Russian Empire. Before that happens, all the Slavonic peoples will have fallen into decrepitude. . . . Without Russia, Slavonic unity is incomplete; without her, Slavonic strength is non-existent. But it would be madness to expect help for the Slavs and their salvation from contemporary Russia. . . . Be the liberators of the Russian people 186' 668

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186* 668 who, in their turn, will subsequently become your strength and your buckler'.

The Pravoslav *mystique* of the Slavophiles and the revolutionary thesis of Bakunin coincided on two points—faith in the future of the Slavonic peoples, and the expectation of a European order in which no nation should feel humiliated or injured. Transplanted to the domain of international life, this was that 'eternal search for integral justice' in which M. Raoul Labry so pertinently saw the dominating feature of the Russian spirit, with its belief in miracles and 'the totalitarian exigencies which it owes to its long religious education and to the régime under which it has developed'.

The immediate aim of the theoreticians of the Slavophile school was to apply Russian solutions to the problems of their national life. That is why the question of the emancipation of the serfs was studied by Youri Samarin, one of the leaders of this school.

[668] In 1867, in the midst of the enthusiasm aroused by this reform, the Congress of Moscow, which marked the climax of Russian Slavophilia, took place. In actual fact, it was less a Congress than a friendly gathering, sponsored by the Moscow Society for Natural Sciences. Eighty delegates of the Slavonic peoples accepted the organisers' invitation: there were Czechs, Serbs, Croats, Bulgars, Slovaks, and Russo-Galicians. The Poles, still suffering from the 1863 repression, had stayed away. The delegates were received at Tsarskoy Selo. The Russian historian, Pogodin, made a speech in which he expressed the hope that the meeting might be the starting-point of an era of regular contacts between all the Slavs. It was decided to hold a biennial Congress, in a town to be selected in advance, with a view to discussing the various problems of mutual interest to Slavs; to found a publishing company, to knit closer the intellectual bonds between the Slavonic peoples; and to set up in Moscow a permanent committee to act as a link between Slavonic organisations.

[741] This programme remained a dead letter, except for a few philanthropic institutions, which contributed to give to Russian Slavophilia the character of 'help' rather than of real mutual aid. At the Congress, one speaker had proposed the adoption of Russian as the inter-Slav language. He was snubbed. The

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feature which most reveals the Russian exclusivism that animated the Slavophiles is the very fact that their campaign did not succeed in creating a more effective current of intellectual exchanges. In 1850, a young Russian aristocrat asked for a passport to go abroad, in order to study 'Slavonic peoples and ways'. His application was refused, on the grounds that 'between Moscow and Kamchatka there was ample space in which to pursue this branch of study'. 186* 668

Among the Orthodox Slavs there was, moreover, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, only one State exhibiting a certain independence, and that was Montenegro. After a long period of subjection to Venetian influence, it passed entirely under Russian tutelage. Its prince-bishops sent their nephews to study in Russia, to prepare themselves for rule. Many young Montenegrins settled there, and their descendants included several of the Russian generals who opposed the Great Army. [563]

With this exception, intellectual relations between Slavs and Russians were intermittent and restricted. If, once they had regained their independence, the Serbs and the Bulgars sent their statesmen to St. Petersburg, their students went to Vienna, to Leipzig, or to Paris. Even the Orthodox seminarists often preferred the Protestant Faculty of Tübingen to the Russian religious institutions. In short, the ascendency of Western civilisation remained the chief obstacle to an assimilation of Russian culture by the Slavonic peoples. 186* 177

The Slavophiles, despite the lack of support (and, very soon, the distrust) which their initiative experienced from the Imperial Government, did not allow themselves to be discouraged. The Moscow Slavonic Committee, founded immediately after the Congress of 1867, and its St. Petersburg branch, set up in the spring of 1868, were continually active in the years that followed. Among other activities, they established charitable societies, which educated young Slavs from the oppressed regions, and publishing houses, which produced books, dictionaries, maps, reviews, etc., intended to propagate the common ideal. Between 1875 and 1878 the two organisations were very much in favour in Russian society; millions of roubles flowed into the collections sponsored by them; Aid Committees came to the assistance of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina; arms were sent to the Christians in revolt against Islam; a legion of Russian 186* 668 575

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186* 668 575 volunteers was armed and sent to Serbia a year before Russia's declaration of war, which was not made until April, 1877.

In the other Slavonic countries, the movement borrowed an ever-increasing offensive power from the general upward thrust of the nationalities. While the Czech deputies refused to sit in the Cis-Leithan Parliament, the Slovenes claimed the rights of their race and their language; the Croats, under the leadership of Mgr. Strossmayer, made of Zagreb a centre of national culture; the Serbs completed their emancipation and the Bulgarians, in two stages (1860 and 1870), secured the creation of the Exarchate. The Slavonic world was in full effervescence. Germanism grew alarmed. 'If necessary, we will put the Slavs up against the wall', Chancellor de Beust had said.

[648] The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 was to some extent the military epilogue of this period of effervescence. The Congress of Berlin supplied Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield with the opportunity of repressing the outbursts of the Slavonic race, and of checkmating ethnical propaganda, under colour of ensuring European peace.

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186* 178 During the years that followed, the interest taken by Russia in the Slavonic countries appeared to decrease. Internal affairs absorbed the attention of the Imperial Government, and the disappointments following the Congress of Berlin kept Russian society of the time of Alexander III in a mood of weariness or of apathy. This disaffection became more marked at the beginning of the reign of Nicholas II. Whilst Europe saw Panslavism as a volcano for ever in eruption, Tsarist diplomacy kept in quarantine the heirs of Slavophile thought. The word *bratouchka* (little brother), coined in 1877, at the time of the liberation of Bulgaria, lost its touching significance, to become a scornful term, synonymous with 'cadger', applied to the Balkan Slavs. German influence, exercised in St. Petersburg by the Baltic barons and the Court, took advantage of the repugnance felt by Liberalism and the Western type of Intellectualism to a movement which claimed to bring the country back to the real sources of its tradition.

186* 668 The Slavonic Congress held in St. Petersburg in May, 1908, was attended by members of the Duma, of *Kolo Polsko* (Polish

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Club) and the *Skupshtina*. But only secondary questions were dealt with, to be re-examined—without any more practical result—in the following month in Prague. These questions included the creation of a Slavonic Bank, a Slavonic Telegraphic Agency, the preparation of an Exhibition, the extension of Sokolism. . . . The time of heroic debates had passed. 186* 668

Then, in the speculations founded on an identical destiny for the Slavonic community, there was one disturbing element—Poland. Towards that country, Tsarist Russia displayed implacable aversion. Had she pursued a really Slavonic policy, she would have tried to utilise the powerful factor formed by the persecuted Poles beyond her own frontiers. A Slavonic policy would have succeeded in making of Russian Poland, governed with tolerance and understanding, a centre of attraction, if not for Little Poland (where the Viennese policy of Austro-Polonism gave the illusion of some measure of individuality), at least for the savagely persecuted Poles in East Prussia, in Posnania, and in Upper Silesia. 186* 563 648

For their part the Poles were inclined to think that there existed only two Slavonic peoples, Russia and themselves, and, of the principles of Slavism, to grasp only that directed against Germany.

It was precisely in the measure in which she appealed to the Slavonic idea that Russia caused them uneasiness. As for the other Slavonic peoples, their relations with them were only occasional. *Bohemi Polonorum infestissimi inimici* ran an old saying. The seventy-seven Polish deputies who made up the *Kolo Polsko,* and together stood for all the parties represented in the Reichsrat, rarely cast their votes with those of the Slav bloc formed by the Czech, Slovene, Serbo-Croat parties of Istria and Dalmatia. Yet the Slavonic Union of 1907 proved—though for a very short time—that, with them, the Slavs would have secured an absolute majority in the Parliament of Vienna. The *Kolo Polsko* adopted a realistic and short-sighted policy; its members derived temporary advantages, but consolidated a régime which the other Slavs declared to be inhuman and condemned by the evolution of the modern world. The Poles saw the Serbs only as Orthodox Christians and vassals of the Russians. They boycotted the last Slav Congresses, in order not to sit at the same table as the Russians. In 1911, the Serbs succeeded in [646]

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186* 563 648 getting them to attend the Slavonic Press Congress which was held during the summer in Belgrade. A characteristic incident spoiled the atmosphere of this gathering. The Poles agreed to attend the banquet offered to the members of the Congress only on condition that the Imperial hymn, *Boje Tsaria Khranyi,* should not be played. In an attempt to conciliate all parties, it was agreed not to play either the Russian or the Polish hymn, but to replace them with the Panslav hymn, *Ei Sloveni.* But no one had thought of the fact that this is sung to the same tune as that of Dabrowsky's hymn, *Jeszcze Polska nie zginela* ('Poland is not lost'). Hence an altercation between Poles and Russians, with the result that the latter refused to take part in the proposed outing to the Iron Gates.

It was jokingly said in Belgrade that the Poles were first and foremost Poles, then Catholics, and Slavs when they had time. Yet Bethmann-Hollweg, as President of the Prussian Council in 1912, had, by his famous Expropriation Law, reawakened among the Poles the feeling of a community of destiny with the Slavs. In the Prussian Landtag Korfanty exclaimed, 'At a time when, in the Balkans, the cannon is thundering for the liberation of the Slavs, we Poles, Slavs in Prussia, are the victims of a fresh act of vile oppression and persecution'.

But the Russians did not wish, or did not know how to profit by these divisions. The idea of easing the situation came to them too late, at the time of the First World War, after Pilsudski had organised the 'legions' in Krakow, and the P.O.W. (*Polska organizacya wojskowa*), the Polish secret organisation in Russia; it was only then that Grand-Duke Nicholas proclaimed the hypothetical independence of Poland.

186* 771 The first Russian Slavophiles' die-hard attitude in matters of religion greatly contributed to disturbing the currents of sympathy between Muscovites and the Slavs of Central Europe. Yet denominational differences were not calculated to alarm the Czechs. In 1848, the populace of Prague crammed Wenceslas Square to hear the Serbian Archpriest, Stamatovich, sing the office of the Orthodox rite; a wave of emotion passed through them when the celebrant intoned the *Gospodi pomiluj* for the repose of the soul of John Hus and of Zizka, the hero of the Hussite Tabor. The fact was that the Serbs, not very much given to mysticism, saw the faith chiefly as a counterpart of

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national sentiment. It is not irrelevant to mention that the Orthodox Slavs of the Balkans are the least practising of Orthodox Christians, among whom it is the Serbs who have the largest number of unbelievers. It is said that, for a given number of inhabitants, there would be six times as many churches in Greece as in Serbia, four times as many in Rumania, and twice as many in Bulgaria. 186* 771

Muscovite Slavism differed from Czech Slavism not only in its internal tendencies but in its psychological structure. The patient mysticism of the Russians aimed at achievements on the basis of a millenary evolution. The Czechs, of less nebulous mentality and of intense volitional power, sought immediate results. In Moscow they talked of the divine mission of Eastern Christianity; in Prague, of the boycotting of German goods and the disposal of the products of Czech industry. Between two nations with such a differing mental outlook, it was difficult to maintain concomitant moral action for very long. 186* 563 185

The breach became apparent when the Czech, Karel Kramár, created the 'Neo-Slavism' which held its first Assembly in Prague in May, 1908. A Pole, Roman Dnowski, and a Bulgarian, Stevan Bobtchev, were in agreement with him to rejuvenate the old Slavonic ideal under a new climate. It was a doctrine tending towards cultural unity and the spiritual and economic collaboration of all Slavs, without distinction of religion, and on a footing of perfect equality. An anti-hegemonic conception of Slav solidarity thus replaced 'Russo-Orthodox-Panslavism', relegated to the order of romantic myths. It seemed to provide the positive basis and the practical aims which agreement among Slavs had always lacked. 186' 668

But, among the other Slav peoples, this movement did not meet with the success its founder anticipated. Too many of these peoples still had to contend with foreign domination. Kramár more or less approved the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Dual Monarchy. He saw in it the legalisation of a state of things which implied an increase in the number, and therefore in the influence, of the Slavs within Austria-Hungary; it was for the inverse reason that the German Liberals in Austria had, thirty years earlier (1878), unleashed furious opposition to the occupation of these same provinces. But bound up with this question were the security and the independence of the Serbian 186* 668 648

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186* 668 648 people, who protested vigorously against Kramár's attitude.

The latter alienated, in turn, the Croats and the Slovenes, by opposing 'Trialism'; in other words, the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Croatia-Slavonia, considered as a step towards the transformation of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy into an Austro-Hungarian-Jugoslav Triple Monarchy—a transformation which, by an entirely unsupported legend, was said to be favoured by Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian Empire. A memorable verbal passage of arms took place in the Reichsrat on this question, between Kramár and the Jugoslav deputy, Tresich Pavitchich. 'One is surprised', M. Benes was later on to say, 'to see how little effectiveness Neo-Slavism had, and how the governments concerned neglected to make use of it during the critical years between 1906 and 1914. This complete lack of influence was fully illustrated by the documents taken from the Foreign Affairs archives of the three Imperial powers'.

In any case, it is certain that the Czechs derived no benefit from it. In February, 1914, Scheiner, the President of the Czech Sokols, went to Russia to sound the intentions of officialdom. 'You are of no interest to us', said Sazonov. 'Do not count on us, you play no part in our plans of campaign'.

In Serbia, Russian Slavophilia found a very different climate in which to survive. The Jugoslav countries constituted an area in which Orthodox propaganda modified the interests of Tsarist 186* 829 diplomacy. The latter, at the beginning of the century, considered the Poles as 'traitors', the Czechs as the fire-brands of democracy in Eastern Europe, the Slovaks, the Slovenes, and the Croats as the outposts of Papism. Out of the fifty million non-Russian Slavs, they were interested in only ten million—the Balkan Slavs. Indeed, the policy of the Romanovs considered the Balkan Peninsula as:—

(1) The approach which should, one fine day, enable Russia to make herself independent of the whim of the 'porter' of the Dardanelles.

(2) A field of competition with Austria-Hungary; in other words, the means of exerting counter-pressure on the Vienna Cabinet when the latter encouraged agitation on the borders of the Empire, in the form of Uniatism, Austro-Polonism, or Ukrainism.

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(3) A basis of reaction against Western culture and the influence of Catholicism. 186* 829

(4) More generally, a card of introduction to main European politics.

To ensure for herself the mastery of the Balkan Peninsula, St. Petersburg played the Serbian and the Bulgarian cards alternately, without considering the emancipation movements in those two countries as anything more than a trump card for Russian diplomacy in its struggle with Austria. With naïve egoism, Tsarism looked upon the Orthodox Slavs as the natural defenders of its interests, even at the expense of their own!

To tell the truth, none of these nations was blind to this political exploitation of a sentimental bond. In their collaboration with Russia they accepted what was capable of forwarding their aspirations but declined to play the role of clients. That explains the diplomatic games of general post in the Balkans. The end of last century saw the Serbs relying upon Austria against the Bulgarians backed by Russia; on the eve of the First World War, it was the reverse. Bismarck used to say, 'I am an Austrian in Belgrade, and a Russian in Sofia'. About 1890, the *Videlo*, a Serbian newspaper, expressed what many Balkan statesmen were thinking, but were careful not to admit: 'We have carefully studied the writings of the champions of the Slavonic idea in Russia and among the other Slav nations. These writings contain many phrases about the 'liberty' and the 'unity' of the Slavonic peoples. And amongst us there have been those who, in the inexperience of youth and the enthusiasm of poetry, have believed that Slavonic fraternity was a common temple, in which each of our peoples had the altar of its liberty. . . . The matter would not be very serious, if the Slavonic idea were merely a chimera, but, in actual fact, it is also the unexpected instrument which enables a powerful Slav State to oppress its 'brothers'. The weaker a nation is, the more removed from the form of a State, the more it is attached to the Slavonic idea. It is highly significant that the nation which is most faithful to this idea should also be the one which is the most isolated and the most powerless—the Slovak nation'. 186* 648

The movement of the nationalities was indeed drawing the Slavonic peoples towards far less abstract aims. The age of the bards and the philologists was over. They were no longer con- 186* 641 829

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186* 641 829 cerned with taking the census of a common patrimony, but with working out their own destiny. It was the question of their future State, and of its frontiers, which demanded a solution, and was becoming yearly more imperative.

Now, if there were two ideas which were foreign to Russian Slavism, they were those two, State and frontiers. Born in an atmosphere of romanticism, the Slavophile school had no constructive views. The forces it had more or less unconsciously set in action were, above all, anti-State. The State meant Austria for the Czechs, Hungary for the Croats, Turkey for the Southern Serbs. And for the Poles it was Russia herself, or else Prussia.

As for what the possible frontiers of the liberated Slav States might one day be, Russian officialdom had not the slightest idea. In the *Memoirs* of President Masaryk, we read a suggestive anecdote. During the War he had a conversation with General Alexeiev, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army, regarding Russia's war aims. He was astounded to hear the general express the hope that the victory of the Allies would carry the Czechs to Fiume and the Serbs to Uzhorod (Carpatho-Ukraine). Seventy-five years of 'Slavonic fraternity' and Slavophile demonstrations culminated in the formulation of such an enormity!

* * *

186* 829 648 Thus Tsarist Russia left the Balkan Slavs a joint heritage of good and bad memories. She had, by turns, favoured or restricted their emancipation, according to the state of her relations first with the Turks, then with the Central Empires.

The Bulgarians are commonly considered to have been her spoilt children. They speak, with tender recollection, of the 'Liberating Tsar', Alexander II, whose monument stands in front of the Parliament House in Sofia. In 1915, when Bulgaria went to war with Russia, his statue was veiled. But would the 'Great Bulgaria' (still-born of the Treaty of San Stefano) have satisfied the longings of the patriots? Would she not have been converted, by the Imperial diplomacy, into a 'Trans-Danubian Province', such as the Kaulbars government endeavoured to set up? The Russians, it is true, obtained from the Porte the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, which, freed from obedience to the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople,

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favoured Bulgaria's Macedonian claim. Yet they refused to associate themselves with the efforts of the Serbian Government to restore the former Patriarchate of Petch. But, if their preference went to Bulgaria, it was because the latter was one day to open to them the route to Constantinople. So the realism of the Sofia Cabinet practised an intermittent Russophilia. Two-thirds of the governing classes of the Bulgarian nation were pupils of Russia, but their number also included some Russophobes—Stambulov, Marinov, Chanadiev (except at the end of his life), Radoslavov and his associates. The Slavonic idea found an indefatigable apostle in the person of Stevan Bobtchev, a volunteer of the 1877 War, a jurist, professor, and diplomat, who presided over the Slav Congress at Sofia in 1910, when the Neo-Slavism of Kramár and Miloukov triumphed. But currents of dissension appeared on various occasions, especially in the reactions in favour of Catholicism at the time of Marinov, and in the reminder of the Tartar or Finno-ugrian origins of the Bulgarian nation, every time they entered into conflict with Russia.

The Russophilia of the Serbs often took on the aspect of a quasi-religious veneration. But it did not cause them to forget that the Tsarist government had abandoned them on several occasions. Apart from the pro-Bulgarian attitude it maintained in the Macedonian question, it agreed to the annexation of Bosnia at the time of the Isvolsky-Aehrenthal interview in Buchlau (Sept. 16, 1908) and, later on, its ambassador, Benckendorff, signed the secret agreements in London (April 26, 1915) which, by ceding to Italy the eastern coasts of the Adriatic, bade fair to ruin the plans for Jugoslav unity.

Now this unity had been a fixed idea with all Serbian statesmen since the Battle of Sadowa, which had awakened as many hopes in Serbia as in Italy. As long ago as July 30, 1866, Garachanin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, said to Botmiliau, France's representative in Belgrade, 'No matter what efforts diplomacy may make, in reality, the Austrian Empire no longer exists. Three nationalities will arise in its place, the Hungarian, Bohemian, and Slav (Yugoslav). Sooner or later, the Austrian Germans will join the other German peoples. . . . The Turkish Empire will fall, as the Austrian Empire has done. The Yugoslav State will be founded—not without warfare, perhaps, but it

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186* 829 648 will be founded—because it is in the force of events, because the peoples long for it, because it is the best possible solution to the present difficulties, and because, if it were not founded, these countries would fall a sure prey to Russia; Panslavism would be established in their place'. These few sentences—prophetic ones, moreover—provide the clue to all Serbian diplomatic thought, whether declared or understood, up to the 1914 War. The majority of the statesmen in Belgrade were partisans of a Russophile policy, with the exception of the old-time Progressists, and even so, one of their leaders, Stefan Novakovich, kept his confidence in the Tsarist Government. But, with these men, a Russophile policy never meant a Russian policy. We shall have defined the historical 'Russophilia' of the Balkan States, if we say that it always postulated the greatness of Russia, and was bounded by the determination to eliminate that country from internal affairs of the Peninsula.

186* 829 795 Yugoslav Catholics were inclined to be prejudiced in favour of Russia; this was due, on the one hand, to their geographical situation, beyond the reach of Russian ambitions, and, on the other, to the fact that their Catholicism was much less exclusivist than that of Poland, for instance. No doubt this intellectual liberty must be attributed to an instinctive reaction against the policy of the Vatican, which was then axed on Austria-Hungary, *i.e.*, on the two countries whose yoke the Yugoslavs aspired to shake off. The majority of the Croat and Slovene thinkers and poets of the nineteenth century were inspired by Slav traditions; the Illyrian movement was, in their countries, the starting-point [793] of the national Renaissance. But the role of the Catholic clergy in this renaissance, and its connections with Orthodox Russia, is certainly one of the most decisive manifestations of that 'Slavonic conscience' which the politicians of St. Petersburg believed to be the attribute of the Orthodox Slavs. In Slovenia the priest, Jean Krek, the instigator of the Co-operative movement, and later on, Abbé Anton Korochets; in Croatia Bishop Strossmayer and Canon Ratski, were not only apostles of Slav solidarity, they had frequent contacts with the Russians. Strossmayer, who was one of the contrivers of Yugoslav unity, had not only been one of the opponents of the Vatican Council; he protested vigorously against the Holy See's anti-Russian attitude at the time of the 1877 War.

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Thus, at the beginning of this century, the Slavonic idea had permeated all the currents of spiritual life of the nations whose historic personality it exalted. In Russia, after having arisen among the intellectual *élite*, it had been relegated to the rank of diplomatic accessories. But it had been rejuvenated by allying itself with Czech Agnosticism, with Croatian and Slovene Catholicism, with the positive sense of the Bulgars, the legendary spirit of independence of the Serbs. It had been an aspect, a 'phase' of the march of the nationalities towards emancipation. From the minutes of meetings of learned societies, it had advanced to the domain of direct action. After having taken stock (academically) of the injustices which formed landmarks in the history of the Slavonic world, it was preparing to achieve reparation for these injustices by conspiracies, acts of violence, war.

While Russia had given the emotional impetus to this movement, and the Czechs had demonstrated the educative elements in a Slavonic science and conscience, it was left to the Yugoslavs to set the ruthless pace which was to precipitate events. It was under their influence that Slavism entered upon its revolutionary phase. In Hungary it found the oppressive atmosphere which provoked this evolution; the beginning of the twentieth century is marked, in Croatia, by a series of trials and acts of violence which revealed to the world the progress of Yugoslav militancy. It was in fact in Bosnia, from a centre of Yugoslav irredentism, that sprang the spark which was to set the continent afire. Starting from the speculative heights of the learned world, the Slavonic idea culminated in shots, fired point blank, by a Herzegovine student, at the heir to the Austrian Empire, in a Sarajevo street. When the President of the Tribunal interrogated the authors of the crime as to the motives for their action, they repeated, with dogged fatalism, 'Francis Ferdinand was the enemy of the Slavs'.

Russian officialdom took fright at this effervescence. It sought excuses for its passive attitude. To explain why they had abandoned the Serbs at the time of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Stolypin stated that Imperial diplomacy had simply had an eye to the future. 'Give the peasants of Kostroma ten more years at the plough'. A second humiliation was inflicted on Russia in April, 1913, when, to please Austria, she

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186* 829 648 was obliged to join the European concert which forced Montenegro to raise the siege of Scutari.

Russian society took no interest in these questions. Its members were frequently heard to say, 'God bless these "bratouchki"! Wouldn't it be better to live without them? Shan't we be happier when we have abandoned the Slavonic chimera and the dream of providential vocation, and think only of our own immediate interests?'

With the crisis of July, 1914, Russia was, for the third time, faced with the possibility of a renunciation. This time she pulled herself together. Austria was imposing on her a trial of strength in which her rank as a Great Power was at stake. On learning of the ultimatum from the Ballplatz to the Belgrade Cabinet, Nicholas II telegraphed to his minister, 'Tell the Serbs they can count on me'. With this historic sentence, another cycle in the history of the Slavonic world was closed.

186* 578 In fact, under a common denominator of origin, of sufferings and reflexes, the Slavonic peoples were inspired by different aims —independence, territorial expansion, and the acquisition of sovereign rights. Consequently, every event which brought them nearer to their respective goals had, as its first result, the relaxation or removal of their connecting bonds. It was the negative aspect of Slavism, which, having reached the stage of realisation, animated ideals which involved neither the same aims nor the same volitional power. This had been proved during the Balkan War of 1912–1913, when Serbs and Bulgarians fell upon each other, after having jointly waged war on the Turks. It was to be seen even more clearly during the World War of 1914–1918, when, some fighting under the flags of the Entente, others under those of the Central Empires, the Slavs exhausted each other in fratricidal conflict.

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Chapter Three

THE TRIUMPH OF THE NATIONALITIES, OR SLAVISM WITHOUT RUSSIA

THE 1914–1918 War has often been regarded as a settling of accounts between Slavs and Teutons. And it was certainly the Germans who did the most to popularise this over-simplified viewpoint. At the time of the Balkan crisis, Bethmann-Hollweg, the Chancellor of the Reich, reduced the possibility of a European war to a struggle between Teutonism and Slavism: *Ein Kampf zwischen Germanentum und Slawentum.* For his part, General von Moltke wrote, on February 12, 1913: 'Sooner or later will come the war between Germanism and Slavism, for which all the standard-bearers of Germanic culture and spirit must prepare'.

At the time when it was formulated, this prophecy might have been found surprising. Indeed, in the course of the ages, Teutonism had secured solid positions against the Slavs, whom, in nine centuries, it had pushed back from the Elbe to the Vistula. It had colonised, plundered, or subdued their western tribes. It penetrated into Russia by two means—the Baltic nobility, and dynastic marriages. Eleven Tsars or Tsarinas since Peter the Great were either of German blood or under German matrimonial influence. This fact alone will give an idea of the fatality which, since the eighteenth century, weighed upon the destiny of Russia. In face of this infiltration, we think of the terrible phrase addressed by Skobelev to a delegation of Serbian students in Paris: 'In our own country, we are not at home'. In short, history presented itself to the Teutons as an uninterrupted process of absorption of their eastern neighbours, or of domination over their politics.

Moreover, von Moltke's prophecy implied a Slav solidarity which was then in the realm of conjecture. History offered no recent example of it. In 1848, the Slavs had nearly all fought for a cause which was foreign to, even if not opposed to, Slavism. In 1885, and again in 1913, the Serbs and the Bulgars had cut each others' throats. And twelve months later, in 1914,

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186* the Slavs were to split up between the two camps into which
578 Europe would be divided. So that, except in congresses, where
175 ethnography and philology were discussed, this solidarity remained a myth. Russian egoism bore heavily upon the little 'Pravoslav' countries, in which the Tsarist policy affected to take an interest. Much more than that; certain territories, caught between two Slavonic currents—such as Macedonia, the Ukrainian Marches, the Teschen district of Silesia—kept alive the spirit of dissidence within the Slavonic family.

175 What remained of von Moltke's declarations was the
167 obsession of an inevitable reckoning between the two races. Germany, who, from age to age, had extended her sphere of domination at the expense of the Slavs, dimly felt that, one fine day, the latter would grow tired of the role of 'fertilisers' (*Düngervolk*) to which the Pan-Germanic school condemned them. In Merovingian times, a slow but continuous migration, by easy stages, peopled the Eastern Teutonic states with Slavs. These tribes had reached the Elbe and the Oder by the fourth century. To designate the Teutonic peoples, they forged the collective appellation, *Niemtse,* which has remained in the modern vocabulary of the Slavonic peoples, and signifies 'dumb ones', *i.e.*, speaking a language unintelligible to Slavs. But, little by little, the ebb of the Teutonic tribes pushed them back. With the exception of a few descendants of the Pomeranians (the Kachoubes and the Slovinces) and of the Sorabes (Lusatians), the vast group of Western Slavs of the Elbe and the Baltic disappeared in the struggle waged against them by the Germans in the four centuries from the time of Charlemagne to the twelfth century.

829 This withdrawal is explained by the state of dissension—a
167 hereditary defect with the Slavs—in which these populations
181 lived. An Austrian historian of this century, J. Peisker,[1] was so struck by such a large-scale backward drive, that he sought a different explanation for it. The past, he said, shows such a succession of conquests, and establishments of Teutonism in Slavonic territory, that we cannot attribute it to the fortune of war. We are obliged to suppose the existence of some factor which paralysed the resistance of the Slavs. This factor must

113 [1] *Die Älteren Beziehungen der Slawen zu Turkotataren und Germanien.* Berlin, 1905.

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be sought in the most remote centuries, in the contact of the Slavs 829
with the Turanian peoples of the Steppes, who were the founda- 167
tion of the so-called 'Scythic' Iranian population. From time 181
immemorial, the Turko-tartar peoples, by their pillaging raids, have borne heavily on the Iranians, their immediate neighbours, and, through them, on the Slavonic peoples. The Iranians have been the victims of the Turkomans of the salt Steppes—and the Slavs, by repercussion, have shared their fate. Having thus exhausted their political and social strength, they have become the chronic prey of the conquerors.

This thesis of an original curse, whatever its scientific value, should be borne in mind, for it justifies a conviction that is widespread among the Germans, *viz.*, the inferiority of the Slavonic race, and its presumed incapacity to develop from the notion of a clan to that of a State. There have been published anthologies of German thinkers and propagandists on this theme, which is summed up in the well-known witticism *Gute Nacht, Russen, nach Asien!*—which the Germans have invoked, even down to our own times, to justify considering Eastern Europe merely as a contemptible suburb of Teutonism.

Such is the background of history on which was projected 829
the 'reckoning' on which Bethmann-Hollweg and von Moltke 721
had banked. Must we, however, go so far as to say that the War 178
of 1914 was a Teuto-Slavonic war? M. Benes considers this thesis as attractive as it is untenable. He regards this war as a struggle between two political and philosophical conceptions, the logical development of the European evolution which, beginning at the Renaissance, culminated in the triumph of political individualism, of parliamentary and constitutional law. The war, he says, was not Teuto-Slavonic in character, nor in aims, nor in results.

Limited to the strict sequence of facts, this judgement is admissible. While Austria-Hungary threw herself into the war to prevent a rupture of her interior balance to the advantage of the Slavs, deeper and more decisive causes armed the Great Powers one against the other.

If, however, we consider the atmosphere that reigned in 186*
Europe in 1914, when the war found so many inflammable 721
substances in a state of suspense, M. Benes's point of view seems more contestable. The interests of the Slavs were neither

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186* 721 coherent nor systematised; no one was pursuing a policy of defending or destroying them as a whole. But the Slavonic world had let loose outbursts of passion which, for some years, had been fanning all the centres of trouble into flame. These had greatly helped to create the psychological atmosphere which had rendered the clash inevitable. So we may say that, if Slavism as such had indeed nothing to do with the development of the drama, it had at least written the prologue to it.

* * *

186* 668 648 Such being the case, it is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that, during the 1914–1918 War, the Slavs had no general political policy. They evolved within the framework of their historical antecedents, as long as the conflict offered no other prospect than that of a German victory. On several occasions Russian officialdom even adopted an anti-Slav position. They agreed to the cession of Dalmatia to Italy, opposed the union of the Slovenes and the Croats with the Serbians, resisted the concessions which Russia's allies asked her to grant to Poland, and showed obvious lack of goodwill at the Czech suggestions for the creation of an independent army.

The Czechoslovaks had a more coherent policy, and gave ample proof of loyalism. From the very beginning of the operations, whole units deserted under fire and went over to the Russians. They have been reproached with having first declared themselves in favour of the autonomy of Poland within the framework of Russia, rather than of her full independence. At the time when they adopted it, that attitude was a realistic, rather than a sentimental one.

The Poles were, above all, anti-German; for a long time they humoured Austria-Hungary, and several of them served her brilliantly. It must not be forgotten that the Dual Monarchy's anti-Slav policy was often the work of Slavs: Coluchowski (Minister of Foreign Affairs), Bilinski (Joint Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina), Dumba (ambassador), Tarnowski, etc. In any case, a Slavonic policy would have meant a mortal struggle with Vienna and Budapest; the Poles could not resign themselves to that. Besides, would the Russians have given them sufficient understanding, if not support, to make up for the goodwill they could rely on finding among the Magyars and the Austrians?

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The Yugoslavs of Austria aimed at the dismembering of the Dual Monarchy and at the total emancipation of the Slav populations living under its sway. But they found themselves prevented from conducting a policy of integral Slavism, by the caution which the war-map forced them to observe with regard to Russia [2] and to Italy, owing to the Serbo-Bulgarian dispute and the Macedonian problems, and even by the difficulties encountered at the outset of the negotiations between Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs, for the formation of a single Yugoslav state. 186* 648 668

There were, however, some attempts at understanding among the various emigrations, especially between the Polish National Committee (Dmowski, Paderewski), the Czechoslovak National Council (Masaryk, Benes, Stefánik) and the Yugoslav Committee (Troumbich, Hinkovich). These contacts lasted until the Peace Conference. But they never led to the elaboration of a programme, or of any organic agreement. [575]

The Dual Monarchy, moreover, did not lack support among its Slav nationals. Stiepan Radich, a Russophile, a hundred per cent Slav and a poet into the bargain, addressed a rhymed call to arms against the Tsar to his brothers of Austria and of Hungary:—

> '. . . All persecuted, even to the shedding of blood, by the East,
> All having received their Faith from Rome,
> All having their fields bathed by the Danube'.

It is true that this same Radich, when things went badly for the Central Empires, reassured his friends, anxious about the fate reserved for Croatia: 'Have no fear', he said, 'nothing can happen to you as long as Russia exists'. This guileless inconsequentiality is rather reminiscent of the whole history of Slavism, adapted by each nation to the daily round of its own politics. Even the war made no change in this behaviour. Russia disappointed her Serbian ally by signing the London Pact, which stupidly dismembered the Dalmation coast, to the advantage of Italy, through ignorance of the fact that there were

[2] A slight incident will show how much the latter had remained attached to her prejudices. On the Feast of the Epiphany, 1916, the divisions of Serbian and Croat volunteers in Russia arranged for a religious service, at which prayers were recited for all Christians, 'Orthodox and non-Orthodox'. The Russians did not hide their disapproval, and declared this initiative to be 'not very liturgical'.

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186* 648 668 Catholics in Southern Dalmatia and Orthodox Christians in Northern Dalmatia. Still the same ignorance of Slavonic geography! Pilsudski raised a Polish Legion against Russia, and the Bulgars made unforgivable war on the Serbs. It is true that, in the last period of the conflict, legions were formed, in which the Slavs of Austria-Hungary rejoined forces for the defence of their own cause. And at the meeting of the Reichsrat in mid-October, 1918, at which the nationalities bade farewell to the Empire of the Habsburgs, one might have believed in a renewal of Slav solidarity. After Stanek, representing the union of the Czech parties, had bravely declared: 'Know that no Czech willingly gave his life for the cause of the Central Empires', the Polish orator spoke of a 'Slavonic bloc, stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic'. But, in reality, what they were thinking of was not Slavism, but liberty.

This liberty was to be restored to them by the treaties of 1919–1920. Truth compels us to say that they owed it as much to the collapse of Imperial Russia as to the victory of the Allies. 'Russia', Dostoievsky had predicted, 'will have no more venomous enemies than these Slavonic nations, as soon as she has liberated them. They will immediately begin by seeking from Europe, from England, from Germany, the guarantee of their liberty, and it is against Russia that they will take measures'.

Dostoievsky had not foreseen the collapse of Tsarism. But, if the latter 'liberated' the Slavonic peoples, it was not by virtue of any conscious action, but by its own suicide. By disappearing, it did more for the independence of the Slavonic nations than the Slavophile Romanticism of three Muscovite generations. Old Imperial Russia, at her collapse, was to bequeath to the resuscitated Slavs what remained of the Slavonic idea. She might have repeated to them the beautiful words spoken by Cyril, on his death-bed, to his brother Methodius: 'We were like a yoke of oxen ploughing a field of corn; my days are over, I am going away, and you must carry on our joint task'.

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186* 668 The first result of the Russian Revolution was, indeed, to remove the reactionary fetters which Muscovite Slavism had imposed on inter-Slav relations. Henceforth, all the Slavonic nations were ranged behind one and the same democratic ideal.

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But a new Slavonic problem was brought to the forefront—the problem of the Ukraine. A Ukrainian National Committee was formed, and began to negotiate with the Allies. Its action divided the Slavs; Poles and Russians greeted it with equal hostility; the Yugoslavs displayed disapproval or indifference; the Czechs adopted a half-and-half attitude, advocating the administrative and cultural autonomy of the Ukraine within the framework of the reviving Slav solidarity. 186* 648 578

Moreover, it was quite natural that, once in possession of their ethno-linguistic frontiers, the Slavonic peoples should cease to have any other horizons than these frontiers, within which they still had to build up a political, economic, and social organisation. They sought their vocation in their own history. We are continually forced back to this fundamental fact—Slavism has been, in its essence and from the force of circumstances, a revolt of the nation against the State, whether the latter was called Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Turkey. In Russia itself, the Slavophile school maintained the rights of the country (*zemlia*) against the encroachments of the State. With this tendency is connected the tinge of anarchy which the West is apt to associate with the word 'Slav'. The nation, in the spirit of the 1919–1920 treaties, being identified with the State, the Slavonic idea was doomed to lose the centrifugal opposition, the dissolving power which had long characterised it, and under whose action the Habsburg Empire had collapsed. 186* 668

And in fact, the triumph of the nationalities, ratified by the treaties of Saint-Germain and of Trianon, restored Slavism to its academic origins. Reminders of racial fraternity now seemed to serve no other purpose than to warm up the atmosphere for after-dinner speeches, or for inaugural meetings of congresses. The Slavonic nations lacked that basis of common culture which gives to Hispanism, for instance, the only positive value to which it can lay claim.

In the political order the counter-indications showed up all the more clearly, inasmuch as the territorial settlements were no longer made in virtue of force, but on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination. Now there were some populations which were caught between two opposing Slavonic currents; the Teschen district of Silesia, Macedonia, the Ukraine. A cynic has remarked that, the farther the distance between Slavonic 186* 728

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186* 728 nations, the better they understand each other; witness the Poles and the Bulgarians, the Czechs and the Yugoslavs. But to say that living side by side no more ensures agreement among nations than it does among individuals is to state a commonplace.

[578] Yet the reshuffling of the map did, nevertheless, satisfy the essential aspirations of the Slavs. It gave Yugoslavia her unity, Czechoslovakia her independence, Poland her liberty. But some irredentism still remained. Bulgaria claimed Macedonia (although she had lost it before the war). The Yugoslavs regretted that the Slovenes of Istria and Carinthia had remained outside the frontiers of their State, Poland remained in dispute with Russia on her Eastern Marches, and with Czechoslovakia in the Teschen Basin. The Ukraine question was assuming a fresh form and acuteness. Even after the recasting of Eastern Europe, there still remained seeds of discord between the Slavonic nations.

131 175 Much more; looked at as a whole, the new map seemed to be based on an age-long law which shuts the Slavs off from the sea. It was because it was cut off from all the seas that the original Slavia remained as unknown to the Ancients as Central Africa was to the Europeans of fifty years ago. One after the other the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Goths, the Huns, the Avars, the Khazars, the Tartars, all barred them from the Black Sea. It was not until the eighteenth century that the Russians became effective masters of the northern shore of this sea. Similarly with the Baltic, where Scandinavian, Finnish, and Baltic peoples settled; until the Second World War, Leningrad was a Slavonic breach in Finnish territory. As for the White Sea, it was inaccessible to the Russians before the sixteenth century. The Finns, and perhaps the Lapps, had got in before them.

728 131 175 Now the 1919–1920 treaties took the Baltic territories and Finland from Russia. They refused Danzig to Poland, Fiume and Trieste to Yugoslavia. Following the coasts of the Baltic, from the borders of Esthonia to the Free Port of Danzig there was no real Slavonic port, even though the hinterland might be entirely populated with Slavs. On the Adriatic, the Dalmatian coast offered nothing but indifferent outlets, backed by steep slopes—and yet the hinterland was wholly Slavonic. The Aegean had no Slavonic outlet. The Slavs were allowed no possibility of becoming maritime powers, capable of rivalling the Germanic,

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Anglo-Saxon, or Latin nations. The treaties of the earlier war had thus sanctioned a traditional exclusiveness in this respect. 728 131 175

On the other hand, Slavism scored a point—the only one—in an acquisition of territory. This was achieved by the claims which allocated to the Czechs Sub-Carpathian Russia—an ethnical mosaic, with predominant Russian or Ukrainian elements, which was to form an autonomous unit within the framework of the Czechoslovak Republic. This allocation, demanded by the Ruthenians of America, was decided upon chiefly because the signatories to the treaties considered the Prague government as the best mentor they could give to a dangerously backward Slavonic population. Indeed, Czechoslovakia was, within a few years, to improve Sub-Carpathia, that Cinderella of the Slavonic world; at the cost of heavy budgetary sacrifices, she turned this territory entrusted to her into a real 'Civilisation Front'. [156]*

As is well known, at the Peace Conference the Czechoslovaks intervened—another gesture of pure Slavonic inspiration—to try to secure for the Serbs of Lusatia the benefit of the protection accorded to minorities. These Lusatians are the remnant of a powerful tribe who people a corner of Saxony and Brandenburg, with its centre at Bautzen. Theirs was for long the *terra incognita* of the Slavonic world; they were discovered by the learned circles of Czechoslovakia and Poland in the nineteenth century. [563]

The return of Poland to an independent life, and the Sovietisation of the Russian State, modified the nature of the relations between the two peoples. Immediately after the earlier war and the Treaty of Riga, one could not say that these relations had been clarified. It is certain that the Government of Moscow was then pursuing a Eurasiatic policy, which drew it away from European affairs. But no one could imagine that this disinterestedness would last very long. In Moscow they still, as under the Tsars, spoke of the 'Jesuitism' and the 'Jagellonism' of the Poles; in Warsaw, they talked about the hegemonic appetite of Russia, and her propaganda. 'Atheism' and 'Marxism' had replaced 'Orthodoxy' and 'Panslavism' as passwords. 648 829

The Polish-Sovietic War of 1920 complicated inter-Slav relations. The Poles bitterly reproached the Czechs with having refused 648 578

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648 578 to allow the passage through their territory of reinforcements which the Poles were expecting from abroad. They complained no less bitterly at seeing the Czechs, like the Yugoslavs, model their attitude towards them on their own behaviour towards Moscow. It is true that Prague and Belgrade had enthusiastically greeted the resurrection of Poland, following the Allies' victory—a very different result from the changes in 1916, which, for the Poles, had substituted the duty to fight beside the Central Empires, for the right to do so. But in 1920, in these same capitals, they were wondering whether Poland was fighting Bolshevism or the Russian nation, and this differentiation, which inspired many newspapers, was regarded in Warsaw as definitely unfriendly. The ex-Minister of Poland in Yugoslavia, Erasmus Piltz, felt it necessary to address this warning to the Yugoslavs: 'Nothing separates us: on the contrary, everything unites us. . . . There is not a Pole who does not consider the alliance with Yugoslavia as a most highly fruitful and desirable achievement. But, if one of the most popular Serbian propagandists does not hesitate to claim that Polish-Yugoslav relations must depend on our relations with Russia, then I feel I may say, without fear of contradiction, that no Polish government, no Polish party, will accept such reservations, or such a presentation of the question'.

The leader-writer of *Przeglad Wisczorny* mournfully summed-up the origins of this misunderstanding: 'In Warsaw, we have been in the habit of viewing Serbia through Viennese or Budapest spectacles, whilst the Serbs have observed us through Russian spectacles. And the result is that each side has a false picture of the other'.[3]

[829] Finally, a conception of their own greatness, dear to the Poles, helped to foster a feeling of friction between them and the sister nations, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—which the Poles considered as being on a lower hierarchical plane than themselves—for were they not a Great Power? Perhaps we shall not be far wrong in affirming that between the two wars the Poles maintained more regular, if not more cordial, relations with the Rumanians and the Hungarians than with the other Slavonic states.

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[3] Of May 22, 1920.

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Nothing is more interesting, more decisive perhaps, for the history of Slavism than to recall the attitude adopted by the Czechs and the Yugoslavs respectively with regard to Russia, immediately after the establishment of Bolshevism.

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The Yugoslavs maintained an unshakeable fidelity to the Russian nation. In Belgrade the state of things arising from the 1919–1920 treaties was considered somewhat precarious, owing to Russia's non-participation in these treaties. It was not that the Government welcomed the coming of the Soviets. The hailing of Trotsky by their representative, Spalaïkovich, with the words: 'I spit in your face!' shows the hostility felt, and that hostility was fomented and kept alive by grievances of a dynastic order. But, side by side with this official behaviour, there were numerous manifestations which revealed the instinctive repugnance of Yugoslav opinion to allow the Russian people to suffer the consequences of being black-listed. The Belgrade Government was obliged to take this into account; they bluntly rejected the requests of the Great Allies, who were pressing them to co-operate in Wrangel's campaign against the Red Army. These negotiations and the support given by the Entente to Poland against the Russians, aroused, in part of the Yugoslav press,[4] reactions whose echo never reached France, but which were eminently symptomatic. 'Russia', declared the *Balkan*, 'whether she be Tsarist or Bolshevist, is for the Serbian people, for all Croats and Slovenes, "Holy Russia", the country of our Slav brothers. Where is the Serb who would raise his hand against a Russian soldier?' Or this, from *Progress*: 'It is clear that our future policy will be Slavonic. Russia will gradually abandon both extremes, and become a democratic State. This Russia will be the centre of the Slavonic world, and the Slavonic world will, in the future, make war impossible'. The same note was struck in Zagreb, where the newspaper *Rietch* raised its voice against the possibility of a clash between Russians and Yugoslavs. 'Our people have always believed in Russia. We believed in Tsarist Russia, we still believe in the Russia of today, not because she is Bolshevist, but simply because she is Russia. . . . The West has disappointed us, whereas the Russia of today seems to us more and more Slavonic. . . . We cannot have worse than what the West gave us'.

[4] Of July 26 and 27, 1920.

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There was then, in Belgrade as well as in Zagreb, a passing attack of 'Ententophobia'. A Belgrade newspaper which enjoyed a certain authority in foreign policy, the *Epoha*,[5] declared: 'We must see things as they are, and not hide from ourselves the fact that events in Eastern Europe are of capital importance for us, at a time when our Western friends have completely abandoned us.[6] . . . If a fresh policy of eastward trend is to be automatically imposed on us tomorrow, as a logical result of our international situation, we fail to see why it would not be wiser to choose it today'.

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The semi-official (radical) press had to react in fairly stiff terms against these appeals for a change in foreign policy. The Serbian municipal elections and the constituent elections of 1920 brought appreciable gains to the Communists. The Government suppressed this movement by the 'Decree' of December 30, prohibiting all Communist organisations and activity. It is superfluous to add that they accused Moscow of fomenting this activity, and submitted any person or propaganda coming from Russia to a still more rigorous quarantine.

But they showed themselves no less unshakeably determined to refuse any assistance, direct or indirect, to anti-Sovietic action. They were to be the last Government to recognise the *de jure* independence of the Baltic States, in whose existence they saw an intolerable dismemberment of Russian power. They were to take part in the campaign of assistance organised at the time of the great famine in Russia, in 1921–1922. Inversely, at the time of the earthquake in Herzegovina and Dalmatia in 1927, they were to refuse all aid from abroad, except (out of a spirit of Slav solidarity) that of the Soviet Red Cross.

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It is true that they were to defer for a long time—until the eve of the Second World War—recognition of the Soviets. But, in the case of Yugoslavia as in that of Bulgaria, this negative attitude, on closer examination, will be seen to be an indirect homage to the sympathies which Russia enjoyed among the common people. In Belgrade, as in Sofia, it was feared that a Soviet mission would find, among the masses, a support which would be dangerous for the security of the régime. The truth is

[5] Of July 26, 1920.
[6] Allusion to the attitude adopted by the Peace Conference in the Adriatic dispute and the reparations question.

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that in neither of these capitals did they suspect that the big Slav 186*
brother would one day re-awaken from the dead, and become 829
once more a factor of prime importance in world politics.

Already, at the Genoa Conference, Chicherin and the Yugo- 186*
slav Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nintchich, had, unknown to 648
their colleagues, held conferences *in camera,* discussing the 829
international situation, not as plenipotentiaries, but, according to Chicherin's own expression, 'among Slavs'.

The question of official relations with Russia was brought forward for the first time in July, 1924, by the ephemeral government presided over by the democratic leader, Davidovich. In his ministerial declaration the latter alluded to the expediency of contact 'with Sister Russia' (*bratska Rusija*). But it was then only a pious hope. This question was complicated by the [563]
presence in Belgrade of a powerful 'white' emigration (to which Wrangel belonged),[7] and of a 'legation', directed by Strandtman (the former Chargé d'Affaires of Tsarist Russia), in his capacity as 'General Delegate of Russian Emigration'.

A few months later, on the orders of Moscow, the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in Warsaw, Bessiedovsky, approached Simich, the Yugoslav Minister in that capital. These overtures seem to have been the result of the visit which Stiepan Radich, the Croat agrarian leader, made to Moscow during the summer of 1924. The Muscovites had visualised Radich as the possible artisan of a peasant revolution in Yugoslavia, but he disappointed them by his muddle-headed fluency of speech and his absence of positive views. They dubbed him a 'little Leftist Bourgeois, hopping all over the place'. Nor did they derive more benefit from the Simich-Bessiedovsky discussions, revived shortly afterwards by the Soviet Ambassador in Berlin with Balougdjich, the representative of Yugoslavia. Nothing came of these private talks. It needed the Hitlerian nightmare and the Czech drama to restore—too late—the official relations between Belgrade and Moscow to their historical setting.

On the Slavonic side Czechoslovakia was the State most 829
ready to give prompt recognition to the Soviet State. In this

[7] Generals, Slavophiles, prelates like the ex-Metropolitan of Kiev, Mgr. Antoine, had fled to Belgrade, where rest the ashes of General Alexeiev and of Wrangel. Philosophers and scholars sought shelter, for preference, in Czechoslovakia.

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829 connection, the Czech Government had to reckon with the influence of the Socialists, the sympathies brought back from Russia by numerous legionaries, the fact that the Russian emigration in Bohemia was composed of elements with much greater Leftist tendencies than those who had sought refuge in Yugoslavia, and, finally, the needs of a reviving industry in quest of external outlets.

829 648 But these influences were countered by the National-Democrat Party of Dr. Karel Kramár. The latter, married to a Russian, had preserved an inflexible attachment to Imperial Russia. He prevented the acceptance of the proposal for official recognition which had been suggested in the spring of 1922, at the time of the Genoa Conference, during an interview between Benes and Chicherin. On the other hand, economic relations between the two countries were multiplied, despite the ill-will of the Zivnostenska Banka, the banking stronghold of the Kramár Party, which controlled powerful undertakings.

186* 648 And now for the curious phenomenon which differentiates the evolution of Slavism among the *membra disjecta* of the former Austria-Hungary. Just as the Yugoslavs endeavoured to maintain, on a plane of Slav solidarity, their relations with a Russia whose régime their Government persisted in ignoring, so the Czechs endeavoured to clear of all Slavonic ideology the relations they sought to establish with that régime. 'Slavism', in Prague, still had a reactionary sound, whereas in Belgrade they maintained their faith in its emancipating virtue. The contradiction is worth pondering over.

186* 'The fact', says Masaryk, 'that the Slavonic peoples are henceforth liberated and are reorganising themselves politically, involves no increased influence for political Panslavism. Each Slavonic nation receives, in virtue of its liberation, a task which is proper to it and in whose realisation the other Slav states can only be of incidental assistance'. Analysing, with the serenity of the historian, the progress of the Slavonic idea through the centuries, Masaryk discovers in it no constructive virtue; it is a sentimental *leit-motiv* which, while it has inspired the poets with moving strains, has ceased to have any place in the political realities of international life. 'Czech civilisation is founded on the Reformation and on learning; the Yugoslav Messianists, too, are the product of the age of learning (*i.e.*, of the West); the

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Russian civilisation is founded on Orthodox Christianity, the Polish on Catholicism. All these theories, among their chief representatives, had no political character; it was a programme of cultural and intellectual solidarity, in no wise a political Panslavism. Slavonic Messianism is, scientifically, as untenable as all Messianic aspirations, the Teutonic included'.[8] 186*

For Edward Benes, the Slavonic aspirations had no practical significance, except inasmuch as they furthered a democratic and revolutionary ideal. 'The new Slavonic idea will consider as definitely buried everything that recalls Panslavism, Slavophilia and Panrussianism. . . . It seems to me simply ridiculous to wish to confine Russia and the Russian people within the limits of the "Slavonic policy", of Slav solidarity in Central Europe, and other conceptions of that kind. The role of Russia and of the Russian people is much more vast; the evolution of the world summons Russia to a more important mission. I reject, and especially in the interest of Russia's great mission, all Slavism, and all Slav solidarity which, whether directly or by their consequences, would prove to be purely and simply Russianism or Russophilia. . . . The new Slav solidarity has no desire to fall into the mysticism of the old. It accepts life and the world as they are, and takes as its essential basis the great victory won by democracy during the European War and revolutions. This new Slavism, freed from all the unacceptable ideologies of the past, . . . borrows two great ideas from tradition and from the principle of all the great spirits and all the heroes of Slavonic culture: the idea of democracy and the idea of humanity'.[9]

Let us say briefly (and with all the reservations implied in a condensed judgement) that the official position of Czechoslovakia was then dominated by a spiritual assumption—attachment to the democratic conceptions of the West—and by the economic exigencies of a new, highly-industrialised State. Politics based on sentiment and ideology were distrusted—which does not mean (as we shall see farther on) that they were entirely excluded. 181

In Yugoslavia, on the contrary, they professed, with varying shades corresponding to the different aspects of internal policy, 186+

[8] T. G. Masaryk, *The Resurrection of a State*, p. 398.
[9] Article published in the *Slovansky prehled* (The Slavonic Review) of Prague in 1925, *passim*. 113

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186* the immanence of the traditional values connected with the Slav ideology. M. Krofta, Joint Minister of Foreign Affairs for Czechoslovakia and intimate collaborator of Edward Benes, reviving the latter's ideas in articles published by the *Prager Presse* on May 6, 1933 and June 9, 1935, declares any positive action by the Slavonic peoples tending to a regroupment to be out of the question, 'unless it should be necessary for them to erect a wall of defence against foreign imperialism'.

186* 668 829 From Belgrade, a former minister and propagandist, M. Lazare Markovich, retorted with a certain vivacity. In his view, Slavism clung to its prospect of action. 'Our attachment to the Russian people and to Russia', he said, 'must positively exclude any intimate liaison between Yugoslavia and Germany. Hitler's speech of May 21, 1935 has so categorically stated Germany's attitude that there is no hope of any Russo-German agreement. . . . Unlike our Czech confrères, we do not hesitate to say that we ardently desire, and will work with all our strength to reconstitute in Europe, a Slav policy based on joint action by the Slavonic peoples'.[10]

So, while MM. Benes and Krofta considered any political construction of Slav solidarity as romantic and out-of-date, M. Markovich considered 'that there can be no real European entente without the participation of the Slavonic peoples, with Russia at the head'. And, when the Four-Party Pact was signed, M. Markovich advocated the drawing-up of a similar pact among Slavonic peoples, 'in order to place the latter on a footing of absolute parity with the Latins and the Teutons'.[11]

This controversy, perhaps, reflects less the opposition of two principles than the contrast between two temperaments, Czech realism and Yugoslav emotiveness. Events appear to have given the lie to M. Markovich's thesis (German-Yugoslav *rapprochement*, Moscow Pact). But what we must look at in international life is not the episodes, but the constants; is it not in forecasting the imminent that one runs the greatest risk of going astray?

186* The truth seems to us to lie between the two positions. Slavism is neither a force nor a leading principle of international

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[10] Lazare Markovich, *Yugoslavia's External Policy*, p. 343 *et seq.*; *Spirit of Belgrade* of May 14, 1933.
[11] *Spirit of Belgrade* of June 11, 1933.

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life; it is a reflex *sui generis*, an intangible factor; it changes 186*
weight and direction according to whether it is studied in one country or in another, on the level of official life or on that of the populace. So that the rather scornful judgement of the Czech statesmen seems to us to be inspired by a too exclusively historical interpretation of the facts. To find a solution to the controversy 186*
which opposed the Yugoslavs and the Czechs, it is sufficient to 648
recall their own relations. From 1919 to 1939 these relations were, for confidence and cordiality, unequalled between any two Latin or Germanic peoples. Naturally, they benefited by memories still present in all minds. No man, more than Masaryk, had contributed by his person to the formation of the generations which supplied their *cadres* to the emancipated nationalities. His courageous attitude during the trial of Friedjung—the author of the false documents on which the leaders of the Serbo-Croat Party had been charged with high treason—had won for him the gratitude of all Yugoslavs. During the crisis over the annexation of Bosnia, martial law had been proclaimed in Prague because the town rang with cries of 'Long live Serbia!' At the time of the Albanian crisis of 1912–1913, the 28th and 102nd Infantry, two entirely Czech regiments, on their way to the frontier, had been greeted in all the stations with cries of '*Slava Srbum!*' (Long live the Serbs). In the First World War, the Czech soldiers and officers of the Army of Occupation in Serbia had treated the inhabitants with all possible consideration.

But, once we have admitted this, we shall not wrong either the [157]
Czechs or the Yugoslavs if we affirm that they have very few traits of character, even very few sentimental affinities, in common. The Czech is hard-working, positive, a deliberator, economical. The Serb is a fatalist, emotive, spontaneous, lavish. Resistance to oppression—the common denominator of their history—has been expressed by very different reactions, masked among the Czechs, explosive among the Serbs. So that it is difficult not to put to the credit of Slav solidarity—that solidarity judged by Czech statesmen politically inoperative or out-of-date—the close relations between two countries connected neither by geography nor by tradition nor by psychology. It will be said that they have the same enemies, which is sufficient reason for an understanding. Arguing on these lines, the relations between

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186* 648 Prague and Belgrade should be of the same quality as those existing between Warsaw and Bucharest, or between Belgrade and Warsaw—which no one can claim to be the case. Rather, it is precisely regarding the manner of averting the Teutonic peril that Czechs and Yugoslavs have held views which, if not conflicting, were at least divergent: in Prague they feared a restoration of the Habsburgs more than the *Anschluss*, while the reverse was the case in Belgrade.

To the credit side of the relations between Belgrade and Prague must be put the action, both sentimental and positive, of the Slovene statesmen and propagandists, many of whom, [665] moreover, had studied in Bohemia. Immediately after the First World War, Abbé Korochetz' Popular Party (Catholic), which had come under the influence of the Czech Popular Party (*Lidova Strana*), was the one which, in its organ, the *Slovenets*, dealt most fully with questions relating to the Serbo-Bulgarian reconciliation and with Soviet Russia. The Czech Government was for a time tempted to intervene as mediator in the dispute between Belgrade and Sofia. It wisely abstained; the Serbs would certainly have been offended. At least its press always treated this dispute with tact and discretion.

Summing-up, let us say that, between the two wars, the atmosphere of the Czech-Yugoslav relations was one of the positive factors in the spirit of Slav solidarity.

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If the Russo-Polish relations (and, in a certain measure, the Polish-Czech) are the touchstone of this solidarity in Central Europe, in the South-East it is through the Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations that crises are manifested. We have defined the place that Bulgaria, a Slavicised rather than a Slav people,[12] holds in the ethnical community, and the alternations of Russophilia and Russophobia through which she has passed. In 1915 she

563 [12] It will be remembered, however, that in 1933, when MM. Gömbös and Kanya, respectively Hungarian Chairman of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, returned from Sofia (where Gömbös had conferred, in the Serbo-Croat language, with Mouchanov, the Bulgarian President), they declared to the Hungarian newspapers that they had 'visited Bulgaria, a country related to them by blood'. The Bulgarian press was unanimous in protesting against this expression; Bulgars and Magyars can be friends, but not relatives. The argument of ethnical relationship (Finnish) had nevertheless been put forward by certain Bulgarian propagandists in 1916–1917; it was the time when the poet Cyrille Kristov called himself a 'Tartaro-Bulgar'.

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In 1915 she declared war on Tsarist Russia, but refused to do so in 1940 on Soviet Russia, although she owed much to the former and nothing to the latter. Even then, in 1915, she was obliged to intern a good many politicians and generals before embarking on her campaign, a campaign which, in actual fact, both sides conducted in 'slow motion'. The Russian Black Sea Fleet fired fifty-nine shells on Varna; in the Dobrudja, the Bulgarians were opposed to the Rumanians and to the Serbian Corps, while the Germans were engaged with the Russians of Chtcherbatchev. This realist nation, little given to passionate or ideological enthusiasms, nevertheless showed a curious obstinacy in 'backing the wrong horse'. In 1913, 1915, and 1942, they entered the war with the winners, and came out of it with the vanquished. The 'Macedonian psychosis' periodically pushed them into the arms of 'liberators', only to end by sharing their defeat.

After the Treaty of Neuilly, the Bulgarian propagandists realised the error made by their leaders. They returned to the theme of Slavonic affinities, to the pro-Russian tradition. 'We Bulgarians', said the *Narodna Otbrana*,[13] 'have been the pioneers of a foreigners' policy, and have pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for others'. 'The future of Bulgaria is closely bound up with that of Russia', proclaimed the Minister, Bakalov.[14] And Stamboliiski entered into a mortal struggle with the Macedonian organisation, to clear the way for an entente with Belgrade. He succumbed in this struggle; his successors realised, after much shilly-shallying, that this policy was a reasonable one, but could not be imposed until the psychological atmosphere it had always lacked had been prepared for it.

And yet, paradoxical as it may seem, in the thick of the fratricidal struggles in which she has engaged, Bulgaria has never stifled her inner feeling of community of destiny with Serbia. When the Bulgarian resistance collapsed in 1918, a Deputy-Prefect of the occupying authorities took leave of the inhabitants of his administrative district in these terms: 'We shall perhaps

[13] Of June 30, 1920.

[14] The Bulgarian Church, like the Serbian-Orthodox Church, refused to make the religious calendar coincide with the civil calendar when the State adopted the Gregorian reckoning. The two Churches gave, as the reason for this refusal, the fact that it was impossible to come to an agreement with the Russian Church, which then had no competent representative.

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fight again, but that won't mean that we shall cease to be brothers'. This sentiment had been heard, or uttered, by millions of wounded or prisoners, during the war. And, when King Boris visited Belgrade in December, 1933, Mouchanov, President of the Bulgarian Council, uttered this remark, which may make a Westerner smile but whose sincerity no one conversant with Balkan affairs will doubt: 'Even when crossing swords, we have always respected and esteemed, even loved, each other'. Indeed, in spite of their proverbial severity, there is nothing in the Serbo-Bulgarian wars comparable to the atavism of hate which hangs like a spectre over the relations between Greeks and Bulgarians. At the conclusion of each of these wars, the notion of Slav solidarity has resumed its place, with the victor as with the vanquished. In the same way, there are families which have periodical skirmishes, without prejudice to the 'family spirit'. If the feeling of Slav solidarity has never averted wars between the Balkan Slavs, it has at least greatly contributed to minimise their consequences. It is especially to this spirit that we owe the reconciliation of two peoples, and the signature of the pact made in Belgrade on January 24, 1937, and prepared by a series of stages (declarations of the clergy, missions of intellectuals, etc.), which assured for it a psychological basis. This document is eloquently laconic: 'There shall be inviolable peace and sincere and perpetual friendship between the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the Kingdom of Bulgaria'.

Doubtless this 'perpetual friendship', the test of a renewal of inter-Slav solidarity in the Balkans, was to succumb in the cataclysm let loose by the Third Reich. It disappeared in the hecatomb of pacts and alliances which formed the prelude to the war. Here we once more find ourselves face to face with this truth, which has dominated the whole existence of the Baltic States in modern times—their conflicts have always been the result of rivalry on the part of the Great Powers. Born under the shadow of Russo-Turkish antagonism, the discord between Belgrade and Sofia was rekindled by the Austro-Russian dispute, then by the hegemonic folly of Germany. It is very difficult for the historian to reduce the relations between the Balkan peoples to their true factors; at times of crisis, these peoples were simply, whether unwittingly or perforce, the unpaid satellites of the Great Powers, aligned one against the other.

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Then there is the 'Balkan fact', with all that it implies of suspicion and particularities. It is commonly explained by the geographic configuration of the Peninsula, furrowed by valleys which have no inter-communication. No doubt the physical relief tends to perpetuate the clan spirit throughout all the various changes of sovereignty. But the ethnical variety does not give an exhaustive image of the Balkan mentality. Nor does the long practice of the *Divide ut imperes* principle, which was the Alpha and Omega of the Habsburg policy in the Balkans. These States, before becoming the successors to Austria-Hungary, were the heirs of Byzantium, and we may wonder whether the passion-charged atmosphere, the complex of distrust and turbulence which characterise them, are not a survival of Byzantine influence, in opposition to that Roman continuity and that tendency to universalism whose determining effects on Western civilisation have been analysed by Fustel de Coulanges, Dopsch and Pirenne.

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An event of incalculable significance for the Slavonic world occurred about the year 1933: the reappearance of Moscow on the European diplomatic stage—coinciding, if not tallying, with the rehabilitation by the Soviets of national values in Russian history.

In its critical years, the Bolshevist régime had relegated the racial idea to the status of romantic nonsense. 'Slavophilia', frowned upon as it was by the last Tsarist governments, still had about it an odour of reactionary and religious mysticism which would have been sufficient to keep it on the black-list, even had the idea of ethnical solidarity found a place in Marxist terminology. On the other hand, the policy of nationalities pursued by the U.S.S.R. had breathed new life into hitherto inorganic or unrecognised ethnical groups. In the time of the Tsars, who would have dreamed that Russia comprised no less than fifty nationalities or ethnical groups? It would have been ill-timed to give these people the impression that there existed in the U.S.S.R. a privileged race, whose traditions or ambitions dominated the life of the country, relegating the allogeneous republics to the condition of satellites. Decentralisation diluted Russian Slavism, and the plurality of tongues favoured by the Socialist Revolution deprived it of its trump card.

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Hence the lack of enthusiasm encountered among the Soviets by the apostles of a 'Green International' of Slavonic peoples. The all-powerfulness of Stamboliiski's Agrarian Party in Bulgaria had given birth to the idea of a Slav coalition, on a peasant basis. M. Svehla, chief of the Czech Agrarian Party, went to Warsaw to confer with the Polish Peasant Leader, M. Vincent Witos; he felt himself assured of Bulgarian support, and counted on that of Radich, head of the Croat Peasant Party.

In actual fact, these various peasant parties were alike in name only. In Bohemia, the agrarian movement combined intellectuals, technicians, business men; although in the Prague Parliament it had scarcely half as many representatives as those who supported Radich in the Belgrade Parliament, yet it controlled banks, co-operatives, schools, newspapers, and about fifty magazines. Unlike Radich, Svehla did not dream of a peasant 'dictatorship' incompatible with the political climate of Czechoslovakia. There was the same divergence in point of view with regard to Communism. At his Party Congress, Stamboliiski had declared that he was 'ready to break the Communists' heads, if necessary'. Such was certainly not Svehla's intention. As for Radich, he had made a first visit to Russia in the time of the Tsars, about 1889, when the Russian Peasants' Federation had just been founded—which gave him the first idea for the Croat Peasant Party, founded by his brother Antoine and himself, in 1902–1903. Becoming an apostle of Slav solidarity, he founded the 'Slav Bookshop' in Zagreb, published a Czech Grammar, worked for Serbo-Bulgarian *rapprochement*. When he revisited Russia in 1924, he recovered the strains of his original Russophilia. But the Soviet leaders showed themselves rather cautious: as we have already indicated, they thought him harum-scarum and changeable. He joined the Peasant International, which he considered, he was to say later on, as simply the extension of the Peasant Federation of 1889. Moreover, in the Balkans, the words 'Agrarian Party' have not the same ring about them as they have in the industrialised States of Central Europe. What Balkan party can, by its composition, its origins, its tendencies, be anything but 'Peasant' in States where (with the exception of Greece) the rural class represents 85 per cent of the population? However ephemeral it may have been, the

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movement in favour of a Green International of Slavonic Peasants yet merits a place in the chronology of inter-Slav relations. 186* 668

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At the same period (June 4–8, 1924) a Congress of Slav Geographers and Ethnologists was held in Prague. This too, awakened aspirations, either latent or at least dormant since the era of the great assemblies of the nineteenth century. The very choice of Prague was a reminder that Bohemia had been the 'laboratory' of the Slavonic idea. And it was the occasion of a spectacular return of Bulgaria into the community of peoples inspired by that idea. 186* 815

But, when the totalitarian States had proclaimed their intention of attacking the 1919–1920 treaties, it was once more to Russia that all these peoples turned. From Moscow alone could come the watchword capable of rallying their energies—on condition that it should not look like an appeal to a Proletarian Dictatorship. 186* 829

Just as the exaltation of Teutonism, in the first half of the nineteenth century, had had as a reaction the awakening of the Slav conscience, so the National-Socialist drive, a century later, was to bring in its wake a defensive reaction tending to align, if not to regroup, the Slavonic forces.

The essentially anti-Marxist notion of race had been repudiated by Lenin. In internal affairs, it could not but hinder the work of 'mixing' undertaken by the Moscow government. In foreign affairs it had no *raison d'être,* so long as Russian diplomacy practised a Eurasiatic policy, and guided the country's destinies towards the East. But, after fifteen years, the problem of the allogeneous inhabitants had passed the crisis. The Soviet régime was firmly established. German imperialism obliged them to turn their attention towards the West: the repetition of the recurrent drama of which Europe had been the theatre since the era of Wilhelm II once more reminded the Russian world of its destiny.

The first check to Hitlerian arrogance on the part of the Kremlin was the signing in London, on July 2, 3, and 4, 1933, of agreements for the common acceptance of the definition of the aggressor, as formulated by Nicholas Politis. The U.S.S.R. signature appears at the foot of this document, side by side with 186* 648 829

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186* 648 829 those of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia—although the two latter had not yet recognised the Soviets. The new undertakings marked an advance on the part of Soviet Russia towards a policy of interest, if not of action, in Europe. Western opinion, then entirely occupied with the Economic Conference, gave the matter only casual attention; it did no more than manifest its satisfaction at seeing the question of Bessarabia disappear from the list of outstanding disputes. But the importance of the event lay elsewhere; it represented nothing less than an attempt to regroup forces in Eastern Europe. The territorial statute arising out of the treaties was consolidated by the backing of a power, the U.S.S.R., which hitherto had not been thought to be very favourable to it. Henceforth the Slavs of Central and Southern Europe felt morally obliged to consider recognising the Soviets. The defensive reflexes of the Slavonic instinct came [665] into play. At the seventeenth Assembly of the Communist Party, in January, 1934—the first to take place after the offensive on the part of Russian diplomacy in Europe—Stalin declared: 'Some people think that war must be prepared by the *superior race, i.e.,* the Germanic race, against the *inferior races,* and, especially, against the Slavs . . .'. This language aroused a world of memories, and an ideology which was believed to have lapsed. It was understood far beyond the frontiers of the U.S.S.R.

There was, however, one obstacle which prevented the Slavonic peoples from seeing in it more than a diplomatic gesture. They had hitherto looked to France for security guarantees. In Prague, as in Belgrade, they were anxious, at all costs, to prevent the development of a situation which might put the country under the obligation of choosing between Paris and Moscow. This was the constant, though unacknowledged, preoccupation of all the Little Entente Conferences. The policy of Louis Barthou, which prepared the way for a Franco-Sovietic *rapprochement,* did away with this possibility, and so the Czech Government recognised the Soviets on June 9, 1934. That summer of 1934 was a period of intense diplomatic activity for the Slavonic nations. In Bulgaria, on May 19, a *coup d'état* carried to power Kimon Gheorgiev with his National Union Cabinet. The first item on his programme was the *entente* with the Yugoslavs, the second the resumption of relations with the Soviets. It was on July 23 that the recognition was made official; it was the work

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of the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, Batolov. 'A century-old friendship has existed between the Bulgarian and the Russian peoples', declared the *Zaria*. 'Russia liberated the Bulgarian people, and it is no fault of the Russian people that our country was split up. Bulgaria, like the Soviet Union, desires to develop in peace'. On September 3, Benes met Litvinov at Marianske Lazne (Marienbad). On September 27, the Yugoslav sovereigns paid an official visit to Sofia. King Alexander was to fall, twelve days later, shot down by an assassin. His death was not to interrupt the movement of attraction among the various Slavonic nations. It is true that any reference to racial affinities was still avoided. But there was no denying the evidence: it was chiefly the Slavs who were menaced by the Hitlerian expansion. In March, 1934, an article by von Papen lifted the veil of German foreign policy; it showed that the revision of the treaties, and the struggle against the Slavs, were still the basis of that policy. 'Nobody', remarked the *Slovenets* of Ljubljana, 'can henceforth believe that the Germans have in any way modified their opinion of the Slavs; the latter are still, in their eyes, a fallow territory, awaiting Germanic sowers and Germanic seed'.

This observation on the part of the Slovene newspaper turned up again, a few months later, in the mouth of Litvinov himself, who, addressing the Czechs on January 3, 1935, made use of a suggestive pretermission: 'I will not speak of the ties of race and of language which exist between the most important peoples of our Union and the Czechoslovak people. The reason I will not speak of them is that, in the past, these motives have more than once been exploited for imperialist ends, and further, even at the present time, racial theories sometimes serve to cover barbarian ideologies and régimes. Nevertheless, these affinities do exist . . .'.

Unexpected, and moderate as it was, this reminder of family ties had much greater resonance and efficacy than the 'Panslavism' of which the old diplomacies had made a bogy, although it was only an attempt at hierarchised solidarity between Slavs of the Orthodox Faith. For it was inspired neither by a spirit of conquest nor by a desire for hegemony, but by a doctrine of equilibrium. It contained at the same time more authority, and more disinterestedness.

That same year, 1935, saw the visit of Benes to Moscow (June 8–16) and the conclusion of a Soviet-Czech treaty, parallel

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with the Franco-Soviet treaty, and subject to the application of the latter. 'The Russian question', said the Czech statesman, 'will always play a large part in our destiny, if only on account of our geographical situation. That is why our conception of foreign policy will never be definitely elaborated until Russia has become an active factor in Central European politics'.

But, in Prague as in Moscow, scrupulous efforts were made to clear the new pact of any Slav ideology. The Czech newspapers insisted on the two events which had rendered possible the conclusion of this treaty—the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations, and the Franco-Soviet agreement, the beginning of a Paris-Prague-Moscow axis. They reminded their readers that, since the beginning of her history, the Czech nation had developed within the framework of the Western civilisation and had, in modern times, bound up its destiny with that of the democracies. 'Nothing inclines us' (said the *Lidove Noviny*, 'to a collaboration with the Soviets which recalls, even distantly, the old romantic Panslavism, the smug dream of the union of all Slavs and the naïve faith in the possibility of a common international policy, peculiar to all the Slavonic peoples, a specifically Slavonic policy, different from that of the non-Slavonic peoples, even directed against the latter'. At the other political extreme, the *Bohemia* affirmed that 'the new Paris-Prague-Moscow policy is European, and not Panslav'. All the newspapers agreed on this point. Would they have needed to be so insistent, had they not foreseen that Czech opinion would naturally be inclined to see in the pact a manifestation of Slav solidarity? When the Soviet journalists visited Czechoslovakia, they were shown round the whole country, except Sub-Carpathian Russia, where they would have found a population speaking Russian and using the same alphabet as they did. . . . Nothing bears more eloquent witness to the Slavophilia of the Czech people, than the care which their Government and their press took to forestall manifestations of it.

France, who had just made an advance in the direction of Moscow, took fright at her own audacity, and thereafter endeavoured to minimise the extent of the steps she had taken. The Yugoslav Minister in Paris, summoned before Pierre Laval, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, bore a note summarising the arguments which his Government opposed to immediate recognition of the Soviets. He expected a sort of ultimatum on the

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part of the Quay d'Orsay. How great was his surprise at not hearing, during his audience, any reference to the Franco-Soviet pact! On the point of taking leave of Laval, he ventured to congratulate the latter on the results of his journey to Moscow. Laval cut in: 'Don't talk of it! I wish I could cut off the hand that signed the pact. Take great care you don't do the same!' 186* 648 829

* * *

But, still more than the Western policy of the Soviets, it was their work of 're-nationalisation' which impressed the Slavonic world. The brilliance with which the commemoration of the death of Pushkin was celebrated, in 1937, was the first manifestation of this 'Russian drive' abroad. No poet was more 'national' than Pushkin, despite his African blood. He re-created three centuries of Russian life in a profusion of dazzling images. He rendered, more expressively than any writer, the escapist fever of the men of his time and the nostalgic tonalities of the steppes of his country. Great Russian Literature begins with him, and one of his compatriots wrote: 'In Pushkin lies our whole patrimony'. The *Izvestia* declared that it was only with Sovietisation that the masses of the people got to know the true figure of the poet and the meaning of his work. This paper heaped scorn alike on the 'vulgar sociologists' who made of him a wild revolutionary, and the 'ignoramuses' who found nothing useful for Socialist culture in his poetry. And the Government had his works translated into all the languages of the Union. 186* 538

The extent of this homage was a prelude to a general policy of rehabilitation of Russian values. In the first Bolshevist ideology, Russia was represented as the nonchalant and sub-lunary being typified by Oblomov, the dressing-gowned hero of a celebrated novel by Gontcharov. Oblomov is a sort of Russian 'Triplepatte',* incapable of taking any decision, and established in the lazy, useless life of a country proprietor. We may say in passing that this picture of the Russian people is not a very true one: it confuses the 'moon-struck' state with inertia. Left to themselves, these people do sometimes lack application, or steadfastness, but if well directed, they are capable of prodigies of energy. For having dared to evoke this classical type, and the mentality to which it has given its name, 'oblomovtchina', Bukharin was accused of having borrowed 'a poisoned arrow [157]

* 'Triplepatte' is the hero of a comedy of the same name, by Tristan Bernard and André Godfernaux. (Trans. note.)

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186* 538 from German Fascism against the nation which has shown the world the path of emancipation'.

186* 545 About the same time a Proletarian poet, Damian Biedny, had produced, at the Karmerny Theatre, a comic opera entitled 'The Heroes' (*Bogatyri*), making fun of the heroes of Russian legend. Authority intervened to exclude this piece from the Theatre's repertory, on the grounds that it falsified history and represented as brutes or drunkards characters which in the popular imagination embody the heroic traits of the Russian people. And when he scoffs at the conversion of Russia to Christianity, the author sins no less against historic truth—'for', says the decree forbidding the play, 'that conversion was a definite landmark in the history of the Russian people: it contributed to the *rapprochement* between the Slavonic peoples and those of a higher culture'.

186* 538 It was in the same spirit that the Soviet scientific authorities celebrated, in 1938, an epic poem which, to Russians, represents something like our *Chanson de Roland*: the *Tale of Igor's Band*, an anonymous account of an episode of the twelfth century, in which the author suggests that Russia perished on account of the quarrels of the princes; in short, it would be the work to reflect the first breath of national unity, had not modern scholars (and particularly M. André Mazon) sound reasons for suspecting its authenticity.

186* So, on the eve of the Second World War, the non-Russian Slavs recovered the picture of Russia as their memories and their sentimental traditions had formed it. Certainly, the Slavonic idea had nowhere been evoked by the Governments as an element in international politics. None of the political instruments drawn up in the period between the two wars takes it into account, or makes any mention of it. But the very precaution that the Governments took to prevent its evocation is sufficient to attest its presence. This presence may be discerned in the constant intimacy of the Czecho-Yugoslav relations, in the Serbo-Bulgarian *rapprochement*, despite the 'Macedonian psychosis', in the unavowed renewal of hopes which, in spite of their borrowings (or by very reason of them) from the dictatorial régimes, the Slavonic nations placed in a Russia whose features they had just rediscovered. Weakened or absent during the constructive, post-war period, the notion of solidarity again rose to the surface of Slav consciences, in proportion as the deepening shadow of a fresh tragedy spread over Europe.

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Chapter Four

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE SLAV LIBERATION FRONT

THE historians of the future will be struck by one fact which seems to escape those of our own day, and which we consider below. 721 648 175

Whereas the wars of the nineteenth century originated in, or had as pretexts, disputes localised in different parts of the globe—Spanish Succession (1823 and 1870), the affair of the Duchies, Italian unity, German unity, the protection of the Holy Places, etc.—the thunder-clouds which foreshadowed the wars of the twentieth century all burst in a Slavonic sky.

The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 created the atmosphere which favoured the germination of the Italo-Turkish War and of the Balkan Wars. The Sarajevo outrage in June, 1914, was the pretext for the First World War. The Sudetenland crisis in 1938, which led to the Runciman mission, was the prologue to the Munich bargaining. The whole of the preliminary phase of the Second World War was enacted on Slav territory.

Contrary to all international engagements, the Munich Conference on September 29, 1938, sanctioned the mutilation of Czechoslovakia, in whose history this Conference will remain as a 'second White Hill'.

Then occurred various 'Slavonic episodes', as preludes to the general conflagration. Poland occupied Teschen on October 2, 1938. A few days later Slovakia proclaimed her autonomy. On November 2, the Ribbentrop-Ciano arbitration award, pronounced in Vienna, transferred the eastern part of Czechoslovakia (Sub-Carpathia) to Magyar rule.

On March 15, 1939, 'President' Hacha handed over to the Führer the fate of Bohemia; Hitler entered Prague—Czechoslovakia was wiped off the map.

On August 23, 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed a ten-year pact of non-aggression. Reassured on the Russian side, Germany turned against Poland. Incidents were multiplied

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721 in Danzig; German criminals, dressed in Polish uniforms,
648 attacked German villages in Upper Silesia to provide Hitler with
175 the pretext for an invasion. This was launched on September 1, at 5.45 a.m. The curtain was raised for the greatest drama in history.

186* But, beyond this, the historian who, with these
578 facts as his starting-point, sought to establish synchronism
648 between the feeling of a common destiny among the Slavs and the great wars of the twentieth century would very soon conclude that no such feeling existed. At all times of threatened crisis, there have appeared more or less general impulses towards *rapprochement*; the first result of all actual crises has been to set the Slavs one against the other. In this Second World War, as in that of 1914–1918, we were again to find the Bulgars, the Croats, and the Slovaks ranged with Germany, Bohemia trampled upon, Poland quartered, Serbia crucified, Russia at grips with the Teutonic colossus.

Much more: the Slavs participated in the spoils. Poland rewarded herself at Czechoslovakia's expense, Russia at Poland's, and Bulgaria at Serbia's.

175 Just as the 1914–1918 war had started with the crushing of
648 Serbia, so that of 1939 had as its prologue the carving-up of
721 Czechoslovakia. The latter succumbed to the fate which had forced her to look for support to the Western Democracies, with whom she had no territorial connection, and whose diplomacy, wavering or swept along by the back-wash of internal policy, had been able neither to ensure peace nor to provide for war. The inconsequentiality of France, signing a pact with Moscow, then hastening to evade its consequences, encouraging Yugoslavia to be on her guard against Fascist megalomania, then signing the Four-Power Pact and observing it no more than she had done the previous pacts; all this culminated in the Munich Pact, which—whether justified or not by our military unpreparedness—completed the state of confusion among the nations for whom France was the greatest asset in peace as in war.

It was not only by its inaugural phase—the dismembering of Czechoslovakia and the aggression against Poland—that the war once again seemed destined to become a reckoning between Slavs and Teutons. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler had reproached

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William II for never having acquired new lands in the east. 175
It was not, at that time, a question of fighting Communism, but 648
of 'living space'—a theory which, in Nazi ideology, was directed 721
at the States bordering Eastern Germany and, beyond them, the 'fabulous resources' (*unerhörte Möglichkeiten*) of the Ukraine. Once more the Teuton resumed his age-long vocation of 'consumer of Slavs'.

But, looking closer into the matter, this was not, any more 186*
than in 1914, the essential cause of the Pan-Germanic explosion. 829
Hitler's Germany was aiming higher, and farther. Actuated by 721
what she considered to be a prime necessity of her geographical situation and of her 'racial pre-eminence', she regarded herself as the providential elaborator of new syntheses calculated to regenerate the world—but which were, in reality, simply the oldest of hegemonic appetites. It was not upon the Slavs that she declared war; it was upon a form of civilisation made up of Humanism and Christianity which the centuries had identified with the habitable world. The Slavs were the first victims of the *Wehrmacht,* simply because they were considered to be the easiest obstacle to overcome, owing to the inferiority complex which, from time immemorial, the German school had attributed to them. Their geographical position condemned them to be the target for the first onslaught. But the Slavonic world was subjected to unprecedented trials in all the different phases of the war—Czech, Polish, Balkan, Russian. Therein lay the real, the only 'Slavonic' aspect of this war—the recurrence of the periodic catastrophe which crushes these nations as soon as Europe is unleashed against herself.

So March 15, 1939—the date of the occupation of Prague 186*
by Hitler's troops—aroused deep emotion among the Southern Slavs, who realised that the dyke which had hitherto held back the German drive on Eastern Europe had collapsed. There were manifestations of sympathy in Belgrade and in Sofia, especially among the students; messages flowed into Prague from all the Slavonic regions in the Balkans.

Germany herself seems to have had some obscure realisation of 186*
her crime. A curious article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 829
April 23, 1939—an article whose author foresaw the opprobrium that this 'operation' was to cast upon his country—endeavoured to reconcile the policy of the 'Protectorate' of Bohemia with the

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186* 829 conceptions of romantic Germany, and with Herder's 'Slavophilia'. He made every effort to show that a nation's interest does not necessarily lie in its elevation to the rank of a sovereign State, but that it may find its development in a subordination of national aspirations to political necessities. 'Geographical and historical facts, and political realities', he said, 'today play their part on an equal footing with the principle of nationalities'.

What the author meant by 'political realities' was to be judged in the light of the volleys of firing which mowed down the students of the University of Prague, guilty of having manifested their attachment to the Czech fatherland.

648 175 The subsequent course of events is too recent to need recalling here. The whole edifice of guarantees, built up to support peace, collapsed like a house of cards; twenty years of vague conceptions of security were swallowed up into the abyss that was to engulf the ruins of a world built up by ten centuries of patience and human genius. The Pacts of the Little Entente, gradually voided of their contents,[1] remained inoperative; Article 16 of the Pact of the League of Nations—rendered optional at the request of Poland—did not have to be put into operation; the Polish-Soviet Pact of non-aggression of July 25, 1932, extended in 1934 to December 31, 1945, and reaffirmed on November 26, 1938, remained a dead letter; the 'constant peace and eternal friendship' stipulated in the first clause of the Hungarian-Yugoslav pact concluded on December 12, 1940, and ratified on February 27, 1941, lasted five weeks; as for the 'perpetual friendship' sworn between Bulgarians and Yugoslavs on January 24, 1937, it lasted fifty months, to say nothing of the Salonica Pact concluded on July 31, 1938, between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente. The multiplication of security-pacts ended in making them completely ineffective. *In corruptissima republica leges plurimae.*

If Germany's designs on Bohemia and Poland were clear—too clear—the same could not be said of her position in the Balkans. At the most she claimed to put an end to what she called 'the state of anarchy created by the 1919–1920 treaties in the Balkan-Danubian region'.

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[1] In February, 1940, the minutes of the Balkan Conference contained no reference to the territorial *status quo*.

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The first pawn she moved upon the chess-board was Bulgaria. On March 1, 1941, the Government of Sofia adhered to the Tripartite Pact with a ceremonial which had the Belvedere in Vienna as its setting. A communication from the *Political and Diplomatic Correspondence* of Berlin announced the news to the world, and added: 'Henceforth Bulgaria is numbered among the nations who enjoy equal status, who will in future serve only their own interests, to the exclusion of all others'. The terms of this adhesion had been 'discussed' on the previous November 17, during an interview between Hitler and King Boris at Berchtesgaden. At least one of the conditions was learned on the day the pact was signed; that very day, the Bulgarian Government notified the U.S.S.R. of the entry of German troops into Bulgaria 'to maintain peace within the country'. It was the first manifestation of a policy which the Bulgarian press was to designate 'passive belligerence'.

In face of pressure from Germany, what could the Bulgarian Government do? Three solutions were open to them—to resist by force, to make a diplomatic protest, to give way. The first was out of the question, the second would have added the drawbacks of a refusal to those of actual acceptance. In Sofia they judged the third solution to be the most 'realistic', and the only one that could save what remained to be saved.

In order to appease public opinion, the President of the Council, Bogdan Filov, declared in the Sobranje that 'Berlin had not demanded anything which ran counter to the obligations arising from the treaties concluded between Bulgaria and her neighbours'. And the *Zaria*, of Sofia, summed up its commentary as follows: 'Bulgaria has just decided her fate of tomorrow'. The press was almost unanimous in seeing in the country's adhesion to the Axis the road which should lead her to the revision of the Treaty of Neuilly, to the realisation, so often glimpsed, so often lost again, of a Great Bulgaria.

But the Macedonian psychosis did not prevent thoughtful people from remembering the evil genius of Bulgarian crises and their antecedents—the Balkan Wars and the catastrophe of 1918. Russia was still the ally of Germany. But who could believe that this *entente*, already beginning to show signs of wearing thin, would last until the end of the war? And if not, would it not be Moscow who would act as arbitrator for the destiny of Eastern

[1. Germany – Analyst]

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Europe? In November, 1939, on presenting his credentials, the first Soviet diplomat accredited to Sofia had made an unusual and emphatic allusion to the 'historical relationship' of the two countries. Consequently, in Moscow they expected an understanding, if not deferential, attitude on the part of Bulgaria. And so the population was profoundly moved on learning, on March 3, 1941, that the Soviet Government had just indicated, in a fairly stiff note, that they did not share the opinion of the Filov Cabinet, and that the latter's attitude seemed directed rather towards territorial expansion than to the consolidation of peace.

Bulgaria's position then became more and more critical. A Soviet note blamed her adhesion to the Axis. And, with the German-Russian War, began a series of incidents which strained to the utmost the relations between Russians and Bulgarians. In July, the Moscow Government denounced concentrations of troops on the Turkish frontier and preparations, co-ordinated with those of the Axis Powers, for an attack on the Straits.

Sofia denied these accusations. Moscow returned to the attack on September 12 with a note enumerating seven 'facts which the Soviets declared they considered as so many acts of hostility towards them' (movements of German troops, utilisation of aerodromes, ports, railways, etc.). On September 15 the Filov Cabinet again proclaimed their innocence: they had never exceeded the bounds of neutrality.

This diplomatic duel was accompanied by a chorus of violent press polemics concerning incidents, real or imaginary, alternately announced and denied over the air—the projection of Soviet bombs on Bulgarian territory, descent of 'Red' parachutists, acts of sabotage, acts of violence, etc.

And, in the background, was a continual, dogged propaganda tending to strengthen diplomatic action by exploiting both the economic difficulties of the Bulgarian people and the old theme of Russophile affinities. The note of September 12 had discreetly distinguished between the Sofia Government and the 'country'. Agitation was organised in working-class circles. The governing classes retorted by reinforcing the law for the protection of the State. There were executions.

Within a few weeks, Bulgaria saw herself faced with a problem no less social than national.

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If the Soviet reaction left any room for doubt, this was entirely removed on the occasion of the drama which was played out in Belgrade in the last week of March, 1941. On the 25th of that month, the Yugoslav Premier, Tsvetkovich, and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tsintsar Markovich, were received by Hitler and signed Yugoslavia's adhesion to the Tripartite Pact in Vienna. Forty-eight hours later a *coup d'état* put General Simovich in power. Rising magnificently, the Serbian people, more clear-sighted than their leaders, and faithful to their tradition of independence, had swept away the pusillanimous ministers who had just put the country at the feet of the oppressor. War was inevitable. At Vichy, when Pourich, the Yugoslav minister, announced his King's decision to Admiral Darlan, the latter said to him quizzingly: 'How many divisions have you, for resisting Germany?' And Pourich replied: 'Sir, that is a question we never ask in my country. We fight first, and count afterwards'.

648 175 [669]

There you have the whole heroic philosophy of the Serbian people. Russia greeted Belgrade's *coup d'état* by signing, on April 5, a pact of friendship and non-aggression with the new Government. She could not do more to indicate where her sympathies lay. *Pravda* recalled the fact that the relations between the two countries had steadily improved since May, 1940, when diplomatic contact had been resumed. But Belgrade learned the news of this pact simultaneously with that of the German attack, which took place a few hours later. To justify this aggression, Hitler enumerated a certain number of complaints, the first of which was a reminder of the Sarajevo outrage. That day, he had no doubt forgotten one of the sentences in *Mein Kampf*: 'It was the hand of the goddess of eternal law and of inexorable punishment that struck down Austrian Germany's most deadly enemy, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand'.[2]

Bulgaria took advantage of the German victory to reoccupy Macedonia, and on May 18[1] the Bulgarian flag was hoisted at Skoplje. She announced that she would limit her occupation to the lands she considered as *irredenta*. Needless to say, the appeal which the Yugoslavs broadcast from London, on the following

186* 175 648

2. French translation (1934), p. 26.

1 [1941 -- Analyst]

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186* 175 648 June 9, in the name of 'Slavonic fraternity', met with no response in official quarters. The *Dnes*, of Sofia, replied that Slavism was a myth, and that, moreover, Russia was not Slavonic.

But, even supposing that Slavism was a myth, Russia was a reality. Once again Slav solidarity appeared in its negative aspect. Bulgaria declared war on the United States and on England; to the very end, she maintained her diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., thus showing herself more 'Russophile' than King Ferdinand's Government had been in 1915.

* * *

648 175 Mistress of the Balkans and of Danubian Europe, Germany set up her 'order' in those parts. None of the formulas on which the structure of the Balkan world had been modelled in the past had succeeded in conciliating national aspirations with the tranquillity of Europe. The notion of equilibrium had condemned the Balkan-Danubian States to chronic readjustments, under cover of which the small nations had been made to pay the cost, first of the disputes and then of the reconciliations, of the Great Powers. The hegemony of the large empires (Turkey, Austria-Hungary) had perhaps improved material living conditions for the masses, but it had led to *irredentism* and terrorism. The principle of the *nationalities* (1919–1940) had achieved empirical justice, but had split Europe up into atomic units at the very moment when the progress of communications would have rendered desirable the economic equipment of vast areas. In the crisis that followed the failure of the Creditanstalt, the standard of living of certain Balkan populations fell below what it had been during the Turkish period.

The tangle of races, religions, and historical affinities represented in this region makes any 'rational' solution impossible. Hitler said so himself, in a speech of April 28, 1939: 'I have never left in doubt the fact that it is intrinsically almost impossible to harmonise political and ethnical frontiers to every one's satisfaction'.

But Hitler did more than say this—he proved it. If his principles had triumphed, the Balkan-Danubian world would have been permeated by more irredentism than there had been in the time of the 'Diktat'.

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In the first place, the 'Balkanisation' or splitting up with which the Europe of 1920–1938 was reproached was not reduced under German domination, but rather aggravated. The number of small States had increased by three (Slovakia, Croatia, Montenegro). The 'corridors' and 'wedges' were more numerous, the general configuration more irregular than ever. 648 175

In the second place, the number of malcontent countries, too, had strangely increased. Before the war there were only two, Hungary and Bulgaria. In 1942 there were five—Greece, Serbia, Croatia, Rumania, and Slovakia; Bulgaria herself, disgusted at losing the western borders of Macedonia to Albania, was threatening to join the ranks of the malcontents. Exercising violence, cynicism, and corruption by turns, Hitler's Reich succeeded only in creating two phases of antagonism, first setting the Balkan nations one against the other, then regrouping them all against itself. The Reich gave the name of 'allies' to nations which were all hostile to it, including some which only joined it in order to secure its support against their neighbours when the time came for a final reckoning. The essence of civilisation is a certain ability to forget; the most backward nations live on a heritage of resentments which forms an obstacle to any policy of unification. And, on the other hand, the régime of conquest ruins the psychological foundations of the reorganisation which it claims to make. Although no European region stood in greater need of rationalisation than the Danube Basin, the nebulous declamations of the Nazi prophets regarding the economic systematisation of the continent missed the mark. In the autumn of 1943, to remedy the disastrous consequences of Italy's volte-face, Neubacher, the representative of the Reich's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Balkans, endeavoured to arrange a Conference of the Peninsular States in order to establish a Balkan Confederation within the framework of the 'New Europe', but he met with refusal or scepticism everywhere. Even those of the Balkan-Danubian States who were fighting side by side with the Reich were only awaiting an opportunity to come to blows. Not a day passed but brought news of riots accompanied by bloodshed in the transferred territories—Bulgars versus Albanians, Greeks versus Bulgars, Rumanians versus Hungarians. And all this turbulence was taking place on the margin of resistance to the oppressor—at first masked, then open.

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There was something else they forgot in Berlin—the fact that the prestige of the Reich, in the whole of this sector, was doubly handicapped—handicapped by a generalised scorn of death and by the state of mind of peasants who, having seen, in one and the same generation, the collapse of Ottoman Turkey, Tsarist Russia, and the Habsburg Empire, instinctively failed to consider any hegemonic experiments as permanent. The majority of these nations have been hardened to defeat, as well as to recovery; consequently they believe neither in lasting adversity nor in the permanence of strength. They are the uncertain factor in the European pattern.

In short, in the brief historical parenthesis represented by the domination of the Axis in Eastern Europe, there was no elimination, but first transfer and then coalition of irredentisms. We may say that the incoherence of the concepts elaborated by the Axis Powers and their inability to remedy it, were the best retrospective justification of the treaties which had put an end to the previous war, though this should not lead us to underestimate their errors and omissions.

The decisive turning-point of the war—Russia's entry into the campaign—will remain a key-event in the history of the Slavonic peoples. At the moment when this occurred, some tens of millions of Slavs were perishing under Nazi oppression. It was impossible for this mortal duel between two giants not to flood their hearts with tremendous hope, replacing the discouragement that the unnatural *entente* sealed in Moscow had caused them. The war of which Russia was, for several years, to bear the heavy burden was a real 'war of liberation'. For the first time, in a political speech, made to the Soviet Assembly in Moscow on November 6, 1941, Stalin used the expression 'Russian people' (*Rouski Narod*) in preference to 'Soviet Union'. 'These people (the Nazis), devoid of conscience and honour, have the cynicism to summon the nations to the destruction of the great Russian nation, the nation of Plekhanovs, Lenins, Bilenskys and Tchernichevskys, Pushkins and Tolstoys, Gorkys and Tchekhovs, Setchenovs and Pvalovs, Rapins and Surikovs, Suvorovs and Kutusovs'. To this panorama of Russian genius he added a solemn pledge, calculated to reassure the nations of Eastern Europe, as to the price of the liberty he promised them and which he was to bring them. 'We have no intention of

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conquering foreign territories or of annexing other nations. . . . 648
Nor do we intend to impose our will and our régime *on the* 175
Slavonic peoples or on the other oppressed nations of Europe who are awaiting our aid'.

Russia, Slavonic peoples, liberation—these words sounded 186*
like a rallying-call around notions long vague and confused, 175
suddenly taking shape in the Titanic conflict in which the 648
destiny of the civilised nations was the stake. Bethmann-Hollweg's war-cry: *Germanentum gegen Slawentum* took on an entirely new meaning. The Teutons had conquered the territories where the first Slavonic tribes had camped; Ferdinand II had broken Czech independence; Frederick had annexed Silesia and Poland; Hitler appropriated Bohemia, Poland, Slovenia, Serbia, and the Ukraine. He chained Croatia and Slovakia to his ephemeral chariot of victory. He was the greatest spoliator of Slav territory that history had ever known. In a sketch broadcast in America, the two Czech comedians, Voskovec and Werych, were discussing the war. 'Who is the greatest man humanity has produced?' asked one. 'Opinions differ', said the other. 'No, no doubt about it, it's Hitler'. 'How can you say such a thing?' 'Yes, Hitler. He is the first statesman to make the Slavs agree among themselves'.

This *entente* was strengthened during the following months, as a result of Russia's policy towards the various countries in revolt against the Hitlerian occupation and also as a result of the Congresses which were held from 1942 to 1944, both in Soviet territory and in the New World.

The old Slavonic instinct of rebellion was rediscovering its traditional weapons—bombs and meetings—and their efficacy increased as German power, undermined by revolt, collapsed. Out of the 5,000,000 Slav 'workers' mobilised by Sauckel, only 200,000 were volunteers.

If we leave out of account the German occupation régime, which in Czechoslovakia took the name of 'Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia' and in Poland that of 'General Government', if we ignore the case of Dalmatia (Zara, Spalato, Cattaro) attached to Italy by a decree of May 18, 1941, and that of Montenegro, which proclaimed its 'independence' on July 13, 1941, but five months later was placed under the authority of an Italian governor, there remain two Slavonic States, Slovakia and

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Croatia, to bear witness to the 'European Order' dreamed of by Hitler and Mussolini.

Slovakia was for long the most outcast of the Slavonic nations. From her went out the first call for Slav solidarity, and it was one of her sons, the priest Jean Kollar, who founded romantic Slavism. Kollar had studied in Jena with the historian, Luden. He had participated in the Wartburg Festival. Every one knows of the disputes the Slovaks had, between the two wars, with the Czechs, whom they accused of practising exaggerated centralism. The anti-Czech elements took advantage of the Czechoslovak crisis to proclaim the independence of Slovakia on March 14, 1939—the same day as the notification of that of Carpatho-Ukraine, immediately occupied by Hungarian troops. Ten days later the country, presided over by a priest, Joseph Tiso, signed the so-called 'protection treaty' (*Schutzvertrag*) which placed it under the domination of the Reich. The latter guaranteed for twenty-five years the 'political independence' and the territorial integrity of the Slovak State. The head of the Government, Tuka, gave to the German-Slovak friendship the name of *Schutzfreundschaft*. A very active Germanophile minority had always existed in the country: the Popular Party of Hlinka (another ecclesiastic) had maintained close relations with the German Party of the Sudetes, whose propaganda, organised by Conrad Henlein, was one of the immediate causes of the war. As far back as September, 1939, Slovakia was represented by a few modest contingents in the campaign against Poland. Her Government was to pride itself on having been the first to bank on a German victory, and for this reason was to claim a sort of 'right of seniority' among the allies of the Hitlerian Reich. It adhered to the Tripartite Pact on November 28, 1940, and appeared to feel it a great honour to see Slovakia, with her two and a half million inhabitants, put on the same footing as Italy and Japan. 'By receiving us', said President Tuka, 'the German Reich has openly and solemnly placed us in the company of independent states'.

This honour was worth a few sacrifices—particularly of the patriots who had formed a different idea on the matter of independence. On his return from Salzburg, where he had seen the Führer, Tuka announced that it would be a National Socialist State. It was necessary to bring to reason certain

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elements who were resisting the spirit of the *Schutzvertrag* and following divergent paths. 186* 175

We may therefore consider Slovakia as a State which, from that time onwards, realised all Hitler's hopes. Better still, it had anticipated them. 'The spirit of National Socialism comes from Hlinka', said President Tuka, 'its methods come from Hitler'. 'Slovakia', he said again, 'must be the vestibule of Paradise'. Racial laws were applied in Slovakia with the same rigour as in Germany, and the Government prided itself on administering 'the most anti-Semite country in the world'. Out of 89,000 Jews who lived there in 1939, there remained in January, 1944, according to official statistics, 20,000 (11,000 of whom had been baptised) and these, moreover, were destined to be eliminated, down to the last man. 'Slovakia was the first country to feel the beneficial effects of the great purification to establish a just world order'—this testimony from the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* speaks volumes as to the docility with which the Bratislava Government responded to Hitlerian control. 648

It is never difficult to attach a conception of the State—however fantastic it may be—to historical antecedents. Slovak propaganda discovered 'positive elements' which justified the Government's policy. Its organ, the *Slowakische Rundschau*,[3] recalled that the Slovak State in its first form, the Great Moravian Empire, founded by King Svatopluk, had collapsed because it had proved incapable of collaborating in peace with the Holy Empire. [208]

It was more difficult to reconcile the Hitlerian ideology with the principles of Christianity to which the people were profoundly attached (Slovakia is the European country in which the clergy are most in evidence in political struggles). This difficulty did not deter either the priest, Tiso, or his Government, who enjoy the doubtful credit of having, despite the Encyclicals, combined the teachings of the Church with the Hitlerian creed. This was a favourite subject for official speeches. 'The victory of Germany will be the victory of Christian principles', declared Mach, the Minister of the Interior, in his message for Christmas, 1943.

[3] Of July 7, 1940.

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648 175 Needless to say, the masses of the populace saw in these absurdities nothing but a blind submission to Germany. In August, 1944, the Germans physically occupied the country. The Government was reorganised; Stephen Tiso, President of the Bratislava Court of Appeal, replaced Tuka as President of the Council. His first act was to have recourse to the Germans to put an end to the increasingly threatening activity of the Partisans. On September 13 a National Council was formed which sent a message of fidelity to Benes. The latter replied, 'The Czechs and the Slovaks will give the State a new form, based on absolute equality of rights and on a spirit of democracy and fraternity'.

* * *

186* 175 Croatia presents, from the historical point of view, a quite different personality. She prides herself on having safeguarded her juridical individuality through a thousand years, under régimes of personal union and under the rule of foreign sovereigns. The clique which, thanks to the collapse of the Yugoslav State, took the power into their own hands and proclaimed the independence of the country on April 10, 1941, was composed of revolutionaries, most of them *émigrés*, grouped since 1929 in the *Oustachi* (insurgent) organisations, by Ante Pavelich, who revived the Croatian Law Party dissolved in 1918, and was the instigator (with Italian and Magyar accomplices) of the crime which led to the death of King Alexander and of Louis Barthou.

The new 'Independent State of Croatia' (a term calculated to imply that the Croatian State had existed without independence) was represented by the crown of King Zvonimir, who died in 1089—a feature borrowed from the constitutional *mystique* of Hungary, which personifies in the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen the union of people and monarchy.[4]

The ideology of the new régime was reduced to negative elements—a struggle against Orthodoxy, Liberalism, Democracy, Freemasonry, Judaism, and Bolshevism, hitherto combined, according to the official propaganda, 'under the false geographical label of Yugoslavism'. It thus claimed to renew the tradition

161 [4] The new Kingdom of Croatia had a population of 7,080,000 inhabitants, as follows: Croatia, 5,000,000, Serbs, 1,500,000, Hungarians, 70,000, and Slovenes, 37,000. It covered an area of 71,958 square miles.

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which had made of Croatia the bulwark of Christianity (*Antemurale Christianitatis*).

But, while Slovakia was the testing-ground of Germany's 'European' conceptions, it was from Mussolini's Italy that the Croatia of Pavelich took her watchwords.[5] It was to Mussolini that Pavelich, condemned to death by the Aix-en-Provence Assize Court, fled for protection. It was in the Doges' Palace in Venice that Pavelich signed Croatia's adhesion to the Tripartite Pact on June 15, 1941. Moreover, the 'oustachi' had not awaited the arrival of the Germans and the Italians before rallying to the Axis. The first step towards adhesion to the Tripartite Pact dates from the interview which took place in January, 1940, between Pavelich and Count Ciano, in the latter's home.

Moreover, the independence of the new State had, from the time of its constitution, been seriously mortgaged, for the Duke of Spoleto, son of the late Duke of Aosta, was to reign over it, with the title of Tomislav II. However, he never appeared in Croatia, and notified his abdication on August 27, 1943.

Italy had counted on Croatia to play the same role in the Balkans as Germany had assigned to Slovakia in the Danube Basin—that of a testing-ground for the New Order. 'Croatia represents the touchstone of the system which the Axis Powers wish to establish in Europe'.[6] As soon as it came to power, the pro-Hitler minority which governed by terror at Zagreb (or at Bania-Louka) had, in the name of racialism no doubt, abolished the word 'Slav' from their terminology. In the propagandist work (*The Croats*) published in Zagreb in 1943, we read (on page 75) that the Croats are of Iranian stock and 'derive their origin from the ancient cradle of the best European races in the Caucasus', while on page 78 we learn that Professor H. M. Chadwick's theory 'completes and corroborates the thesis concerning the Gothic origin of the Croats'. No doubt these two opinions are somewhat contradictory, but the Gothic connection was calculated to rejoice the hearts of the theorists of Nordic pre-eminence. Pavelich himself declared to a German journalist that he wished the German origin of his nation could be proved

[5] The Croatian National Socialist Party amalgamated with the 'oustachi' movement on July 13, 1941.

[6] Broadcast from Radio-Rome, April 27, 1942.

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186* 175 and that Croatian science would endeavour to elucidate this problem [*sic*].

186* 175 668 Croatia had been the starting-point of the defection which dislocated Yugoslavia, but a Croat, Joseph Broz (Marshal Tito), was at the head of the movement which resuscitated that country. This movement began as a guerrilla war waged by partisans; it grew into the rising of a whole nation. 'Tito', by his previous political activity, by his participation in the Spanish campaign (where he had met Rodnitzev, the future defender of Stalingrad), had made numerous contacts with Soviet generals and statesmen. He had Moscow's unconditional support in organising resistance in the Balkans and, at the request of the Russians, he ousted, in the confidence of the Allies, General Mihaïlovich, one of the earliest rebels, but who was reproached with Serbian exclusiveness and with executions of Communists.

By regrouping, under the ægis of Russia, the Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, and Macedonian populations, Tito made himself the champion of a cause that was specifically Slavonic.

In Bulgaria, Communist opposition and popular sentiment (immemorially attached to Russia, but, since Stalingrad, more enthusiastic than ever as the result of the recovery of the Red Armies) obstructed, with increasing boldness the Hitlerophile policy of the Government, which periodic contacts with the Führer failed to stabilise.

* * *

186* 668 544 In order to galvanise and render articulate the new solidarity on democratic lines which was shaping itself among the Slavonic peoples against their common aggressor, congresses were organised. The first was held at Moscow in August, 1941, only a few weeks after Russia's entry into the war. It may be considered the cradle of this rebirth of Slavism. The opening address was pronounced by the Soviet writer, Alexis Tolstoy. 'We reject', he said, 'the old ideology of Panslavism, which we consider reactionary and contrary to the principle of equality among the nations. . . . Slavs, let us unite, that each Slavonic nation may be entitled, as the other nations are, to a free, peaceful existence, that the culture of our nations may flourish without restraint. . . . The fires of Warsaw and of Belgrade are not yet extinct. From the spark springs the flame; the wind of hatred fans these smoking ruins, in which are consumed German

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Fascism's dreams of bloodthirsty domination over the Slavonic world. . . . Slavs, Ukrainian Russians, White Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Bulgars, Slovaks, Ukrainians of Sub-Carpathia, the time has come to unite in the common struggle against German Fascism!' 186* 668 544

The Congress paid tribute to the memory of the three million Slavs who had already died on the field of battle or in camps. 186* 668 The Polish authoress, Wanda Wassiliewska, announced that, on Soviet territory, a Polish army was being formed, 'which would fight shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army'. Two days earlier, the Czech Government in London had given the same assurance concerning their compatriots. All civilians of Slav nationality were called upon to sabotage the enemy's means of communication and military equipment, to starve him, to multiply ambushes for him. Before breaking up, the Congress (as in 1867) appointed a Committee to make contact with all the Slav organisations in the world; it was also to publish documents showing how Hitler was carrying out the extermination of the Slavs.

This Congress had been a first contact—a sort of family council. The one held in the following year (April 4 and 5, 1942) was the most extensive, the most eloquent demonstration of Slav solidarity that the world has ever seen. Spokesmen of all the Slavonic nations, each speaking in his own language, succeeded each other on the platform, whence their declarations were broadcast.

The proceedings opened with a call to 'a holy war against Fascism' by Lieut.-General Gondorov (who was to preside over all the great Slavonic Assemblies). They closed on an appeal formulated by the Soviet writer, Nicolas Tikhonov: 'Oppressed brother Slavs, forward for the national war, the war of liberation! This summons will ring like a tocsin in Belgrade destroyed by the German barbarians, in war-torn Warsaw, in Prague, streaming with the blood of her best sons, in the valleys of the Carpathians and of the Balkans, in the Steppes of the Ukraine, in the forests of White Russia and of Poland, on the banks of the Dnieper and the shores of the Adriatic, on the hills of the Vistula and on the blue Danube!'

The Serbian Professor, Bojidar Maslarich, according to the tradition of his country, quoted the epic of the drama in which

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186* 668 [589] the medieval Serbian Empire foundered, and the oath of Tsar Lazar:—

> 'If a man has not fought at Kossovo,
> His hands shall always be sterile;
> His fields shall yield no corn
> And his vineyards no grapes!
> Forward, brother Serbs!
> Liberty is calling you'.

A Bulgar, Ferdinand Kosovskj, proclaimed: 'We are bound to the great Russian nation by our past, our language, our customs. The words "Honour", "Liberty", "Fraternity" are the same in Russian and in Bulgarian. The Bulgarian people will never let themselves be drawn into a war against their liberator, the Russian nation!' His compatriot, Stella Blagojeva, called upon the Bulgarian women to urge the soldiers to turn their arms 'against Hitler, the implacable enemy of Slavism'.

The Croat, Djura Salaj, drew a pathetic picture of the atrocities and the exactions which his country had witnessed—hundreds of thousands of men deported to Germany, 375 members of the Croatian Peasant Party executed at Zagreb, outstanding personalities interned (Machek, the Peasant Leader, Ivan Mestrovich, the sculptor, etc.).

A Czech deputy, Marek Culen, called upon the Slovaks to 'assume their responsibility in the face of history, on the eve of great and decisive battles' and urged their soldiers to go over to the Russians, with their arms.

Two representatives of Poland, the authoress Wanda Wassielewska and the workman Alexander Jocis, drew a picture of the fresh martyrdom of their country, and urged resistance.

A German also spoke—the poet, Johannes Becher—to stigmatise the Hitlerian racial theories, the pretext for their colonial schemes in Eastern Europe. 'The crimes perpetrated by Hitler make every German blush to admit his nationality. . . . German people, understand this: the Slavonic nations, in their liberating war, do not and never will, wish to conquer German lands. . . . Join with all the Slavonic peoples, emancipate yourselves from the accursed Hitlerian domination! Wipe out the shame and the curse which weigh upon Germany!'

The Congress also heard the Slovene, Ivan Regent, and

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numerous Soviet militants, including the composer, Dmitry Chostakovich, member of the Panslav Committee, who, opposing the Pan-Germanic theories, vindicated Slavonic culture. 'I am proud to be a Russian, I boast of being a Slav. . . . If we must speak of "superior" and "inferior" representatives of humanity, then we can class the German Fascists in the category of the basest! Have they not profaned Yasnaia Poliana (Leo Tolstoy's house), the most sacred treasure of the Russian nation; trodden underfoot Tchaikovsky's scripts at Klin; destroyed at Tikhvina the house where Rimsky Korsakov was born; demolished immortal monuments of Russian architecture at Novgorod and Istra? . . . May all the spiritual forces, all the intellectuals of the glorious family of the Slavonic nations intrepidly fulfil the great mission entrusted to them by history!' 186* 668

The philosophy of this Congress was summed up in an article in the form of a programme, from the pen of the Russian writer, Alexis Tolstoy, and published by the *Pravda* of Moscow:

'We must revise the whole history of the Slavonic peoples. Our contribution to European civilisation has not been less than that of other peoples. During the space of a thousand years, our young blood gave life to Byzantium in its decrepitude. It was thanks to the Slavs that Byzantium preserved ancient civilisation, and transmitted it to feudal Europe. The Slavonic peoples, hard-working, lovers of liberty, peace, and culture had as their neighbours, on the east, nomadic Empires which always cherished the chimerical design of conquering the world, and, on the west, medieval emperors whose imposing cavalcades were no less vain. These aggressions from the east and from the west broke against the intrepid resistance of the Slavonic world. The role of the Slavonic peoples in the formation of European Humanism has not yet been appreciated at its true value. . . . Slavs, to arms! Up, for our mutual relentless struggle!' [544] [629]

Would you not take this—except for the religious note—for a page from one of the Slavophiles of the forties, or a speech by the historian, Pogodin, at the 1867 Congress?

Anticipating Tolstoy's hopes, the Congress had decided on the publication of a monthly review (*The Slavs*), the aim of which was to make known the services rendered to humanity by the Slav civilisation and to tighten the bonds uniting its present representatives. 186* 203

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186* 814 In Russia, this same year 1942 saw an unprecedented output of works on Slavonic history and philology. Nicolas Derjavin studied Slavonic palæology, Russo-Bulgarian intellectual relations, the origin and history of the Slavs up to the eleventh century. The literature and history of the Slavonic nations were included in the syllabus of the High Schools; a chair of Slavonic Philology was created in the University of Leningrad; in May, 1942 the chair of Slavistic in the University of Moscow became a 'centre of studies in the history of the Slavonic peoples and of their role in intellectual evolution and in progress'.

186* 608 829 The Ethnographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences undertook a huge investigation into the origin of the Slavonic settlements. A Tass Agency communication of July 4, 1943, announced the first results of this inquiry; the Slavs were aboriginals, not invaders. Professor Gudaltov proved that they descended from tribes settled between the Elbe and the Vistula. He pointed out the direct relationship between the Scythians of the Dnieper and the Polanes who played a decisive role in the formation of the State of Kiev.

186* 533 536 Literature, the theatre, the arts, vied with each other in contributing to this revival of Slavonic spiritual life. An exhibition of the theatrical art of the Slavonic nations was held in Moscow in July, 1942. Chebalin's *Slavonic Quartet* obtained the Stalin Prize in 1943. The Musicians' Congress, which met in Moscow in January, 1943, praised Victor Belyi's 'Slavonic Suite' (Hymn of Anger, Serbian Guerrilla, To Arms!), the libretto of which, borrowed from Serbian folklore literature, is the work of the Montenegrin poet, Radoul Stiyensky.

186* 576 668 But the essential task remained a political one. Five committees were formed, for liaison with sympathisers in the allied countries—Panslav Committee, Youth Committee, Committee of Savants, Feminine Committee, Jewish Committee. The Panslav Committee launched message after message to oppressed Slavs, insurgent Slavs, Slavs in exile. They received from the Yugoslav Vetché—a political organisation struggling with Tito for independence—a telegram thanking them for their assistance with a view to the establishment of a 'Democratic Yugoslavia, federal and equal in rights', which concluded as follows: 'Long live the fraternal solidarity of all the Slavs in the struggle against German Fascism!'

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The Third Panslav Congress opened in Moscow on May 9, 1943. Two thousand people assembled—authors, artisans, soldiers, partisans, priests of the Eastern rites. There were seen, side by side, the Soviet General Alexander Gondorov, the Czech Colonel Svoboda, the Colonel of the Polish 'Kosciuszko' Division, Sigmund Berling, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Nicolas. Once more the union of all the oppressed Slavs was urged; the Czechs were invited to evade the total mobilisation which the Germans were organising in their country. Already the partisans were everywhere at work; the Soviet victories guaranteed the triumph of the common cause. The Congress voted messages to Stalin, to Churchill, to Roosevelt, to all the Slavs in the world. 186* 668

In the month of July,[1] an exhibition in Moscow showed specimens of the independent Slav press—of more than a hundred reviews and newspapers which were then appearing in the United States, in Great Britain, in Canada, in Australia, in the Argentine. 186* 204

The Panslav Committee held its sixth full Assembly in Moscow on October 16 and 17, 1943. It voted congratulations to the Red Army, to the Yugoslav partisans, to the first Czecho-Slovak Brigade in Russia—which was about to leave for the front—to the Union of Poles (since October 12 the Kosciuszko Division had been in the firing line). The Czech Zdenek Mejedli, Professor of Musical Art in Prague, spoke of the reconstitution of Czechoslovak unity; the Metropolitan Nicolas told of the German Army's atrocities on Russian territory; the Academician Derjavin recounted the exploits of Russian military history—the defeat inflicted by Alexander Nevsky on the Teutonic Knights on the ice of Lake Peipus (1242), the prophecy of the victor, 'He who attacks us with the sword will perish by the sword', which, for seven centuries, was the watchword of the Russians; the crushing of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg (Grunwald) in 1410; Frederick's defeat in the Seven Years' War (Jagersdorf, Kunersdorf) which carried the Muscovite troops to Berlin; the failure of the German adventure in Ukraine in 1918. 186* 668 575

'We see', Derjavin was to write, 'the Slavonic peoples' hatred of the Fascist invader grow under our eyes. . . . One single front of national revolt unites the Slavs against Hitlerism in the name of the defence of liberty, of political independence, of civilisation and honour'.

1 [1943 -- Analyst]

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Throughout the year 1944 there was a succession of demonstrations, all striking a similar note. On January 23, the Panslav Committee of Moscow appealed to the Bulgars to join the Serbian, Albanian, and Greek partisans. In Moscow, on February 23, two thousand Slav combatants celebrated the anniversary of the creation of the Red Army. The Polish General, Sigmund Berling, declared that the future of Poland lay 'in the permanent support of the Soviet Union and the common front of the Slavonic peoples'. He dissociated himself from the Polish Government in London, 'who have designs on the liberty of other nations in their desire to sacrifice millions of Ukrainians and White Russians to their own greed'. The 'white-haired' Czech General Ludovit Svoboda prophesied: 'The day is not far off when we shall proudly hoist our flag in Prague the Golden'. The Bulgarian soldiers were once more urged to turn their arms against the Germans: 'Not until they have taken the destinies of the country into their own hands will the patriots perhaps be able to save Bulgaria from terrible disaster'. The meeting implored Czechs to redouble their sabotage. It promised the Poles restitution of 'the centuries-old territory of Western Poland, stolen by the Germans'. It denounced to the Yugoslavs the fraticidal policy 'of the traitors Nedich, Pavelich and Mihailovich'. A special appeal was launched to 'brother Slavs across the Ocean', inviting them to do 'everything in their power to speed up and render more deadly the blows at Hitlerian tyranny'. All the Slavonic peoples were told that their ways would never again diverge; after having crushed the common enemy, they would live in security, liberty, and independence. 'The Slavonic nations have risen up together; they have reared their gigantic form', declared Franciszek Kupez, chaplain to the First Polish Corps.

To commemorate the third anniversary of the national rising, the Yugoslavs living in Russia, in their turn, held a meeting, which was presided over by Bojidar Maslarich. This meeting acclaimed the names of the Yugoslav intellectuals engaged in the Resistance side by side with their doyen, Vladimir Nazor, the Croatian epic bard. A message to Marshal Tito was accompanied with enthusiastic demonstrations; then there was an exchange of views, conducted by a Serb, Stefanovich, a member of the Constituent Assembly; a Montenegrin, Markovich; a

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Macedonian, Vlakhov; the Slovenes Goustinchich and Ivan Regent; a Bulgarian, Tchernevov. 186* 668

Benes, subtle and realistic as usual, in an English newspaper expressed his approval of this propaganda, and the value of this approval lay, not in the personality of the writer, but in the attitude he was long known to have held concerning the problem of Slav solidarity. M. Benes recalled that, 'without the establishment of the Soviet régime in Russia, Poland would never have recovered her independence'. 'The present war', he added, 'is favourable to the settlement of differences outstanding between Poland and the U.S.S.R. as well as between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Whilst preserving their independence and their social institutions, the democratised Slavonic nations—they are democratic by nature—must unite and collaborate in all fields. This union of Slavonic peoples will alone be capable, in future, of neutralising the cruel racial policy consistently pursued by Germany, and thus guaranteeing future peace in Europe and in the world'. 186* 829

In London, the Slavs in exile also banded together, with a view to common action. Early in 1943, the refugee Slavonic Governments (Polish, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav) formed a 'cultural committee'. Seton Watson, the specialist in the problems of South-East Europe, in a public lecture given in London[7] thus defined the importance of the conflagration: 'It is the greatest Slavonic war in history. It may well prove decisive for the fate of all the Slavonic nations and their future relations with the Germanic world. . . . The absorption of these nations by Germany would establish that country's hegemony on the continent of Europe; it is therefore as much in the interest of Great Britain as of Russia to go to their assistance'. 186* 668

A Congress of Slavonic nations met in London on May 25, 1944. The next day a message was read to the Congress from the Slav Committee of Moscow, in which the latter pointed out that Polish troops and Czech military formations were fighting side by side with the Red Army, whilst a Yugoslav unit, trained in Russia, was preparing to join them. They added that the attempts of German propaganda to make the Czechs fall out with the Russians when the latter appeared on their frontiers

[7] January 12, 1944.

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186* 668 had been foiled by the signing of the Soviet-Czech Pact. The message ended with an exhortation to 'unmask the Hitlerian agitators and the political adventurers of the reactionary cliques of exiles who are seeking to disturb the unity of the Slavs'. The Congress, presided over by Seton Watson, was also addressed by Rumanian, Austrian, and Hungarian democrats. It heard speeches by Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, and Poles, and in its turn sent a message of 'fraternity' to the Slav combatants and partisans, especially the Carpatho-Ukraines. We may notice that this term, formerly considered as subversive, had been substituted, on the initiative of the Czech circles in London, for the official designation 'Sub-Carpatho Russia'.

[67] But it was perhaps in America, with its fifteen to sixteen million citizens of Slavonic origin, that Panslav demonstrations attracted most attention. On March 27, 1942, a conference of forty delegates met in New York to prepare the Detroit Slavonic Congress. It was decided to give energetic support to Roosevelt's anti-Hitler policy. The appeal to Slav solidarity has always played its role in American political struggles; when Antoine Cermak, a Czech recently arrived in America, was elected Mayor of Chicago he secured the votes of tens of thousands of naturalised emigrants; many election meetings opened to the strains of the Panslav hymn, *Ei Sloveni!* On the occasion of the Detroit Congress, April 25 and 26, 1942, were declared 'American Slav Days' by the Governor of the State of Michigan. Two thousand delegates—Russians, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, and numerous representatives of the American Trade Union organisations—took part in this Congress, presided over by Mr. Blair Gunther. They resolved to help the military and 'underground' operations by spying out the movements of the 'fifth column'. 'Our relatives, our fatherlands have been plundered, ruined, destroyed. We do not wish America to suffer the same fate, and we are going to avenge our fatherlands'.

At the pro-Soviet meeting in Philadelphia, Jan Mazaryk, Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed more than fifteen thousand people. In Chicago in July, 1942, thousands of Americans of Slavonic descent celebrated the 532nd anniversary of the defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg; they heard a message from President Roosevelt read to them, concluding as follows: 'We will crush the tyrant, we will purge your fathers'

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countries and bring peace and liberty to men'. In the following September the Slav delegates to the Washington Congress of anti-Fascist Students passed a resolution calling upon their Anglo-American comrades to bring pressure to bear on their Governments with a view to opening a second European Front. In April, 1943, the Central Committee of the Congress of Slavs in America, sitting at Chicago, declared that if efforts were not made to crush Germany quickly, 'there will be nothing left to liberate but cemeteries'. They organised a 'Panslav Day' for June 22, and demanded the re-establishment of free circulation for Slav newspapers in Brazil.

Needless to add, there were reactionary or dissident movements, and certain Slav groups maintained contacts with the pro-Axis Governments, or pursued an anti-Soviet policy.

Their case was raised at the Congress of Slavs in America, which was held in Pittsburg on January 24, 1944, and was attended by seventy-five delegates from New York, Buffalo, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Saint-Louis, and even from Canada. This Congress studied reports on the activities of a hundred local committees during the year 1943. The chief subject for discussion was the attitude of the Committee of Americans of Polish Origin, of which Colonel Matuszewsky was the head, and of their newspaper, *Nowy Swiat,* which was unanimously censured. Then the Congress applauded a resolution approving Roosevelt's war policy as well as the Teheran, Moscow, and Cairo agreements. A second meeting was held in Pittsburg on September 23 and 24. Like the previous one, its chief object was to create a 'Slavonic electoral front' in favour of Roosevelt's candidature, to speed up the American war effort,[8] and to combat the action of the Matuszewsky Committee, a Polish breach in Slav solidarity. (The Congress of Americans of Polish Origin held in Buffalo in the preceding month had included this action on its agenda.)

* * *

A few months earlier, the Poles in America had been deeply moved by a strange episode, the journey of Father Stanislas Orlemanski to Moscow. This unassuming priest, of Polish

[8] The sale of bonds for the Fourth American War Loan by the Slav Committee of New York served to build, among other things, a bomber, 'The New York Slav', and a chaser, 'Spirit of Stalingrad'.

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648 origin, was in charge of a little Massachusetts church, the Holy
793 Rosary, in the diocese of Springfield. Was he first sounded, and
159 then invited to Moscow, as he himself was to allege, or did he improvise a mission? The facility with which he moved about in Russia, at a time when travelling was subject to severe restrictions, argues in favour of the former hypothesis. He was absent from April 17 to May 11, 1944, the object of his journey being, according to him, 'to see what he could do for the Catholic Church in Poland, Ukraine, and White Russia'. On his return he declared that he had twice been received by Stalin, and had obtained from him assurances, both verbal and written, in favour of religious liberty on Soviet territory. 'Future events will prove', he said, 'that Marshal Stalin nourishes very friendly sentiments towards the Roman Catholic Church. He wants a really democratic, independent Poland, capable of defending herself against any fresh aggression. The religion of the Polish people will be that of our ancestors; he will not tolerate any change. All he asks in return is a Poland animated with fraternal feelings towards the U.S.S.R.'.

Four hours after Father Orlemanski's return home, his bishop imposed the penalties provided for cases of unauthorised absence; he was forbidden to say Mass. After an attempted protest to the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, he submitted and solemnly promised never again to meddle with matters outside his priestly functions, upon which the bishop raised the interdict pronounced against him.

648 But his journey nevertheless aroused tremendous interest.
793 The Soviet Radio called it a 'great international event', and the
159 press published Orlemanski's declarations in full. As there are
208 very few Catholics in Russia proper, the assurances given by Stalin referred especially to the liberated territories of the Ukraine and of Eastern Poland. The Tass Agency, emphasising the reality of these assurances, accused (though in moderate terms) the Hierarchy of the United States of having, in this matter, adopted a not very favourable attitude towards the Soviets. Whilst the *Christian Science Monitor* expressed satisfaction at the Orlemanski mission, and did not doubt that the Vatican would take advantage of the conciliatory attitude of the Soviets, the *Chicago Sun* placed its trust in the Catholic clergy's common sense to reject 'the poisoned advice of the agitators',

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seeking to encourage the Church in her traditional opposition to the Soviets. But the *Post Dispatch* regretted that the Kremlin should have chosen such an unimportant person as Orlemanski for such a demonstration. The *Louisville Courier* deplored the censure passed on this priest by his bishop; no doubt the latter tolerated disparagement of the Soviet Union, but not efforts to understand it. 648 723 159 208

The truth seems to be that Father Orlemanski's initiative, whether concerted with Moscow or not, aroused in Slavonic circles reactions calculated to handicap the Government and prejudice Roosevelt's electoral campaign. While the Slavonic Committee of America approved this initiative, the *émigré* Poles threatened to launch a campaign which would have brought Washington and Moscow into opposition. It happened that Orlemanski's superiors were of Irish origin—which, obviously, did not predispose them to regard his journey with a favourable eye. In any case, the episcopal decision and the priest's submission cut short any attempts at propaganda, thus rendering a very opportune service to the Government, but postponing or compromising the perspective of a possible easing of the situation, if not of a *rapprochement* between Poland and the Soviets, and between the Soviets and the Vatican.

In Latin America the headquarters of the permanent Slav Committee were at Montevideo, where, in April, 1943, three hundred and ninety-four Slav delegates assembled at a Congress which established the Union of Slav Nationals (they were estimated at two millions), to organise the struggle against pro-Hitlerian activities. 186* 668

* * *

This sketch of the recovery of the Slavs in the Old World and the New brings out two features: the gravitation of all the Slavonic nations round the Muscovite colossus, and the repugnance of a sector of Polish opinion to this method of regrouping. 186*

As was to be anticipated, German propaganda affected to see in this the execution of a plan tending to 'Bolshevise' Europe, and even America. Germany again launched her old commonplaces about the inferiority of the Slavs. A Radio-Paris broadcast (February 21, 1943) assured listeners 'that about one-quarter of the American population is composed of Slavonic elements, of 186* 648 723

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186* Negroids, and of Jews, and that this degeneracy warrants our
648 suspecting American morals'. Remarks which were not very
723 flattering for the Slovaks, the Croats, and the Bulgars, whose Governments were still allies of the Axis. 'Naturally', Radoslavov, a Bulgarian minister was to say, 'we belong to the Slavonic race. But we are, first and foremost, Bulgars. We act in accordance with our own interests and not with the interests of the Slavonic peoples in general'. And the *Zora,* of Sofia, went one farther, reproaching Stalin, a Georgian, who had always rejected racial concepts, for posing as the head of the Slavs, and for rallying to racial theories. 'With God's help', this paper concluded, 'the Soviets will never be able to overthrow the Eastern front'.

Other objections kept polemical discussions alive. M. Benes one day expressed to the Czechoslovak Council his desire to see Poland 'independent, democratic, and friendly', joining the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement. 'This', he said, 'would mean the definite settlement of all the differences outstanding between our three countries and would assure their future by guaranteeing peace in this part of the globe; Germany would never again dare to start a world war'.

186* This declaration aroused unfriendly or sceptical comments
829 in part of the Turkish press. For a long time that press had been
204 watching the development of the Slavonic orientation in Soviet policy. 'The new Panslav movement', the officially-inspired *Ulus* had said, 'will be followed with the greatest attention, especially by those non-Slavonic nations which were formerly the object of that policy'.[9]

This time it was the *Tanin* which asked why, since the expression 'Pangermanic Imperialism' applied to the union of Germans, that of 'Panslavonic Imperialism' should not describe the union of Slavs? An article in *Pravda,*[10] an obvious reflection of Moscow's ideas on Slav solidarity, refuted this assertion at great length. The Soviet leader-writer recalled that, for a thousand years, the history of Eastern Europe had been that of the defence of the Slavonic peoples against the German invader. 'The historical atmosphere has changed', he said, 'but the object of the German conquerors is unchangeable—to separate the Slavs by force'. There were, he added (for the benefit of the

[9] August 13, 1941.
[10] February 19, 1944.

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Turkish journalist) some people in Eastern Europe who would like to return to the old policy of oppression of the Slavonic peoples. . . . The new friendship among these peoples, related to each other and bound by century-old ties of a common culture, was being tempered in the crucible of the war of liberation. . . . Their *rapprochement* would displease none but those who dreamed of seeing them dominated once again'. 186* 829 204

* * *

The Orlemanski affair has shown us an attempt at Slav solidarity in the domain of religious tolerance. In the same order of things, but this time in connection with the Orthodox Slavs, we cannot omit to mention the deep impression produced by the restoration of juridical personality to the Russian Orthodox Church (September, 1943) and the elevation of the Metropolitan Serge to the office of Patriarch, abolished in 1721 by Peter the Great and which enjoyed a brief restoration in 1917. With its hundred and fifty million followers, the Orthodox community, placed at the cross-roads of the war, was undergoing one of the most tragic crises in its history. Its suffering was all the more serious, inasmuch as the Orthodox Churches are organised on national lines, in contrast to the hierarchical unity of Roman Catholicism. These churches are bound together by identical doctrine and canons. But, in the course of the centuries, they have progressively relaxed the bonds of dependence which used to attach them to the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. Religious autonomy has advanced side by side with the emancipation of the nationalities. In restoring the rights of the Church, Stalin not only indicated his desire to reawaken the traditions of Russian national life, within the framework of a social renovation; he also tightened the historic bonds between his country and the Balkan nations of the Orthodox religion, thus reinforcing, by new spiritual affinities, sympathies founded on community of race, of oppression, and of destiny. 186* 659 795

Germany tried to foil this policy by summoning to Vienna, on November 5, under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Belgrade, the Orthodox prelates adhering to the Axis cause, and especially the Metropolitans of Berlin and of Paris, who declared the election of the new Patriarch to be null and void. This demonstration was of no effect; the vast majority of the Serbian, Rumanian, Greek and Bulgarian hierarchies either had nothing 648 793 795

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648 793 795 to do with the protesting prelates,[11] or openly dissociated themselves from their attitude.

771 626 795 By way of retort, the first number of the *Moscow Patriarchy* published a message from the Council of Russian Bishops, assembled for the election, inviting Christians to pray for the victory of the Red Army and the fulfilment of the scriptural text invoked by Alexander Nevsky: 'He who strikes with the sword shall perish by the sword'. On September 8, this same Council had excommunicated 'as adversaries of the Cross of the Lord, all who have been guilty of treason to the common cause of the Church and gone over to Fascism'; the bishops and clergy guilty on this head were removed from their sacred office.

* * *

186* 563 To conclude, the only obstacles to a general reconciliation of the Slavonic peoples came from the Poles. To summarise here the vicissitudes of Soviet-Polish relations since the pact of December, 1941, would mean not only relating the most stormy chapter in the Allies' war diplomacy, but also recalling the relations of the various groups among the Polish exiles, the antagonism between the London Committee and that of Lublin, the frontier problem, and also the perhaps more tragic problem of the political, religious, and social concepts on the basis of which the Polish State was to be re-born. Once again it was made very clear that Poland occupied a place apart on the map of the Slavonic world, and formed an obstacle to the realisation of full Slav solidarity.

727 177 Like the other Slavonic States, however, she had been caught up in the advance of the Russian armies sweeping across Eastern Europe—an onrush which settled the fate of the Slav nations, with or without their consent, as a consequence of their liberation. For three or four years Germany had been the second Slavonic power in the world. She had imposed on her Serbian, Croatian, Slovak, and Bulgarian satellites not only the horrors of the occupation, but also ideologies strongly opposed to their temperaments and their history; an impersonal and tyrannical idea of the State, a 'New Order' which was nothing but a hypocritical subjection, anti-Semitism which—with the exceptions of Poland and Imperial Russia—the Slavonic nations had always regarded 600 with horror. When the collapse came, all these nations turned

[11] Among these, however, we must include the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Argentine.

[J. Poland - Analyst]

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When the collapse came, all these nations turned against an aggressor who had not only trodden their sovereign rights under foot, but even violated their consciences. The Governments which had been at his beck and call were either handed over to popular justice, or taken along with the baggage of the defeated army. On September 7, 1944 Bulgaria broke with the Reich; a few days later the Pavelich Government was dispersed; Slovakia gradually passed under the control of the partisans; Belgrade was occupied by the Tolbukhin army on the following October 20, the day that Tito liberated Ragusa. In the last few weeks of 1944 the map of war operations reflected the real political positions of the Slavonic world, based on Soviet victory. 'Fraternal union with Russia is one of the most deeply-rooted sentiments of the Slavonic peoples', declared King Peter of Yugoslavia in a communiqué dated from London on January 11, 1945.

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Within this Slavonic world, relations were entering upon a new phase. They were ceasing to be a speculation of the learned world, a poet's dream, a field for sentimental outpourings. They had become a reality of international life. The resisting elements in the Slavonic community had at first represented a complete range of specimens of the struggle against oppression—the Czech's masked militancy, the Poles' street-fighting, Serbian guerrilla warfare, Bulgarian terrorism. They had made contact, concerted their action. Early in 1945 it was possible to speak of a 'Slavonic Front', a thing unknown to history. Something had changed in the destiny of the Slavs. The representative of Pavelich's Croatia accredited to the Vichy Government was one day lunching with some French ministers. He went so far as to say, in an expansive moment: 'All the same, the time has come to give the Slavs their place in the sun!'

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A very unexpected remark in the mouth of the envoy of an Axis Government, and, moreover, an envoy who had officially repudiated his ethnical ties.[12] It passed unnoticed by the guests, who were not very well acquainted with the historical laws of European evolution; but it revealed the depth and unanimity of the Slavs' faith in a revival of their fortunes as the result of the Second World War.

[12] It should be noted that the visit to France of Croatia's 'diplomatic' representatives seems to have inspired them with a clearer feeling of realities. The first of them, Kokotovich, went to Switzerland, whence he sent a letter to the French Foreign Minister, begging him not to pay any attention to what his successor did. Moreover, the latter, Krenik, joined Kokotovich in Switzerland a few months later.

[1. Slavonic nations - Analyst]

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Chapter Five

RUSSIA AS ARBITER OF THE SLAVONIC NATIONS

IN the conditions under which it was realised, the liberation of Eastern Europe by the Soviet armies radically transformed the factors in the Slavonic problem. All the aims that the feeling of historical and racial solidarity had assigned to the Slavs were suddenly outstripped.

The First World War had resulted in their emancipation. As we have pointed out, this emancipation was due no less to the collapse of Tsarist Russia than to the victory of the Western Democracies. It had 'set up a home' for the Slavonic nations, free of mortgage on their national sovereign rights, without predominance of any one nation over the others. The two tasks imposed on them had been, on the one hand, the creation of inter-Slav ties—political, economic, and spiritual—on the other, a reorganisation of their relations with Russia.

The first of these tasks had been but imperfectly realised. The evolution of the international situation between the two wars was calculated rather to dissociate than to regroup the energies of the Slavonic world. And once again in history the Second World War had found the Slavonic nations in opposing camps.

As for relations with Moscow, they were diffident and inconsistent; where they did issue in positive agreements, these were hedged with cautious circumlocutions, and lacked a well-defined scope.

With the liberation, and the presence of the Red armies on their territory, the Slavonic peoples glimpsed a plan of their international life which was very different from the one they had known between 1919 and 1940. The new Governments had been formed under the eyes of the Liberator and, in the majority of cases, from elements devoted to the Soviet ideology. Under colour of 'anti-Fascism' a tidal wave swept away the old groups, accused of having, before or during the war, supported Axis designs. In reality the 'purge' marked an operation of a revolutionary nature, characterised by the rise to power of the

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'Young Brigade', and by the predominance of the 'social' over the 'political' and even over the 'national'. 177 .64

This revolution was in the logic of events; was there any need to invoke the ascendancy or the presence of Russia to explain it? On emerging from an upheaval unprecedented in their history, the little nations, stupefied by the blow and completely helpless, saw their recent past only as error or treason. 177 118 181

We cannot even reproach Russia with having bound up her action with a policy of patronage or aimed at an ideological synchronisation of the régimes born on the territories she had liberated. In Hungary, for example, she was very careful not to recreate the atmosphere of the time of Bela Kun, whose sinister memory, she found, was still alive.

But, in the Slavonic countries, the parties of the extreme Left, almost everywhere identified with the Resistance, took advantage of the presence and the prestige of Russia in order to get into power and stay there. This led to a misunderstanding which, by associating the Russian authorities with the Governments which they were believed to favour, risked one day exposing the popularity of the Soviet Union in these countries to a turn in the tide of internal politics. 662

Obliged henceforth to gravitate in the orbit of the powerful Russian State, the Slavonic nations could not consider the future from the same angle as they had done in 1918. At the conclusion of a devastating war, Russia would never again allow neighbouring States to serve as a diplomatic or military jumping-off ground for a possible adversary. She regarded them as her security ramp. 186* 829

One might be tempted to see in this Muscovite hold over Eastern Europe a revolution of an international order.. In truth it was a revolution only in relation to an abnormal state of affairs—that of the 1920–1940 period, which rested on Russia's inertia in Europe. It could not reasonably be expected that this state of affairs would last indefinitely. The Europe of 1945 was more logical than that of 1918—at any rate, more in conformity with the classic play of international forces. 648

The slogan of Slav solidarity, which formed the *leit-motiv* of the Moscow Congresses of 1942–1944, had galvanised and co-ordinated the movements for resistance to the invader. In 186* 668 000

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186* 668 1945 it became the common denominator of the foreign policy In of the liberated States which were more directly subject to Russian influence, *i.e.*, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria. But the international personality of those States and their liberty of action will never again be what they were between the two wars. Is it necessary to quote the opinion of the leading Slavicisers of the nineteenth century to remind readers that, outside Russia, the idea of Slav solidarity has always excluded the domination of one people over the others, and that, in popular terminology, it has never been expressed otherwise than by the word 'fraternity'? That is why we have known men who, avowedly attached to the Slavonic *mystique* but not prepared to admit that this may become a predominantly political policy, were obliged to choose between conformity and exile, and disappeared from public life.

In their innermost hearts the Governments were not far from believing that this *mystique* had exhausted its virtue and could not contribute much to the rebirth of political and social life that the Russian presence infused into them. Slavism had not played the role in unleashing this war that it had assumed in the previous war. Stalin had not drawn the sword for the Czechs in 1938, nor for the Poles in 1939, as Nicholas had done in 1914 for the Serbs. It was not against the oppressor of Slav nationalities, incarnated in 1914 by the Dual Monarchy, in 1938 by the Reich, that Russia had risen. It was against a design which aimed at overthrowing the structure of the world.

But how could one forget the great Panslav Assemblies of the war years? How gloss over the fact that Stalin, forsaking Lenin's anti-racial determinism, had reintroduced the words 'Slav' and 'Russian' into the official terminology of the régime? Finally, how overlook that intuitive reflex that assigns to Slavism, in international life, a place analogous to that of the proletariat in social life?

Then, too, the idea of Slav solidarity had an unacknowledged advantage. It allowed the leaders of the liberated countries to disguise under the appearance of fraternal solidarity the state of dependence to which they were doomed by the new Eastern equilibrium.

Russia was indeed the arbiter of the Slavonic world, but of a Slavonic world condemned to model its ideology on her political

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mediatisation. In the past, Slavism had mobilised more feeling than will-power, animated more Congresses than Crusades. It now reassumed the academic, 'poet and professor' form it had exhibited a hundred years earlier. 186* 668

So that Russia's first acts as a liberating power were not particularly Slavonic. In virtue of the ethnical principle, exercised in her own favour, she annexed to the Ukraine Carpatho-Ruthenia, which had been a Civilisation Front for another Slavonic power—Czechoslovakia. As far as Poland was concerned Russia drew the logical advantages of her victory. Poland's annexation of Prussia's Eastern Marches was simply compensation for the amputations she suffered in favour of the Ukraine and of White Russia. The support discreetly given by Moscow to the Bulgaro-Yugoslav claims on Aegean Macedonia reflected less concern for Slav solidarity than the desire to liberate the outlet from the Straits. 186* 668 723

The award of the Teschen Basin, once more disputed between Poland and Czechoslovakia, provided Russia with a very delicate arbitration task, in which the necessity for compensating the sacrifices demanded of the Poles weighed more heavily than the memory of Czech fidelity; had not Czechoslovakia, for ten years, been considered as the 'aircraft-carrier' of Soviet military power?

In reality—and a large dose of ingenuousness was required in order to believe that it could ever be otherwise—the territorial changes over which the Russians presided were all inspired by Russian interests, in the historical and traditional sense of the word.

* * *

Let us briefly recall the evolution of the Slavonic peoples immediately after their liberation. 648 175

Poland was, during the war, represented by a Government-in-exile in London, which negotiated with the Allies, to whom they gave valuable military assistance. In Moscow this Government was regarded as 'reactionary' and incompatible with a policy of good Polish-Sovietic relations. So it was constantly attacked by the Russian leaders and the Russian press. [829]

As long as the war was conducted outside Polish territory, London and Washington classed this dispute with those that are

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648 only settled by being shelved. The English and the Americans
175 were in a delicate position with regard to Poland; the former because it was difficult for them to forget that they had entered the war in order to safeguard Poland's independence, the latter because in the United States there is a large Polish emigration, whose electoral influence is by no means negligible. (It should not be forgotten that Roosevelt was the candidate of the minorities, the allogeneous groups, and the Catholics.)

But the entry of Soviet troops into Polish territory put an end to all hopes of postponing until the end of the war the solution of the dispute between the Polish exiles in London and the 'Association of Polish Patriots' set up in Moscow to tie the future of Poland to that of Russia. As in the case of the Baltic peoples, the Kremlin intended to deal only with a Polish authority constituted on her territory and consisting of members not suspected of any anti-Sovietic affiliations or tendencies.

Yet M. Stanislas Mikolajczyk, leader of the Peasant Party, who, on July 5, 1943, had replaced General Sikorski at the head of the Polish Government in London, sought to gain time. The Soviet press conducted a violent campaign against him and his collaborators, representing them as survivors of a retrograde Poland, the inheritance of the 'Colonels' Government', and as reincarnating the anti-democratic, anti-Russian tradition of Pilsudski.

On the day when Radio-Moscow announced the entry of the Red armies into Chelm, the communiqué was followed by the Soviet anthem, then the Polish. From this entry of the Reds into Poland dates the formation, on Russian-occupied territory, of the 'National Liberation Committee', whose first act was to repudiate allegiance to M. Mikolajczyk's Government. Thenceforward there were two Polish authorities.

642 The National Committee issued a manifesto to the 'People
175 of Poland', announcing that in the Committee was invested the 'sole legal authority' existing in Poland, since it was actuated by the spirit of the democratic constitution of 1921, whereas the London Cabinet had resulted from the authoritarian constitution of April, 1935. The Committee considered itself, thenceforth, as the sole provisional legal organ of the executive power; moreover, this claim was supported by a Soviet communiqué announcing that the administration of the Polish territories

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occupied by the Russian armies would be entrusted to the Committee. 642 175

It will be noticed that in both documents the word 'Government' was avoided. No doubt that explains why neither London nor Washington received notification of the establishment of this new organism. But the Poles in London reacted indignantly. For them, this new institution was juridically valueless and, in practice, without authority. They declared that out of the fifteen members composing this Executive Directory seven were unknown, while eight were notorious Communists. The President, M. Osubka-Morawski, was a thirty-five year old workman, excluded from the Socialist Party in 1940 on account of his affiliations with Moscow. They therefore asked London and Washington to disavow these 'usurpers'. 648 175 578

Russia's might, and the role of the Soviet armies in the joint military effort, scarcely permitted an unfriendly attitude in regard to an initiative to which the Soviets had already given their sanction. London had not, for years, 'hedged' over misunderstandings which set the London and the Moscow exiles at loggerheads, only to take a final decision just when the Russian armies were achieving advances which left their allies far behind. So London simply announced that Great Britain continued to recognise M. Mikolajczyk's Government, whilst hoping that it would find some way of coming to an agreement with the organisation which had been set up in opposition to it. In the United States, where the Polish question caused very violent discussion during an election year, Mr. Cordell Hull entrenched himself in the silence which was his usual refuge when he was questioned concerning Eastern European problems.

In view of this negative attitude on the part of London and Washington, M. Mikolajczyk decided to seek an interview with Marshal Stalin. He went to Moscow, accompanied by his Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Romer. But his interview only served to make him realise the insurmountable prejudices which Soviet circles cherished against the London exiles.

Yet the Allies could not allow the Polish question to remain in this state of uncertainty just when a general settlement of the war was within sight. So this question was included on the agenda of the Crimean Conference in February, 1945. The Three Powers decided that the evolution of the international

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situation necessitated the creation of a new Polish Provisional Government on a wider democratic basis than that which had governed the establishment of the organism which functioned in the liberated regions of Poland (first the Lublin, then the Warsaw Government). M. Molotov and the ambassadors of Great Britain and the United States received a mandate to carry out this reorganisation in conjunction with the members of the Provisional Government and the Polish democratic leaders both in Poland and abroad. This new Provisional Government would, as soon as circumstances permitted, organise free elections with a secret poll.

The Yalta decision provoked a split in Polish circles in London. The Government-in-exile, at the head of which M. Arciszewski had replaced M. Mikolajczyk, declared that neither that Government nor the Polish nation would recognise the decision; but M. Mikolajczyk and the Peasant Party, the majority of the Christian Democrats, and nearly half the Socialists, immediately signified that they would have nothing to do with this uncompromising attitude.

On April 21, 1945, whilst awaiting the application of the Yalta decisions, the Warsaw Polish Government, presided over by M. Osubka-Morawski, signed a treaty of friendship and mutual aid with the Soviet Government. This confirmed the Russian point of view, according to which the Warsaw Cabinet remained the nucleus of the future reconstructed Government. 'This reconstruction', said Marshal Stalin in a declaration to *The Times*, 'will have the effect of favouring a policy of friendship towards the Soviet Union instead of a policy of a "sanitary cordon" directed against her'. Moscow remembered the experience of 1919 and the 'barbed wire fence'.

At Yalta, the desire for prudence by which Mr. Roosevelt was inspired meant that the procedure in connection with the enlarging of the Polish Government was left very vague. Hence Mr. Hopkins' mission to Moscow in order, among other things, to set this procedure in action. As the result of the Stalin-Hopkins interview, a Soviet note was sent on June 13 convening in Moscow the Three Power Commission and the representatives of the Warsaw Government, together with the Polish leaders abroad.

The forwarding of this note had been speeded up in the hope

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of enabling Poland to be admitted, at least *in extremis*, to the San Francisco Conference. For as the result of London and Washington's refusal, on April 18, to allow an invitation to be sent to the Warsaw Government, it looked as though Poland, the first victim of German aggression, might be absent from the discussion of the statute destined to preserve the world against the recurrence of similar attacks. 648 175 578

The invitation found the London Poles divided. Of the three organisations invited, M. Mikolajczyk, ex-President of the Council, and M. Stanczyk, Vice-President of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party, accepted; M. Witos declined the invitation on health grounds, and M. Zakowski, the representative of the Socialist Party, reflected the discord which had apparently developed in that party by refusing to join the delegation.

The trial of sixteen Poles who had been detained in Moscow for several weeks, charged with sabotage and anti-Soviet activities, interfered with the negotiations. In vain did the Poles in London try to secure their release, by emphasising the role these men had played in the Resistance; Marshal Stalin declared that the Conference must not prevent the trial from taking place. At the hearing certain of the accused pleaded guilty to acts of terrorism directed against Soviet troops, and attributable to the *Armija krajowa* (Armed Forces of the Interior), which had been recognised on the previous August 30[1] by the English and the Americans, and to a political organisation called *Niepodlegosc* (Independence). The verdict returned on June 21[2] was mitigated; the chief offender, General Okulicki, was condemned to ten years' imprisonment, while the remaining accused were either acquitted or received very light sentences. 687 661 175

The objects of this trial, synchronised with the Conference from which, on principle, was to come the reconciliation of the Warsaw Poles and the London Poles, seem to have been as follows. Firstly, to discredit the leaders of the Government-in-exile and their staffs; secondly, to give (by the verdict) an example of the Russians' spirit of moderation; and thirdly, to emphasise their unshakeable determination to put an end, once for all, to anti-Soviet propaganda on Polish territory.

So the agreement reached on June 23[2] found the atmosphere 648 175

1 [1944 -- Analyst]
2 [1945 -- Analyst]

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648 cleared, and awakened a reasoned optimism in English and
175 American circles.

642 Twenty-four hours after the arrival in Warsaw of the Poles
175 invited by Moscow to join the new 'National Unity' Government the former Osubka-Morawski Cabinet resigned, and was reconstituted with the addition of these elements representing the exiles or the home Resistance movements.

The new Government included representatives of the Communist Party (which were not, as the London exiles maintained, in the majority) as well as of the Socialist, Peasant, and Democratic Parties. For the greater part it was composed of the ministers who had resigned from the Warsaw Cabinet. It kept at its head the ex-President, Osubka-Morawski, supported by two Vice-Presidents, MM. Gomulka and Mikolajczyk.

At the same time, the composition of the National Council—a sort of pre-Legislature—was also modified. Its Presidium, which played the role of provisional Chief of State, was under the leadership of M. Bierut, a Communist, who was, however, given two Vice-Presidents—M. Witos, leader of the Peasant Party, and Professor Grabski, National-Christian.

This Government declared that the first question on its agenda was that of repatriation of the Poles still residing abroad.

648 As soon as the formation of the National Unity Ministry was
175 known, the British authorities negotiated with the former exiled Government in London, with a view to its prompt dissolution.

[578] But on June 25[1] the Government-in-exile published a declaration, affirming that it refused to acknowledge any transmission of power, and proclaimed the new Warsaw Government to be 'illegal'. At the same time, it issued a manifesto to the Polish people justifying its attitude of protest, and declaring itself willing, as far as the fate of the country was concerned, to abide by a free election.

On July 5 London recognised the new Provisional Government, already approved by Moscow and Washington. This meant a break between the British authorities and the Cabinet-in-exile, which England had for so long supported and encouraged. The B.B.C. ceased to broadcast Polish programmes, and the various services installed in London were invited to wind up as quickly as possible.

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

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The English press greeted this news philosophically, emphasising the fact that recognition was subject to the promise of free elections as soon as Poland's material situation would allow. 208 829

Isolated protests were made; as, for example, that of William John Rose, Professor at the School of Slavonic Studies in London, who wrote to *The Spectator*:—

'The solution adopted is the very one which was rejected by our House of Commons—the co-option of a minority of Poles from London and from Poland to a majority of Lublin Poles, the latter occupying all the chief posts.

'Great Britain and the United States have recognised this Government without any precise information having been given regarding the elections and their nature, though they were the condition on which recognition was granted.

'The renouncing of the principles for which the Allies fought for six years is deplorable. Whatever may be its significance for Poland, it is humiliating for the Western democracies. Obviously, we have an excuse; we are busy with our own elections. Unfortunately, however, while we were inactive others were not. What has become of the anger shown by Mr. Eden and M. Stettinius when M. Molotov exploded the "bombshell" (to use the expression of nearly all the journalists) concerning the fate of the Polish politicians?'

In Washington Senator Vandenberg declared to Mr. Grew, interim Secretary of State, that the settlement of the Polish question was inadequate and unsatisfactory for millions of citizens, himself included. 'This settlement does not appear to give a clear assurance that the Polish people will be able to express themselves freely under this Government, which is imposed on them by the Big Three, within the limits of frontiers likewise fixed by these same powers'.

In Moscow, on the contrary, the solution of the Polish crisis was considered as a victory for the democracies and a guarantee of European peace. The Soviet Government hastened to regularise its relations with the new State. On July 9[1] it signed a commercial treaty with Warsaw, in order to 'develop and consolidate to the utmost the economic relations between the two countries, in a spirit of friendship and collaboration'. 648 175

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

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648 And, on August 15, Warsaw and Russia signed a treaty
175 covering the frontier-delimitation of the two States, and war damages. M. Osubka-Morawski welcomed the agreements, which restored to Poland her 'historic frontiers' on the Neisse, the Oder, and the Baltic shore. For his part, M. Stanczyk, Minister of Labour, addressing the Polish troops, endeavoured to dispel their hesitation: 'The new Poland is free and independent. Naturally, in the event of a fresh aggression, Russia would be our ally, but the fact that her line of defence coincides with our western frontier has nothing to do with our independence. If you return you will find, it is true, plenty of work—but you will be working for Poland. That is why I advise you to return as soon as possible'.

162 In October, 1945, the President of the Polish National
175 Council, Borislav Bierut, still estimated at six million—a quarter of the total population—the number of Poles remaining outside the national territory. This was a major obstacle to the carrying out of the undertaking given in respect of an early and conclusive election.

But it was not to be doubted that many Poles would, once more, prefer exile to returning to a country whose independence was hopelessly mortgaged.

186* Her geographical position, which condemned Poland to be dominated either by Germany or by Russia, had just fixed her destiny in the East. For a long time anti-Russian (and, since 1920, anti-Sovietic) feeling and ideas had been for Poland a political trend—and, even more, an axiom of international ethics. They had been considered as the fundamental criteria of patriotism—a sort of moral urge, the preliminary condition for the exercise of civic rights.

So that a new era was opening in the history of the Polish people. The previous one was called 'romantic', the present one being designated 'realistic'. But there was a deep-seated uneasiness in the soul of this nation, which—as her history has a hundred times borne witness—has never hesitated to rush into a catastrophe rather than restrain the impulses of a very sensitive patriotism.

186* Poland's strong attachment to the Catholic Faith also opened
795 up possible difficulties. It was natural that the partisans of an *entente* with Russia should be recruited in extreme-Leftist and

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atheistic circles. But the international crisis which swept the country was complicated by a religious crisis. This became evident when the Council of Ministers decided, on September 17, to denounce the Concordat, accusing the Vatican of having violated its clauses by the publication, during the occupation, of laws contrary to its engagements (an allusion to the nomination of bishops of German nationality in Posnania). 186* 795 [618]

Poland had lost the liberty of choice which, for so long, had enabled her to seek her equilibrium between the Teutonic and the Russian world. Willy-nilly, she had to accustom herself to the new state of affairs; but she brought to the situation the germ of serious civil discord. And her exiles, maintaining a more than century-old tradition, were to keep alive, especially in Anglo-American and in Catholic circles, an atmosphere of opposition—not to mention the clandestine resistance, all the centres of which were not extinct in Poland itself. Our grandchildren will talk of the 'Polish Question' just as our grandparents used to do. [578]

* * *

In her foreign policy Bulgaria has a 'spare ideology' which enables her to reverse her international situation according to whether she is at peace or at war. Thus she periodically takes her stand beside the Power which seems able to help her to realise her territorial aspirations. This is the effect of that 'Macedonian psychosis' of which we have spoken. But her evil genius has invariably inspired her to 'back the wrong horse'. 648 175

In the Second World War, she passed through three phases.

Feeling sure that Germany was invincible, but profiting by her previous disappointments, she first tried to gain Hitler's support at the lowest possible price. This was the period of so-called 'passive belligerency', limited to platonic manifestations—adhesion to the Tripartite Pact and to the anti-Comintern Pact.

But the Axis soon saw through this ruse. In April, 1941, it allowed Bulgaria to settle in Western Macedonia (Serbia) and in Eastern Macedonia (Greece). In return, it expected its troops to have right of passage through and of quartering in Bulgarian territory. Such was the *leit-motiv* of the three interviews which took place between Hitler and King Boris, between March, 1941,

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648
175

and March, 1942. The Führer considered Bulgaria as his strongest card in the Balkans.

King Boris's Government capitulated, but ensured for itself a strategic withdrawal—the maintenance of its diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. This was the reverse of its 1917 policy, when Bulgaria, then at war with the Russians, kept her representatives in Washington. She was the only European signatory to the Tripartite and anti-Comintern Pacts who did not send even a token legion to fight on Russian soil. Are we to credit this fact to Slavism? In that case, we may liken it to the curious intimacy which during the war marked the relations between Croats and Bulgars: cultural agreements of October, 1942, periods of training spent by Croat officers in Bulgaria, contacts between labour organisations, etc.

The third phase of Bulgarian 'neutrality' opened with the bombardment of Sofia by the Americans (November 14, 1943), which showed the Bulgarians that their declaration of war on the United States was not the harmless operation they had expected it to be. 'Wretched Bulgaria!' Churchill was to say. Thenceforth the Sofia Government lost all hope of deriving nothing but advantages from the war. It entered into the struggle at the very moment when the fate of Germany seemed irrevocably settled.

This aggravation of the external situation coincided with an internal crisis.

King Boris having died on August 28, 1943, in circumstances which have not yet been cleared up, on September 9 following the Sobranje appointed three regents, who, on the 11th, took the oath to King Simeon II and the Bulgarian people. Thenceforward Bulgaria was not fighting simply to satisfy her ambitions, but to save her stakes. The difficulty was to redress the situation with the twenty German divisions stationed on Bulgarian soil, and all the country's strategic bases controlled by the Occupying Authorities.

The Allies reiterated their demands. On May 13, 1944, London, Washington, and Moscow launched an appeal to the Bulgarian people to dissociate themselves from a Government which was leading them to disaster. *Pravda* recalled the adage *Quos vult perdere*. It accused the Bulgarians of being 'the stranglers and executioners of their Slav brethren'. 'There is

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only one way', declared Stalin, 'for Bulgaria to avoid a catastrophe: to break with the Axis and withdraw from the war'. The population heard these warnings over the radio, and gave signs of daily increasing anxiety.

Naturally, the most pressing—and the most effective—objurgations came from the Russians. Already, on April 17, 1944, Molotov had handed to the Bulgarian chargé d'affaires, Stamenov, a note enumerating the concrete examples of assistance given by his country to military operations against Russia, particularly in the Black Sea.

On April 24 the Sofia Government replied, in confused terms; against all the evidence, it denied the charges, and declared itself ready to verify any facts which the Soviet Authorities might bring to its notice. In addition the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chichmanov, protested his 'very sincere desire to maintain correct, loyal, and friendly relations with the Soviet Union'.

This duplicity deceived no one. The Moscow Government returned to the attack on April 26, proposing the reopening of the Soviet Consulate in Varna, which had been closed since the autumn of 1942, and the creation of fresh consular representations in Burgas and Roussé, to collaborate with the Bulgarian authorities in carrying out the verifications which the latter had just proposed.

Bulgaria adhered 'in principle' to these proposals, but made acceptance of them subject to the resumption of economic relations between the two countries—which was simply a way of postponing matters.

The Soviets showed up this manoeuvre; on May 15 the Sofia Cabinet drew up a reply, maintaining its attitude. But the Soviet notes took on a menacing tone; accusing the Bulgars of endeavouring to evade the issue, under cover of this constant postponement, the Kremlin demanded a final answer from the Bagrianov Government, which, on July 29, decided to give way on the question of the Consulates. Meanwhile the war had advanced more rapidly than diplomacy, and the military situation demanded a clear explanation. On August 12, Bagrianov was called upon to break with Germany. Once more he sheltered behind Bulgaria's 'absolute neutrality'. But he was negotiating secretly to get out of the dilemma. On August 25, the English

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648 and the Americans were asked for an armistice. On the 29th he
175 announced the evacuation of Greece and Yugoslavia by his troops. And on the 31st an armistice delegation arrived in Cairo.

Too late! On the previous evening Sofia had received a Soviet ultimatum, involving the resignation of Bagrianov, who was replaced (on September 3) by Muraviev. The latter proclaimed his fidelity to the policy of so-called 'neutrality', but denounced the anti-Comintern Pact and dissolved the Legislature which had declared war.

This was not the reply which Moscow had expected. A last Soviet note, dated September 5, announced 'not only is Bulgaria at war with the U.S.S.R. but the latter in her turn will, henceforward, be at war with Bulgaria'—an unusual formula which made the latter country the aggressor and conferred a defensive character on the entry of the Tolbukhin army into Bulgarian territory.

This army occupied Roussé and Varna. Bulgaria then resigned herself to declaring war on Germany (September 8). Consequently for a few hours she was, theoretically, at war both with Russia and with Germany. But at 10 o'clock on September 9, four days after the declaration of war, the Soviet Command gave the order to cease fire. Shortly afterwards it was learned that Sofia had accepted the preliminary armistice terms.

The day before, a Government had come into power under Kimon Gheorgiev, leader of the political party called *Zveno* (The Link). He had been the instigator of the military *coup* of May 19, 1934, which had dissolved the Legislature and guided Bulgarian foreign policy in two directions—*entente* with Russia, and reconciliation with Yugoslavia.

To the new Government fell the heavy task of winding up its predecessors' disastrous policy which had, once again, placed Bulgaria in the camp of the vanquished. On October 28th the Government signed the armistice with the Allies, carried out executions on a large scale, and sought an immediate *rapprochement* with Tito. The *entente* between Bulgars and Yugoslavs, sanctioned by the agreement of October 9 between the Sofia Government and the Yugoslav National Liberation Committee, was facilitated by the solidarity which had been established,

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during the last phase of the war, between the 'partisans' of the two countries. This solidarity was increased by the ideological affinities between the two régimes. 648 175

On September 15 the Russians made their entry into Sofia. The day before, Gheorgiev had issued a proclamation: 'The Homeland Front will place all its means and all its forces at the disposal of the Soviet Union and her great allies, in order to drive the Germans out of the Balkans. It will immediately do its utmost to establish *an indissoluble alliance with the U.S.S.R. and the new Yugoslavia,* and to form ties of sincere friendship with the great Western democracies, with the United States and with our neighbours'.

It was in her effort to reconcile the Russian 'alliance' with her democratic 'friendships' that liberated Bulgaria made her first blunder on the international stage. The Government had fixed the general elections for August 26, 1945. It was backed by a coalition of five parties (Communists, Agrarians, Socialists, *Zveno,* Radicals), forming the *Otetchestvenni Front* (Patriotic Front), which unleashed against its adversaries a violent campaign of persecutions. It did not seem, either to the English or to the Americans, that this régime represented very sound ideas of democracy. Evidently several members of the Bulgarian Cabinet shared this view, for in the month of August they resigned and went over to the Opposition.

It was then that the London and Washington Governments advised Sofia that they could not recognise the régime that might result from the elections, in view of the atmosphere of oppression and constraint under which these promised to be held. 648 175 666

The Gheorgiev Government haughtily rejected this communication, while the press denounced the old 'colonial policy' habits, of which it bore the stamp. But to the general surprise it was learned, on the following day, that the elections were adjourned indefinitely. And a few hours later the President of the Council explained that the incident was due to a misunderstanding; that, in Bulgaria, democracy was of the 'Balkan' type, and that the chief thing for Bulgaria was to conclude a peace treaty by the quickest possible means. On the next day but one (August 27) the American Government agreed to the restoration of diplomatic relations and received the new Bulgarian representative in Washington, General Vladimir Stoïtchev.

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648 175 666 The sudden volte-face on the part of the Sofia Cabinet was very easy to explain. Trusting entirely to Russian support, the Bulgarians had never for a moment doubted that Russia would consider the Anglo-American attitude as negligible. They therefore contented themselves with invoking the necessity of consulting the Inter-allied Control Commission, in which the Soviet representative's influence was predominant. Judge of the Government's surprise on learning, from the mouth of that representative (General Birousov), that the Commission had been unanimous in recommending the postponement of the elections!

They had been put off until November 18. The day before, the Washington Government renewed its warning of the month of August, to the effect that the conditions under which the election promised to be held would no doubt prevent it from considering the resulting Government as being the authentic expression of the 'popular will'.

It was difficult to know whether the American attitude arose from the conviction that the Bulgarian electoral law was less 'correct' than the Yugoslav electoral law, or whether the discrimination followed from the fact that Yugoslavia was an allied, and Bulgaria a vanquished, country.

But this time the Sofia Cabinet held out and the elections took place on the date fixed. They gave 75–85 per cent of the votes cast to the Patriotic Front, the Opposition parties having decided to abstain.

However, the Government wisely refrained from giving to this poll the appearance of a retort to the American veto. On the contrary, it advised Washington of its intention to enlarge the basis of the Government on democratic lines.

[829] It is certain that the rivalry between the Agrarians and the Communists offers prospects of internal crises. But, from the external point of view, Bulgaria's policy is fixed *ne varietur*. It will depend on Moscow's goodwill. The Bulgarian people, profoundly Russophile, will find little difficulty in accepting this new state of affairs. There is more doubt as to whether the same thing will be true of the leaders, who will always find it difficult to resign themselves to having only one card in their diplomatic game.

* * *

186* The Slavonic problem presents quite a different appearance

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in Yugoslavia, where it has two aspects: one external—that concerned with relations between Moscow and Belgrade, the other internal—the *entente* between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. 186*

The personality of Marshal Tito, who had the confidence of the Russians and was the animator, first of resistance to the Germans, then of the liberation movement, considerably simplified the question of relations between Yugoslavs and Sovietics. 648 175 578

Before the soil of Yugoslavia had been liberated, a Government-in-exile (presided over, at the end, by Dr. Ivan Choubachich) continued to function in London, whilst in Yugoslavia Marshal Tito directed the war of liberation. During the winter of 1944–1945, King Peter II tried to bring about an agreement between Tito and the exiled Government. Various obstacles retarded the conclusion of the agreement, and they were later on to paralyse its enforcement.

These obstacles included the conduct of the King during the war. He was reproached with having lived far removed from his people and with not having imitated the example of his grandfather, King Peter I of Serbia, who in 1876 under the name of 'Peter Mrkognich', led a detachment of rebels in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or his father, the Regent Alexander, who had fought in 1917–1918 on the Salonica front. 643 175

He was further reproached with his inopportune marriage, contracted far away from the country, and against the advice of his friends and counsellors. On March 21,[a] 1944, at the Yugoslav Embassy in London, he had married Princess Alexandra of Greece, who, on July 17 of the following year, gave birth to a son.

Now, in Serbia, dynastic loyalty is not (as in Croatia, for example) founded on any fundamental attachment to the monarchical idea. It exists simply in respect of the monarch's patriotic function—what the Serbs call *narodni rad* ('national work')—a name which takes on its full significance only in a country which is periodically reduced to slavery.

The authority of King Peter II was also weakened by the support he had given to General Draja Mihaïlovich. The latter had been the first to rise against the occupation, and his heroic resistance had rallied the best elements of the old army in Southern Bosnia and in Montenegro. But he was reproached 725 648 175

[a] March 20, according to Keesing (trans.).

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725 with 'Great Serbian' and 'reactionary' tendencies. Subsequently
648 a much more serious charge was made against him; carried away
175 by his struggle against the Communist elements, he was said to have parlied with the Occupying Authorites and with the agents of Nedich, the Serbian 'Quisling'. General Mihaïlovich was nevertheless the War Minister *in partibus* to the London Cabinet, where the accusations brought against him were never seriously considered until Churchill[1] echoed them. They were the basis of the case brought against his partisans in July, 1945, and the severe sentence passed against them.

[829] Then there was, between the London Government and the 'Tito Movement', the psychological opposition between the exiled politicians (except those of Czechoslovakia) and the insurgents, who, remaining within the country, risked their lives day in and day out. The latter were inclined to see the 'London people' as theorists, if not profiteers of the Resistance, who, in assured comfort and relative security, carried out a paid task with the pen or by radio.

[668] Finally, Tito's partisans merged, in many cases, with the Communist or extremist elements, for whom the old Yugoslav political formations and their staffs embodied a régime of despotism, patronage, and reaction, whose return to power would have constituted an historical retrogression.

643 However, the break did not come immediately. Although
661 King Peter agreed, under pressure from the Allies and especially
648 from Russia, to disown Mihaïlovich, he showed greater hesitation
175 in negotiating with Tito, whose republican trend and attachment to the Soviet régime were well known.

On June 16, 1944, he resigned himself, rather against his convictions, to authorising Choubachich to sign an agreement with Tito, which provisionally safeguarded the rights of the Crown. On the following November 1 he agreed to the formation of a National Union Government in liberated Yugoslavia. But he reserved his approval as to the nomination of a Regency and the exercise of political power by one single party, the National Liberation Front, until a Constituent Assembly should have met. On this point he even entered into conflict with his

[1] 'General Mihaïlovich, I regret to say, has gradually adopted a changed attitude, and certain of his leaders have parlied with Italian or German troops'. (Speech in the House of Commons on February 22, 1944.)

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own Government, which he forced to resign. The Choubachich Cabinet disregarded this and on January 23, 1946 published a communiqué, according to which the sovereign would not return to the country until a Constituent Assembly had pronounced on the question of the régime. In his absence, the royal power would be delegated to a Council of Regency whose members would be chosen from the London Government and from the Tito Government. 643 661 648 175

On January 30 the King finally agreed to this formula, as recommended by Moscow, London, and Washington.

Then Choubachich went to Belgrade to agree with Tito on the names for the new Government. Prolonged and painful haggling resulted in the formation of the Provisional Cabinet on March 7,[1] in which Tito kept the Presidency and the War Ministry, while Choubachich assumed control of Foreign Affairs. A Serbian democrat, Milan Grol, and a Croat Agrarian, Choutei, entered the new administration. 642 175 [695]

Yugoslavia was to be reconstituted on a federative basis; the State itself officially took the name of 'Democratic and Federal Yugoslavia'. So the constitution of the 'Yugoslav' Government was followed by the formation of 'National' Governments, six in number—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia. Care had been taken not to give this federal organisation a statute and frontiers, on account of the conflicts these would not have failed to provoke; the National Assembly would, in due course, decide upon the internal structure of the State.

It remained to be seen whether Tito would bring to the management of affairs the eminent qualities of which he had given proof in the Resistance. Would history salute him not only as a detached figure in the epic background against which the tragedy of the Serbian nation is played, but also as a reconstructor of the State? 000

Born in 1893 in the Croat village of Klanyets, Joseph Broz was the son of an artisan. He had known hardship in his youth, and soon exhibited a revolutionary temperament. At seventeen he engineered a strike, and showed himself to be an agitator. It is said that he took his appellation of 'Tito' from the bishop of medieval Crete whose relics rest in the Church of St. Mark in Venice. Taken prisoner by the Russians in 1914, he took part 175 643

[1] [1946 -- Analyst]

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175 in the Bolshevist Revolution, and distinguished himself in the
643 attack on the Kremlin. He fought on all the Soviet fronts, from the Caucasus to Finland. He married a Russian, who died, leaving him a son of Soviet nationality (who, for his part in the defence of Moscow in 1941, was to win the title of 'Hero of the Soviet Union').

He returned to Croatia in 1924 and took his place as a militant in the Communist and Trade Union ranks. Arrested for illegal propaganda, he served four years' imprisonment. As soon as he was liberated he went to Paris, travelled in various European countries, and returned to France in 1936, charged with the organisation of the so-called 'railway' for supplying volunteers to the International Brigades in Spain.

When he learned of the capitulation of Yugoslavia in 1941, he returned to Zagreb and launched a summons for a general revolt. He had two interviews with Mihaïlovich, but the Communist and Proletarian ideology which he openly professed frightened the Serbian general—no basis for agreement was possible.

176 The Serbian rising began on July 7, 1941. On that day was
643 constituted, in the region of Belgrade (the seat of the partisans'
668 general staff), the first formation destined to embark upon the struggle with the invader and to continue it until he was crushed. Tito proved to be an irresistible organiser and 'live wire'; his influence grouped around him a veritable army, whose numbers increased daily, and constantly deprived the Occupying Authorities of food supplies and communications.[2] Starting with 35,000 men, Tito's army was to number 700,000 at the liberation. This epic is one of the most glorious pages in the history of the Yugoslav people—and they already possess not a few.

175 Not only did Tito enjoy the confidence of the Russians, who
648 considered him as one of themselves, but he was in constant
643 touch with the Allies. The first English mission reached him on May 27, 1943, during its fifth offensive. At the very end of 1943 Churchill placed his son with Tito, to assist him during the most

[2] At Bihach, on November 27, 1942, he declared: 'Our country is enslaved, our people the victims of a fruitful terror. Barefoot, starving, bloodless, they are at the mercy of the occupiers and their acolytes. But their determination to live is unshakeable, because they believe in victory'.

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critical hours of the campaign. The liberation army effected its junction with the Russian Army during the final offensive, and entered Belgrade with it on October 20, 1944. 175 648 643

The next day appeared a communiqué, issued as the result of the Moscow discussions, announcing the agreement of British and Soviet views regarding Yugoslavia, on the following basis:—

Union between the Royal Government and the Liberation Movement.

The right of the Yugoslav people to decide their own future constitution.

The United States Government gave its consent to these arrangements. Marshal Tito, who was in Moscow during the Conference, several times discussed them with Stalin and the Soviet leaders.

On April 11, 1945, Russia and liberated Yugoslavia signed a treaty of mutual assistance and collaboration which preserved their traditional policy of *entente*, as well as their united efforts against Hitler's Germany.[3] It formed part of the system of pacts concluded by the Soviet Union with Great Britain, France, and Czechoslovakia, to raise a barrier against any fresh effort on the part of German imperialism to threaten the liberty of the European peoples. The experience of the past, confirmed by this war, showed that in all German plans for aggression, the conquest of the Southern Slav countries was a step towards the domination of the Continent. The fact that Yugoslavia had awaited the year 1940 to establish diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. had opened in South-East Europe a breach which had enabled the enemy to disintegrate Balkan solidarity and to force his way through to the Eastern Mediterranean. Hence Article 2 of the treaty provided for immediate and effective mutual assistance in the event of one of the parties being involved in military operations against Germany, if that country resumed her 175 648

[3] About the middle of December 1943, the Yugoslav Government, exiled to Cairo, and then presided over by Bojidar Pourich, had proposed to Moscow a pact of mutual assistance on the model of that which had been concluded between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic. The Kremlin declined this proposal. At that time Tito was, in their eyes, the sole authentic representative of the Yugoslav nation. On this occasion it was recalled that the Soviet Government had already, in the spring of 1942, raised the question of a pact with the Yugoslav Government in London; at that time it was the latter which had opposed a demurrer.

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175 648 aggressive policy, or against any other State which might revive this policy, under any form whatsoever.

Backed both without and within by the might of Moscow, Tito's régime seemed to be irresistibly established.

Its[1] first care had been to renew its claim to the territories of which Yugoslavia had been defrauded immediately after the First World War. It raised the question of Trieste and its hinterland. The Yugoslav delegation in London warmly defended a case supported by detailed and absolutely pertinent documentation, based on ethnographic and economic considerations. But they were imprudent enough to allow it to be understood that they would lay claim to Aegean or Hellenic Macedonia—which was bound to alienate the goodwill of Great Britain. They also mentioned the exorbitant sum which they intended to demand from Italy by way of reparations—thereby upsetting the United States, from whom Italy was at the same time seeking material aid to help her out of her desperate financial situation.

642 661 175 Yet, to tell the truth, the distrustful atmosphere which grew up around the Yugoslav claims arose more directly from the form of government and the political principles established by Tito. Under colour of anti-Fascism, the régime exercised the same reprisals against all its detractors. It was accused of borrowing the methods of the totalitarian régimes; the Opposition said that it had introduced the word 'Democracy' into the name of the State in order to dispense with it in reality, as, in the past, Pavelich gave the name of 'Independent State of Croatia' to a political offshoot of the Axis. He governed, on Russian lines, a very sensitive nation, which perhaps had not a very 'Western' notion of democracy, but had always shown itself stubbornly attached to the external forms of its independence. Certainly Tito had succeeded in grouping around him zealous young men, who had been tested under fire and were indifferent to the juridical or constitutional rites which, in the West, accompany the exercise of liberty. Certainly, too, the Yugoslav National Front represented itself not as a single party but as a synthesis of all the various energies resolved to work for the restoration of public life.

656 204 625 Nevertheless to Anglo-American eyes the régime appeared to be a dictatorship. Was not its slogan—'No liberty for the enemies of liberty'—calculated to justify an administration

1 [Tito's régimes -- Analyst]

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founded on despotism and personal power? The law of August 25, 1945 on the control of the press banned not only the ex-'collaborators', but also the publishers of 'alarmist' news or of news 'contrary to the general interest'—as conceived by the Government, naturally. A well-informed police organisation, modelled on Russian methods, ceaselessly exercised a very close watch over public opinion and, naturally, indulged in arbitrary arrests and acts of violence. 656 204 625

This policy led to dissension within the Government. The leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, Milan Grol, resigned on August 19[1]; on October 8[1] he was followed into retirement by Dr. Ivan Choubachich and the Minister Chouteï, both Croat Agrarians. 578 175

Choubachich's resignation was serious, for it upset a ministerial equilibrium which had been agreed upon among the Allies. Yet what was this agreement worth, since Tito, repudiating the terms of the compromise which had sanctioned his authority, had pronounced against the monarchy? 'Not one of our combatants thought that anything new could be created under the leadership of the King, especially as the Nediches and Mihaïloviches committed their crimes in his name. . . . The point is, whether the monarchy is compatible with the new system of Yugoslav Federal Democracy. . . . For several reasons, I think it is not'.

The next day (August 8, 1945) King Peter replied to this declaration by withdrawing from the Regents the power they held from him.

Tito was not intimidated by this retort. He declared that the Government acted in agreement with all the creative and constructive forces of the country, with all sincerely democratic parties. The masses of the populace had acquired, during the war, firmly-rooted political knowledge which had nothing in common with the electoral catchwords with which they previously used to be taken in.

The Opposition replied that free elections would prove the truth of this assertion, whereas those to which the country had been called were not free. The Americans and the English repeatedly emphasised the reserves they made regarding their attitude towards the régime which would result from this poll. 666 829 175

The elections took place on November 11.[1] They gave to the

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

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666 National Front 80–90 per cent of the votes cast.[4] It is true that
829 the Opposition abstained from voting (its Belgrade organ,
175 *Demokratia,* was suspended) and that the electoral system favoured the Coalition Government. But the Anglo-Americans took no action. They declared the results of the poll to be 'acceptable'. On these results were based the two Assemblies (Union Assembly and Assembly of the Nationalities) which, following Russian lines, were to control the country's constitutional life.

578 In short, both at home and abroad, Tito was master of the
643 situation. He had armed forces, the levers of control, fanatical partisans, a 'Youth' following, attached to a régime which had radically reorganised the whole staffing of the army, the administrative services, and diplomacy. But certain large sections of opinion were not with him. In the provinces the old parties were still solidly rooted. Those circles criticised the 'personal' and 'plebiscite' character of the régime, which was an unprecedented innovation in Serbian political life. Against the Marshal were the Monarchists, the old army, Serbian nationalism, Croat par-
[659] ticularism, Slovene 'Clericalism'. For a long time he alienated the Catholic clergy; on October 18, Radio-Vatican broadcast a letter from the Yugoslav bishops to the Belgrade Government, accusing the latter of systematically persecuting the Roman Church.

And this was only criticism of internal affairs. Tito was further reproached with having reorganised relations between the Yugoslav populations on anachronistic bases. How would this State turn out—a State of twelve million inhabitants, with six autonomous Governments, capped with a Federal Government? Where would the frontiers of Croatia and Serbia be? And those of Serbia and Macedonia? Could the Macedonian question be considered as settled by the granting of autonomy? And would not the Bulgaro-Yugoslav *entente,* advertised as a victory for the régime, be submitted to a severe test when autonomy gave rise to political disputes in this country which, for a century, had been torn by undercurrents of passion and foreign intrigue? Was

666 [4] According to official statistics, out of 8,383,455 electors and 7,415,214 votes cast, 6,574,975 went to the National Front. The franchise had been given to women; the electoral age had been lowered to 18, and even lower for those who had fought in the liberation.

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the resurrection of Montenegro, a country of 200,000 inhabitants, 578
which had disappeared since 1918, and of Bosnia, which had 643
not been heard of in history since the Middle Ages, in keeping with the ideas of a 'new world' that were current in Tito's circle? And had not Tito himself, by liberating atomic nationalisms, super-Balkanised his country at a time when means of communication were suppressing distances—in other words, had he not inaugurated a policy which was opposed to history, progress, and common sense, in order to realise the midsummer night's dream of a Slavophile of the 'Forties'?

The federal régime, it will be said, has representatives in 000
Europe—Switzerland, Russia, Austria. But Switzerland has maturity, Russia has extent, Austria has an historical and cultural homogeneity to safeguard its unity.

Was not the Yugoslav community in imminent danger from [795]
this 'State power' given to regions hitherto divided by so many memories? The Croats used to oppose the Serbs in religious matters. Between the two wars, rivalry between Catholics and Orthodox had subsided somewhat. But the elections in Austria and Hungary showed that, after the liberation, the attachment of the populations of Central Europe to the Roman Church had lost none of its force. Croatia—*antemurale Christianitatis*—could not escape this deeply-rooted tendency, still less at a time when Russia, the protectress of the Yugoslav State, reaffirmed the Orthodox tradition on which her relations with the Serbs had formerly been based. How was it possible not to see in this renewal of religious antagonism between Belgrade and Zagreb a threat of secession?

In Yugoslavia the Crown used to be (as in Belgium) the link 642
between different peoples, traditions, and trends. On November 29, 1945, obedient to Tito's watchword, the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly, composed of the Union Assembly and the Assembly of the Nationalities, proclaimed the Federative Republic. It deposed and condemned to exile the dynasty of the Karageorgevich. 175

This vote was the logical conclusion of the elections and also —it must be admitted—of the errors of the young King. The latter raised a protest which was greeted, in London circles, with more sympathy than encouragement. The fate of the monarchy in Yugoslavia seemed, indeed, to be definitely settled.

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Marshal Stalin sent his congratulations to Tito and his good wishes to the 'sister nation' of Yugoslavia. The establishment of the republic was greeted everywhere as a victory for the spirit of democracy. In actual fact it is hard to believe that there is more 'democracy' in the Balkan republics than in the Scandinavian or British monarchies.

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The real question still remains to be seen—whether Tito's régime ensures a new lease of life for Yugoslav unity or whether it portends, sooner or later, a disruption of that unity, which might this time be irreparable. It is by no means impossible that in the next few years, even months, the evolution of Yugoslav life may be characterised by a gradual weakening of the ties between the Serbs and the Croats and a correlative strengthening of solidarity between Serbs and Bulgars—in other words, by an end of the union of Southern Slavs, and an attraction of part to the East.

On the international scale, the future of Yugoslavia is at the mercy of the super-powers who are the arbiters of peace. So that all depends on the importance which the Balkan world holds in the policy of Russia who, in Central Europe and in Asia, is occupied with interests of far wider scope. And here it is as well not to forget that, during the time of the Tsars, the Balkan peoples always bore the brunt of all efforts at *rapprochement* between Russia and Austria-Hungary. Will they, tomorrow, form the medium of exchange between the U.S.S.R. and the Anglo-American democracies, without whose capital it would be difficult for them to exploit their natural resources?

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Of all the liberated Slav States, it was, as might be expected, Czechoslovakia which showed most practical sense. She managed her return to liberty without any unnecessary clashes or violence.

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No serious difficulty arose between the London Government-in-exile and the Resistance. On May 8, 1944, Benes signed an agreement with Moscow concerning the administration of the liberated territories. On the following October 29 he declared that, after the war, the affairs of the Republic would be so organised as to avoid a repetition of the events of 1938. 'Czechoslovakia will be a fully decentralised Republic, organised

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on the basis of respect for the principle of nationalities'. No reference to a federal system. 642 643 175

He returned to Czechoslovakia early in March, 1945, and, from Kosice, he followed the last stages of the liberation. On May 10 the national flag again floated from Prague Castle and Cathedral; a few days later Benes made a triumphal entry into the city.

The Government (formed on April 5, under the presidency of M. Fierlinger, and composed of twenty-five members, seven of whom were Communists) avoided the mistake made by the majority of the liberated countries, by postponing the elections until passions had had time to subside a little. The authorised [646] political parties, four in number, agreed on the allocation of mandates to the Provisional National Assembly, which numbered 300 deputies, including 100 for Slovakia. On April 14[1] an electoral body chosen by the local National Committees nominated the members of this Assembly. 'The Czechs', Benes said, 'must take radical measures, while at the same time avoiding extremism'. That was the whole programme of the Czechoslovak Popular Front. 181 186* 643

In the international order, the Government observed the same prudence. Benes's realistic attitude towards Soviet Russia is well known. 'The Czechs are a Slavonic people, and they are specially drawn towards the Russians, whom they understand better than any other people'. But Czech culture, and the democratic education of the Czech people, are fundamentally Western. The President continually returned to that assumption. Czechoslovakia is an intermediary region between two civilisations; its historical evolution, its psychology, its intellectual and social structure, all have affinities with the Anglo-American and French democracies.

The Soviet orientation was represented by the Communists, under the leadership of the Deputy Prime Minister, M. Clement Gottwald, and the Minister of National Education, Zdenek Nejedly, a celebrated musicographer, who attended the Moscow Panslav Congresses. But their influence was exerted moderately, and solely on the lines of the national interest. In reality, the Czech people, with their habits of thrift, their appreciation of property, their aversion to conformity, are fundamentally opposed to the Marxist ideology.

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It is true that, on resuming possession of the liberated capital, M. Benes affirmed his intention of remaining faithful to the ideas of the new policy of union with the great Russian nation and with the other Slavonic peoples. But such statements need reading in the context of his previous declarations.

Had not the President himself, in an article in *Foreign Affairs* (October, 1944), uttered a warning against any distorted interpretation of his words? 'We must not abandon our old method of evolutive adaptation and our old policy of balance between East and West. Our geographical position does not allow us to make a sudden change in this century-old policy'.[5]

A new fact had previously arisen, which was to turn the scale slightly in favour of Russia. This was the annexing of Carpatho-Ruthenia to the Ukraine. Czechoslovakia thus became one of Russia's neighbours; there arose between the two countries a community of strategic and economic interests, which modified the equilibrium of Central Europe. Benes had always said that Russia's non-participation in the 1919–1920 settlements had distorted the general view of that equilibrium. His judgement was proved correct—probably even more so than he anticipated. When, on December 12, 1943, he had signed the Czecho-Russian treaty of friendship and mutual aid, he had understood that liberated Czechoslovakia would be restored to her pre-1938 frontiers. But, at the time of the treaty on June 29, 1945, which, without any plebiscite or international consultation, transferred Ruthenia to Soviet sovereignty, M. Molotov had put forward arguments based on ethnography, linguistics, folklore, and history, to which Prague could not but submit. Moreover, had they been consulted, the vote of the Ruthenians would not have been in doubt. So Fierlinger, the Prime Minister, recognised that 'the time had come for Ruthenia to return to her homeland, the great Soviet Ukraine'. He forbore to add that she had been separated from it for a thousand years, and he passed over the heavy sacrifices that Czechoslovakia had made

[5] Compare this declaration with the one Benes had made in February 1944, to the diplomatic editor of *Reynolds' News*: 'Our pact with Russia is a fundamental consolidation of the Czechoslovak Republic. And we consider that, at the same time, it strengthens our independence. . . . Our friendship with U.S.S.R. does not mean that we depend on that country; on the contrary, the pact institutes reciprocal collaboration with our State, which desires to live in real, sincere friendship with Russia, while safeguarding its full sovereignty'.

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for twenty years in order to raise the economic standard of this 'Ukrainian Piedmont'. And in November, 1945, the National Assembly, without any vain recriminations, ratified the transfer of sovereignty.

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In addition to all that, Czechoslovakia risked losing the Teschen Basin, occupied on October 2, 1938, by Polish troops, and still in dispute between the two countries. But, in the spirit of Slav solidarity (not of conquest) which had, in 1920, installed Czechoslovakia in Carpatho-Ruthenia, she was enabled to cast her eyes on that minority—Serbian or Sorabian or Wend—of Lusatia, whose 80,000 survivors still peopled 1,900 square miles between Bautzen and Cottbus. A Sorabian 'National Committee' was formed in Prague with a view to attaching this territory to Czechoslovakia. But had not the Poles, too, claims to put forward to this detached tribe of the ancient Slavonic community?

In any case, Czechoslovakia could not be reproached with having derived benefit from her fidelity to the Slavonic idea; although, in 1918, that fidelity had ensured for her the rebirth of her national life, in 1945 it brought her nothing but amputations. But was not the good grace with which she accepted the loss of her Eastern province (by a treaty in which M. Molotov saw 'a striking manifestation of the sincere friendship of the Slavonic peoples') a demonstration of her disinterestedness, and did it not prove that her Slavism was free of any expansionist or Chauvinist speculation?

On the other hand, in spite of some rather imprudent expressions on the part of M. Nejedly ('We belong to the great Slavic bloc, controlled by the Russian nation'), the Prague Government endeavoured to protect the individuality of the country from political or ideological domination. It repeatedly asked the Soviet Authorities to hasten evacuation of their troops. It lost no opportunity of protesting against allegations which represented it as a 'satellite' of Moscow. 'A good many people come here with the idea, which is quite unfounded, that the Russians control us', said President Benes to the World Congress of Students. 'The real truth is much simpler; there is no need to seek startling explanations for our decision to conduct our own business as we think fit'. As a more characteristic gesture, and one which requires no commentary, in October, 1945, he

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648 sent to London a military mission under General Svoboda, the
*186 Commander-in-Chief, to renew contacts with the British General
175 Staff, and to ask the latter to co-operate in the reconstitution of
643 the Czechoslovak Army.

In short, of all the liberated Slav nations, Czechoslovakia was the one which had most clearly marked out the contours of her independence in the New Europe. She accepted neither 'synchronisation' nor enfeoffment. Without disavowing either her Slavonic affinities or her traditional attachment to Russia, she restored her relations with the West to their 1938 footing.

[829] An intermediary State, Czechoslovakia is carving out her path between the Russian and the Anglo-Roman worlds; nearer to the former by her security reflexes and her views on the future of Europe, she is nearer to the latter by her spiritual unrest, her philosophy of life and her conception of progress.

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186* The rapid tour which has taken us from Warsaw to Sofia and
829 from Belgrade to Prague is sufficient to clarify speculations founded on the birth of a Slavonic 'Imperialism'.

Once again, it is official eloquence which has nourished these speculations. There was not a Polish, Czech, Yugoslav, or Bulgarian statesman who did not see, in the issue of the Second World War, the end of the curse which, for a thousand years, paralysed the expansion of the Slavonic world. Not one who did not celebrate the establishment and the benefits of an inter-Slav *entente*. Let us quote a few of these heroic declamations at random.

In the first rank was Poland—no doubt because this was the nation which, from the Slavonic point of view, had the worst memories to atone for. Commenting on the signature of the Polish-Sovietic agreement, the head of the Government of the Polish Republic regretted that his country had not, at the time of the German aggression, frankly taken her stand beside the Soviet Union, in order to form a 'Slavonic bloc'. 'This grave political error', he declared, 'caused a great deal of suffering to the Slavonic peoples and, most of all, to Poland'.*

* When, on July 15th, the new Polish Ambassador handed his credentials to the Regent of Yugoslavia, he alluded to 'Germany, the eternal enemy of the Slavs'. This was an undeniable historical truth; but how fail to recall, on hearing it invoked, the importunate shadows of Beck and Stoyadinovich?

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To this act of contrition, the Polish Premier added a profession of Slavophile faith that, 'Eternal friendship and mutual and complete assistance among all the Slavonic peoples not only ensure a happy existence and future for these peoples, but also forge the guarantee of peace in Europe'. 186* 829

This was the 'bloc of the Slavonic nations' as it had been formulated, on the preceding July 4, at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Polish Socialist Party, of which the Premier was the leader.

More expressive and more balanced was the opinion published in *Dziennik Ludowy* of October 2, by General Zeligowski, who emphasised the historical significance of the return of the Slavs to the Oder and the Elbe, after a thousand years of flux and reflux. 'The Oder frontier is not only a Polish, but also a Slavonic frontier. Its loss is a menace for all Slavs'.

There we have, indeed, the cartographic aspect of the Slavonic problem. It should be completed by the judgement of Count Sforza, who, in *Foreign Affairs,* advocated establishing the new League of Nations at Fiume, because that Adriatic city was 'the hinge uniting the Roman and the Slavonic worlds'.

In Prague it was, as we have said, M. Nejedly who, in more or less measured terms, made himself the apostle of the unity of the Slavonic world. 'We have to opt for the West or for the East. I believe that the Czech nation knows what it must do. We all know that we belong to the great Slavonic bloc, controlled by the Russian nation. Around us there is nothing but ruin. What can the Hungarians, the Rumanians, the Germans do? None of these nations has a future before it. They will be only too pleased to allow themselves to be controlled by us'.[7] On July 15 M. Nejedly presided over a meeting of Slav Committees held in Prague; on that occasion he elaborated a programme for inter-Slav solidarity 'under the direction of the great Russian nation'.

In Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito owed it to his Soviet affiliations to plead passionately the cause of the Russo-Yugoslav *entente.* 'Yugoslavia has, as her chief ally, the Soviet Union, to whom she is bound by a treaty. She maintains close relations with all the other Slavonic nations. . . . Those relations will, in the end,

[7] Quoted by the *Manchester Guardian* of June 8, 1945.

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186* 829 create an indissoluble union of Slavs which will be a bulwark against the repetition of catastrophes similar to that of 1941'.[8]

On October 2, addressing a group of Polish journalists, Tito used the expression 'Slavonic era'. But this expression must be understood in a constructive, not an imperialist sense. 'United spiritually, the Slavs form a barrier against medieval [*sic*] ideas directed against culture and humanity. . . . The Slavs will bring peace and security to Europe'.

There were the same oratorical outpourings among the Bulgars. Kimon Gheorgiev's programme included 'a cordial friendship with the Soviet Union and an eternal friendship with the sister nation of Russia'. Nikolov, President of the Slav Committee in Sofia, also protested against the legend of Slavonic imperialism, but announced a 'union of the Slavonic peoples for the protection of their liberty and of their independence'.

[795] In the same spirit the Bulgars, walking hand in hand with Tito's Yugoslavia, affected an ostentatiously detached attitude to the question of Macedonia. They abolished the schism caused by the Exarchate, which had been created solely for the purpose of propaganda on behalf of annexation. Formerly the Macedonians were divided into Orthodox (Serbs) and Exarchists (Bulgars). Once this distinction was abolished, Bulgaria could, according to international circumstances, proclaim her disinterestedness or extend her claims to Macedonia.

[648] The Slavonic Governments backed one anothers' reciprocal claims. Marshal Tito approved the Czech policy with regard to the Hungarian minorities; Poland and Czechoslovakia handed to the London Conference notes supporting the Yugoslav territorial claims, which ran counter to those of Italy. Bulgars and Yugoslavs conducted a joint campaign against Greece regarding Aegean Macedonia.

[668] There was another manifestation of this general fraternisation. A Slav Congress was held in Bratislava in July, 1945. It passed a motion favouring the conclusion of a regional pact of friendship and mutual aid among all the Slavonic nations. The speakers indulged in striking forecasts of the possible effect, in international life, of a bloc of 205 million Slavs, *i.e.*, one-third of the total population of Europe, covering two-thirds of its surface.

[8] Speech made at Bela Turkva on July 8.

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But had not the geographical dispersion of the Little Entente been its congenital weakness, and was it not obvious that there would never be solidarity or concordance between the interests of, say, Poland and Yugoslavia? Russia had planned to get Poland to adhere to the pact concluded between Russia and Czechoslovakia; this plan was washed away in the undercurrent set up by the Teschen dispute. Bulgars and Yugoslavs were inclined to signify that their future lay in the creation of a Southern Slav federation—and this is, in fact, one of the rare conceptions of Slavonic solidarity that is realisable on the national plane. But it has never passed beyond the stage of a 'pious hope'.

Is it possible to see in these effusions anything more than oratorical outbursts inspired by circumstances? Do they not tend, in the majority of cases, to drown in a vague, ideological Panslavism the too concrete reality of Russian control over the small Slav nations? Is not Slavism losing its original disinterestedness, to become, in spite of official ramblings, the common denominator of their connection with Muscovite preponderance? Do not assertions of economic and cultural ties overlook the fact that no common interest, apart from that which results from the possession of a common frontier, binds these nations, and that, from the intellectual point of view, it is much more from their contact with Western spirituality than from their common basis that their own culture has blossomed?

What is new in the situation is this. Hitherto, allusions to 'Slavism' were acts of boldness, if not of imprudence, tolerated only at congresses of philologists and folklorists. Diplomats and statesmen were careful not to make them, even if they did not disavow them.

Today the situation is reversed. Slavonic solidarity is an official element in political eloquence. But, in passing from the plane of ideology to that of positive values, this solidarity has lost the clarity and sincerity of its outlines, to become a slogan for toasts, and for ministerial meetings. Slavism has met with the adverse fate of ideals which, after great difficulties, find a suitable ground for their realisation; they are liable to turn into historical myths, academic themes which contact with reality has voided of substance.

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Chapter Six

THE SLAVONIC WORLD AND THE PEACE TREATIES

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THE negotiation of the peace treaties, which occupied the whole of 1946, was both a testing-time for the solidarity of the Slavonic States, faced with international problems, and the period of their internal consolidation.

In an article published on February 3, 1947, by *Pravda*, the Russian Professor Voznesensky, Vice-President of the Panslav Committee, defined these two aspects of the post-war period for Slavs.

'The present Slav movement has no precedent in history. Our peoples have undertaken two main tasks. The first is the struggle against the traces of Fascism and the struggle for peace against political reaction. The second consists in a fraternal collaboration in the political, economic, and cultural domains, the bases of development and progress for any country'.

During this 'second phase' of the post-war period, demonstrations of Slav solidarity were to be based on two watchwords:—

(1) An almost ritual affirmation of gratitude and attachment to Soviet Russia.

(2) The external 'democratic' and 'pacific' aim of this solidarity—hence the strict avoidance of the words 'race' and 'bloc'.

In the diplomatic field the unity of view of the Slavonic peoples followed from an elementary postulate—the collapse of Teutonic power, a collapse with which their common security was bound up.

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That is why, on April 25, 1946, the eve of the opening of peace negotiations by the meeting in Paris of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the four Great Powers, the Diplomatic Editor for the Moscow Radio, Yermachov, thought it well to recall that the struggle against Teutonism was the common denominator of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. and of the other Slav peoples:—

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'In liberating the Slavonic peoples, the Red Army has accomplished a mission of great historic import, for if they were not freed from the German yoke there could be no question of lasting peace in Europe. The relations between the U.S.S.R. and the Slavonic countries are based on common interests of defence against the revival of the German forces of aggression which have caused such prejudice to these peoples. And it is beyond doubt that their development on truly democratic bases constitutes the best pledge for peace in Europe'.

On various occasions moreover, Russia, unwilling to place her cards on the table before her great Allies did so, was known to have her views on the German problem put forward by the Poles or the Czechs, while Yugoslavia, more combative or less wary, launched, now against the English now against the Americans, offensives calculated to put them on a false scent, diverting attention from the real objectives of the diplomatic moves.

In all the discussions raised by the peace treaties, at all the meetings of the United Nations and their Commissions, the Slav delegates voted with the Soviet Union or with its Republics, whether in matters concerning general problems (such as the right of veto or disarmament) or in national 'cases', such as the ban on Franco or the Greek question; so much so that it was always possible to forecast, as soon as a debate opened, which way these delegates would vote.

Conversely, where Russia did not herself inspire the claims put forward by the small Slav States, she supported them. She backed the Yugoslavs in the dispute between Rome and Belgrade regarding the fate of Trieste and Julian Venetia, the maintenance of the Polish-Germanic frontiers on the Oder and the Neisse, and the Bulgarian-Yugoslav offensive against the Athens Government.

Ideologically, the joint attitude of the Slav Governments rested on the theory that they alone were imbued with the real democratic spirit and that the Western Powers represented a survival of reaction and of *bourgeois* Liberalism.

This naïve attitude is evident in the speeches of nearly all the Slav diplomats during this period of European reconstruction.

A Polish newspaper, *Robotnik* (of April 14, 1946), took a census of Slavonic strength on the continent of Europe:—

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186* 162 'How many do we number? In Poland, there is only one single nation, the Polish nation, if we ignore the artificially "inspired" separation of the Kachoube branch, and the Hitler-invented "nation" of the Gourals; in Bulgaria, one single nation also, the Bulgarian; in Czechoslovakia two, the Czechs and the Slovaks. In U.S.S.R. three, Russians, Ukrainians and White Russians; in Yugoslavia five, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins and Macedonians. There exists, too, a Lusatian nation. In all, thirteen Slavonic nations'.

186* 161 And the *Zycie Slowanskie* (Slav Life) attempted a numerical estimate of this force:—

'The events of the Second World War have, of necessity, brought about displacements on such a large scale that an estimate based both on the pre-war census and on the theory of probability is liable to prove quite inaccurate. However, simply as a rough guide, we may work on the following table:—

1.	Russians	100,000,000
2.	Ukrainians	41,000,000
3.	Poles	25,000,000
4.	White Russians	10,000,000
5.	Czechs	8,000,000
6.	Bulgars	6,000,000
7.	Serbs	5,500,000
8.	Croats	4,000,000
9.	Slovaks	3,000,000
10.	Slovenes	1,500,000
11.	Macedonians	750,000
12.	Montenegrins	400,000
13.	Lusatians	200,000

In all about 205 millions'.

186* 648 During this period the anthology of Slav solidarity was enriched with a number of striking official speeches, broadcast declarations, and editorials. Inter-Slav relations were organised on the basis of mutual aid pacts, such as those of March 19, 1946, between Belgrade and Warsaw, of the following May 10 between Belgrade and Prague (completed by both economic and cultural agreements) and that of March 7, 1947, between Prague and Warsaw.

000 Solidarity between Slavs in Europe and those in America—

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Solidarity between Slavs in Europe and those in America

among whom the attitude of a part of the population, Polish in origin, maintained a dangerous schism—was revived by a mission sent to Moscow, at the end of 1946, with M. Leon Krycky, Leader of the United States Panslav Congress, as its President; he was received by Stalin. The latter is reported to have declared to him that the Soviet Union and the United States were the only two countries capable of guaranteeing world peace. This was the outcome of the Third Congress of Slavs in North America (held in New York on the previous September 23), during which the meeting had cheered the name of Stalin and booed that of Mr. Byrnes, who had recently, in Stuttgart, made a speech reopening the question of Poland's western frontiers.[1] At this meeting the Polish delegate, M. Lange, emphasised the role the Slavs could play as permanent links between the United States and their countries of origin. But this American-Slav Congress failed in its task; prepared during the Roosevelt era, but actually meeting under the Truman administration, it functioned in a very different atmosphere from that which its organisers had anticipated. It was vigorously attacked by a section of the American press.

After a preparatory Conference of the Panslav Committees, held in Prague in May, 1946, the first great post-war Panslav Congress took place at the Kolarats University, in Belgrade, from December 8 to 12 of the same year. It was attended by delegates from the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the Serbs of Lusatia, and the Slavs of North America.

Its organisers made very marked efforts to prevent the Congress from assuming the aspect of a demonstration of Slav nationalism. On the contrary, they emphasised the benefits which could accrue to the cause of peace and universal democracy from harmony among the Slav States. Consequently the agenda was restricted to very general questions, bound up with cultural propaganda and the struggle against Fascism. Alexander Gundorov, President of the Moscow Panslav Committee, and a veteran of these assemblies, declared that 'the Congress would reveal to the world the truth about the Slavonic peoples and destroy the lies propagated by reactionary circles

[1] This Congress gave rise to a diplomatic incident, arising out of the refusal of the American visa to eight Yugoslav delegates who owed allegiance to the Communist Party.

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186* 668 in Europe and in America'. And in the Belgrade newspaper, *Politika*, M. Stankovich, President of the Serbian Assembly, showed still greater discretion: 'Only the enemies of democracy could see in this meeting of Slavonic countries a manifestation tending to the creation of a Slav bloc, or an attempt to separate East and West'.

Marshal Tito, supported by Marshal Tolbukhin, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Mgr. Nicolaï, and the President of the Yugoslav Assembly, Ivan Ribar, opened the Congress. 'The Slavs', he said, 'have a mission, but not a mission to create a bloc. Yet the time has come to decide that they shall never again be divided against one another'. A message from Stalin, on the same lines, was read. The *leit-motiv* of the speeches was the merit of the Slav peoples in the triumph of democracy, and their contribution to universal civilisation.

In short, the eloquence of the Congressists did not go beyond a speculative exchange of views; it avoided drawing too much attention to the agreement of views between the small nations and Moscow.

[175] Nearly a hundred years had elapsed since the Prague Congress of 1848. By a curious trick of fate, over both these demonstrations of Slav solidarity, at a hundred years' interval, Russia exercised unopposed control. Great as was the opposition between the ideas of the Slavophiles and those of the Congressists of 1946, both Assemblies, with the same pride, saw their work as a threat to reaction—Austro-German reaction in 1848 and Western reaction in 1946.

The Congress organised the strengthening of economic and cultural relations between the Slav States. It formed a permanent Liaison Committee to sit in Belgrade.

[208] The press in the Slavonic countries gave enthusiastic reports of these assemblies. In general, newspapers in the other countries were very reserved in their comments. On December 17 the *Manchester Guardian* recalled the century-old vision of a Slovak poet, a vision of the Slavs united in a powerful body with Russia as the head, Poland the trunk, Bohemia the arms, Serbia the legs. 'The new Panslav movement has arisen out of a common struggle against the invader. If it fosters the community feeling on the human plane, it may do good. If it tries to establish itself in the political domain, it will fail, as in the past'.

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A sceptic might have observed that, despite the oratorical manifestations of harmony and goodwill, three specifically Slav problems which had arisen in 1919 still appeared on the agenda of questions at issue in 1946—the allocation of the Teschen Basin, the definitive status of Macedonia, the fate of the Lusatian Serbs. 186* 668

Indeed, the Macedonian question does not seem to have been finally settled by the creation of a Macedonian Republic within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation. That is why, at the end of 1946, Yugoslav newspapers demanded the incorporation of the Bulgarian districts (Petrich, Gornya-Djumaïa, Nevrekop) in the Popular Republic of Macedonia, and reproached the new Bulgarian constitution with submitting every project for the transfer of territory to the decision of the legislature—a step which Belgrade considered as a stipulation derogatory to the 'Macedonian minority's' right to self-determination.[2] In other words, in Yugoslavia the Macedonian population of Bulgaria was still considered as non-Bulgarian in character. Latent, but still discernible, it was the old quarrel which had, for half a century, set the two peoples in opposition to each other. It was recalled in the Sobranje on December 12, by an Agrarian Deputy, who asked the Government whether it did not consider the Yugoslav claims as an interference in Bulgarian Home Affairs. And early in 1947 a much-talked-of action brought at Skoplje plainly pointed to the survival of the famous ORIM (Macedonian Internal Revolutionary Organisation) directed by Vanka Mihaïlov—that organisation which had been so widely discussed at the conclusion of the previous war. 563 578 648 175

[2] An action which the French Press Agency described (on January 27, 1947) as 'typically Macedonian' was brought against Albanians, Yugoslavs of Albanian or Turkish origin and 'real Macedonians', accused of having organised, in 1945, an illegal society—*National Chiptare Demokratia*—to overthrow the Albanian Government of Enver Hodja and set up a 'Great Albania', including a part of Western Macedonia, with Kossovo and Metova. The conspirators were in league with Mihaïlov's Revolutionary Committee—the famous ORIM (Macedonian International Revolutionary Organisation), whose hand had already been detected in a separatist Macedonian plot which had been judged in November 1946. In this plot was involved no less a person than Metodijé Andorov Cento, one of the most popular figures among the Macedonian 'partisans' and, up to the spring of 1946, President of the Macedonian Liberation Assembly. Cento was sentenced to eleven years' hard labour. Decorated by Tito, he was in opposition to the Government, criticising its Communist affiliations, and in conflict with Lazar Koulichevsky, Prime Minister of the Macedonian legislature. [668]

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648 175 As for the question of the Polish-Czech frontiers, the Prague Government wanted a return to the pre-Munich *status quo*; it will be seen later that the claim to the Teschen Basin, occupied by the Poles since 1938, delayed the return to normal status in the relations between Warsaw and Prague.

As regards the Serbs of Lusatia (Wends and Sorbs), they sent petition after petition to the peace arbitrators, claiming a hearing and justice. They submitted two memoranda, one on February 1, 1946, to the United Nations, the other in the month of May, to the Four Powers Conference in Paris. They returned to the attack on July 6, to ask for the separation of Lusatia from Germany. They were invariably put off until the German problem should be discussed by the Conference. Czechoslovakia, who had already espoused their cause at the time of the discussion of the Versailles Treaty,[3] signified that she saw in their separation from the Reich a guarantee for her own security.

101 These Lusatians are the remnant of a large tribe which must formerly have been the vanguard of the Slavs on the march towards Bavaria. In the ninth century the country was erected into a principality. But, of all the Slavonic groups, this is the one which has encountered the least favourable conditions for the development of a lasting political unity.

* * *

000 Now a few words on the evolution of the internal and external policies of each of the small Slav States while the treaties were in the negotiation stage.

642 175 On January 15, 1946, Yugoslavia voted her Federal Constitution, which set up the six People's Republics mentioned in the previous chapter. (The 'People's Republic of Serbia' included the two autonomous provinces of Voïvodin and Kossovo). Each of these republics sent twenty-five deputies to the Peoples' Council. They were sovereign States—except for the functions reserved to the central power (peace and war, internal security, basic legislation, currency, transport, postal services, radio, Customs, immigration, etc.)—*i.e.*, essentially in matters of education, public health, and social justice.

As in Russia, actual power lay with the Presidium of the Legislature, composed of thirty members, elected by the Assembly

[3] See above, p. 41.

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and responsible to it. The Assembly comprised two Chambers, 642
the Federal Council and the Council of Nationalities; the 175
former was elected by all the citizens, the latter appointed by the republics and autonomous districts. The Constitution established the right of referendum, compulsory military service, the separation of Church and State. Private property was recognised, up to a maximum of 25–30 hectares. But foreign [656]
trade and the greater part of the means of production, mining resources, springs, hydraulic power, woods, transport, wireless, etc. were under State control.[4] The Federated Republics were organised, and elected their Governments, early in 1946 (Bosnia-Herzegovina on February 15, Serbia on February 20, Slovenia on February 23; it will be noticed that the latter took the name of 'Popular Republic of the Slovenes'—obviously with the intention of serving as a magnetic centre for the Slovenes who remained under Italian or Austrian domination).

The promulgation of the new Constitution closed the first 645
stage in post-war developments. The new Federal Government 175
was introduced to the Legislature on February 2, 1946. Its President was Tito, who held the portfolio of National Defence, assisted by two Vice-Presidents, one Communist, the Slovene Edward Kardelj, a militant member of the Slovene Workers' Associations and principal instigator of the Constitution, and one Republican, the Serb, Jasa Prodanovich. Foreign Affairs were entrusted to Stanoje Simich. Kardelj was President of the Federal Control Commission, an all-powerful organism which supervised the acts of the Ministers and of the President himself. The spokesman of the Communist Party was Milovan Djilas, who was responsible for the Youth Movement. The President of the Presidium was a Croat, Ivan Ribar, a former Deputy of the Serbo-Croat Coalition, President of the Constituent of 1921 and one of the authors of the so-called Constitution of Vidovdan. After having joined the Democratic Party, he left it at the time of the dictatorship of King Alexander. Under the occupation he did liaison work between the Republicans and the

[4] The arms of the Federal State represent a field, between two sheaves of corn, connected by a ribbon inscribed: '22nd November, 1943'. Between the tips of the ears of corn is a five-pointed star; in the middle of the field five torches, bending over, converge into a single flame. The federal flag is red, white and blue (with the red at the bottom), and has a red star in the middle.

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645 175 Communists, then rejoined the partisans in Bosnia and was elected President of the National Liberation Front.

627 175 The chief event of this period was the trial of General Draja Mihaïlovich, who had organised the earliest resistance to the invader, but was subsequently accused of collaboration with the Germans and the Italians. Arrested on the borders of Bosnia and Serbia, he was court-martialled on June 10, 1946, by the Military Tribunal of Belgrade, which condemned him to death on July 15. He was shot. Some American airmen had vainly asked to bear witness in his favour. The Belgrade Government had documents published establishing his 'treason'; they reveal undeniable complicity with the enemy in the lower ranks, and, especially, the implacable intention of eliminating the Communists from the Resistance; the role of Mihaïlovich himself is less clearly shown—which explains the emotion his condemnation aroused in England and in America.

[829] The *Daily Telegraph* thus expressed itself on this condemnation: 'The long perspective of history will enable the truth about the much-discussed figure of Mihaïlovich to be more clearly perceived. His contemporaries can do no more than think that, caught up in the whirlwind of events beyond his control, he was a victim of Fate'.

In the same connection the British statesman, Noel Baker, declared that the decision to suspend aid to Mihaïlovich during the war had been taken as the result of numerous denunciations from various sources, alleging that he was no longer adequately contributing to the war effort. 'Subsequently', he said, 'it became evident that certain of his lieutenants were actively collaborating with the Germans'.

793 687 175 659 No less sensational was the trial of the Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb, Mgr. Aloysius Stepinac. This followed proceedings against numerous members of his clergy, notably that involving some Slovene priests, in December, 1945, at Ljubljana. The bishop of that town, Mgr. Rozman, a refugee in Italy, was condemned to eighteen years' imprisonment.

[208] The action against the Croatian priests accused of collaboration was prepared in January, 1946, by a violent press and radio campaign, denouncing the Archbishop's relations with the *Oustachi* of Pavelich, by whom he had been decorated (in

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common with the Croatian Orthodox Metropolitan, Hermogene Maximov, and the German Lutheran bishop, Popov). 793 687

Arrested on September 18, 1946, Mgr. Stepinac was tried, on the 30th of the same month, not only on the charge of intelligence with the enemy, but also of having, after the liberation, worked with the opponents of the régime. These charges (as well as that of having forcibly converted Orthodox Christians to Catholicism) were upheld by the judges, who condemned the prelate (on October 11) to sixteen years' hard labour, to the loss of his civic rights for a period of five years, and to the confiscation of all his possessions. In vain had the defence recalled the fact that Mgr. Stepinac had protested against the racial laws and collective reprisals, and that the allied press had, while the war was actually in progress, rendered homage to his courageous stand.[5] 175 659

Pope Pius XII, in a public speech, protested against this verdict, denying the compulsory conversions—which, moreover, are contrary to canon law. And, although Tito had declared that the proceedings were by no means the prelude to a campaign against the Church in Czechoslovakia, Christian circles throughout the world protested against what they called a 'religious trial'. The 115 Catholic archbishops and bishops of the United States, assembled in Washington for their annual Assembly, described the verdict as 'an outrage on justice'. The Archbishop of Westminster declared that, during the war, 'in Croatia the only voice raised against Nazism and its works had been that of Archbishop Stepinac'. [829]

The Vatican, in an unofficial note, recalled the Church's sanctions against members of the laity sitting in judgement on a bishop, or guilty of any act of violence upon his person; it nevertheless continued to maintain its Nuncio in Belgrade—Mgr. Patrick Hurley, a priest of American nationality, who had entered upon his office at the beginning of the year. In October, 1946, it appointed a co-adjutor to the Bishop of Maribor and another to the Bishop of Ljubljana. (In the absence of a 793 794 648

[5] A Catholic Agency announced, at the end of February 1947, that the President of the Croatian Government, Dr. Bakarich, was said to have invited the prelate to sign his appeal, giving him reason to hope that he might be liberated and, with American support, go abroad. Mgr. Stepinac refused, not wishing to leave either his people or his diocese.

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793 794 648 Concordat in Yugoslavia, the Vatican proceeds directly to the appointment of bishops, without previous agreement with the Government.)

648 175 [659] Relations between the Holy See and Belgrade again became strained when on January 31, 1947, Tito's Government handed to the Secretariat of State two notes, demanding the handing over of five Yugoslav 'war criminals', said to have taken refuge in the Vatican, and accusing the latter of having facilitated the escape to South America of other Yugoslav nationals, wanted by their country's police. The Pope denied these allegations, but added 'that he distinguished between those who were persecuted for political reasons, and criminals; to the former he gave every assistance in his power, without asking whence they came'.

Yugoslavia's external policy remained unshakeably based on Soviet support. 'The Slav peoples now look to Moscow as, after 1919, they looked to Paris; nothing is more natural', said a semi-official commentary on Tito's tour of Central Europe. Far from endeavouring to gain the confidence of the English and the Americans, whose co-operation a wise diplomacy would have sought, in order to bring their claims on Trieste to a successful conclusion, the Belgrade Government was continually in conflict with those powers.

Its relations with Washington were particularly chequered. On January 8, 1946, President Truman had declared: 'As regards Yugoslavia, recognition of the present Government is still subject to certain conditions'. (Moreover, he put Rumania and Bulgaria on the same footing.)

These 'conditions' were the assurance that the new Yugoslavia would recognise the existing treaties and agreements between the two countries (commercial exchanges, extraditions, naturalisations, etc.). Having obtained this assurance on April 18, he recognised Tito and appointed Mr. Richard Patterson ambassador in Belgrade. 'In granting diplomatic recognition', said the *Washington Post* next day, 'the United States are but looking unpleasant realities in the face'.

And when Sava Kosanovich, the representative of Yugoslavia, presented his credentials to President Truman, the latter said to him, with bantering courtesy: 'The United States are following, with interest and sympathy, the efforts of the Yugoslav people . . . to succeed, individually and in harmony with the United

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Nations, in realising the ideals of liberty and democracy which have borne the United Nations to victory'. The history of the relations between the two Governments proves, on the one hand, that in Belgrade very little sense of diplomacy was shown, and, on the other, that Washington was completely misinformed as to the realities of Yugoslav life.

The most serious incident was caused, in August, 1946, by attacks on American aeroplanes in the sky of Slovenia. On the 9th of that month an American plane, forced to land, had crashed; its occupants had been imprisoned by the Yugoslav authorities. On the 11th, the Belgrade Government had protested to Washington against repeated flights over its territory. On the 19th, a transport plane was attacked by a Yugoslav squadron and its five occupants were killed. Whereupon the State Department addressed to the Belgrade Government an ultimatum, demanding an explanation within forty-eight hours, failing which the Security Council would be informed of 'this offence against international law and the principles of humanity'. After having read the text of the ultimatum to the press, the American Ambassador added: 'Eighteen months ago, United States planes were awaited with impatience and greeted with enthusiasm; today they are shot down'.

The Yugoslav press insinuated that the United States had exaggerated the incident, in order to discredit the Belgrade Government in the eyes of the Peace Conference. That Government hastened, however, to release the American airmen as soon as it got wind of the ultimatum, so that this should be without motive by the time it was officially presented. It then undertook to forbid its squadrons to fire on foreign planes, in order to avoid such 'unfortunate accidents'. Nevertheless, on September 3, a fresh note from Washington expressed the surprise felt by the State Department at not receiving from the Yugoslavs either any expression of regret or any offer of indemnity. The Belgrade Government finally granted $30,000 to each of the families of the five airmen shot down on August 19, but refused indemnity for the lost plane, and maintained its attitude of non-responsibility for this 'accident'. America returned to the attack in a note dated Ocober 8, and the matter was only settled in the following month. On November 5 the dockers of the port of New York, who, as a

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648 175 protest, had refused to load the boat carrying UNRRA supplies to Yugoslavia, received instructions from their Union to proceed with the loading.

648 175 661 Hardly had this incident been settled when a fresh one arose, provoked by the American notes of July 26, August 10 and 18, and October 18, denouncing the internment in concentration camps, without any legal steps having been taken, of 165 persons entitled to claim American nationality; ten of these, it was alleged, had died as the result of ill-treatment. The Washington Government 'expressed the deep horror it felt at such practices, which are a violation of the principles of international law regarding the protection of foreign nationals, which amount to instances of unwilling or forced labour, in disregard of the natural rights of human beings, and present no feature to distinguish them from slavery'. Belgrade replied that the persons concerned were members of the German minority, were formerly affiliated to the *Kulturbund*, and had formed part of the fifth column, under cover of a borrowed nationality. The Government agreed to liberate the non-Yugoslavs whose American nationality should be recognised by the United States Embassy, on condition that they should leave the country immediately if they were *Volkdeutsche*.

Yugoslavia, in her turn, lodged a complaint against the United States, when she demanded the return of her river flotilla, detained in the upper reaches of the Danube by the American authorities. The latter recognised Yugoslavia's rights to 161 vessels, but contested ownership of sixteen others. It was not until the beginning of November, 1946, that restitution was ordered.

Another incident—omitting the arrests or charging of American nationals or members of the United States Embassy staff suspected of spying[6]—was caused by the closing, on September, 26, 1946, of the American Information Bureau in Belgrade, accused of circulating information prejudicial to the safety of the State. In this matter, the State Department appeared to disapprove of the zeal of Ambassador Patterson; after an exchange of notes, the Bureau was reopened in the following month.

[6] Especially in January 1947 in connection with the Trifounovich case.

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These periodical misunderstandings revealed, rather than created, an unfriendly atmosphere. The truth is that the United States had never ceased to regard the established régime in Yugoslavia as a totalitarian organisation, on Russian lines, in which no civil rights or individual liberty existed. And this impression made itself felt in the peace negotiations, without—let us repeat—Tito's diplomacy making any serious effort to dispel it, thereby taking its share in responsibility for the failure of Yugoslav claims on Trieste. 648 175 [829]

The diplomatic tension between Belgrade and Washington was reflected in the recall (in March, 1947) of Mr. Patterson, United States Ambassador in Yugoslavia, when America rejected the demand for cereals formulated by Marshal Tito's Government. Mr. Patterson was replaced, but his severe judgements on the Yugoslav régime fixed the policy of the State Department towards Tito.

Although less full of incident, relations between London and Belgrade were scarcely more gracious. An English note of May 20 protested against the attitude of the Yugoslavs in Julian Venetia and the 'unfriendly policy' of their Government. British newspapers did not conceal their bitterness on finding that, despite Anglo-American sacrifices made in order to assist the populations of the new Yugoslavia to get on their feet again, the press of that country had nothing but suspicious or damaging comments to make on the Western Democracies.

Yugoslavia refused, for instance, to take part in the Victory Parade held in London on June 8, 1946, bluntly stating that the relations between the two countries did not justify such participation.

The attitude of the Yugoslav delegation at international conferences or Commissions, and in the United Nations, was not calculated to dissipate prejudice. This was fostered by exchanges of subacid notes—particularly those of January 10, 1947, in which the Yugoslav Government protested at the slowness of the British authorities in handing over war criminals of Italian nationality, and of January 29 regarding the murder of the Yugoslav consul, who had, on 25th of the same month, visited a *tchetnitsi* camp in the Naples district.

On the other hand, relations between Belgrade and the other Slav States gave rise to demonstrations of confidence and 648 175

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enthusiasm. On March 12, 1946, Marshal Tito went to Warsaw, where, on the 17th, he signed a cultural agreement and, on the 19th, a treaty of friendship and mutul aid, valid for twenty years, which was unanimously ratified by the Polish National Council on April 28. Yugoslav and Polish statesmen agreed on a joint line of action in the matter of either country's armed forces abroad, stationed in territories occupied by the Allies.

From Warsaw Tito went, on March 21, to Prague, where, after discussion with MM. Benes and Fierlinger, he announced the conclusion of a pact on similar lines, to be signed on May 10 in Belgrade by the Czech Premier, without reference to the United Nations pact. In accordance with the new line of policy, statesmen and journalists did their utmost to prove that these agreements were not to be regarded as the inception of a bloc of the Eastern European States.[7]

On May 28 Tito was in Moscow, where he remained until June 10. There he worked out the details necessary to bring Yugoslav diplomacy into close harmony with that of the Kremlin. And, as an immediate outcome, economic agreements sealed these exchanges of opinion; one of these agreements covered the arming and equipping of the Yugoslav Army by the Moscow Government.

On October 18 Tito's visit was returned by the President of the Polish Republic, Boleslaw Bierut, who toured Yugoslavia in company with the Marshal. The Premiers exchanged assurances of mutual assistance in their territorial claims. 'I promise you', said Tito, 'that the very utmost shall be done in order that your country may obtain satisfaction. If we don't succeed today, we will do so tomorrow'. President Bierut, in his turn, undertook to back up the Yugoslav attitude in the question of Trieste and the Julian March.

This question of Trieste was for twenty months the stumbling-block in the way of peace negotiations and harmony among the Allies. It gave rise to innumerable incidents, and was the object of keen, bitter discussions. The Yugoslavs maintained their

[7] 'The policy of the U.S.S.R.', declared M. Fierlinger, 'succeeded happily in giving concrete expression to the idea of a community of all the Slav states, which remain entirely free and independent, but are united in a desire for common defence and work for peace in harmony with all the nations'.

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claim with more zeal than skill, threatening at one time not to attend meetings, at others, not to sign, and finally submitting to the *fait accompli*, having presumably over-estimated Russian support, or having forgotten that, for Moscow, Trieste was only one card in a game covering the whole world. It was at one time thought that Yugoslavs and Italians were going to come to a direct arrangement after the visit to Belgrade of Togliatti, the chief of the Communist Party, on November 3, 1946, and his talks with Tito. It would appear that the latter suggested exchanging Trieste (in reality already lost) for Gorizia—a proposal which the Italian Government promptly rejected. Since no arrangement was reached, the Great Powers had to arbitrate; general agreement was concluded between them on November 27.

In reality, it was not a question of deciding whether the Yugoslavs or the Italians should prevail in Trieste; the Russians feared that the Western Democracies would use the town as an economic and political bridge-head for their action in Eastern Europe, while the Anglo-Americans feared that the Stalin-controlled 'Slavonic bloc' would make Trieste the basis for its expansion in the Mediterranean. Such were the real factors in the dispute, notwithstanding the flux of historical, ethnographical, and economic arguments under which they seemed to be submerged.

Yugoslavia abandoned Trieste, but she nevertheless obtained an important part of Istria and Julian Venetia (except the part that was to form the Free Territory of Trieste), as well as Zara and the Isles of Pelagosa and Lagosta. On the other hand, her claims to the Slovene part of Carinthia (which she had lost in the plebiscite of October 18, 1920), as well as to the 'Canalthal' to the north of Gorizia (region of Tarvisio) were rejected.

On January 14, 1946, she was elected a member of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

* * *

Bulgaria, during the pre-constitutional period, was a prey to the objurgations of the English and the Americans, who reproached her with disregarding the political conditions laid down by the Conference of Moscow in December, 1945, by refusing to call two members of the Opposition to power. Gheorgiev's Government was prepared to accept these representatives, but wanted first to see them adhere to its internal and external policy

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648 175 —in other words, renounce the very principles for which they would have been elected.

Pressed by solicitations or criticisms from London and Washington, M. Gheorgiev placed himself under the ægis of Moscow. He went to Russia on January 7, 1946. 'I am glad', he said on landing, 'to be within the fortress of the Slavonic peoples, which, thanks to the wise direction of Generalissimo Stalin, has become the hope of the whole of democratic humanity'. And to give a yet more decisive proof of the credit which he enjoyed in Moscow, his visit was immediately followed (on January 10) by that of M. Vyshinsky to Sofia.

[661] These manifestations did indeed strengthen the Bulgarian Government majority, but they disarmed neither the English nor the Americans, who protested, in diplomatic notes, against the police tactics of the régime, and the arrests of politicians.[8] In return, the Russians accused the Western Democracies of giving a false interpretation to Moscow's decisions affecting Bulgaria, and of encouraging subversive elements.

642 175 In Sofia, they showed signs of anxiety over the persistence of this lack of harmony on the eve of the conclusion of the peace treaties, on which the future of Bulgaria was to depend. M. Gheorgiev hoped to clarify the situation by resigning on March 22. But the Opposition imposed, as a condition of its accepting office, the exclusion of any Communist from the Ministry of Justice and the Home Office. Agreement proved impossible; another Gheorgiev cabinet, restricted, like the previous one, to the parties of the Patriotic Front, was formed on March 29, 1946.

A few days later, this Government promulgated a decree convening the National Assembly, charged with revising the Constitution on Republican lines. The monarchical régime was denounced to the country as the cause of all its misfortunes—a statement which could, with greater truth, have been applied to the Treaty of San Stefano and the Macedonian psychosis it had

661 [8] For three months, the arrested men included Assen Stamboliiski, son of the famous Agrarian leader, assassinated in 1923, and a member of the Central Committee of the Agrarian Party. One of the grievances harboured by the Bulgarian Agrarians against the Communists was the attitude of neutrality maintained by the latter at the time of the *coup d'état* of June 9, 1923, which had marked the triumph of 'reaction' over Stamboliiski's régime.

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engendered. For the occasion, they forgot the fact that the monarchy had, more than once, had its prerogatives disputed by dictatorships. Only by assassination did Ferdinand get rid of Stamboulov, and Boris of Stamboliiski. And M. Gheorgiev himself had been able to overthrow parliamentary government only because the army had given him a helping hand. The will of the sovereign had entered little into that event. 642 175 [662]

However that might be, the fate of the monarchy was settled. By doing away with it, the Bulgarian people were convinced that they were clarifying their destiny. The young King Simeon II, then aged 8, was living in Vranja with his mother and his sister, in an isolation which was practically exile, while the royal duties were performed by three regents appointed by the National Front. On September 8, 1946, the Bulgarian nation, by a huge majority (3,800,000 votes to 179,000), voted in favour of the republic, which was proclaimed on the 15th of the same month. The following week Simeon II, under the care of the Queen-Mother, who was dressed in deep mourning, embarked on a Turkish vessel bound for Egypt, where he was to join his maternal grandfather, ex-King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy. One newspaper *Otetchestvene Front* (Homeland Front) published, by way of farewell, an article by General Hristo Stölkov, reproaching the defunct monarchy for having isolated Bulgaria from the other Slavonic peoples. 'It is no accident if, at the time of the first imperialist war, all the Slavs [*sic*] were on the side of the Allies, whilst Bulgaria alone threw in her lot with Germany'. [666]

The convening of the electoral body for October 27[1] gave rise to a diplomatic passage of arms among the Allies. The British Government protested against the obstacles put in the way of the Opposition's campaign, and against the persecution to which the Agrarians were subjected. And Mr. Byrnes asked the Allied Control Commission, sitting in Sofia, to take adequate measures to guarantee the integrity of the poll. Russia's representative on the Commission, General Birousov, opposed the consideration of this request, which he denounced as foreign interference with Bulgarian home affairs. 648 175

The elections gave the anticipated results; the Home Front secured 346 seats (of which 277 went to the Communists) as against the Opposition's 101 seats. It would appear that this 666 175

1 [1946 - Analyst]

6; Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

666 result even exceeded the expectations of M. Gheorgiev, who took
175 fright at the excitement stirred up in the country by the Communists—hence this appeal to the population: 'Victory often intoxicates men, and defeat makes them lose their self-control. Tension resulting from elections, if not rapidly mastered, may help to foster a state of excitement prejudicial to order and tranquillity. The Government earnestly exhorts all citizens strictly to observe the laws'.

Spectacular as was the triumph of governmental coalition, it did not reach the overwhelming majorities of which Russia and Yugoslavia held the secret. In particular, the ministerial fraction belonging to the *Zveno* was beaten, so that the country had modified, to the advantage of the Communists, the relative strengths within the coalition. Now, in a nation which had neither capitalism nor trusts nor large industrial concerns nor *latifundia*, the word *Communist* had a meaning which was much more political than social.* It was above all the victory of the 'Russianisers', long held in check by the official policy.

[563] It must moreover be admitted that, renewing the gesture of the liberating Tsar, the Soviet Union had just saved the Bulgarian people by protecting them from the consequences of their rulers' collusion with the Axis. The question that still remained was whether Russia would not have preferred to be defended in Sofia by traditionally 'national' elements, rather than by a party too openly connected with Moscow, and whose leader, George Dimitrov, the hero of the Leipzig trial, was thought to be a tool of Russia.

642 As a logical consequence of the elections, a new Government
175 was in fact formed by Dimitrov on November 23.[1] It included ten Communists, five Agrarians, two Socialists, two members of the *Zveno* and one Independent. The ex-President, Kimon Gheorgiev, held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. The semi-official press saw it as 'the most democratic Government Bulgaria has ever had', whilst the Opposition emphasised the complete hold on power which the Communists had obtained.

648 This Government's vital tasks were to be signing the peace
175 and voting the Constitution. On February 12, 1947, it secured

[162] * The working-class strengths, on which the Communists rely, are very small; indeed, 80% of the population are engaged in agriculture, not to mention tradesmen, civil servants, and members of the liberal professions.

1 [1946 - Analyst]

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from England the legal recognition which she had refused to a 648
non-Communist Ministry. However, the Foreign Office felt 175
bound to state that this recognition 'by no means implied that Great Britain considered the methods previously employed by the Bulgarian Government to consolidate its position, or the conditions under which the elections had been organised, as conforming to the spirit and the letter of the Yalta declaration concerning Liberated Europe'.

The Bulgarian reply dismissed these objections, but expressed the Sofia Government's satisfaction and its desire to respect the peace treaty.

The Constitution submitted to the Legislature had to recon- 642
cile the exigencies of a very Leftist democracy with the specific 175
traits of the Bulgarian nation, and the laws of its historical [182]
development. It was not federal, like the Russian or Yugoslav constitutions, but unitary. Bulgaria was to be a parliamentary republic, in which authority belonged to the people, whose will was expressed by means of elections or a referendum. The President was elected for four years (by a two-thirds majority) by the Legislature, plus one representative from each Cantonal Council and five representatives from each Departmental Council. The Legislature was elected for four years, on the basis of one member for every 25,000 inhabitants.

The Constitution sanctioned the right to private property and the right of inheritance, but placed in the hands of the State the country's natural resources, its sub-soil, transport, marine and fluvial navigation, communications, radio, and external trade. The new Bulgarian economy was inspired by the [181]
co-operative principle as understood in the Slavonic tradition (*mir* or *zadrouga*) rather than by pure collectivism.

In his ministerial declaration M. George Dimitrov had 648
defined friendship with U.S.S.R. as 'the corner-stone of his 175
foreign policy', but promised to endeavour to normalise relations with London and Washington. He expressed his gratitude 'to the sister nations—and particularly the new Yugoslavia[10]—for the help they had rendered to Bulgaria at the Peace Conference'.

Indeed, Bulgaria had no reason to complain of the Con-

[10] Who, on the previous June 15, had wiped out certain Bulgarian reparations.

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648 175 ference, which, while treating her as a conquered country, nevertheless left her Southern Dobrudja which she had obtained from Rumania under a friendly agreement concluded under the auspices of the Axis.

728 175 By her memoranda addressed to the Four Powers on May 7 and June 20, she had asked to be designated in the peace treaties, not as an Axis 'Satellite State' but as a 'Co-belligerent Ally'. Her delegate to the Paris Conference maintained that the moral responsibility of the Bulgarian people had not been involved in the policy of collaboration with Germany,[11] that, moreover, no Bulgarian soldier had borne arms against the Red Army, and that the country's heroic resistance, at the critical moment of the war, entitled her to the Allies' sympathetic consideration.

This request was rejected, however, as well as that which aimed at securing access to the Aegean Sea (the famous 'outlet' of Article 48 of the Treaty of Neuilly) or, more clearly, that part of Western Thrace which had been under Bulgarian sovereignty between 1913 (Treaty of Bucharest) and 1919 (Treaty of Neuilly) and which, at the time of which we are speaking, formed part of Greece. This request, as well as the claim for indemnity for 'investments and improvements' effected by the Bulgarian troops on Greek soil during the occupation, at the Luxembourg Conference provoked vigorous reaction on the part of the Greek Premier, M. Tsaldaris, who reproached the Bulgarians with having attacked his country three times in the space of a single generation.

[648] Much more: Messrs. Byrnes and Bevin took the opportunity of M. Kolarov's visit to Paris to intimate to him the dissatisfaction their Governments felt at the way in which the [563] Opposition was treated in Sofia. Moreover, the British delegate demanded the insertion of a special clause intended to protect Jewish minorities, although it was well known that—except in the last war, and even then, not without the exercise of great restraint[12]—the Jews had never been the object of discriminating measures.

[11] Almost word for word, this was the thesis maintained at the end of the previous war by M. Mollov, the Bulgarian delegate to the League of Nations: 'Bulgaria . . . was drawn into the war by events contrary to the manifest will of the majority of the people, and of the political parties'.

[12] The opposition of the Bulgarian people to racial laws spared the Jews the atrocities to which they were subjected in other Eastern European countries.

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So the signature, on February 10, of the peace treaty which (except in Dobrudja) maintained the territorial *status quo* of 1919, was made under protest—on the part of the Government, which, in an official note, expressed its hope of a revision of the 'unjust clauses' of the treaty; on the part of the Homeland Front, which invited the population to 'roll up its sleeves' and work to surmount the difficulties inherent in the application of the treaty; on the part of the Opposition parties, which, while they considered the treaty contrary to the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and to the terms of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, yet blamed the Government for not having been willing to apply sincerely the Moscow agreements, nor to follow the advice of the 'democratic Great Powers'.

* * *

Poland's fundamental problem in 1946 was the reorganisation and repopulation of the western territories taken from Germany and incorporated by Poland in conformity with the decision of the Potsdam Conference of August 2, 1945, and with the Polish-Sovietic treaty of the following August 17. 'Our western frontiers', said Wladislaw Gomulka, Vice-President of the Council, 'are essential to the maintenance of peace in Europe. Any one who opposes us in this respect threatens our most vital interests, and must be considered as our enemy'.

Three million Poles repatriated from Russia were to be settled in the western territories, where they would be joined by a million and a half Poles from the interior, taken from the overpopulated districts, and a million and a half repatriated exiles. Out of four million Germans liable to deportation, 2,400,000 had already been settled in the Russian-occupied zone of Germany, and one million and a quarter in the British zone. So that the total movements of population affected more than seven million individuals.

Within her new frontiers Poland included 195,000 sq. miles instead of 242,875 sq. miles that she covered before the war; her population had fallen from 35,000,000 inhabitants to 23,620,000. She no longer had on her soil any national minorities; Germans, Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians and Lithuanians were to be repatriated, where this had not already been done. As for the Jews, their number dropped from three and a half million to 86,000. Poland, which had six neighbours before the

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131 war, now had only three—Russia, Germany, and Czechoslovakia.
175 One aspect of her new position which represented an innovation was her transformation into a great maritime nation, thanks to the three ports, Stettin, Gdynia, and Danzig, and to her 312 miles of coast-line. Nevertheless, her destiny would henceforth be more closely bound to that of Central Europe, while remaining subordinate to the *entente* with Moscow.

666 The western frontiers were approved by the plebiscite of June 30, which covered not only the frontier-ratification, but also the abolition of the Senate and the economic organisation of the [471] State (Agrarian reform and nationalisation of key industries). [423] The first ballot gave 10,534,697 in favour and 995,584 against; the second gave 7,844,522 in favour and 3,686,029 against; the third, 8,896,106 in favour and 2,634,446 against.

578 This popular referendum did not have the tranquillising
648 effects that had seemingly been expected. Poland continued to
661 be a prey to 'terrorist' agitation, the repression of which, in
175 turn, gave rise to scenes of violence and to exactions. While dissociating himself from the extremists, the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, M. Mikolajczyk, himself protested against the way in which the referendum had been carried out (except in Cracow, where the 'Noes' had been in the majority). So the British Government reserved its opinion on the legitimacy which this poll conferred on the régime, and awaited the general elections before giving legal recognition to the new state of affairs. And the whole of 1946 was taken up with exchanges of subacid notes between London and Washington on the one side and Warsaw on the other. The Anglo-Americans denounced the persecution to which the Opposition was subjected, and considered that the Polish Government was failing in the undertaking given in execution of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, to guarantee the liberty of elections. But the Russians interpreted quite differently both the scope of these agreements and the meaning of the word 'liberty'. And so the most obvious result of the diplomatic offensive on the part of England and the United States was to intensify Polish-Sovietic solidarity.

648 The formation, in June, of a National Unity Government
175 under the Presidency of M. Osubka Morawski seemed, for the
[642] time being, to dissipate the apprehensions of the Anglo-Americans, although the dissident Polish Government in London

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had refused to recognise this new Cabinet. But the truce was a short one. The preparation of the electoral law, voted on September 23, revived the controversy[18] and occasioned a fresh diplomatic assault. The Foreign Office and the State Department sent to Warsaw, on August 19, concerted notes, couched as 'warnings'. They recalled the irregularities known to have taken place on the occasion of the referendum, and suggested a series of measures calculated to prevent their repetition in connection with the elections. When handing over the American note, the United States ambassador felt the need to justify such an unusual step: 'In departing from its traditional policy', he said, 'and in assuming responsibilities in the affairs of another State, my Government is obeying a conviction that its important role in the liberation of the European peoples imposes on it very particularly the duty to assist the Polish people, so sorely tried by the Nazi occupation, to be quite free to elect the government of its choice'.

648 175 [666]

M. Osubka Morawski took this double admonition very badly. His embassy in Washington declared to the press that the American note 'constituted a violation of the sovereign rights of Poland and an interference in her internal affairs'; the Warsaw press spoke of 'vassalisation'; and the two notes received no official reply.

A few days later the Polish leaders went to Minsk, where, on August 29, they met Generalissimo Stalin, with whom they discussed the question of the elections. They received assurances which enabled them, thenceforth, to resist the Anglo-American offensive.

Meanwhile a disagreement which had arisen between London and Warsaw a few weeks previously was being settled. This concerned a protest made by the Polish Government against

[18] A memorandum was sent, in August 1946, to the representatives of the United Nations taking part in the Peace Conference in Paris by the 'Polish Socialist and Workers' Associations Abroad'; its authors recalled the sufferings of Poland during the war, demanded the re-establishment of civic liberties, and declared that the Government had against it 'about 90% of the public opinion of the country'. The Conference was also notified of a protest on the part of the Central Union of Poles in France and of the Union of Catholic Polish Societies in France. In the following month, the Congress of Americans of Polish Origin addressed to Mr. Byrnes a memorandum suggesting that the problem of Poland should be laid before the United Nations, and asking for recognition of the western frontiers.

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certain items which had appeared in the News Bulletin published by the British Embassy in Poland, and judged by official circles to be tendentious. At the beginning of September the Foreign Office announced that the Bulletin would publish no more reports concerning Poland's internal affairs. But semi-official commentators felt obliged to emphasise that this assurance, at variance with British practice, had not been given without hesitation; it had been largely prompted by fear that the Bulletin's collaborators would be arrested by the Polish authorities. So that the settlement of the dispute, by its very nature, contained the germ of future unpleasantness.

Moreover, Warsaw cherished many other bones of contention as far as the English were concerned. The latter were first accused of wanting to keep the gold belonging to the National Bank, and then reproached with supporting the Polish 'reactionaries', with refusing to repatriate General Anders' army *en bloc,* and with lending too sympathetic an ear to the complaints and recriminations of the Peasant Party. Although it was for Poland that England had entered the war, it may be said that it was against the British cabinet that the most bitter criticisms were directed by the Polish Government and press.

The attacks reached their culminating point in the autumn, after Mr. Byrnes's speech at Stuttgart on September 6, and Mr. Bevin's declaration in the House of Commons on October 22.

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Mr. Byrnes had said: 'As regards Silesia and the other Eastern German territories, their allocation to Poland by Russia, for administrative purposes, had taken place before the Potsdam meeting. . . . As the minutes of the Conference plainly show, the heads of the Governments did not undertake to support, on the establishment of peace, the cession of any particular territory. . . . The extent of the region to be ceded to Poland must be determined at the time when the final settlement is made'.[14]

Taken in conjunction with Mr. Bevin's speech, these words could bear the interpretation that Great Britain and America would, at the time of the final Peace Conference, make the

[14] The relevant paragraph of the Potsdam agreement is worded as follows: 'The heads of the three Governments reaffirm the opinion that the final delimitation of Poland's western frontiers must be made at the time of the peace settlement'.

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question of the Oder-Neisse frontiers dependent on that of free elections. M. Molotov at once challenged Mr. Byrnes's declaration, affirming that Russia considered the Polish-German frontiers as definitive. If, on the one hand, this intervention alienated the German Communists from him, and contributed to their defeat at the municipal elections, on the other hand, it secured for him enthusiastic approbation in Polish circles. In most of the large towns popular meetings were held, and the crowds booed the name of Mr. Byrnes, and even of America.

The tension lasted right up to the elections. The arrest of members of the Polish Peasant Party had its echo in the House of Commons, where, on October 22, Mr. Churchill drew a 'sad picture' of the situation in Poland. 'We must', he said, 'take great care to distinguish in our minds between the present Polish Government and the feelings of the Polish nation, whose affliction and sufferings seem to be never-ending'. The Minister of State, Mr. McNeil, emphasised once more the fact that England was a joint signatory to the undertakings given by the Warsaw Government, and thereby bound to see that they were carried out.

So, when the legislative elections had been fixed for January 19, the Governments of London and Washington considered the time had come to repeat their representations on behalf of a free poll. On November 22, they handed over, through their representatives in Warsaw, two simultaneous notes (identical, as regards contents, with those which had been handed to Rumania and Bulgaria on previous occasions). These two documents referred to the previous warnings, and concluded by mentioning that it would be impossible for the Anglo-American democracies to recognise any Government which might be based on elections carried out with violence, or whose results had been falsified.

No reply was made to the American Department of State. That destined for the Foreign Office was delayed for a month. It answered Great Britain's arguments by setting out a complete accusation, intended to show that that Power had herself deliberately violated the Yalta and Potsdam agreements in seven respects, as under:—

1. Role of 'advisers to the British Government' played by Polish exiles in London.

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2. Reorganisation and re-equipment of the Anders Army.
3. Control exercised by the exiled Polish Government in London over property wrongfully left at its disposal, together with that of the Polish Consulates abroad.
4. Retention of the Polish gold deposited in London during the war.
5. Retention of the Polish battle-ships placed at the disposal of the British war-fleet during the occupation.
6. Financing by Great Britain of the campaign to dissuade Polish refugees and deportees from returning to their country.
7. Reduction of the quota of Germans from the western territories of Poland that England had undertaken to admit to her occupation zone in Germany.

This fruitless exchange of notes continued until the eve of the elections. In the end, England realised its futility, whereas, on January 5, 1947, America laid before her two major Allies a proposal for joint supervision of the electoral proceedings. Russia rejected this proposal, once again refuting its motives, and a further American note of January 9, was described by the Polish chargé d'affaires at Washington as 'very regrettable'.

[66] The elections, held on January 19,[1] resulted in 9,003,682 votes for the Governmental bloc (*i.e.*, 80.1 per cent of the voters) as against 1,154,847 for the Polish Peasant Party (*i.e.*, 10.3 per cent).

The comedy of the Anglo-American protests did not end with this poll. It had its epilogue in a note from Washington, dated January 29, affirming that the State Department neither considered the elections to have been free, nor Poland's engagements to have been kept, but did not, nevertheless, intend to break off diplomatic relations.[18] The British Under-Secretary

[18] This did not prevent Mr. Truman from making the following statement to the new Polish ambassador, M. Winieniez, when, on February 4, the latter presented his credentials. 'We, the American people and myself, were very much upset to find that the Provisional Government of Poland had failed to fulfil its undertakings with regard to freedom of elections' —which was contrary to the conventional optimism with which these ceremonial occasions are usually surrounded. And, in the *New York Herald Tribune* (European edition), the ex-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, published this violent commentary: 'The results of the elections in Poland have been even more fantastic than was to be expected. The P.S.L. (Polish Peasant Party) have been allocated one-tenth of the man-

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for Foreign Affairs spoke in similar vein in the House of Commons. And the final result of all this fuss was simply that England and the United States were not represented at the inaugural session of the Third Polish Republic, held on February 4. Moreover, that did not prevent those two countries from offering their congratulations, the next day, to M. Boleslaw Bierut, President of the Republic. London and Washington had never had any other concern than that of 'saving appearances'. They knew quite well that these platonic manifestations of displeasure would have no other effect than to consolidate Muscovite influence in Warsaw. 648 175

The Presidency of the new Government was entrusted to a young member of the Cracow bar—M. Joseph Cyrankiewicz, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, and a survivor of the Auschwitz Camp. In May, political life was gradually becoming normal. The President of the Republic compared it to a river 'which, after having been diverted from its bed by a cataclysm, was finding its true course again'. 643 175

To the new Cabinet was to fall the mission of getting the Oder-Neisse frontier sanctioned by the Peace Conference. In its own view, as well as that of the whole of Poland, the question was settled by the fact that transfers of population had already taken place, without any protests from London or Washington. It was difficult to conceive that millions of Displaced Persons would be compelled to undergo a fresh exodus. The Anglo-Americans would therefore be obliged, in Mr. Churchill's phrase, 'to write off Eastern Europe on the Profit and Loss account'. Moreover, France supported the Polish viewpoint; on February 19, 1947, she signed a cultural agreement with Warsaw—the preface to a new political pact, it being understood that Poland would support her claims on the Saar, as she would back up those of Poland to the maintenance of her western frontier. The question of the frontiers gave rise, in April, 1947, to a bitter and sterile passage-of-arms between Americans and Russians at the Moscow Conference. 648 728 175

Another and no less redoubtable motive of discord between 000

dates which fell to the Socialo-Communist bloc which backs the regime of Bierut and Osubka-Morawski. So the Moscow-controlled parties get 400 out of the 444 seats in the Polish Diet. . . . The last vestiges of Polish liberty, for which General Sikorski is still fighting, will tend to disappear'.

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648 Another and no less redoubtable motive of discord between
125 Poland and the Western Allies was the existence in Italy of an army (the former Second Polish Corps), under the orders of General Wladislaw Anders, who had not recognised the Warsaw Government—because, he said, it had not been freely chosen by the Polish people. His troops did not refuse to enter Poland, but they were not prepared to do so until the Russians had gone. On this question, as on that of the elections, a diplomatic duel took place—the initiative, this time, lying with the Warsaw Cabinet. The incident began with a note, of January, 1946, in which this Cabinet accused England of equipping and supplying these forces, and with a protest to Washington against the functioning, in the American zone, of a liaison between the Anders Army and the secret organisations of the interior. General Anders opposed a categorical denial to this assertion; according to him, it was nothing but a false scent, to divert attention from the political crisis existing in the country.

Yugoslavia intervened abruptly in this affair, by submitting to the General Secretariat of the United Nations, through M. Vyshinsky, a memorandum destined for the Security Council, claiming that the Polish Army in Italy, executing manœuvres which brought it near to the Julian March, and recruiting Yugoslavs, was considered as 'aggressive and manifestly dangerous' for the Belgrade Government.

England, quite justifiably, was surprised to find the Yugoslavs adopting this roundabout method of lodging a complaint directly aimed at her. She immediately denied the allegations.

But thereupon, a communication from the Warsaw Government, February 14, declared that, from that date onwards, it ceased to consider the Polish forces abroad as units of the national army. The Government therefore demanded that such troops should no longer be permitted to wear Polish uniform or badges, and that they should be demobilised. A few days later, Radio-Warsaw broadcast an appeal to Polish soldiers abroad, urging them to arrange for repatriation. And, on March 20, Mr. Bevin submitted to the Commons the text of an Anglo-Polish agreement for the demobilisation of these soldiers (at least 200,000 men), half of whom constituted the total strength of the Anders Army stationed in Italy. No judicial action was to be taken against the returned soldiers, unless they had served in the German Army, or in the Todt organisation. Those who

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were unwilling to go would not be forced to return to Poland, but their right to remain in England would be considered individually. 648 175

It goes without saying that the 'Polish Government in London' protested against this decision, on which they had not been consulted. On June 1 General Anders bade farewell to his troops. 'We must', he said, 'leave Italy on the eve of the peace treaties. We have traversed this country from South to North, waging against Germany a battle for the liberty of the nations. Polish hearts will never forget that we have fought also for the liberty of the Church. . . . Tomorrow, by an unknown road, we shall go to Poland—to a Poland for which we have fought, and which no Polish heart can imagine without Lwow and Wilno'. At the end of October he left Italy for England, where he joined the unarmed Resettlement Corps.[16] Shortly before (on September 28) and as the result of this incorporation, a decree of the Council of Polish Ministers had withdrawn his nationality, as well as that of seventy-four other officers, of or above the rank of general.

The exact figures of those who were voluntarily repatriated have never been given. But it is certain that a large number of Poles, especially among those whose home district had passed under Soviet control, preferred the risks and the misfortunes of exile to returning to their birthplace.

Relations between Warsaw and Moscow were maintained on the lines laid down for them by the Polish-Sovietic pact of August 18, 1945—of which instruments of ratification were exchanged on February 7, 1946.

But, as M. Cyrankiewicz himself had remarked, 'Many Poles still suffered from an anti-Russian complex'. This persistence of hostility towards Russia was, according to him, attributable to the memory of the Tsarist oppression and the anti-Bolshevist propaganda which had been ceaselessly carried out between the two wars. [829]

The visit of President Bierut and the Polish statesmen to

[16] A British M.P. having asked (on February 18, 1947) why the general's salary figured on the army budget, Richard Stokes, a Labour M.P., divulged that the military authorities admitted that, without the collaboration of the Anders Army, the Italian campaign might have ended in disaster.

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Moscow (May 23–26, 1946) was due to the necessity for a fresh exchange of views on the international situation, on the strengthening of the Polish Army to protect the rear of the Soviet occupation forces in Germany, and on the conclusion of economic agreements. Arrangements were in fact reached. They stipulated the cancelling of the financial engagements contracted during the war for equipping the Polish Army; the supply of Russian arms and munitions; the opening of a credit and the furnishing of food supplies.[17] On August 16 the U.S.S.R. and Poland signed a frontier treaty, ceding to the Poles the region situated east of the Curzon line, between the Western Boug and the River Solokia, to the south of the town of Krilow, to a maximum depth of nineteen miles, together with a part of the Forest of Bjalowiez, likewise to the east of the Curzon line, to a maximum depth of eleven miles.

A fresh interview between Stalin and MM. Bierut and Osubka-Morawski took place in Minsk on the following August 29. It dealt principally with the Anglo-American notes relating to the elections, and with the relations, on the eve of the poll, between the Socialist Party and the Labour Party. It was a fortnight later that, replying to Mr. Byrnes's Stuttgart speech, M. Molotov reaffirmed the Soviet point of view, according to which the western frontier of Poland was sacrosanct.

On February 24, 1947, M. Cyrankiewicz arrived in Moscow to confer with Stalin on the prospects opened up for Poland by the Peace Conference for Germany, convened in the Soviet capital for March 10.

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Connected with the question of 'free elections', still further incidents arose between Poland and the Anglo-American democracies. On April 25, 1946, the Warsaw Government had obtained a loan of fifty million dollars under the following double arrangement: Forty million dollars would be supplied by the Export-Import Bank for the payment of purchases effected in the United States; surplus army material, stocked in Europe, would be supplied to the Government on credit, up to a limit of fifty million dollars. America had stipulated, as conditions of her financial aid, that the Polish Government should organise free elections, should inform the people of the terms of

[17] It was only on November 21 that the Polish Minister of Foreign Trade disclosed the tenor of his agreements with Russia.

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the agreement, and should furnish the United States with full details of treaties concluded with other Powers. 648 175

Since these conditions had not been fulfilled, America announced, in the month of May, that she was reconsidering the matter. Warsaw then communicated the text of the commercial treaties concluded with the neighbouring countries. The fact that, after this, the United States restored the credit of ninety million dollars shows that they did not consider these treaties as incompatible with their collaboration in Polish economic recovery. In January, 1947, Polish assets in America —including gold—were 'de-blocked', in consideration of an agreement fixing the indemnification of American nationals who owned nationalised Polish concerns. 457

But the question of the elections remained as a background to the feeling of strain which hung over the relations between Washington and Warsaw. In March, 1947, it came to the fore again, when the United States ambassador, Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane, resigned as an expression of the disapproval he had never ceased to exhibit towards a régime resulting from an electoral consultation which he had designated 'a farce'. Far from disowning him, Mr. Truman, in accepting his resignation, declared his regret that 'his skilful representation of the American Government's views had not attained its object'.

The financial negotiations with England experienced similar vicissitudes. The agreement of June 24, 1946, for the grant of a loan, subject to the repayment of the debts of the former London Government, was at first postponed; official Polish circles accused Great Britain of retaining the greater part of their compatriots' assets as security for her claims, and especially the 4,800,000,000 francs (gold) belonging to the Bank of Poland. On December 19, the English Embassy in Warsaw was obliged to protest against the manner in which these questions were presented by the Polish press, who took pleasure in contrasting the British claims with Russia's gesture in wiping out Poland's war debts.

We have recalled that one of the sore points in Slav solidarity was the question of the allocation of the Teschen Basin, occupied by the Poles since October 2, 1938. The question had already, between the two wars, caused a lot of ink to flow. It had grafted itself on to attacks made by the Polish press against 648 728 175

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Prague's policy with regard to the Slovaks, and by the Czech press against Warsaw's treatment of the Ukrainian minorities.

At the end of 1945 the Polish Government had proposed a general settlement of matters outstanding. Prague had agreed in principle, but excluding territorial questions. Poland rejected this reservation. Negotiations opened in Prague on February 7, 1946. The Czechs again refused to have the question of Teschen reopened; they were anxious not to jeopardise the promise made by the Allies to restore their frontiers as they were before Munich.

So the matter was adjourned. But neither of the two Governments neglected any occasion of reaffirming their country's rights to Teschen.

'The Government of Poland' (said M. Rzymowski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on March 8) 'most emphatically condemns the violence of Munich exercised by Hitler in common with Beck, Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1938–1939, towards Czechoslovakia, a friendly country. I cannot, however, forbear to mention the fact that Silesian Teschen is peopled by a mass of 100,000 Poles who, for some decades, and especially during the six years of the German occupation, by their attitude affirmed their desire to be reincorporated in the mother country'.

To which the President of the Czech Council, M. Fierlinger, replied, recalling that this territory contained the richest coal-mines of Czechoslovakia, that the country's industry had been particularly developed there, large capital sums having been invested, and that along the Polish-Czech frontier passed the most important of the railways joining Bohemia and Moravia to Slovakia. 'So', he concluded, 'any cession of the territory of Teschen to the Poles would prejudice the most vital interests of our country. For these motives, as well as for ethnical reasons, we cannot discuss with the Polish Government the cession of any of these territories. Naturally, we are ready to come to an agreement with the Poles on the most friendly basis, regarding any other arrangement which would suit them, particularly for a reciprocal exchange of population which might finally settle this very complicated problem, to the interest of both countries'.

The most curious part was that the two Governments, equally intractable on this point, showed themselves none the less disposed to conclude an alliance, even a federal pact. Poland would have seen in this a way of submerging the importance of

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the Teschen affair. But Czechoslovakia kept the two matters distinct, and was not prepared to raise the question of the pact until the frontier dispute had been settled.

Marshal Tito was either asked, or was tempted, to offer his mediation. He met with no better success than M. Benes had encountered when, immediately after the previous war, he had tried to intervene between Belgrade and Sofia to appease the Macedonian quarrel. It was obvious, moreover, that the real arbitrator of the dispute could be none other than Stalin. And so the question of Teschen headed the agenda of the conversations that took place in Moscow, in June, 1946, between M. Fierlinger and the Russian and Polish chiefs. The last-named maintained that the territorial sacrifices they had made to Russia should be compensated with the territories partly populated by Poles. The Czechs showed themselves adamant. Had not they, too, ceded Sub-Carpathia to the Russians, and without any compensation? They formulated, or allowed to be formulated, other demands—a frontier-rectification, to do away with the two salients of Glatz and Ratibor, the incorporation of Lusatia with Bautzen, Loebau and Cottbus, and the incorporation of the Austrian town of Gmünd (already occupied).

The Soviet representatives dismissed both parties non-suited. Probably they were not sorry to preserve a possible means of bringing pressure to bear on both sides. They did, however, assure the Czechs that the question would not be settled by Moscow without their consent. As for the Poles, they saw in the Czech claims to Glatz a move to give them a possible basis for bargaining.

The Western Allies prudently refrained from intervening in this dispute, although it affected both the political and the economic balance of the Continent.

Eventually on March 10, 1947, Poles and Czechs concluded a treaty of alliance that stabilised their relations, but, trusting to the effects of time, left them until 1949 to settle the matter of Teschen—the very one whose settlement was of paramount importance for those relations!

The Polish delegation to the Peace Conference expressed very precise views on the fate of Austria and Germany. They demanded guarantees against a fresh Anschluss, the unity of the Reich to be subject to effective demilitarisation and denazifica-

648 tion, and the reconstruction of German economic life subordinated
728 to the reconstruction of the devastated countries.
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On the United Nations' Security Council the Polish delegation
648 fastened on the Spanish problem, displaying all the more energy,
175 inasmuch as none of their positive interests was at stake. They backed the views supported by France and the Soviet Union on rupture with Franco, and decided, on April 5, 1946, to recognise the Giral Government--an eminently platonic gesture, for Franco's Spain and Poland had no diplomatic relations.

*186 The religious question, too, was a serious preoccupation of the
659 Government, which refuted the widespread accusation of wishing to
[798] persecute the Catholic Church. It had, moreover, always included 'practising' Catholics among its members, for Poland is certainly one of the few countries where 'Leftists' are just as good Catholics as 'Rightists'. Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland and Archbishop of Warsaw, himself declared that, in spite of the denunciation of the Concordat of 1925, and the absence of relations between Chruch and State, there was no question of a Kulturkampf in Poland.

[586] There is no doubt; however, that the law (which came into force on January 1, 1946) rendering civil marriage compulsory and authorising divorce conflicted with the consciences of a large section of the population. The education reforms had dealt a death-blow to the religious schools. In the face of these measures, the Church adopted an attitude of restrained disapproval, in order not to make the situation worse; moreover, she had her 'Red Bishops', such as Mgr. Adamski, Bishop Katowice, whose sympathies were known to lie with the Soviet Union.

One of the reasons why the hierarchy avoided clashes was the fear of reviving accusations brought against certain of their members as the result of their attitude during the occupation; this in spite of the courageous conduct of the enormous majority of the prelates, and the murder by the Germans of four bishops and two thousand priests.

*186 It was, moreover, evident that the Warsaw Government's
659 hostility was directed less against the Polish Church than against the
798 Vatican, which they reproached with its policy during the war and its attitude in certain actions brought against agents of the occupying authorities. Yet M. Osubka-Morawski likewise

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accused the hierarchy, in connection with the Kielce pogrom,[18] of not having adopted a sufficiently bold attitude towards anti-Semitism, and of having refused to sign the declaration of all political parties, condemning this racial crime. 186* 659 798

The Cardinal addressed to the foreign press declarations in which, while deploring the acts of violence, he attributed them largely 'to the dominant position assumed by the Jews in the Polish Government, and to the efforts made to give Poland a governmental structure that the majority of the country did not desire'. As may be imagined, these words aroused passionate comments. The same remark applies to the pastoral letter addressed to the faithful on the eve of the elections, asking them to vote only 'for persons, lists or programmes in favour of Catholic teaching and morals'. Without mentioning the Marxist Parties by name, the pastoral reminded Catholics that they must not belong to 'organisations whose principles are contrary to this teaching and this morality'. The Cardinal was anxious, he said, to 'reconcile the Christian faith with a sound revolutionary movement'.

* * *

It was in Czechoslovakia that the adaptation of political and social life to the new state of affairs was achieved with the minimum of clashes and the maximum of realism. The Second Republic was stabilised under the form of a 'Socialising Democracy' (according to President Benes's term), half-way between Communism and the Bourgeois State. It no longer had the same exterior structure as Masaryk's republic, having adopted a *sui generis* type of bi-national community, with equal rights for Czechs and Slovaks. There was another innovation—a still more vital one—the elimination of minorities, whose presence and militancy had hindered its development, before contributing to its dislocation under the Hitlerian onrush. 642 563 175

[18] In this locality,[1] on July 4, 1946, there was a pogrom, arising out of a trifling cause, in the course of which 45 Jews were massacred. Nine of the presumed authors of this massacre were condemned to death. The clandestine organisations were accused of having fomented anti-Semite passions, whereas, in reality, the latter had remained very much alive in Poland—as witness the testimony of Dr. Shoskes, South America's representative in the Society for Assistance to Jewish Immigrants, and M. Segal, delegate to the World Jewish Congress of New York. Despite the frightful losses they suffered during the occupation, which reduced them to an insignificant minority, the Polish Jews, for the most part, aspire to leave the country. This is one of the indirect aspects of the Palestinian problem. 798

1 [in Kielce - Analyst]

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The problem of the relations between Prague and Bratislava was difficult to settle. It had handicapped the political development of the country from 1919 to 1938, and six years of separate life (from 1938 to 1944) had not failed to add fresh grievances to the old ones. In addition to all this, Slovakia herself suffered from an internal crisis—antagonism between a heterogeneous Catholic majority and a united, combative, Communist minority. The Democratic Party, which comprised the Catholics, presented a front only in the struggle against Marxism, the Soviet stranglehold, and Czech Centralism. In the face of constructive problems it was divided. It suffered, moreover, under the suspicion of having owed its electoral triumph only to the Autonomists and to the former 'collaborators'. Here, as elsewhere, the Communist Party sought to monopolise all the merit of the Resistance.

And Slovak particularism had not disarmed. This was made clear when, in the summer of 1946, the central Government ordered exchanges between Czech and Slovak military units; this order met with violent resistance.

However, that is a problem which the Czechs have had time to study, and in which they have acquired bitter, but profound, experience. It is a psychological rather than a political problem, affected by social and religious reactions, not to mention the campaign against the régime carried on by Slovak exiles in America, under the leadership of M. Stephan Osusky, former Czechoslovak Minister in Paris. It is possible that the fundamental difference between the two peoples may lie in the fact that one was under the heel of the German, the other of the Magyar.

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On June 24[1] was concluded an agreement destined to become the foundation of the new Czechoslovak community, based on a formula which lies half-way between decentralisation and autonomy. This is how it works. Apart from the three reserved departments (Foreign Affairs, National Defence, and Foreign Trade), Slovakia has her own organs of representation and government: a National Council of one hundred members, drawn from the parties, empowered to settle purely Slovak questions; an Executive Council composed of fifteen Commissars appointed by the Czech Government on the nomination of the Slovak National Council. These Commissars are, at one and the same time, real Ministers as far as Slovak affairs are

[1. 1946 - Analyst]

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concerned, and executive agents for Prague for Czechoslovak affairs. This was the solution found for the dualism previously existing in Czechoslovakia.

In virtue of this system the Slovaks have institutions which enable them to settle their own problems, while at the same time participating in the general control of the country. Hence the current joke about the 'Slovakisation of Czechoslovakia'.

Thus did President Benes succeed in adapting the spiritual heritage of Masaryk, and his own tendencies, to an internal and external situation very different from that which, in 1918, had shaped the rebirth of the Czech nation. And yet Benes took pains to safeguard signs of independence, and to maintain bonds of spiritual solidarity with the West, in order to attest his faith in his country's mission as a mediatrix, her role as a stabilising factor between the East and the West of the Continent. But the new Czechoslovakia no longer reflected the image that Masaryk had popularised—that of a European Slavism formed in the school of the Liberal Democracies.

The first elections carried out after the liberation—those of May 26, 1946—gave a slight majority to the Marxists, who had 153 seats out of the 300 of which the National Assembly was composed.[19]

This shift in the majority had little practical effect. The internal policy, based on nationalisation,[20] and the realisation of a very advanced social programme, underwent the fewer modifications, inasmuch as the Communists, anticipating their electoral victory, had already secured possession of the principal control levers.

[19] The results were as follows:—

	Votes	Percentage
Bohemia-Moravia		
Communists	2,205,658	40.17
National-Socialists	1,298,967	23.66
Populars	1,010,920	20.23
Social-Democrats	855,771	15.59
Slovakia		
Democrats (Christian)	988,275	61.43
Communists	490,257	30.48
Liberty Party	67,575	4.20
Labour Party	49,983	3.11

As will be seen, the majority was reversed in Bohemia and in Slovakia.

[20] The nationalisation programme which took effect on March 13, 1946, placed the majority of the key-industries under State control. Commenting on this event, the Minister of Industry declared: 'This day marks a date in the history of the world's industry'.

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186* 175 From the external point of view, Czechoslovakia remained within the orbit of the Soviet power, on which, henceforth, depended her security and her conception of the balance of power in Europe.

But the maintenance of national unity, the agreement of parties, the conciliatory realism which they brought to the control of the State, revealed a spirit of discipline and a maturity such as could not, at that time, have been found in any other Slavonic State. Perhaps we must give equal praise to the clearsightedness with which M. Benes, in his Christmas message for 1946, denounced the weaknesses and the blemishes which still remained to be eliminated from the régime; how many other countries might have profited by his warning!

'In all political parties there lurk elements that are bad, morally tainted; products of the great wars and of the revolutionary periods. Such individuals must disappear from our political life. We must wean our young people from tendencies to indiscipline, to idleness, to immorality in relations between the sexes. We must combat the growing scourge of alcoholism, the black market, and clandestine trade. We must encourage a [163] family policy; whereas, in 1938, the excess of births over deaths was 80,000, in 1945 it is only 7,828'.

642 175 Elected for two years, the new Constituent Assembly met for the first time on June 18.[1] The next day it acclaimed Edward Benes as President of the Republic, in that same Vladislas Hall where he had been elected for the first time, in 1935. The Government, constituted on the following July 2, was presided over by M. Clement Gottwald, Leader of the Czech Communist Party. It included six Czech Communists, three Czech Social Democrats, four Socialists of the Benes Party, four Czech Catholics, five Slovak Democrats.

648 In the next chapter the reader will find an outline of the religious problem, seen from the angle of the Orthodox offensive. Faithful to their pre-war tradition, Czechoslovak official circles renewed with the Vatican relations which they did their utmost to render as trusting as possible, in spite of the agnosticism of the régime and its Hussite sympathies. The first chargé d'affaires to the Holy See, Dr. Schwarzenberg, was appointed in January, 1946. Since the previous autumn, the Vatican had already been represented in Prague; in March, Mgr. Ritter was

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sent as Papal Nuncio. In November, Mgr. Joseph Beran, a 648
Dachau deportee, was appointed Archbishop of Prague. Czechoslovakia was then the only Slav State having accredited diplomatic representation with the Holy See.

In Slovakia the clergy had to suffer from the fact that a 798
priest, Joseph Tiso,[21] who succeeded Father Hlinka as Leader of a Peoples' Party, had controlled the so-called 'Independent' State under the Nazi occupation. In some cases, proceedings against 'collaborators' took on the aspect of an anti-Catholic drive; some Associations, and even some religious communities, were dissolved.

As regards foreign policy during this period, it was dominated 648
by two questions, the claim on Teschen and the 'liquidation' 563
of the Hungarian minorities. The Teschen problem has been 728
dealt with above, in connection with Poland; we will simply 175
remind the reader that the Prague Government was adamant in its claim. 'Czechoslovakia will not give up one scrap of Teschen', declared President Benes on July 18, 1946. The treaty of alliance of March 10 left the matter in suspense until 1949.

The evacuation of the Hungarian populations raised a bitter and prolonged dispute between Prague and Budapest.

An agreement concluded on February 27, 1946 provided for an exchange between Hungarians in Slovakia and Slovaks in Hungary, on a parity basis, to the number of 150,000 persons. The Government of Budapest was to make this agreement widely known amongst the Slovaks placed under its jurisdiction.

But the intention of the Czechs was to expel from their territory the whole of the Hungarian minority, which was far more numerous than the Slovak minority in Hungary.[22] And so they asked that country to take over 200,000 other members of the Magyar minority, and a further 60,000 Hungarian minority subjects, expelled as war criminals or political offenders. The Hungarians in Czechoslovakia who might escape these various transfers would be 're-Slovacised', and would cease to enjoy any minority privileges. Prague emphatically insisted that

[21] His trial opened on December 2, 194(5?) before the High Court of Bratislava.

[22] Out of the 645,000 Magyars who lived in Czechoslovakia in 1939, 110,000 were in Carpathian Ruthenia, ceded to the Russians. There remained 435,000, more than half of whom were considered to be 'inassimilable'. [728]

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the minorities had been the instrument which had upset and dismembered Czechoslovakia, and that their complete elimination was an essential condition for the security of the new State.

Hungary resisted this claim. Apart from general humanitarian considerations, she maintained that it was economically impossible for her to meet the needs of such an increased population. First she asked for a frontier revision, which was categorically refused by Prague. Later on, the two Governments accused each other of sabotaging the February agreements. A joint commission was set up, to accelerate the exchange. Its work was interrupted in September, when the Czechs presented a demand for the expulsion of a further 70,000 persons. In that same month the matter was taken before the Political and Territorial Commission, charged by the Peace Conference with the preparation of the treaty with Hungary; it was connected with a Czech request for frontier rectification (extension of Bratislava on the right bank of the Danube)—a request which was naturally resisted by the Hungarians. The Commission, setting aside forcible solutions, urged the two countries to come to a direct understanding on the problems of the minorities; should such an agreement not be reached within six months, Czechoslovakia would be authorised to lay the matter before the Council of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.[23]

The dispute broke out again in November, when the Hungarians remaining in Czechoslovakia were requisitioned and transferred, for the most part, to the Sudetenland, in virtue of the law for the mobilisation of man-power. A demand from Budapest for an explanation, dated March 23, was left unanswered by Prague, where it was considered that a general measure needed no justification. On November 21 the Hungarian National Assembly registered a solemn protest against these forcible displacements. This protest was echoed abroad, particularly in London, in the House of Lords, and in a section of the English and American press, which felt obliged to remind

[23] The *Magyar Hirlap*, the organ of the Prime Minister, Nagy, published an article on the Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations containing the following remarks: 'Between the two World Wars, the Government of Hungary considered that it ought to be the ally of the power which was the enemy of Czechoslovakia; but later on, it was realised that this power was the common enemy, and had enslaved Hungary as well as Czechoslovakia'.

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the Prague Government that the sufferings inflicted on the Hungarians did not compensate for those the Slovaks had endured; they simply increased the total amount of suffering. 648 563 728 175

Negotiations between the two Governments were resumed in January, 1947, following the visit of the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Gyöngyösy, to Bratislava, where he met the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, M. Clementis, and had with him a preliminary discussion in view of a general settlement of the problem. At that time a total of 11,655 Slovaks (as against the agreed figure of 40,000) had returned to Slovakia from Hungary; of these 3,535 had not been officially transferred, but had simply fled.

Exchanges of population were resumed from April 11 to 18, but on a very small scale, while settlement was taking place, in Bratislava, of the financial problems raised by these operations.

In the whole matter, Czechoslovakia had had Russia behind her. 'We have the support of the Soviet Union in the question of the minorities', said M. Gottwald. But we should fall short of the truth were we to omit to mention that Czechoslovakia's conduct was rather severely judged in the Anglo-American countries, where people were not very familiar with minority disputes, and attached too much importance to respect for the individual, to approve of these mass exoduses—at least in Europe. [829]

The case of the German minority had been the object of Czechoslovak declarations, even before the end of the war, and on this point the Potsdam agreements had merely had to sanction the decision taken by M. Benes and his Ministers to create a homogeneous national State. Consequently, the expulsion of the Germans from the Sudetenland did not give rise to any disputes —eliciting, at the most, humanitarian recommendations on the part of the Western Allies. The 'ceiling' for the expulsions had been fixed at 2,500,000 by the Potsdam agreements; in October, 1946, 750,000 had been sent into the Russian zone, 1,415,135 into the American zone, and 310,000 were authorised to remain on Czech territory; these were skilled workmen, miners, anti-Fascists, relatives of Czechs, old or sick people.[24] There is no

[24] It should be noted that Czechoslovakia adopted a special treatment for Germans of Austrian nationality residing or temporarily domiciled in her territory. She did not class them with the Sudeten Germans as necessarily to be expulsed, unless they had been members of the Nazi Party.

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648 563 728 176 doubt that, although their departure corresponded to a legitimate policy of internal peace and security, yet it created in Czech economic life a void that was difficult to fill.

448 457 175 The Americans' remarks on the subject of the deportations were not the only cause (and, in any case, they were passing ones) of the frigid relations between themselves and the Prague Government. The latter had negotiated and obtained a loan of fifty million dollars from the Export-Import Bank—a loan which was to help to finance the 'two-year plan' for Czechoslovakia's economic reconstruction. On October 16 the State Department notified that they had blocked this credit for an indefinite period, because the borrowing country had not provided any compensation for American nationals dispossessed by nationalisation. Another argument advanced was the cutting and, at the very least, injudicious tone adopted by certain Czech newspapers which, at the very moment when their Government was seeking financial aid, accused the United States of using credits as an instrument of economic imperialism. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs blamed the Russians for the latter accusation and expressed regret at Washington's decision.

On the other hand, in November, 1946, England granted a loan of two and a half million sterling, spread over four years, to enable Czechoslovakia to buy surplus British materials. So that Prague's fears of a synchronised Anglo-American policy in the matter of loans were allayed.

[186] Like those of Poland, Czechoslovakia's aims in the discussion on the German treaty were chiefly directed towards disarmament and denazification of the Reich. For the Czechs, the problem of their security was partly settled by the presence of Soviet Russia in the Danube Basin. The dream of one of their thinkers had come true: 'The lime, our Slavonic emblem,[25] is supported by the powerful Russian oak'. And, celebrating the anniversary of the pact of December 12, 1943, between Stalin and Benes, the *Nurodni Ozvobozeni* declared: 'Treaties are usually entered into for a fixed period. Afterwards, they are extended, or they lapse. This one must stand for eternity'.

[25] The lime was the emblem of the Slavs. At the time of the riots which took place in Ljubljana at the beginning of this century between German and Slovene students, the former sported a cornflower and the latter a lime-leaf.

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Relations between the two countries, intimate in the political domain, developed mainly in the direction of a closer economic collaboration. To this end, commercial agreements were signed at Moscow in April, and especially in July, 1946, between Gottwald, the Prime Minister, and Marshal Stalin. It was during this interview that the Czech statesmen communicated the text of their proposals for the Peace Conference.

These proposals included demands for frontier rectifications, already formulated on May 31, 1945, and reproduced in a memorandum of January 20, 1947, especially as regards the German districts of Glatz and Ratibor, occupied by the Poles. It was an attempt to do away with the two 'notches' formed in the frontier by the upper valley of the Oder (Moravian Gate) and that of the Neisse (Nahod Gap) which had been used in 1866 by von Moltke's army. Thus the roads of approach from Prussian Silesia towards Moravia would be closed. As seen above, these claims had aroused unfavourable reaction in Warsaw.

A few words on the relations between Prague and Paris. As early as October 7, the Czech Government had been in touch with General de Gaulle, who declared the Munich agreements void . . . on the following September 29. On August 22, 1944, the French and the Czech Governments agreed that, when the time was ripe, they would adapt their former pact of alliance to the needs of the existing situation. A 'joint declaration', communicated to the press on February 14, 1947, announced the early conclusion of the new pact.

The peace treaties signed in Paris on February 10, 1947, established a fresh balance of forces on the Continent.

If, treating the territorial alterations occurring between 1938 and 1944 as accidents, we superimpose the 1947 map on that of 1938 (which resulted from the treaties that settled the First World War), we find that this new balance results much less from territorial changes than from a reconstitution of influence.

The territorial changes are indeed unimportant, in comparison with the transformations which the treaties of 1919–1920 made in the map, when the dislocation of Austria-Hungary resuscitated two historic States in the heart of Europe. It is not impossible that, in times to come, the short period between the

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two wars may be regarded as the golden age of the nationalities —the brief realisation of an age-long dream.

If we take the Continent as a whole, although one independent State (Montenegro) then disappeared, eight new nationalities acquired their sovereignty—Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary. And Yugoslavia formed a unitary monarchy around Serbia.

In 1947 the Baltics disappeared from the map as independent States. No fresh creation arose from the treaties, which were limited, as far as Austria and Hungary were concerned, to restoring the *status quo*.

So we might perceive, cast over the new state of affairs, the shadow of Munich and of the decisions taken at the time when the Axis was all-powerful; the amputation of Poland was provided for by the Moscow Treaty of August 21, 1939, that of Rumania stipulated in the ultimatum of June 26, 1940, and in the Treaty of Craïova of September 7, 1940; Poland had been established in the Teschen Basin since October, 1938.

The only countries to come out of these treaties with enlarged territory were Yugoslavia, who advanced in Istria and in Julian Venetia, and Bulgaria, who, getting out of an unlucky adventure very well for once, annexed Southern Dobrudja.

The other nationalities of Central and Eastern Europe were seriously amputated. Rumania lost, with the Dobrudja, Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, and the Moldavian district of Herzea—at least one-fifth of her territory. She could, it is true, console herself with the thought that Poland—for whom the Allies went to war—lost just as much (her area was reduced from 242,875 sq. miles to 195,000 sq. miles) and that Czechoslovakia, the victim of Munich, found herself, by the loss of Carpatho-Ruthenia, reduced by one-tenth of her pre-war surface.

So that, out of five Slavonic States, three (counting Russia) were enlarged, two others amputated.

In flagrant violation of Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter, no referendum preceded these transfers of sovereignty. In cases where the new state of affairs created or maintained, ethnical pockets, this was remedied by transfers of population. So, hundreds of thousands of persons were 'displaced', in order to achieve a racial unity within the framework of the new frontiers.

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Human exoduses afforded the solution of the minority problems, which the 1919–1920 treaties had endeavoured to settle by the establishment of *ad hoc* international law. In short, it was a return to the policy of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. In this conception of European statics lay the sole innovation brought about by the latest peace treaties. Is it progress or the reverse? Whatever we may think, from the humane point of view, of this over-simplified settlement of a complex problem, we are obliged to admit that, as time goes on, it will consolidate the physical bases of the new order and ensure its duration. 648 728 175 [563]

Let us hasten to add, however, that scarcely were the treaties signed, when a campaign for their revision was launched. For perhaps the first time in history, this campaign included victors and vanquished, victims and beneficiaries of the new state of affairs. The Yugoslavs maintained their claim to Julian Venetia, Carinthia, and, more discreetly (at least before the international forum), to Aegean or Greek Macedonia. The Bulgarians returned to the attack, with a view to obtaining a territorial outlet on the Aegean—a claim they had relentlessly pressed between the two wars. Hungary, who again saw Eastern Transylvania eluding her grasp, maintained her traditional attitude on revision. It was difficult for Rumania to forget that, after Germany, she was the chief victim of the war. If Polish official circles, for reasons easily understood, did not raise their voices, it was not because that country willingly accepted the loss of her Eastern Marches, whose inhabitants had been 'invited' to settle on the evacuated borders of Prussia and Silesia. 648 175

The 1947 treaties settled the two problems on which formerly depended the peace of Europe—the relative strengths of the Germany-Poland-Russia trinomial, and Balkan equilibrium.

Both these problems were settled, without right of appeal, by Russia, the victorious liberator. The axiom formulated by M. Gyöngösy, a Hungarian Minister, applies here: 'In crucial periods of her history, a small nation has no liberty of choice'.

The first of these problems was solved in such a way as to ensure security for Poland, at the price of her diplomatic liberty. It used to be maintained in Warsaw that the Poles could be fully masters of their fate only on condition that Germany and Russia should be neither allies nor enemies—a formula which was as

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648 175 illogical as it was precarious. Looked at from the historical point of view, Poland's present situation contradicts all the data of her national evolution—which is not to say that it does not offer prospects of stabilisation and duration.

As for the Balkan world, its equilibrium was, for nearly a century, regarded as an essential condition for continental peace. Yet in actual fact, this equilibrium depended far less on inter-Balkan relations than on the balance of strength among the Great Powers in Eastern Europe.

It was first a factor in Russo-Turkish rivalry, then in the antagonism between Vienna and St. Petersburg. The Balkan States only enjoyed real independence after the First World War, when the triumph of the principle of the nationalities ensured for them all the conditions for autonomous development.

With the 1947 treaties, these States entered upon a fresh phase of their history.

186* From the specifically Balkan point of view, this phase is characterised by the abandoning of the ideal of solidarity in which the nations of the peninsula formerly saw the pledge of their liberty, and which used to be expressed in a famous slogan—'The Balkans for the Balkan nations'.

Doubtless this solidarity was never complete. In 1934, Rumanians, Yugoslavs, Greeks, and Turks had concluded an alliance which neither Bulgaria nor Albania had joined. But, in this district, where the diversity of races encourages so many prejudices and atavistic hatreds, it was nevertheless a remarkable progress to find four nations, belonging to four different ethnical stocks, achieving a political and economic *entente*.

Nothing comparable exists today. If Bulgaria and Yugoslavia side with each other, this is obviously the result of similar submission to Russian domination, and we have seen above that their agreement on the Macedonian question was less genuine than was believed. The same may be said of their solidarity with Albania, the main object of which is to make things difficult for Greece.

648 175 Rumania stands aloof from this temporary community of interests. As for Greece and Turkey, they have not relaxed the ties which have bound them since their treaty of friendship of 1932. And their *entente* is the last bulwark of Anglo-American

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influence in Eastern Europe. President Truman's resounding message to Congress on March 12, 1947, marked, in this respect, a decisive attitude in connection with American politics in Europe. This message announced material and moral assistance to the two Balkan countries which eluded Moscow's ascendancy.

This simple outline of the new situation in the Balkans shows that the peninsula has, in fact, again fallen under the régime of spheres of influence which was its customary status between the Peace of Berlin and the Treaty of Versailles.

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Between the Balkan nations and the Slavs of the West, Hungary and Austria gravitate in the political orbit of Russia (Hungary's neighbour for the first time in modern history), but nevertheless see the West as the supreme defence of their historic and cultural individuality, not to mention the opposition movements discernible among the Croats, in whose ears still ring the words of Sufflay, one of their political philosophers—*Occidentem appello!*

But it is not from this territorial reshuffling that there emerges the real physiognomy of the Europe of tomorrow.

This results essentially from the division of the Continent into three sectors—the Western world, the Teutonic world, the Slavonic world; the second being doomed to oscillate between the first and the third until it feels it has attained the conditions of its own development.

Assuredly, all the official manifestations of the Slavonic world avoid the words 'race' and 'bloc'. But facts speak more eloquently than men. On the diplomatic plane Slav solidarity is a reality of international life, though on the psychological plane its outline is less clearly defined. In Yugoslavia, the official press regards the new state of affairs as a complete emancipation, and the very role of France in the Balkans, so long considered as liberating and humane, is often referred to simply under the aspect of a defunct 'colonising' enterprise. Yet in Czechoslovakia they take pains to maintain, with the West, those spiritual connections calculated to preserve for the country its role of intermediary between two civilisations. Poland remains bound to the West by powerful historical and sentimental affinities, strengthened by the desire to safeguard her ancient faith. Bulgaria, more subtle in her politics than Yugoslavia, likewise takes great care not to give the impression of a definite rupture with the West.

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Being unable too openly to call itself 'racial' (owing to the discredit that Germany has brought upon this term), Slav solidarity entrenches itself on another plane—that of social progress. The nations grouped under the Soviet ægis see Western Europe as the bulwark of reaction, the survival of an outmoded capitalistic world. The Slav nations of today oppose the spiritual and political primacy which, until the last few years, was the almost undisputed privilege of the West, the social primacy of Russia, the proletarian hegemony, the system of governments set up on the strength of a 98 per cent plebiscite, the sychronisation of politics, culture, and economy, and a Pan-State *mystique*. To re-read the accounts of journeys in the Balkans a century ago is to measure the distance travelled in the opinion held by the Balkan peoples concerning the stage of civilisation which they have reached.

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There lies the real cleavage in the New Europe—a cleavage comparable to that which, during the early Middle Ages, opposed the pagan to the Christian world. The rest is accident, episode, or, as the philosophers say, phenomena.

But this dividing line could be more distinctly marked on the map if, between these two new worlds, Germany did not constitute the terrible unknown quantity which might very well, one day, reunite them, by herself deriving advantage and power from their rivalry.

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Chapter Seven

ORTHODOXY AND PANSLAVISM

IN the renewal of the spirit of Slavonic solidarity an important place must be attributed to the action of Orthodoxy. 795 797 185

The Muscovite Patriarchate, almost as soon as it was reconstituted on new juridical bases and assured of the Kremlin's support, set out to reconquer the communities who had relaxed their ties as a result of the Bolshevist Revolution, thereby renewing a Russian tradition which dates from Ivan III. The spiritual object of this pacific crusade was to restore union and harmony to the Orthodox or 'Pravoslav' world. But its political objective, though not openly avowed, was none the less obvious; the Moscow Government sought to extend its influence by having recourse to the 'armour of light' of which the Apostle speaks. 659

This campaign met with no canonical obstacle, since, among the Pravoslavs, there is no primacy of jurisdiction. But it *did* meet with resistance from the autocephalous 'national' tendencies of the various Orthodox Churches—tendencies which had been affirmed in the States created or enlarged by the First World War and in which the hierarchy had seized the opportunity of breaking away from the spiritual control of the Phanar (Constantinople Patriarchate).

But the weight of Soviet power enabled the Russian clergy easily to overcome the prejudices felt by the national Churches against any moral control exercised outside their State frontiers. For this purpose the clergy borrowed their arguments from the Muscovite temporal power, that is to say, they posed as champions of proletarian emancipation, and exploited the Orthodox Slavs' old prejudices against the Catholic Church. Whilst the Patriarch Alexis visited the Christian communities of the Middle East to restore the 'primacy of honour' of the Russian Church in the Orthodox Pentarchy (Moscow, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem), the Metropolitan Alexis of Juroslav went to the United States to try to rally the section of Orthodox emigrants who resisted the authority of the Patriarch of Moscow.

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795 177 648 659 But it goes without saying that it was upon the Churches of the Balkan States that Muscovite influence was exercised most directly and decisively. In Yugoslavia the hierarchy created at Sremski Karlovtsi by Russian exiles, and which Mgr. Antoine, ex-Archbishop of Kiev, had organised immediately after the First World War, was dissolved and had to go into exile. A Russian delegation, presided over by the Metropolitan Serge of Odessa, went to present a mitre to Joseph, Metropolitan of Serbia, in February, 1946. The real object of this mission, which spent a month in Belgrade, was to define the future relations between the Yugoslav Church and the Muscovite Church.

186* 795 659 Then arose the case—a rather complicated one, it must be confessed—of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch, Mgr. Gavrilo. The latter had been accused by the Germans of having hidden part of the Crown treasure; he was interned, then taken to Dachau. When the Allies occupied Bavaria, he preferred retirement to Italy to a return to his country, where he was being begged to resume his duties. He adopted an attitude of opposition towards the régime established by Marshal Tito, as shown [798] by his pastoral letter of Easter, 1946. The Serbian Orthodox Church had been rather badly treated by this régime, for she had been deprived of the education of the young, religious marriage had been declared invalid in law, and she had lost most of her property. It is said that it was under the influence of the Russian clergy that her Metropolitans invited the Patriarch to return. He did, in fact, return on November 14, 1946, and had an interview with Tito, during which 'all misunderstandings were cleared up'. And, as proof of this, at the Slav Congress in Belgrade on December 11, he made a speech in which, after having recalled the sacrifices made for the 'safeguarding of truth, the application of justice, and the defence of liberty', he manifested his joy at finding that the Slavonic peoples 'sorely tried by the bitter experience of their recent and remote past, were expending all their energy in their spiritual unity'. 'Slav solidarity', he concluded, 'is manifested, today more than ever, with the help of our mother, Russia, and of Generalissimo Stalin; it is the surest guarantee of the development of the Slavonic peoples'.

186 795 648 659 In Bulgaria the clergy, after seventy-five years of schism, returned to nominal obedience to the Patriarchate of Con-

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stantinople, in agreement with the Muscovite hierarchy. The thousandth anniversary of the death of the anchorite, Saint John of Rila, restorer of Bulgarian monastic life, was the occasion, in May, 1946, of impressive solemnities which were attended by the Patriarch Alexis. It was the second time in ten centuries that the head of the Russian Church had visited the monastery. He officiated in person. The head of the Communist Party, George Dmitrov, took the opportunity of reminding the Bulgarian clergy that they should no longer look back towards the fallen régime :— 186* 795 648 659

'Today we can ask that our Church shall remain faithful to her millenial traditions and become, in fact, a Republican Church, by ceasing to render homage to the dynasty and the monarchs who have betrayed the Bulgarian nation. Let our Fathers in the Holy Synod and all honest servants of the Church understand that today we are living in new times, that they must on no account thwart the aspirations of the people, and that they may take example from the chiefs of the Russian Orthodox Church'.

We can fully understand this warning only if we visualise the state of latent tension existing in the relations between the Church and the Bulgarian State since the liberation. It had shown itself, since the month of January, 1946, in a protest from the Exarch, Mgr. Stephan, against the prohibition of religious instruction in the schools. Since the new Constitution provided for the separation of the Churches and the State, the Bulgarian Holy Synod announced in December, 1946, that, while remaining hostile to this separation, it would nevertheless accept it if the Charter surrounded the exercise of the Church's spiritual mission with juridical guarantees. Moreover, it demanded that lay instruction should be neither anti-religious nor anti-Christian, but strictly neutral. 659 [871]

At the same time, in order to create conditions facilitating adaptation to the new state of affairs, it announced a programme of reforms destined to 'democratise' the internal régime of the Church and to bring its principles more in line with those of popular power. [85]

So that, in Bulgaria, the separation did not appear as persecution; it was manifested rather by a strengthening of the autocephalous character of the Church, too closely bound up 186* 659

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186* with Bulgarian national life to be neglected by the new régime,
659 which will continue to subsidise it, and counts upon its co-operation in rallying the masses; in which, moreover, it is assured of the goodwill of Mgr. Stephan and his clergy. On August 28, at the Bachkovo pilgrimage, Mgr. Cyrille, Metropolitan of Plovdiv, made a speech urging the faithful to vote, at the referendum, for the Republic and against 'the abhorred monarchy, whose role', he said, 'has been as fatal in the history of the country as in that of the Church'.

* * *

185 Whereas, in the Balkan countries, the religious problem lay in getting the clergy to forget that they had, for some centuries, been the support of the monarchical institution, it had a quite different aspect among the Western Slavs, where the problem was, first and foremost, the liquidation of Uniatism.

175 As the reader will know, the 'Act of Union' (hence the word
795 'Uniat') was concluded three and a half centuries ago, in 1596,
648 at Brest-Litowsk, where the Metropolitan of Kiev acclaimed the renewal with Rome of the Union of Florence. As a result, since that date there had been flourishing communities 'of the Oriental rite', which recognised Papal supremacy while keeping their national liturgy and their discipline—which, among other regulations, permits (as the Orthodox Church does) the clergy to marry. These communities today number in all about two million followers, especially in territories formerly incorporated in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

[829] Uniatism had always been regarded by the Russians as a 'turning movement' on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, supported first by Poland, then by Austria-Hungary, to detach the Orthodox from their traditional faith. Urban VII's apostrophe: 'Ruthenians, the East will be conquered by you!' has obsessed the Muscovite Church, which has never ceased to endeavour to recapture its positions.

After the fall of the Tsarist régime this Church's efforts were paralysed by the crisis she was herself experiencing, and by the official atheism professed by the Soviet State. The Holy See sought to take advantage of this crisis to restore the 'seamless robe of Christ'. It gave repeated proofs of solicitude, placing the Uniats on a footing of complete equality with their brethren of the Latin rite. It cherished the hope, thanks to these Uniats,

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of one day seeing Slavonic Christianity return to Catholic unity, and the immense flock of all the Russians come back to the Roman fold. As is well known, the critical point in dogma is the divergence between the two Churches regarding the procession of the Holy Ghost. It is the famous 'Filioque' quarrel. Now, in the Liturgy published by the Holy See in June, 1943, for the use of the Russians and Ruthenians, the *Credo* is given according to the version of the early centuries, without reference to the 'Filioque'—in other words, ignoring the chief dispute which separated the Orthodox from the 'Romans'.

In spite of these concessions, Orthodoxy has never given up. In Carpatho-Ruthenia the number of its followers doubled from 1921 to 1930. Moscow had nothing to do with this; at that time it was the Serbian Patriarchate which presided over the destinies of the Russo-Carpathian Orthodox Church.[1]

And, after the incorporation of the Eastern Marches of Poland and of Carpatho-Ruthenia in the Soviet Union, a counter-offensive for the return of the Uniats to Orthodoxy was organised, using the customary resources of Russian political power. On June 18, 1945, a Committee of Initiative was formed, with a view to winning over these Catholics to Pravoslav unity. A 'Council' of the Uniat Church of the Western Ukraine was held in Lwow on March 8, 1946; it proclaimed the dissolution of ties which, for 350 years, had bound that Church to the Vatican,[2] and its submission to the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the name of the delegates of the three Uniat Eparchies which were represented at the Council, a message was sent to Stalin announcing this decision, and the breaking of the spiritual bond between the Eastern Catholics and Rome.

The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate[3] commented on this event as follows: 'So, gradually, day by day, in union and in united prayer, will the breach opened by Rome within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy be closed; the time is not far distant

[1] In 1921 the figures for Ruthenia were: Catholics 55,000; Uniats 332,500, and Orthodox 60,997.

[2] The anniversary of the connection was commemorated by the encyclical letter *Orientales omnes ecclesias*, published on January 19, 1946, in which the Pope accused the Russians of treating the Catholic Ruthenians as enemies of the State and encouraged the latter to persevere in their traditional faith.

[3] February 6, 1947.

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when the word 'Uniat' will survive only as a historical idea'.

The Vatican published a note contesting the validity of this Council, recalling that part of the Catholic clergy of the Ukraine had been cast into prison; it saw, in the Lwow decision, the result of political pressure exercised by apostate priests.[4]

Nevertheless, the movement spread. The Patriarch Alexis, addressing the Uniats of Ukraine—formerly Poles or Czechs—put its development in the domain of political realities: 'You have always been united to Russia and her people by ties of language and of customs. Now that Divine Providence has restored to Russia her ancient frontiers, you are with us for ever'.

In any case the role of Uniatism as the vanguard of Catholicism in the Slavonic world seems to be, if not completed, at least paralysed for many a year, despite the resistance of part of the clergy and the support the dissentients can expect from the Catholic Ukrainians of Canada and the United States. The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate[5] defined the lines on which the 'unification' is being carried on, by opposing the 'œcumenical spirit' to the 'imperialist spirit'. 'Universality is of God; Imperialism is of Cæsar. A new Orthodox era has been inaugurated by the rebirth of Western Orthodoxy at the great Council of Moscow; by the renewal of communion between the Russian Orthodox Church and her Eastern sisters; by the end of schisms and discords among the Orthodox (especially the reconciliation of the Bulgarian Church with Moscow, and the restoration of her rights to the autocephalous Georgian Church, brought into subjection to the Moscow Synod by the will of the autocratic Tsarist régime); by the journey of the Patriarch Alexis who, for the first time, went to pray at the Holy Sepulchre in 1945; and by the visit which the Metropolitan Nicolaï made to the Orthodox Christians of Western Europe'.

Indeed, Orthodoxy is driving its offensive towards the West,

[4] Radio-Moscow protested, in its turn, against this assertion, affirming that the Council represented 78% of the whole of the Uniat clergy. As for the bishops incarcerated before the meeting of the Council, these were, they said, traitors or accomplices of the German occupation. Cf., for the Catholic point of view on Moscow's policy regarding the Uniats, Charles Pichon: *Le Vatican*, in the series *Le Monde et l'Histoire* (Editions S.E.F.I.), pp. 396 *et seq.* According to Pichon only 5% of the Uniat priests had obeyed the Soviet injunctions.

[5] Of February 2, 1947.

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beyond the territories placed within its traditional sphere of influence, and especially in Czechoslovakia.

It is true that the saints given to the Church by the Czech nation in the tenth century appear both in the Orthodox and in the Roman calendars, but Orthodoxy disappeared as an official religion in the twelfth century. However, its influence did not completely disappear; it still had a latent existence in the time of John Huss and his disciples, who established relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1451—which relations were interrupted by the capture of the city by the Turks two years later.

With Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance in 1781, Orthodoxy, previously eliminated by the religious reaction known as the Counter-Reformation, re-established itself in Bohemia. We have related above (p. 24) the enthusiasm with which the people of Prague heard a Serbian prelate conduct an Orthodox service and pray for the soul of John Huss on the Wenceslas Square, on the occasion of the 1848 Slav Congress. In 1874 the use of the Catholic Church of Saint Nicholas was granted to the Orthodox cult, which thereafter worshipped in it concurrently with the National Church. After the Vatican Council, and in spite of the hostility of the Austrian authorities, conversions which created a great stir took place. But it was only after the First World War that the Orthodox Church was organised in Bohemia. Not being able, at that time, to attach itself to Moscow, it placed itself under obedience to the Serbian Patriarchate of Karlovtsi, which, in September, 1921, consecrated the first bishop. This Czech Orthodox Church was itself torn by the current of dissidence created by the 'Czechoslovak National Church', which claimed to be based on the ideas of John Huss, but was in reality far from being so. In 1929 the Patriarchate of Belgrade approved the constitution of an Orthodox Eparchy (Bohemia-Moravia-Silesia) in which divine worship was offered in liturgical Slavon and in Czech.

When the two Resistance heroes who were parachuted to deliver Bohemia from her torturer, the 'Protector', Reinhard Heydrich, had executed the latter,[6] they hid in the crypt of the

[6] The execution took place on May 27, 1942, on the outskirts of Prague, in a street which bore the symbolical name of Strossmayer. The practical details of the murder curiously resembled those connected with the

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175 779 795 Church of St. Charles Borromeo, assigned to the Orthodox cult. They were discovered, and, after a regular siege, killed themselves rather than fall into the enemy's hands. The Orthodox Bishop Gorazd and his assistants, who had hidden them, were executed. And their church, which had just given marytrs to the national cause, was dissolved, and the cathedral turned into a shop.

After the liberation this church was restored to its rights and transferred (in April, 1946) from the jurisdiction of the Serbian Patriarchate to that of the Moscow Patriarchate, which raised Prague to the rank of an Archbishopric. On the following May 19 there arrived in the capital Mgr. Jelevferij, Exarch of the Patriarch of Moscow and Archbishop of Prague, who was received by the members of the Government and the Russian Orthodox Archbishop, Mgr. Sergej. The first service celebrated by the prelate was offered in memory of Bishop Gorazd.

[659] In the following June Karpov, President of the Soviet's Council of State for Orthodox Affairs, gave a talk on 'Religion in Russia' to officers of the Czechoslovak Army, to emphasise the liberty of divine worship permitted under the Soviet régime, and the clergy's loyalty to the State.[7]

* * *

186* 779 659 As in the time of the Tsars, Catholicism has again become the 'sore point' of the Slavonic community. Soviet Russia, which had so ostentatiously dissociated itself from the religious tradition of the Slavophiles, has rediscovered the latter on its line of expansion. The Kremlin has, by the force of circumstances, been obliged to play the Orthodox card in the regions placed within its sphere of influence. But action is followed by reaction. If Uniatism is retreating before Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism represents, in Poland, in Slovakia, in Croatia, in Slovenia, a basis of resistance to Russian penetration in its twofold aspect of Marxism and schism. With the result that one would need the gift of prophecy to be able to say, today,

assassination of Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914. Bishop Gorazd, Cikli, a parish priest, and Petzek, a curate, who sheltered the two heroes, were discovered on June 18.

[7] The reconstituted Hussite Church aspired to the role of an official Church; it held a Congress at the beginning of January 1946, and its Primate, M. Kovar, presented the new bishops to M. Benes on the 23rd of that month. The President advised him to co-operate with the other Churches of the West and the East, taking care, however, not to mix politics and religion. The Church numbers 850,000 members.

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whether the gains which Orthodoxy confers on Soviet influence will or will not be offset by the opposition it revives or awakens. 186* 779 659

The mind is struck by an anomaly—the cheerful alacrity with which the Orthodox hierarchy condemned régimes whose merits it had so often praised, and under which it had lived for so long. It is quite remarkable that, despite their national character, the Balkan Churches did not change their spiritual leaders at a time when the State was undergoing a political, social, and moral revolution. It would be possible to compile an 'Anthology of Repudiation' by publishing the speeches of the Patriarchs who have remained in office. To condemn the régime under which they were appointed, they have found as many arguments as they formerly invoked to justify it. It is true that the Orthodox Church is essentially more 'democratic' than the Roman Church. But this inconsequentiality on the part of its leaders has not increased its authority, any more than that of the Catholic hierarchy has been strengthened by the time-serving attitude of certain prelates towards the Hitlerian order.

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Chapter Eight

SLAV SOLIDARITY BREAKS UP

186* WE have already spoken of the resurrection of the Slavonic idea during the Second World War—the only European conflict in history which found all the Slavs on the same side of the fence. We reviewed the congresses of 1942–1945 which restated the old themes of Slav solidarity, based on the liberating role of Soviet Russia. Never had such unanimity been shown within the Slav community. For the first time 'Panslavism' could be spoken of as a reality in international life.

*186 728 175 This 'Panslavism', uniting the oppressed, occupied peoples against Hitler's Reich, was not to last long. It made itself felt again in 1946 and 1947, but in a purely oratorical form, and exclusively in justification of Russian ascendancy over the countries of Eastern Europe. In reality, it was again the Slavs who benefited least from the victory. While it is true that Bulgaria came out of the war with enlarged territory, this was due to an agreement concluded under the auspices of the Axis Powers. Czechoslovakia and Poland suffered the loss of a large part of their eastern territories. Yugoslavia recovered part of Istria, but her claims to Trieste and Southern Carinthia met with opposition from the Western powers, and were backed by the Russians only within the limits of their own interests. The state of affairs created by the Soviet Union within the area subject to its influence failed to reflect any Slavonic trend, or any preferential treatment for the 'sister nations'.

177 .18 *186 648 175 The Kremlin is aware that the Slavonic world is an object of aversion to the Rumanians and the Hungarians. It can retain these in its orbit (into which it will try to attract Greece) only by lulling to sleep the old Slavophile ideology, or by relegating it to the rank of 'romantic values'. It is to the collaboration of Slavs and non-Slavs on the basis of Lenin-Stalinist Marxism that the Kremlin looks, for the creation of an eastern community modelled on its own institutions and obedient to its watchwords. From 1946 onwards its whole policy, in this part of Europe, aimed at directing the guidance of the satellite States more and more into the hands of the Communists. This policy was to be

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pursued on parallel lines, in Slav and non-Slav countries alike. 177 .18

On the instigation of Moscow, these countries entered into 186+ treaties of friendship and mutual assistance. These were so 648 worded as to give the impression, at first, of being designed to 175 wipe out long-standing heritages of hatred or distrust between peoples hitherto antagonistic to one another. Passed for a period of twenty years, and all on the same lines, these treaties were signed on the following dates:—

November 27, 1947: between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.
December 8: between Hungary and Yugoslavia.
December 16: between Bulgaria and Albania.
December 19: between Yugoslavia and Rumania.
January 16, 1948: between Bulgaria and Rumania.
January 24: between Hungary and Rumania.
February 4: between the Soviet Union and Rumania.
March 18: between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.
April 23: between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

The commentaries which accompanied the signing of these [829] agreements spoke, with ever-growing emphasis, of the 'peril' to the peace of Europe involved in the attitude of the Western powers. Centred at first on the German menace, they subsequently referred to fresh risks, clearly indicated. Thus the Soviet radio declared that the pact between Bulgaria and Moscow acquired significance from the fact that 'certain Western powers have, under the patronage of the United States, taken the creation of military blocs as the basis of their policy'.

Even the idea of a 'Balkan Federation', which in 1944 had found partisans in Moscow, was gradually pushed into the background, for fear that the essential core of this federation, the Bulgarian-Yugoslav bloc, might create a Slav community, which should one day grow strong enough to adopt an attitude of independence in regard to the Soviet Union. So, although it was originally inspired by Russia, this project for a union was later to be denounced by the Kremlin as a ruse of 'Western imperialism', and Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Premier, was to be disavowed by Moscow, in January, 1948, for having made an untimely allusion to it.

* * *

The standardisation of Soviet policy in Europe was to take 177 648 its definite shape in the conference held in Warsaw in September, 665 175

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177 1947, by the delegates of the Communist Parties of nine
648 European nations. It was then decided to set up a 'Joint
665 Information Bureau' (*Kominform*), whose function would be
175 to ensure organic liaison between these different parties, with a view to co-ordinating their activities and pooling their experience. A communiqué was broadcast on October 9 by the delegate of the Russian Communist Party, Idanov, a member of the Soviet Politburo. He contrasted the 'war-mongering' of the Western States with the 'pacifism' of the 'popular democracies' placed
[185] under the influence of the Soviet Union. He affirmed the mission of the Communist Parties to combat 'attempts at enslavement', the most dangerous form of which was, in Moscow's view, the Marshall Plan.

The seat of the new organisation, which was to publish a bi-mensual organ, was fixed in Belgrade. Its activities, in conformity with policy dictated by the Kremlin, aggravated the crisis in relations between East and West, and opened the period of tension to which the name of 'cold war' has been applied.

The Kominform is not a resurrection of the Komintern, dissolved in 1943. It is based, indeed, on the idea that the 'national' Communist Parties have reached a state of maturity and power which enables them to be henceforth regarded as autonomous on the plane of the common struggle against capitalist régimes.

The signatories to the Kominform's declaration were: Idanov and Malenkov (U.S.S.R.), Kardelj and Djilas (Yugoslavia), Tchervenkov and Poptomov (Bulgaria), Gheorghiu Dej and Anna Pauker (Rumania), Farkas and Revai (Hungary), Gomulka (Poland), Duclos and Fajon (France), Slanski and Bastovanski (Czechoslovakia), Longo and Reale (Italy).

The Kominform, controlled from Moscow, was rapidly to exert its activities in a domain which its promoters had not foreseen.

186* Indeed, Slav solidarity, already overtaken and superseded
665 by the watchword of Marxist unity, was to suffer a still more
648 serious set-back from the rupture between Tito and Moscow.
175 It was in Belgrade that the Kominform had set up its seat; from Belgrade came the blow which was to shake its authority, and the dogma of Muscovite infallibility, in the whole of Eastern Europe.

1 [Delegate of Russian Communist Party, Idanov -- Analyst]

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In a motion published on June 28, 1948, the Kominform, which met in Bucharest from June 16–24, approved the sensational resolution of the U.S.S.R. Communist Party, denouncing the policy of the Yugoslav Communists and the errors of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovitch, 'who have embarked on a road leading to treachery towards the international solidarity of the working classes'. 186* 665 648 175

Thereupon began the struggle between Moscow and Belgrade, which was to grow more acute as the months went by. And the organisation of the offensive against Tito and the progress of 'Titoism'—in other words, 'national Marxism'—in the popular democracies, headed the agenda of all the meetings of the Kominform, especially the one held in Hungary in November, 1949, when a resolution passed at the conference invited even the Yugoslav Communist Party to get rid of the 'spies' and the 'assassins' who were governing the country.

One of the consequences of the Soviet-Yugoslav rupture has been the revival of the old Bulgaro-Serbian quarrel over Macedonia: the Balkans are again being plunged into hatred and irredentism, as we saw them at the end of the nineteenth century, during the Balkan Wars, and in the First World War.

Such were the events which, between 1946 and 1948, transformed the general physiognomy of the Slavonic world. A rapid review of the internal policies of the different countries concerned will show how they evolved.

* * *

Until 1947 the Belgrade Government's policy remained based on complete solidarity with the Soviet Union. The agreements reached on June 10, 1946, during the Stalin-Tito interview, formed the basis for the commercial agreements of July 25, 1947. 648 175

The starting-point of the rupture between Stalin and Tito is to be found in an exchange of letters (in March, 1948), between the (Russian) Bolchevik Party and the Yugoslav Communist Party, regarding the conduct of Soviet officers in Yugoslavia. [665]

But that was only a pretext. In reality, the Soviets could not forgive Tito for being the only head of an Eastern European Government to pride himself on having been an armed leader 186* 648 829 175

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186* 648 829 175 in the fight for liberation, at a time when Russia could not intervene. His dictatorial attitude, his personal prestige, aroused distrust on the part of the Kremlin. On the Yugoslav side, they were shocked by the conceit of the Russians, who lavished instructions and counsel on a nation which considered its own political experience superior to that of the Russians, and who, in the course of history, had won and rewon its independence entirely by its own efforts. Serbian pride, wounded by the demands made by Moscow, precipitated the rupture.

565 423 175 On the other hand, Yugoslavia is peopled by an emancipated peasantry; it has made its own agrarian reforms, and has not had to suffer the yoke of political dynasties (as has been the case with Rumania), nor (like Hungary) that of a landed aristocracy. Communism could not get a footing there, either in the same form or at the same speed, as in the other 'popular democracies'.

Finally, the systematic enslaving of the economy of Yugoslavia to Russian interests was bound, one way or another, to provoke violent reaction in Belgrade.

186* 665 648 175 687 It was nevertheless a surprise for the world when, on June 28, 1948, the Kominform communiqué pronounced the condemnation of Tito and his collaborators, accused of desiring to establish themselves by a régime of terror, of over-estimating the possibility for their country of safeguarding its independence without the assistance of the other Communist Parties; finally, of seeking the support of the capitalist States.

Dr. Pijade, the theoretician of Tito's régime, felt able to reveal[1] that the Kominform's resolution simply reproduced a text prepared in Moscow: he stated that the hands of waverers had been forced by a lying assurance that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party contained spies on behalf of England and the United States.

175 648 [439] Then began a diplomatic battle between Moscow and Belgrade: at first it took the form of a criss-cross exchange of notes, then that of an economic boycott and, finally, of a vast scheme to detach Yugoslavia from the other popular democracies and reduce her to isolation.

The diplomatic notes at first (July-August, 1948) dealt with the fate of Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia; then (August-

[1] Speech made on July 8, 1949, at Novi Sad.

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September) the role played by the Soviet Union in international conferences regarding Yugoslav claims to Southern Carinthia. In one of these notes (August 11) Moscow accused the Belgrade Government of acting 'not as an ally, but as an enemy of the Soviet Union'.

'We can establish Socialism without the U.S.S.R.', Tito had declared.

For a few months the Belgrade press attacked the Kominform, without going so far as to mention its real promoters. On May 30, 1949, for the first time, *Borba,* the organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party, openly attacked the Soviet Union, which it accused of seeking to foment the Yugoslav people against the Government. And Pijade denounced 'Russian nationalism', cloaked under the mantle of Marxist orthodoxy, 'which does not allow any other Communist Party to consider itself the equal of the Bolchevik Party, or any other State to raise itself above the level fixed for it by Moscow'. He accused the Soviet Union of recruiting traitors to form a 'pro-Stalin, anti-Tito front' in Yugoslavia.

The friendship and mutual assistance pacts concluded by the other popular democracies with the Belgrade Government were denounced during the same week: on September 28, 1949, the Kremlin gave the signal for these notices of termination. On October 1 Bulgaria annulled the pact of November 27, 1947, and was followed by Rumania in respect of the pact of December 19, 1947, and by Czechoslovakia (on October 4) in respect of the treaty of friendship of May 9, 1946, and the cultural agreement of April 27, 1947. The Warsaw Government had anticipated matters by declaring, as far back as September 8, 1949, that Tito's Government had 'trampled on and destroyed' the Polish-Yugoslav pact of March 18, 1946.

The heads of the Yugoslav diplomatic mission in Moscow, and of the Soviet mission in Belgrade, were recalled during the autumn of 1949, and the majority of their collaborators declared 'undesirable', on charges of espionage or sabotage. The cases brought, in Hungary and Bulgaria respectively, against Rajk, ex-minister (September) and Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council (December)—cases involving Yugoslavs—were so arranged as to bolster up the Soviet accusations against Tito and his role in the Balkans.

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648 The Yugoslav Government replied by trying, in Sarajevo,
175 some White Russians, naturalised Soviet citizens, who, after
687 having served the occupying authorities during the war, were said to have become agents for anti-Tito propaganda; on December 9 they were condemned to imprisonment for a term of years.

648 In the shade of Soviet-Yugoslav antagonism, the old quarrel
175 between Belgrade and Sofia over Macedonia was reawakened.

Early in August, 1947, Tito and Dimitrov met at Bled and signed a protocol providing for closer collaboration between the two Governments: this protocol was to find its application in the 'pact of collaboration and mutual assistance' concluded on November 27 following, at Euxinograd.

648 Yet, at Bled, there were signs of disagreement. Tito would
563 have liked to see the formation of a Federation of Southern
175 Slavs. But such a federation would imply the inclusion of
[186] Bulgarian Macedonia in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—which would have the effect of committing the Macedonians in Bulgaria to a policy for the future, on the lines of the old Serbian aspirations. Dimitrov shelved the solution of the Macedonian problem until the federal pact should be concluded. The Yugoslavs then insisted that psychological conditioning for the union should be ensured by the granting of 'cultural rights' to the Macedonians in Bulgaria. Now the Sofia Government refused to consider the latter as a minority, and therein lay the germ of the new Bulgarian-Yugoslav crisis.

Later, on December 20, 1948, after the Soviet-Yugoslav rupture, Blagoje Neskovitch, Vice-President of the Belgrade Government, was to claim that the quarrel unleashed by the Kominform arose simply out of the pressure brought to bear by the Bulgarian leaders, with a view to securing recognition of their territorial claims on Vardar Macedonia.

Then Belgrade reproached the Bulgarian Popular Republic with having refused a statute of autonomy and the designation of a 'nationality' to the Pirine Macedonians.

648 Thereafter the Macedonian Question remained in the fore-
175 front of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations: a Macedonian, Poptomov, became Minister of Foreign Affairs in Sofia and, when Bulgaria denounced the pact of November 27, 1947, Yugoslavia accused her of violating the peace treaty by refusing to pay the repara-

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tions due for the exactions made by Bulgarian troops who occupied Serbian Macedonia during the war. 648 175

Yugoslavia's relations with the other Slav States followed the same lines as her relations with the Soviet Union. In June, 1949, negotiations in view of commercial exchanges with Czechoslovakia came to a standstill. In July, the two Governments exchanged subacid notes: Belgrade accused the Czechs of inspiring a campaign of press hostility towards Tito; Prague replied that any criticism tending to unmask Titoist treachery was 'a mark of appreciation and friendship towards the Yugoslav people'. Such arguments prepared the way for the formal denunciation of the pact of friendship and assistance. The Czechs, like the Poles, accused the Yugoslav diplomats of carrying on subversive activities: there were numerous recalls of diplomatic or consular agents, on the now customary charge of espionage on behalf of the 'capitalist powers'.

On the other hand, Yugoslavia endeavoured to renew commercial ties with the West. Her negotiations with Washington resulted in the agreement of July 19, 1947, liberating 47,000,000 gold-dollars and 220,000 dollars accruing from other Yugoslav credits in America, subject to the settlement of various arrears and repayments under Lend-Lease. The United States granted Yugoslavia the necessary licences for the delivery of materials destined for the equipment of a steel-plate factory; on November 3 they removed the prohibition on the supply of military equipment to that country. 648 457 439 175

And, on December 22, 1949, President Truman, confirming an assurance given by George Allen, his ambassador in Belgrade, declared: 'An act of aggression against Marshal Tito and Yugoslavia would be regarded by the Government of the United States as being just as serious as any act of aggression elsewhere'. [329]

This change of attitude shows the road travelled in Washington since the declarations made, on November 1, 1945, by Secretary of State James Byrne, recognising 'the special security interests' of Russia in Eastern Europe, and affirming that the United States 'would never associate themselves with an intrigue directed against the Soviet Union . . .'.

Indeed, the United States and Great Britain decided to grant economic aid to Communist countries which were 'really independent', and resolved to fight the Kominform. In London,

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648 in August, 1947, a Yugoslav delegation opened negotiations for
457 a commercial agreement. These negotiations were prolonged,
439 but in September, 1949, the British Cabinet decided to open a
175 credit of £9,000,000 for Yugoslavia.[2]

A parallel change of attitude was shown in the relations between Belgrade and Rome: after rather lively incidents in Julian Venetia, the two Governments drafted, in December, 1948, a reconciliation, which was to be recognised by the commercial agreement of August 4, 1949, in which press commentators saw a political significance. The question of Trieste, which had been settled by the agreement of April 27, 1947, between France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, henceforth became of secondary importance, although Yugoslav claims to the Trieste zone (as to Slovene Carpathia) were never formally renounced.

On October 20, 1949, Yugoslavia was admitted to the Security Council by thirty-nine votes (out of fifty-eight voters) to nineteen for Czechoslovakia.

To sum up: Yugoslavia is seeking to reconcile her fidelity to Marxism with economic collaboration, on a footing of equality, with the Western States. Her attitude is defined in these two declarations made by Tito: 'While remaining solidly in the Socialist camp, Yugoslavia will regard as her enemy any one who interferes with her Socialist construction'. 'With the East we maintain economic relations, without any political set-off. When we sell copper to buy machinery, it is the copper we sell, not our conscience'.

* * *

648 As for Bulgaria, she has maintained with the Soviet Union
696 ties which the Soviet-Yugoslav crisis only served to strengthen.
829 The Government dealt the opposition a mortal blow by con-
175 demning to death the Agrarian leader, Nicolas Petkov, who was executed on September 23, 1947. This execution called forth a declaration of disapproval from the American State Department; on September 29 a speaker on behalf of the Foreign Office

[2] On July 2, 1949, General Ivan Gochniak, Vice-Minister for Defence, affirmed that, in 1944, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had agreed upon their respective spheres of influence in the Balkans: the Russians were to have a 75 per cent predominance in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania; in Yugoslavia they were to be on an equal footing with the English, in whose sphere of influence Greece was left.

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described it as a 'crime against European civilisation', and on October 1 it was brought up at the Security Council by the French delegate, Parodi, during a discussion on Bulgaria's candidature for the United Nations. 648 696 829 175

In January, 1948, on the occasion of the signing of a treaty of mutual assistance with Rumania, the Bulgarian Premier, Dimitrov, risked an allusion to a project for the federation of the Balkan States, but this was immediately disavowed by the Kremlin. [185]

Dimitrov died on July 1, 1949; he was replaced as leader of the Government by Kolarov, and at the head of the Bulgarian Communist Party by his brother-in-law, Valko Tchervenkov.

The sentencing (March 8, 1949) of four Protestant pastors, accused of espionage, to life imprisonment, and the imprisonment of eleven others for a term of years, called forth vehement protests in the Christian world, and justified the sending of a diplomatic note by Great Britain, on March 12, in which these proceedings were described as a violation of Art. 2 of the peace treaty concerning 'fundamental liberties'.

The year 1949 was marked by progressive tension in the relations between Belgrade and Sofia. In September the Bulgarian Government denounced the treaty of friendship and, on October 6, the frontier agreement with Yugoslavia. This antagonism, which revived the Macedonian Question, reached a crisis at the trial of Traitcho Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council. Accused in March, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of 'flagrant errors' (the most serious accusation being that of having invoked the principle of State secrecy in order to withhold information of a commercial nature from representatives of the Soviet Union), Kostov found the charges gradually extended, until he was involved in a plot against the safety of the State, with the complicity of the Anglo-Americans and the agents of Tito. He was condemned to death, and executed on December 16. The Yugoslav press considered this charge as having been trumped up entirely with a view to compromising and discrediting Tito. 648 687 175 [208]

The municipal elections of May 15, 1949, gave the Communist-controlled Government of the 'Homeland Front' 92.1 per cent of the votes cast (370,000 blank votes); the legislative elections of December 18 raised this percentage to 666 175

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666 175 98.89 per cent (110,180 blank votes), the electors having no other option than to vote for the 'Front' or to register a blank vote.

185 175 Faithful to the guidance of Benes, Jean Masaryk and Ripka, the Third National Front Government, presided over by Gottwald, endeavoured to secure the triumph of a policy of equilibrium between East and West, between Liberalism and Marxism. 'In our country', declared Benes, 'under the pressure of the masses, Communism has become national.'

648 175 The first signs of Soviet pressure were seen when, after the Czech Cabinet had decided, in July, 1947, to accept an invitation to attend the Paris Conference for the application of the Marshall Plan, it was forced, on orders from Moscow, to withdraw its acceptance.

[578] The final crisis was reached in February, 1948. An exceedingly violent press campaign was launched against Vaclav Nosek, Minister of the Interior, as the result of a purge which followed the discovery of illegal arms deposits. The Communist Party accused the National Socialists (Benes Party), the Popular Democrats and the Slovak Democrats of attempting to constitute an 'anti-Communist bloc' within the Government, and of paralysing the legislative power of the National Assembly. Tension reached its peak with the approach of the elections, then fixed for April 11, 1948.

668 642 175 The partisans of obedience to Moscow centred their efforts around the nucleus of the police and the trade union organisations. A 'Central Action Committee' was established, to back up, by mass movements, the offensive led by President Gottwald and his Communist colleagues against the moderate section of the Government. On February 20, 1948, the Ministers belonging to the three incriminated parties resigned. The Marxists held demonstrations in the streets; a political strike was declared on February 4, and the Congress of Works' Committees demanded the removal of the 'reactionaries'. President Benes, taken unawares by the suddenness of this attack, rejected the idea of a Government of Civil Servants and, on February 25, he formed a new National Front Ministry, with Gottwald as President, Gapotocki as Vice-President, Jean Masaryk at the head of Foreign Affairs. The Communists secured entire control of this Cabinet, which was in favour of unconditional collaboration with the Soviet Union. The opposition was reduced to

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helplessness; Benes capitulated before Gottwald's ultimatum. It was the end of the Putsch which Hubert Ripka later described as a 'prefabricated revolution'. On March 9[1] Jean Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote a personal letter to Stalin, in which he denounced the intervention of Zorine, the Soviet Ambassador, in the events of February: 'When a time of mortal danger for the country, and for all Slavs, comes, you will have in Prague nothing but a Government hated by the country, despised by the *élite*, and relying entirely on the bayonets of its police organisations'. The next day Masaryk committed suicide: contradictory versions of his death were circulated, although the above-mentioned letter had made clear his intention of ending his life.

668 642 175 [56] [86]*

Thus the inspirer of two Czech liberations, heir to the thought of Thomas Masaryk, disappeared in shameful oblivion; the commentaries in the Communist press, in which he was later accused of having betrayed the interests of the country, lead us to wonder whether his inglorious end did not save him from an even more tragic fate. Posterity will pronounce a mixed judgment on his political achievement. His tomb might fittingly have been engraved with this epitaph, taken from one of his books (*Whither the Slavs?*): 'The existence and the prosperity of all the Slav States is inseparably bound up with a régime of true democracy, that is to say, a régime in which the elementary principles of individual liberty, liberty of conviction, liberty of religion, liberty of political expression and liberty of public opinion, are guaranteed and fully respected'.

186*

As for Benes, whose authority was henceforth without scope, on June 7, 'for health reasons', he resigned his presidential office, which he had held since June 19, 1946, in a message by which he invited his fellow-citizens 'to encourage liberty and consciously enjoy it'. He died a few months later, on September 3, 1948.

175 [643]

The events of February were to be mentioned at the United Nations Security Council, with a view to appointing a commission of inquiry—which was opposed by a Soviet veto (May 24).

On March 9, 1948, was voted the Constitution which made Czechoslovakia a 'democratic peoples' republic'. It instituted a Single House system, and proclaimed the equality of Czechs and Slovaks: the republic was to be a bi-national State. Unlike

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642 175 563 the preceding Constitutions, this one contained no clause designed to protect minorities.

[666] The elections, postponed until May 30,[1] gave 88 per cent of the votes (6,429,145) to the National Front, but the figure of 770,100 blank voting slips exceeded that anticipated by the Government. The latter was, however, fully master of the situation. On June 14 Clement Gottwald was elected President of the Republic, on the unanimous vote of the 296 deputies present. Under the chairmanship of Zapotocki, he formed a Cabinet on the lines of the previous one (sixteen Communists or supporters, and six non-Communists); the portfolio of Foreign Affairs remained in the hands of Klementis, who replaced Masaryk. The new Head of the Government announced implacable repressive action against 'those guilty of disorder or confusion, who seek to hinder the reconstruction of the country'.

[661] 659 798 175 Indeed, during the months that followed, there was a vigorous purging of diplomacy, the army, the police. But, in 1949, it was the religious question which was to dominate political life, owing to an offensive conducted against the Roman Church, opposing the old Czech Hussite spirit to Catholicism, the dominant trait in the Slovak national character.

Gottwald and his ministers, relying on this 'religious geography' peculiar to Czechoslovakia, embarked upon a struggle with the clergy in the domain of monopoly of the schools. They pursued the contest by seeking to alienate the Catholic Church from her natural hierarchy, and by encouraging the 'schism' of the Czech 'National' Church. To protest against the obstacles put in the way of the exercise of the cult, the bishops drew up a pastoral letter, setting forth the conditions required in order to regularise relations between the Church and the State. The Government forbade the distribution of the pastoral; infringements of this decree, specially numerous in Slovakia, were sternly repressed. Mgr. Beran, Archbishop of Prague, was detained in his palace; the civil authority created 'Catholic Action', an official organisation placed under the control of priests with Communist leanings. At the head of this movement was the Minister of Public Health, Father Plojhar, suspended by the ecclesiastical authorities for having sought a legislative mandate without his bishop's permission.

Tension rose with the 'resolutions' passed on June 28 by the

1 [1948-- Analyst]

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Congregation of the Holy Office, forbidding the publication and diffusion of Communist doctrine.

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So the *Kulturkampf* was waged, now energetically, now quietly. The Prague Government was accused by the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of violating 'human dignity and civilisation'; once more the conflict passed from the national to the international level, symbolising the ideological antagonism which exists between the Soviet world and the Western democracies. Neither the Government nor the clergy showed any signs of weakening. On November 17 the bishops again asked the civil power to abandon the laws relating to religious teaching, as conceived by the State, and the interference of lay authorities in the nomination of priests and the administration of Church property.

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The end of the year 1949 was marked by waves of purges in Communist circles, and by fresh trials on charges of treason, incriminating, like those of Budapest and Sofia, Tito's 'agents' or 'accomplices'.

* * *

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During this period politics in Poland were somewhat less sensational than in the other Slav countries. There again, however, the régime of 'popular democracy' evolved in the direction of Stalin-Marxism. The struggle against the Church was less open, and did not, as in Czechoslovakia, go to the length of making the clergy civil servants. The Government concentrated its efforts particularly on increasing exports, on economic reconstruction, and on exploiting the German lands brought under its control—and these efforts, it must be admitted, were attended with remarkable results.

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The German Question was its chief external problem; in its view, it was France's policy in respect of the Reich which prevented the renewal of the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance. What Warsaw particularly feared was lest a change of attitude on the part of the Allies towards Germany should reopen the question of the Oder-Neisse frontier, which the Poles considered sacrosanct, but which transferred to them territories whose final allocation was, legally, postponed until the making of the peace treaty for the Reich.

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The most sensational event was the nomination (on November 7[1]) of Rokossovsky, the Soviet Marshal (of Polish

1 [1949 -- Analyst] 2 [1949 -- Analyst]

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177 origin), as Minister of Defence in the Warsaw Cabinet; he took
64 as his deputy General Wladislaw Korczye, Chief of Staff of the
175 Polish Army. This appointment was naturally interpreted as a further step in the subordination of Poland to the Soviet interests.

648 And the Polish-Sovietic *rapprochement* (at governmental
175 level) had an unexpected result: the expulsion or the trial, on the
696 ritual charge of spying, of French diplomats and nationals (Wroclaw case), thus creating a state of tension between two countries whose friendship had historic and spiritual roots of such strength that no political vicissitudes had hitherto been able to affect them.

* * *

186* Thus the events of 1948–1949 once more disturbed that
648 'Slav solidarity' which had been revived by the Second World
578 War. It cannot be said that there exist, between the Soviet
175 Union on the one side, and Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, on the other, ties which are stronger than, or of any different nature from, those which unite Moscow to Budapest or to Bucharest. The 'collaboration' operates exclusively on the basis of Stalin-Marxism and obedience to Moscow.

On the contrary, the Soviet Union's Enemy Number One is Tito's Yugoslavia. There is violent and complete rupture between the Southern Slavs for the one part, the Bulgarians, Eastern and Northern Slavs for the other.

The historic current which has, periodically, split up the world of the Slavs, has reasserted its mysterious disintegrating force.

Two small but typical facts may serve as a postscript to this study. On Stalin's seventieth birthday the only country which sent no 'homage' to the master of the Kremlin was Yugoslavia. And the President of the Panslav Congress in the United States, George Pirinsky, was imprisoned in Chicago as belonging to an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the American Government by force.

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[For information on the development of Panslavism, see cat. 116, entire source.]

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Panslavism

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Editorial Note

Russian progressive and liberal ideologies are discussed by Mr. Elias Tartak in his chapter, "The Liberal Tradition in Russia," and by Mr. Vladimir Zenzinov in his chapter, "The Destinies of Russian Peasantry."

The reader is referred to these two articles, as well as to to Mr. Max Nomad's on "Communism."

F. G.

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XXII

PANSLAVISM

By

WACLAW LEDNICKI

1. The Slavophils

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IN CONNECTION WITH the Panslavistic trends which appear within the frames of modern Soviet foreign policy it seems justifiable to begin this study with the definition of Panslavism found in the works of Engels and Marx. This is the indeed striking formulation of the Panslavic doctrine, if this word may be applied, which Engels gives: "In the works of several Slavic dilettantes in the field of history there arose an absurd anti-historical current the aim of which was to subordinate the civilized West to the barbarian East, the city to the village, trade, industry and education to the primitive agriculture of Slavic serfs. But behind this comical theory there stood the terrible reality of the *Russian Empire*,—of that Empire which by every movement manifested a pretension to consider the whole of Europe the property of the Slavic tribe and, in particular, of its only energetic part—Russia. That Empire which, with two such capitals as Petersburg and Moscow, is unable to find its center of gravity until the *City of the Tsar* (Constantinople is called in Russian *Tsargrad*), in which every Russian peasant sees the true focus of his religion and nation, becomes the residence of the Russian emperor. . . . The intrigues by which Russian diplomacy supported the recently invented Pan-

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slavism are well-known in central Europe—a doctrine which could not better have corresponded to its aims."[1] 186* 829

Engels and Marx, to whom I shall have occasion to refer later, fought against this doctrine, led by a clear knowledge of problems connected with international policy. And indeed the time of the Crimean War—the period when Marx wrote his brilliant articles devoted to the Eastern Question—was a time when the Panslavic conceptions became particularly timely. In the definition quoted above one finds the most important characteristics of the Panslavic doctrine. However, this definition does not exhaust the whole of it, and simply in order to be faithful to what we call an objective approach I should like, before showing the actuality of Engels' and Marx's opinions in the light of the Panslavistic trends of our days, to present the genealogy of this movement and some of its most important aspects. 186* 175

Without going as far as Thucydides who, when speaking about the Slavs, whom he designated generally under the name of Scythians, said that "if these peoples ever unite under one chief and one idea, no power neither of Europe nor of Asia will be able to resist them," one may say that, in general, the historians of Panslavism consider the Croatian Jury Križanić (1617-1683) the creator of this doctrine. Whether or not this genealogy is correct is a question in itself, but what remains doubtless is the fact that the Križanić episode has its special picturesqueness and flavor. Indeed that zealous Catholic, carried away by his Slavic sympathies, by the idea of the re-establishment of religious unity, and by admiration for the power of the Muscovite tsar, made his way from Italy via Poland to Moscow. There he tried in vain to organize the Muscovite tsardom against two foreign influences—Greek and German—and to incite Moscow to a struggle for the liberation of the Slavs from under a foreign yoke—a struggle which would unite the Slavic nations under the Muscovite scepter. The enthusiastic propaganda of the learned Croatian did not

[1] Quoted by Vasily Gippius: cf. F. E. Tyutchev, *Polnoe Sobranie Stikhotvorenii*, Leningrad, 1939, pp. 10-11.

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186* 175 succeed in convincing the suspicious Muscovites — they felt a Latin and a Catholic in him, and in accordance with an already well-established tradition they deported him to Siberia. However, that poor Panslavic enthusiast somehow escaped from Siberia and reached the more comfortable Wilno, traveled farther in order to volunteer in the army of Jan Sobieski and to die for the defense of Austria in the Battle of Vienna under the Polish banners which he had vehemently insulted during his Muscovite sojourn.[2]

Indeed, in the Križanić *Politica*, a work written in Siberia, it is possible to find several elements which some 200 years later were crystallized in the Slavophil and Panslavistic systems. As I suggested above, it would be possible to find some even earlier manifestations of Panslavic trends. But first of all we should indeed try to define at least in a general form the essence of this [648] doctrine. I think that by and large Panslavism is a conception which embraces two main, divergent currents: one was connected with the movements of and hopes for regeneration and liberation among the oppressed Slavs; and as such this movement was directed against the two main oppressors of these nations — the Turks and the Germans. Since the Germanization of Bohemia and the disappearance of Poland from the map of Europe there has remained only one independent and powerful Slavic nation—Russia. Therefore one could see quite strong tendencies among Bulgarians, Serbs, some Croatians and Czechs, and a few Poles toward Russia as a possible liberator of the Slavs. On the other hand, among the same nations there developed at certain periods, especially in the nineteenth century, conceptions of a Federation of Slavs around Austria and without Russia.

The other expression of the Panslavic movement is the Russian one. The oppressed Slavic nations were looking for liberation, and their Panslavistic conceptions represented their hopes for freedom. Russia had, of course, a different approach to the

[2] Cf. P. N. Milyukov, *Ocherki po Istorii Russkoi Kultury*, Paris, 1930, vol. 3, pp 135-155.

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same problem—she was to become eventually *the* liberator, *the* protector, *the* unifier. For this reason these two expressions of the Panslavistic idea differ not only in their aims but also in their historical origins.

From the modern point of view—from the point of view of the political implications which the Panslavistic doctrine contains—the Russian aspect is, of course, much more important. Let us, therefore, devote our attention first of all to Russian Panslavism.

The direct ancestor of the Russian Panslavistic conceptions belonging to the second part of the nineteenth century is to be found in the famous school of the Muscovite Slavophils and Messianists. The formation of this school resulted from different sources, and here again one finds interweaving ramifications of Slavic and Western European thought.

If one were to enumerate the different germs of ideas, programs, currents of thought, sometimes divergent and contradictory, which brought about the actual birth of the Slavophil idea in different Slavic countries, one would be obliged first of all to stress the fact that it took place in the nineteenth century and that it was in harmony with the political atmosphere of the rest of Europe. We find its ultimate sources in a variety of places. There was, for instance, the tenet of universal brotherhood which the Masonic Societies in particular had spread at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. To the same period belong the works of the German-Russian scholar August L. von Schloezer, the philosophies of Herder, Rousseau, and the Romantics. From the Christian standpoint a kind of Messianism came to the fore with the sentimental attachment of the Romantics to the Bible and with Bossuet's reliance upon the Hebrew prophets. Mention must also be made of the German philosophers Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel. Along with the conception of the unity of the Slav world which arose out of the studies of the European ethnographers and philologists, went the demand for the freedom of the oppressed nations—a demand proclaimed and strengthened by the French Revolution. The movement toward

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186* a Slavophil philosophy was fostered by the propaganda of Czechs
829 like Dobrovský, Kollár, and others who championed the claims of
812 freedom for people of good will—propaganda based on affection for the national past and on Catholic conservatism which saw in the Slav world, and particularly in Orthodox Russia, a bulwark against Western Jacobinism. Finally there were many political factors to be taken into account: on one hand, the role of Russia in the Napoleonic Wars and the growing political power of Russia, which was held to be the only power able to win freedom for the Slavic nations; and on the other, the anti-Russian tendencies voiced in the Polish risings, the leaders of which considered the enemy a nest of political reactionaries and a stronghold of violence. All these elements, various and even contradictory though they were, contributed to the establishment of the Slavophil doctrine and at the same time indicated the goal which it might ultimately attain.[3] As far as the purely Russian Slavophil and hence Panslavistic doctrine is concerned, some other factors must also be taken into consideration.

186* I must start *ab ovo*. For several very important historical rea-
175 sons the Byzantine political influence in Moscow, in the Muscovite ideology, became particularly potent. I have in mind the fall of Byzantium and some other events bound up with this great
[648] catastrophe. In connection with the more and more imminent Turkish menace, in order to save Byzantium, in order to organize a coalition against the Turks, men in the Roman Church began to consider with even more urgency the already existing concept of a possible union of the two churches; and at the Council of Florence in 1439 the union of the churches was accomplished. The whole Greek world accepted this union. The representative of the Muscovite Church at the Council, the Metropolitan Isidor, also adhered to the union; but unfortunately his adherence did not conform to sentiments at home. And when he reached Moscow, after celebrating masses in Cracow, he was confronted by com-

[3] This follows my articles, "Poland and the Slavophil Idea" published in the *Slavonic and East European Review*, London, 1928-29.

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plete disaster. He was imprisoned, and Moscow declined the union. 186* 175

Ever since that time Moscow considered herself as the new and unique center of pure orthodoxy, of pure Christianity. When in 1453 Byzantium was invaded, Moscow's prestige became even greater in her own mind. The Muscovite monks, working out a sort of Muscovite historiosophy and formulating the Muscovite political program, gave a very significant interpretation of that catastrophe: Byzantium had been punished by God for the sin of the Union of Florence. And then came the establishment of the theory of the "Third Rome": "Two Romes have fallen, but the third still remains." This third Rome was Moscow.

Thus was established a Muscovite eastern Messianism. This Messianism became more and more universalistic in its scope. The Muscovite tsars began to consider themselves the representatives not only of their own Orthodox world but of the whole Orthodox community in the world and, even more, of pure, unsoiled Christianity in general. Very soon after the fall of Byzantium and the spread of the Turkish invasion in the Balkans, many Serbian and Bulgarian émigrés, intellectuals of those times, arrived in Moscow with all sorts of Bulgarian and Serbian Messianic and imperialistic conceptions and theories, modeled on Byzantium and on Greek and Hebrew texts. Messianistic honey was collected from these Bulgarian-Serbian-Hebraic-Byzantine hives by various monks and old men like Philotheus. There were fantastic genealogies, orthographical mistakes — consciously or unconsciously committed—daring eschatological solutions of such problems as why the world did not come to an end on March 25, 1492, which escape it was supposed to owe to Moscow for not having acceded to the Florentine union. Greek prophetic legends, exploited by Bulgars as well as by Serbs, legends promising victory for the *rusy* (reddish) race, *xanthos genos*, became *russky* (Russian) race; and so, as Professor Milyukov stressed, "an orthographical mistake became a source of the Russian imperialistic dreams about Constantinople and the Straits." In a word, ortho- 186* 175 668 795

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186* graphical errors and boundless imagination, fed on Byzantine and
175 autocratic Imperial doctrines, decided for a long time the style
668 of Russian political thought. Hence, practically, the Moscow
795 Tsar and later the St. Petersburg Emperor became the head of the church of a Byzantine Caesaro-Papist type and assumed the position of a Byzantine theocrat. The conception of absolute power coming from God, absolute in the universalistic sense, meaning that the monarch was the ruler of all material goods as well as of human souls, became established in Russia particularly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, after the period of the Mongolian yoke had excellently prepared the ground for such a conception of monarchical power. As the ultimate result of these events Moscow represented the type of an Oriental despotism with a tendency toward state control characteristic of these organizations (especially at the time of the *oprichnina* of Ivan the Terrible and later) and the equally characteristic tendency towards imperialism based on Byzantine religious and historical premises.

175 These bonds with Byzantium became particularly strong after,
643 and in connection with, the marriage of Ivan III to Sophia Paleologus, the Byzantine princess in exile whom Ivan III received from Italy. This marriage is also an interesting story. Both Rome and Venice were still meditating a war against the Turks in order to liberate Byzantium. For the realization of this new, grandiose enterprise the help of the already developed might of Moscow appeared very desirable. Moscow had succeeded at that time through all sorts of belligerent activities and political manoeuvres in establishing its predominance among Russian princes and was on the eve of liberating Muscovy from the Tartar yoke. Led by western political conceptions, Rome and Venice thought that the good will of Ivan III could be bought by the offer of the title of *king*, and on the other hand by a marriage with a Byzantine princess who after the death of the legitimate heir to the Byzantine Empire would become vested with the right to the Byzantine throne.

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Ivan III was not very much interested in the European title of *king*, which did not mean very much to him. Moscow was so far away from the habits, manners, and international hierarchy of Europe that European distinctions and collaboration with Europe could not awake real interest in the exotic Muscovite state. On the other hand, Sophia Paleologus was considered by the Pope as a zealous Catholic; Ivan III needed a pure Orthodox fiancée. This last thing, however, was settled, and in 1472 Sophia Paleologus, the princess of Byzantium, the presumably zealous Catholic girl, became the Tsarina of Moscow and the most zealous of Orthodox ladies. The offers of the title of *king* interested Ivan, however, from one special point of view, from the very one which caused great discomfort in Cracow. Ivan III was supposed to become king or even emperor of the whole Russian nation *(in tota Ruthenica natione)*. As I have said, Ivan III was not interested in the title, as he was not even very anxious to buy from the direct heir of the Byzantine throne the rights to the throne, and Andrew Paleologus had to sell them elsewhere. But the formula in *tota Ruthenica natione* awakened some interest, curiosity, and appetite in Moscow.

Ivan III had two reasons for being interested in this suggestion. The first one was connected with the fact that some of the lands which belonged to the Polish King and Grand Duke of Lithuania (in one person, as the King of Poland was at the same time the Grand Duke of Lithuania from the time of the union between Poland and Lithuania) represented ancient *votchinas*, appanages, of the Rurikoviches, that is, of the ancestors of Ivan III. Moscow viewed this circumstance as making possible the expansion of the Muscovite Tsardom, and it opened the door to Russian, Muscovite territorial pretensions and demands.

On the other hand the Ruthenians who populated these lands were descendants of people who had been Christianized from the eastern source; therefore, they were Orthodox. The Union of Florence included them, but not to Moscow's thinking. Therefore Moscow saw in them the object of a religious mission, and that

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was the beginning of the Muscovite tendency to establish a protection extending to a great part of the citizens of the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian commonwealth, which meant an interference in the domestic affairs of the Polish state. This state of affairs led in Poland to the Union of Brześć (Brest) in the year 1596, the purpose of which was to assure the Ruthenian church of Poland an independence of Moscow, which had become especially menacing since 1589 when a patriarchate dependent on the tsar was established in Moscow. However the Act of Brest did not settle this problem, because of disagreements among the Ruthenians and mistakes of the Polish policy. (The marriage of Alexander of Poland and Lithuania with Helen, daughter of Ivan III—she was Orthodox—reinforced the Orthodox feelings among the Ruthenians).

Poland was powerful enough in the era of Ivan III to stop the inappropriate Roman schemes connected with the problem of unifying all the lands that could be called Ruthenian. And the court of Cracow received satisfactory excuses from Rome in the matter. But Moscow did not give up, and in spite of the fact that the daughter of Ivan III, Helen, was married to the Polish King and Lithuanian Grand Duke Alexander, of the Jagiellonian dynasty, Ivan III seized every occasion to insist on his views and his territorial ambitions. And we see that ever since then Moscow has constantly spoken of cities and towns situated inside of the Polish commonwealth, constantly augmenting the number of cities mentioned, adding to these formulations the sacramental phrase "and many other cities and towns." . . . It is justly said by Milyukov that "on even the most cold-blooded reader of these dry ambassadorial reports, these heavy rhythmic strides of the Muscovite 'Stone Guest' may produce the impression of some crushing nightmare."[4]

But what were these lands—Kiev, Smolensk, Polock, Witebsk, "and many others," constantly demanded from the time of Ivan

[4] *Ocherki po Istorii Russkoi Kultury*, Paris, 1930, v. 3, p. 48. Cf. for the story of the Union of Florence, of Ivan III and Rome, the brilliant work of P. Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège* (1896-1912).

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III until Russia could be led to the final partitions of Poland? It would be appropriate to stress here that the project of these partitions started even in the time of Ivan III. To the Emperor Maximilian, he made suggestions which later on, after the similar plans of Peter I, were finally realized by Catherine II, Frederick of Prussia, and Maria Theresa of Austria—and were later repeated by Stalin and Hitler. What are these lands? 175

At the time when the Tartars invaded Rus, when they were stopped in the west by the Poles at the Battle of Lignica, 1241, when later on the Muscovite principality was established and before the Polish-Lithuanian union, there arose, spread, and developed between Poland and Moscow, the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, an enormous empire organized by the dynamic, energetic and mighty Grand Dukes of Lithuania. Their ambitions and political horizons were equal to their military prowess. Very often they reached the gates of Moscow, menacing the city itself, and at any rate they had succeeded earlier in seizing from the Tartars all the Kievan Rus, with Kiev and all lands which now are known as White Ruthenia; so that Smolensk, Polock, Witebsk, Minsk, Mohilev, and the whole modern Ukraine found themselves within the borders of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state.

In 1386 this whole enormous state was, after the Congress of Krewo in 1385, united to the Polish kingdom, and the Grand Duke Wladyslaw Jagiello, following Polish suggestions, married the Polish queen Jadwiga of Anjou. These lands obtained, after the Pact of Horodlo, 1413, and later after the Union of Lublin, 1569 (a sort of confirmation and development of the Pact of Horodlo), a complete equality of rights and privileges with those which were established in the Polish Republic. After the Union of Lublin, Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (including White Ruthenia and Ruthenia) had a common parliament. And each successive King of Poland had to be elected by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as Grand Duke of Lithuania.

While Ivan III and later Basil, and finally Ivan IV (the Terrible) were trying to justify their territorial attempts on Poland,

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175 centuries passed during which these lands were living in completely different political and social conditions. The regime of freedom, religious tolerance, and local autonomy became so strongly and solidly established in the Polish-Ruthenian-Lithuanian commonwealth that even Pskov and Novgorod, those peculiar republics accustomed to their freedom, menaced by the Muscovite despotism, made efforts to join the commonwealth. They paid very dearly for these desires; Ivan III and later Ivan IV uprooted these political dreams by the most terrific terroristic acts.[5]

186* 829 Returning now to the Muscovite Slavophils, one thing must be stressed—that the first period of their activity was connected with more or less Russian historical problems. According to Herzen the moment of the precise formulation of the Muscovite Slavophil doctrine was the year 1836, when the famous *Philosophical Letter* of Chaadaev appeared. Of course it would be possible to find ties between the Muscovite Slavophils and the Shishkovists of the beginning of the nineteenth century, but Chaadaev's Western doctrine, Catholic in its conception, became a kind of catalyzer which crystallized the Slavophil program.

However, it would be difficult to give a precise analysis of the Russian Slavophil doctrine without taking into consideration the so-called *ofitsial'naya narodnost'* (official nationality). This term was originated, I believe, by the famous historian of Russian literature Pypin and applied by him to the official Russian ideology elaborated at the beginning of the reign of Nicholas I by certain high dignitaries, among whom the most prominent was S. S. Uvarov, minister of education. His system was based on three principles: autocracy, orthodoxy, and nationality. Although it is possible that the first two elements of this system may raise no doubts, the third appears less clear. But for Uvarov and his followers it was not so. The concrete significance of the word "nationality" for Uvarov was "reduced," as justly stated by Pro-

[5] Cf. W. Lednicki, *Life and Culture of Poland*, New York, 1944, p. 41.

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fessor P. N. Sakulin[6] "to the conservation of serfdom and of forms of life tied with it. Besides, Uvarov realized very well this spiritual relationship between serfdom and absolutism, and he definitely expressed the view that autocracy and serfdom, having the same historical source, must have the same historical fate." When the Chaadaev scandal exploded, Count Benckendorff, head of the Russian police and the closest collaborator of Nicholas I, expressed the following opinion: "*Le passé de la Russie a été admirable; son présent est plus que magnifique; quant à son avenir il est au delà de tout ce que l'imagination la plus hardie se peut figurer.*"[7]

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The establishment of this ideology was not confined merely to official interviews, proclamations, and manifestos. The government had in its hands powerful means with which to imprison the thought of the country within its official ideology. The most efficient weapon was censorship and interdiction of foreign travel. The aim was not only to impose respect for the "three whales" of that ideology but also to eliminate any disaggregating Western influence. I need not mention the fact that in the eyes of the representatives of the *ofitsial'naya narodnost'* the West was considered a source of all kinds of mischievous and dangerous ideas. Strong echos of slogans launched by the official ideology often resounded in the writings of people who from a certain point of view might be considered independent. The most striking example is to be found in the works of a man who, by the way, was one of the closest friends of the Russian Slavophils—I have in mind Nicholas Gogol.

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One remembers certainly Chichikov's troika "flying like a whirlwind" on the last pages of the first volume of *Dead Souls*, and one recalls perhaps that the writer compares that troika to a Russia "flying onwards like a spirited troika that nothing can overtake." "The road is smoking under thee," writes Gogol. "The bridges rumble, everything falls back and is left behind. . . .

[6] *Istoriya Rossii v xix Veke*, Ind. A. I. Granata, vol. II, p. 445.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 445.

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What mysterious force is hidden in this troika, never seen before? . . . Russia, whither fliest thou? Answer! She gives no answer. The ringing of the bells melts into music. The air, torn to shreds, whirs and rushes like the wind, everything there is on earth is flying by, and the other states and nations, with looks askance, make way for her and draw aside." Is it possible to read this astonishing "lyrical digression" without being indeed profoundly amazed, especially when one remembers whom Gogol's troika is carrying—Chichikov, Selifan, and Petrushka? This is the Russia for which "other states and nations" must "make way" and "draw aside!" From this point of view Gogol's passage is very characteristic and representative not only as far as the official ideology is concerned, but also the Slavophil. One cannot without amazement see cultivated Muscovite Slavophils like the brothers Aksakov, Khomyakov, Samarin, and many others absorbed in their idealization of the primitive Muscovite institutions and in their disdain for Western civilization.

The Russian philosopher, Vladimir Solov'ev, when criticizing this unjustified Russian messianism and pretension to obtain a privileged situation in the world, asked what benefits Russia might be able to secure to the world. Gogol, of course, had no doubts about this. His *Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends* gives a very eloquent answer: only the Russian Church "like a chaste virgin has been preserved since the times of the Apostles" in her original immaculate purity, and this Church, "changing nothing in the state," might give power to Russia and become a leader of other nations because of the inefficiency of the Western Church. The tsar is the image of God on the earth; the organization of the Russian State awaits the same state of grace: "The more one scrutinizes the organization of the administration of the provinces, the more one is amazed by the wisdom of the founders: one feels that God himself was invisibly building with the hands of the monarchs."

It is true that some of Gogol's assertions were too strong even for Slavophils, and his book awoke consternation not only among

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people like Belinsky but even among some of the Slavophils. 186*
However, some of their own texts, which I shall quote later, and 829
texts of writers close to them are not less eloquent. This, for in- 538
stance, is the case with Nadezhdin.

We may find very similar items in a treatise written immediately after the scandal provoked by Chaadaev's famous *Philosophical Letter*. True enough, Nadezhdin wrote his treatise in order to rehabilitate himself after the unfortunate Chaadaev adventure; nevertheless the text remains striking. Here the author stresses particularly the power of Russian unity under the tsar's leadership, Russian health compared to Western disease, and the patience of the Russian people, which brought to their historical development a special character. "Who was the only one who thought and worked exclusively for us? The tsar! When did we write even one line in our history without the order of the tsar? . . . Our history must not be divided into periods of the life of the nation as Europeans divide their history, but into reigns which represent an unbroken stairway of beneficent activity of the tsars and religious humility of the nation. . . . Our spiritual life is not our achievement but the achievement of our wise and protective monarchs. . . . We have populated a space on which there would be room enough for ten and more Europes. Not in vain have we long been separated from the small corner called Europe. Our destiny is not to be the echo of the decrepit dying civilization whose death convulsions we witness, but to develop among ourselves a new, young, powerful, truly Russian civilization which will renew the old Europe." "The tsar is a father and Russians his children." "We are children, and childhood comprises our happiness. Our history has until now been a great poem in which there is only one hero, only one acting character. . . . Remember with religious humility and with noble pride that your existence is concentrated in your holy master. Without him you are only a line of zeros—with that monarchical 'one' these zeros make a billion."[8]

[8] Lemke, *Nikolaevskie Zhandarmy*, quoted by Jan Kucharzewski, *Od Białego Caratu do Czerwonego*, vol. I, Warsaw, 1923, pp. 301-302.

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186* 829 538 What is particularly striking is the arrogance of this constant comparison of Muscovite Russia with not only Europeanized Russia, but the whole of Europe. The later Panslavists such as Tyutchev and Dostoevsky will continue to drive in a Gogolian troika. Gogol himself knew Europe and was, I think, very fond of it—especially of Italy. In his *Dead Souls* he showed even a kind of Ukrainian hatred for Muscovite life; yet in his lyrical digressions he sang his peans to the greatness of Russia. There is an element of duplicity and insincerity in this attitude. The same, as I have said, will appear in the case of Tyutchev, for instance, a highly cultivated and profoundly Westernized man. Similar will be the case of Dostoevsky. Both knew the Russian reality, and in spite of that both constantly sought to announce, proclaim, and greet the "coming" of Russia into Europe.

186* 829 Equally characteristic is another fact—that all these Russian nationalists fought with foreign weapons in their hands. This is a trait which appears continually in Russian nationalistic and imperialistic doctrines. Such was the case of the famous doctrine of "Moscow the Third Rome" and also of the Slavophils and their successors the Panslavists. It is well known that all of them were students and pupils of German philosophy—of Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel. They readily accepted and applied to Russia the German teaching that in different periods of history the universal life reaches its culmination now in one nation, now in another. In their opinion the historical moment for Russia's mission was about to arrive. The teachings of Schiller's *German Greatness*, which may be considered a kind of preamble of Fichte's speech to the German nation, could not but impress the Muscovite dreamers. Schiller explained that the greatness of the German nation is based only on its cultural and moral character. The German spirit is the only one for which "holy things exist." This spirit alone communicates with the spirit of the universe, which has elected the German spirit to work at the imperishable task of culture. "The English look only for riches," says Schiller, "the

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French are imbued only with their vain glory, the Germans were called to realize an integral humanity."[9] 826* 829

The dizzying speech of Fichte in which he launched the metaphysics of Germanism and the identity of Germanism and universalist messianism became, of course, a source of particularly appealing inspiration for the Slavophils. But here again some reservations should be made. Fichte's speech, absurd as it was, was a reaction against Jena—the defeated nation was looking for an ideological compensation. The Slavophils did not need any compensation, but they very quickly used the whole German armament of arguments in their fight against Western Europe and for holy Russia. German philosophical imperialism was directed primarily against the Roman nations. The Muscovite Slavophils expanded that aggression and mobilized themselves against the whole of Europe. Very soon their slogans began to appear. Kireevsky in 1829 compared Europe to a dammed up river which transformed a fertile land into mud. Prince V. F. Odoevsky came to the conclusion characteristic for a Slavophil—that the West needed a Peter the Great who should "innoculate it with the powerful juices of the Slavic East."

The main arguments of the Slavophil program were as follows: the world is divided into two contrasting civilizations: the Eastern—Greek-Slavic, and the Western—Latin-Roman. The Western civilization is a product of the Catholic Church, of the traditions of ancient Rome, and of conquest—the Western states were based on the law of conquest. In the opinion of the Muscovite Slavophils these three factors represent the three original sins of Western civilization. The Roman Catholic Church fell away from the Eastern Ecumenic Church, and since that time it lost its true faith. Rationalism which found its expression in Western Protestantism and atheism developed, the Church lost its universal freedom because of the papal supremacy, and conquest brought the struggle of the classes, political parties, and revolutions.

[9] J. E. Spenlé, *La pensée allemande de Luther à Nietzsche*, Paris, 1934, p. 85.

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186* Quite different was the development of the Eastern civilization.
829 Orthodoxy preserved the purity of Christian faith and teaching, which is established and confirmed by ecumenic councils. The Orthodox theology is the true Christian theology because it is based not on reason but on the revelation of the superior truth. The Russian state originated not by violence and conquest but by a voluntary invitation of the rulers by the people. Russia did not know feudalism, the Russian land never belonged to a feudal aristocracy but to the community, and the Russian people never knew inequality. The tsar was bound to the people by a union of love, and the *Veche* (Popular Assembly) expressed the will of the people. Providentialism and national exclusiveness were at the base of this doctrine.

It would be impossible within the frames of this article to enter into all details of this system, but what was particularly characteristic in the teachings of Khomyakov and the Aksakovs was their conception of freedom which needed no guarantees. They considered treaties, contracts, agreements—in other words any legally established guarantee—evil. In their opinion the Russian people were repelled by juridical norms, and the Russian laws represented an inner truth. They did not care for any external usefulness or formalism. "All classes and groups of the population are penetrated by one spirit, by one faith, by the same opinions, by similar ideas, and by the same need or desire for com-
[156] mon happiness." (Constantine Aksakov). Another trait was the complete reduction of the role of the individual which appears in their conception of the Russian land community. The agricultural character of the Russian civilization brought the Russian people to an humble subordination, which, by the way, the Slavophils praised enormously. That choral, primitive, and purely Christian character of the old Russian civilization was what they wanted to preserve. Connected with this was the argument of Russian simplicity. The same Constantine Aksakov stresses the fact that neither did Russian history have any theatrical episode nor did the Russian people like beautiful poses. "Nothing dis-

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tinguishing in that history," says Aksakov, no "beautiful effects," 186*
"bright array," no role for the individual; and because of that, 829
no pride and no memory for individual deeds. Every calamity is considered a punishment of God—every triumph an act of the grace of God. Thus "they do not erect monuments to their heroes, as there are none; but they build churches. . . ." "The history of the Russian people is the unique history in the whole world of a Christian nation which is Christian not only by religion but by its life—at least by the tendencies of its life."[10]

This was the idyllic picture of the Russian past as depicted by the Muscovite Slavophils. They considered that Peter the Great had ruined that beautiful past and brought Russia onto false roads of historical development. They were false first because they betrayed Russian national tradition, and secondly because they brought Russia to the West, which was in a state of decadence. I need not enter into too many details connected with the famous legend about the "rotten West"—a few examples will suffice. One of the leading Slavophils, Shevyrev, compared the West to a man spreading by his breath a terrible contagious disease. For Constantine Aksakov "West" meant violence, hatred, and enslavement; Russia—union, freedom, and peace. In his opinion even Russian paganism had been superior. This was why Russia, deserving it, had obtained a better Christianity; the Russian pagans had a *chayanie* (hope, expectation) of Christianity. The Russians accepted Christianization easily, without any struggle, like a child.

Now and then the Slavophils failed to confine themselves to 186*
Russia. They were looking for regeneration, for the restora- 829
tion of that shining, luminous past, but they were generous enough 177
to spread the benefits of this regeneration outside of Russia too. .18
These benefits should be shared first of all by the blood relatives of Russia, the Slavic nations—and after them by the whole West-

[10] S. A. Vengerov, *Ocherki po Istorii Russkoi Literatury*, St. Petersburg, 1907: chapter on "Peredovoi Boets Slavyanofilstva Konstantin Aksakov," especially pp. 465-469, 470, etc.

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186* 829 177 .18 ern world. The Slavs, organized around the holy Orthodox faith and under the leadership of Russian autocracy, based on the strong foundations of the Russian land community, would become a powerful political organization strong enough to bring the Western world to the Russian pale.

186* 178 829 Here we are already in the center of the Russian Panslavistic doctrine. And this is, by the way, the picture of the whole Hegelian road of the Slavophil philosophy of history: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Chicherin in his profoundly interesting memoirs, mocking the Slavophils and especially Constantine Aksakov, says: "He (Aksakov) conceived Russian history according to all the rules of Hegel's logic; the old Russia represented the statement, the new—the negation, and the future announced by the Slavophils was to be the restoration in a superior form of the original statement. This formula could be successfully applied perhaps only to the beard: the beard existed in old Russia, in the new it was shaved, in the future it would be restored."[11]

As long as the Slavophils were busy with their national costumes, traditions, orthodox theology, and glorification of the Russian past, they might be considered more or less independent, distinguished, and inoffensive satellites or offshoots of the official national ideology—but satellites and offshoots who confined themselves to the worship of what they considered Russian national traditions. But when they extended their love to other people and their hatred embraced not only Peter the Great but the West, they became involved in political problems. And at this point some of them degenerated into Panslavism; besides, some new adherents, acting in the purely political field, joined the Slavophil group. Here again we must take into consideration certain other sources of influence and tradition—this time purely political.

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Some of the political conceptions adopted by the Slavophils appeared earlier—even at the time of Peter the Great and Elizabeth. From time to time conceptions of the liberation of the "Slavic brothers" emerged, but they developed especially strongly,

[11] *Vospominaniya B. N. Chicherina*, Moscow, 1926, p. 236.

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of course, at the time of Catherine II when Russia began the "liberation" of White Ruthenians and Ruthenians from the Poles through the partitions of Poland and finally "liberated" the Poles from themselves. At the time of Alexander I the same conceptions reappeared. V. N. Karazin, a well known liberal of the times of Alexander I, wrote in a memorandum: "Is it possible that the sovereign ruler of free Slavs, the unique protector of the Orthodox Church, can look indifferently upon the sorrow of nations close to them by blood and by religion?" "It is true," says Pypin through whom I quote Karazin, "that Karazin suggested cautious action in order not to offend Austria. But his dreams went very far: he dreamed of the establishment of a 'Slavic Empire' with one of the brothers of Alexander at its head: this empire was, with time, to be extended to the Adriatic Sea in Albania and Macedonia, and on the other side to embrace the southern 'Serbo-Croatian' lands of Austria. . . . This Empire, which would very soon develop and organize, would be bound to the Russian Empire by ties of religion, blood, and thankfulness, and would become Russia's 'storehouse' and natural base for all her activities and relations with Europe and Africa." 186* 829 668

The same were the conceptions of other political writers of that time—Bronevsky and General Chichagov. (cf. Pypin, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79). These conceptions were also discussed in Masonic lodges and even in several lodges of Slavic Unity which had been established in Kiev and in Petersburg. The Russo-Turkish War of 1828 again galvanized these feelings of Slavic solidarity, but this was the time when there began in Russia the great discussions between the Slavophils and the Westerners—in other words, the time when the Slavophil doctrine started its period of crystallization.

I should like to stress the fact that we must have in mind several important historical dates around which the Panslavistic discussion became especially animated. These historical events and dates are: first of all, the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31, the Cracow Insurrection of 1846, the Slavic Congress in Prague in 186* 175

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186* 175 1848, the Crimean War of 1854-56, the Polish Insurrection of 1863, the Slavic Congress in Moscow in 1867, the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the period preceding the World War of 1914-18 with the so-called Neoslavism and finally the recent movements organized by Russia in Moscow and in this country among the American Slavic population and the Congress organized recently, also by Russia, in Belgrade.

2. The Polish Problem

186* 668 648 The first "set" of the Muscovite Slavophils was composed of well-to-do people, people belonging to the Russian landed nobility; they had estates with serfs, they had fine and rich apartments in Moscow. In the beginning they devoted their time either to discussions on historical, theological, and literary problems in Moscow salons or to writings in which they expressed their views. And they also manifested these views in a special national type of domestic life; they wore peculiar hats and *kaftans*, which very often provoked sensations in the streets of Moscow; they ate Russian meals and drank Russian vodka. All these details concerning their private lives and their naïve manifestations of Russianism are very pleasantly related in the memoirs of Herzen and Chicherin. At this stage of their development they were rather innocent and pacific, but they later became strongly intolerant and aggressive. Chicherin gives some episodes characteristic of this intolerance and aggressiveness. This appears particularly in connection with the great Slavic and European problem which the Muscovite Slavophils, by the very fate of their doctrine, were the first to be called upon to solve. This problem was the Polish one. Slavic reciprocity, Slavic sympathy, harmony, regeneration, wars for the liberation of the oppressed Slavic nations—all these slogans, ideas, and initiatives could mean but very little in the face of the still bloody Polish nation under the Russian regime. How could other Slavs who were outside of Russia trust all the great promises given to them by the Russian Slavophils and later Pan-

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slavists if these same Slavophils and Panslavists had no solution for the fate of a Slavic nation which was within Russia? As in our days, Poland was a test case, and without a just solution of the Polish problem there was no possibility of offering any more or less satisfactory solution for the Slavic problem in its entirety. And just here the whole system broke; and sympathy, justice, and harmony were replaced by pure violence. The usurping character of the whole doctrine and its demagogical essence became obvious in the light of precisely this problem. As a matter of fact, the Slavophils had a precursor in this field—and a great one. This man was Pushkin. And unfortunately he may be considered ideologically responsible for the direction taken by Russian political thought toward Russian-Polish relations. The intransigent and even ferocious attitude which Pushkin took at the time of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31 predetermined the attitude of many generations of Russians toward Poland.[12] His anti-Polish and anti-European odes published immediately after the defeat of the Polish Insurrection could not but create an abyss between Russia and Europe. This historical event was especially tragic because of the fact that its creator was the most outstanding and captivating symbol of Russian Europeanism—a Russian who indeed might be considered the Peter the Great of Russia in the field of her spiritual culture. Pushkin refused to see that Russia's annexations in Poland brought her geographically closer to Europe only at the cost of moral separation. In his odes he expressed not only a violent anti-Europeanism and an aggressive imperialism but also traced the lines for broad Panslavistic, Panrussian conceptions. These vociferous odes, belligerent as they were, became a kind of poetical citadel, an arch of triumph under which passed one generation after another of Russian Russificators and persecutors of Poland as well as all Russian Slavophils and Panslavists. These odes became a canon, a national catechism, a kind of lasso thrown by the powerful hand of the great Russian

[12] I cannot enter into details of Pushkin's role in this case. I have devoted a special book to it.—Cf. *Pouchkine et la Pologne*, Paris, 1928.

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186* poet over the heads of Russian politicians, writers, and poets.
668 From this point of view it would be difficult to evaluate the enor-
648 mity of the moral disaster achieved by Pushkin. And, as I men-
538 tioned before, the fact that it was just the great European Russian who assumed the responsibility for this makes it particularly painful. One has the right to say that had Pushkin taken a different attitude, the fate of Russian-Polish relations and therefore partly of Russian-European relations could have been different. It is possible, however, that my point of view is too idealistic and that I evaluate too highly the importance of poetical texts in the life of nations; nevertheless I am not at all certain that I am wrong. When examining the works of the Russian Slavophils and Panslavists—the Aksakovs, Khomyakov, Samarin, Pogodin, Leont'ev, Katkov, Danilevsky, Dostoevsky, and even Vladimir Solov'ev (whose opinions were in many respects opposite to those of the Slavophils and especially the Panslavists), whose views are so actual for our own day, one sees how completely Pushkin's poems were in accord with the basic tendencies of Russian nationalistic historical and political thought, and particularly with its anti-Polish aspects. As a matter of fact, the sources of the historic, philosophic, and religious inspirations of the Slavophils were quite different; Pushkin had nothing to tell the Slavophils in this sphere. Yet it is sometimes difficult to resist the impression that they had him in mind and that his "anti-Polish trilogy" was a sort of poetical noose cast over Russian political thought, the coils of which bound even the most courageous and the most spirited.[13] It appeared that the Muscovite Slavophil system was unable to find any solution for the Russian-Polish problem which would harmon-
186* ize with the general conception of Slavic unity. The Slavophil
668 systems, both Russian and Polish (to which I shall come later),
648 failed to produce anything positive and creative: the Russo-Polish
829 antagonism in these systems could be dissipated only at the expense of either Russia or Poland; there was no other alternative. This applies especially to the Russian side—to Aksakov, who in

[13] Cf. my article "Poland and the Slavophil Idea," as mentioned above.

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the presence of foreigners preferred not to speak of this "family quarrel," and to Pogodin, who, forgetting the ethnographic frontiers of Great Russia, attempted to enclose Poland within ethnographic and "democratic" lines. In Pogodin's opinion the latter boundaries were soon destined to disappear, since the only obstacle to an alliance with Russia lay in the Polish gentry, of "mixed Celtic and Latin origin," which should be destroyed by the Russian government with all possible speed. Aksakov used similar arguments in regard to the old Polish frontiers, while both Strakhov and Katkov attacked these frontiers even more vehemently.[14] Samarin saw in "Latin and Catholic Poland" "not only a historical contradiction of Russia but of all the Slav world." According to him Poland, "having become a poisoned sword and an instrument of destruction in alien hands, has received the same poison into her own flesh and blood." Her only salvation lay in union with Russia, which should become "the historical representative of the Orthodox and Slavic element." This would, in Samarin's view, be the triumph of the one cultural view over the other, although he admitted the possibility of Poland's separation from Russia. Aksakov admitted this separation in the same way, prophesying that in such case Poland would be eaten by Germany. But even here we see the break of the Slavophil conception: the Slavophils indeed did not know what to do with Poland. However, the most characteristic speculations were connected with the analysis of possibilities as to how a real union between Russia and Poland might be realized. The Slavophils were sure that the only obstacle between Poland and Russia was the Polish Latinism and Catholicism—in other words the Polish Western civilization. They thought that this civilization did not penetrate to the masses and that only the Polish intelligentsia—the gentry—represented that civilization. Consistently enough, they advocated the liquidation of this class—a liquidation which would bring into the Russian pale the amorphous masses of the Polish peasantry. This was

[14] The case of Strakhov, however, was less simple in this circumstance. Cf. my article "Russian Polish Cultural Relations," *New Europe*, New York, 1944.

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the liberation and regeneration which the Muscovite Slavophils were trying to secure to the enslaved Polish nation. The whole armament of their arguments and weapons may be found in the writings of Aksakov, Pogodin, Samarin, Leskov, Danilevsky, and Dostoevsky. In the light of the present Slav movements organized by Soviet Russia and in the light of the present extermination of the Polish intelligentsia under Russia's "liberating protection" one may see that the most audacious dreams of the Slavophils and Panslavists of the nineteenth century are now being realized. The Russian autocracy was not able to use all means of extermination against the Polish spiritual culture because some of the elements of it were attached to a social regime which the Russian autocracy was bound to protect and preserve in Russia itself. From this point of view Stalin's hands are more free, and his policy of Russification might become more efficient in its destructiveness. However, even at the time of Alexander II and Alexander III, in accordance with the plans of the Muscovite Slavophils and Panslavists the Russian government began certain reforms aiming at the gradual liquidation of the Polish landed gentry through the emancipation of the peasants and through measures favoring the latter at the expense of the former. These reforms would have been entirely justifiable if they had not followed the principle *divide et impera*. Russia was usurping the role of a liberator of the peasants, because the Polish revolutionary national government of 1863 proclaimed the emancipation of the peasants and promised them land without any compensation for the landlords. At this time the Slavophil school became indeed a political one.

And here something very important should be stressed: the Russian democratic and radical groupings were sympathetic to the Poles just because of the democratic character of this insurrection. Such was the attitude of the society *Zemlya i Volya* and of Herzen in his *Kolokol*. They were even trying to prevent the Russian soldiers and officers from fighting against Poles. Herzen at that time published eloquent articles in which he attacked the

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"patriotic syphilis" which was raging in Russia. The whole of reactionary and nationalistic Russia launched its offensive precisely at this point—the slogan was that the Polish Insurrection was not a national one and that presumably the Polish masses had nothing in common with it. This point of view became the leitmotif of all Katkov's writings, but very soon Aksakov's *Den'* (the organ of the Slavophils) joined Katkov's *Moskovskiya Vedomosti*. The Slavophil phraseology followed that of the government, and Aksakov as well as Samarin explained the Russian-Polish War of 1863 as a war of Slavs against Latinism, as a war of Russia against the Polish landlords. We may see that history indeed repeats itself. The same slogans were used during this war when it was necessary to abolish the legitimate Polish government in London. Herzen understood this situation very well. On January 1, 1864 he wrote in his *Kolokol* as follows: "Having grasped here and there some vague ideas about the social mission of Russia and about her lack of any solid aristocratic principle, our sweet dreamers preach that Russia represents some sort of democratic empire, some sort of kingdom of *equality* and masses, that *she* fights with Poland in the name of the freedom of the peasants against the landlords, etc. Do not be mistaken. . . ."[15]

Sumner in his excellent book *Russia and the Balkans* (Oxford, 1937) brings very correct comments to this development: "The Polish revolt of 1863 unleashed century-old hatred and fears. In the years which followed, the old 'Congress Poland' was mercilessly dragooned within the framework of the administration common to Russia proper while the 'Western Lands' Lithuania, White Russia, and the Western Ukraine were subjected to every measure of Russianism. Meanwhile a campaign was initiated of the same nature in the Baltic provinces and Bessarabia; and, to show without mistaking that Russian meant Great Russian alone, the Little Russian or Ukrainian cultural revival of that time was successfully attacked by Moscow, above all by the prohibition in 1876 of the use of the Ukrainian 'dialect' for any academic or

[15] *Istoriya Rossii v xix Veke*, vol. 3, Z. Lensky, "Polskoe Vosstanie," p. 122.

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186* 175 648 literary purposes. Symptomatically two of the men most actively associated with this denationalizing, Russianizing policy, were among the most prominent Slavophil or Panslav Muscovites of the day: Prince Cherkassky and Yuri Samarin, a close friend of Aksakov."[16]

186* 668 Cherkassky, Samarin, and N. A. Milyutin worked at the agrarian reform in Poland, and Cherkassky "distinguished" himself in the campaign for reuniting the Uniates with the Orthodox Church. "Samarin and Cherkassky are significant in the Panslav movement in that, unlike Aksakov or the earlier Slavophils, and unlike the professorial type, represented by Lamansky, Miller, or Grot, they were active in administration and were well-known public figures. . . . Both men are also, above all, significant as representing the transformation of the idea of Panslavism into that of Panrussianism." (*op. cit.*, *p.* 67) Characteristically enough, Samarin was, besides all the traits mentioned by Sumner, a "considerable theologian," the collaborator of Khomyakov in this field.

186* 812 It is not mere chance that I mention this trait of Samarin's personality. The Slavophil doctrine was from its very beginning deeply rooted in religious thought. The father of the Muscovite school, Ivan Kireevsky, was first of all absorbed by problems of religious and moral categories. Parallel to the pre-Romantics, the Romantics, and the German idealistic philosophers, he was primarily interested in the spiritual structure of the human personality and in the problem of perfecting it. He was fighting for the unity and entirety of the human personality and believed that the superior truth cannot be conceived by rationalism but by the entire spiritual personality in which the factors of feeling and belief were more efficient than reason. M. Gershenzon, in his book, *Istoricheskie Zapiski* (Berlin, 1932), sensationally enough stresses that Kireevsky committed a mistake which became the starting point for the whole Slavophil Doctrine. Milyukov pretends that the century-old Russian trends toward Constantinople and world domination also originated from a mistake—from an orthographic

[16] R. H. Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

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mistake. I shall not try to discover whether or not Gershenzon was right. The point is that Kireevsky's example did not represent any exception. But what was the mistake? The mistake consisted in the fact that conceptions of the law of universal improvements based on a metaphysical truth led Kireevsky and all his followers to the belief that the Russian past, the Russian nation, and Russian Orthodoxy represented the incarnation of that law of universal improvement and of that metaphysical truth. These beliefs led them to their violent hatred for Peter the Great (the brother of Ivan Kireevsky, Peter Kireevsky, hated Peter the Great to such a degree that he was deeply ashamed of the fact that he himself bore the same name) and for Western Europe, and led them to the most simplified and crude philosophical interpretation of the historical development of Europe, which they based, by the way, again on European conceptions—on Guizot's triad: Roman heritage, Catholicism, and conquest. A one-sided rationalism characterized, in their opinion, modern Europe — to which they opposed Russia.

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Exactly the same might be said about Samarin, who was, as I mentioned before, plunged in religious and theological speculations and whose philosophy was based on religious personalism and Providentialism. But what is striking is precisely this—that all these men, personally honest and dignified, busy with problems of individual self-perfection, demanding Christianization of international relations, immediately lost and forgot all these speculations as soon as they touched problems connected with concrete political facts. And the respect which they had for the nation, as such, was practically confined to the Russian nation alone, as without Orthodoxy the nation did not mean anything to them. On the other hand, no less characteristic of these self-perfectionists is the dissolution of the individual in their conceptions of the village community and of the choral principle—in the thesis of the Orthodox *sobornost'*. There is hidden their Achillean heel. We shall see later to what ultimate aberrations these doctrines led, for instance in the case of Leont'ev, who praised the "ignorance of the

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186* Russian people" as a guarantee against the dangers of European
812 rationalism.

3. Goldmann, Pogodin, Stur

186* The above mentioned remarks of Sumner about the role of
829 men like Samarin and Cherkassky illustrate the fact that although in the beginning the Slavophils were not always in *odore sanctitatis* in the official quarters in Petersburg, that situation changed; the government appeared ready to use some of their conceptions. However, similar arguments and weapons for the fight against Poland—sometimes even sharpened ones—were offered to the government from other sides also. We may find a fascinating example of this in the Goldmann episode.

Charles Edward Goldmann, a German and a paid agent of the Russian government, wrote two books: *Die Europäische Pentarchie*, published in 1839 and *Europa's Cabinette und Allianzen*, published in 1862, and several memoirs which he presented to the Russian government. In his writings he tried to prove that the original religion of the Poles was the eastern Greek religion, that this religion had been uprooted by the Latin priests, that the oldest Polish Christian cathedral in Gniezno had been transformed from a Greek into a Catholic one. He attacked and derided the Polish emigration: "Polish emigration?—Does not England hang it *en masse* in Canada, while it dies from starvation in the hospitable England and the French throw it as a prey to the Bedouins, to the roulette, or to the *rouge et noir?* Russia knows very well that England and France in their nobleness and magnanimity would put the emigration next to the lackeys in their state carriage."

Goldmann also gives very valuable advice to the Russian government on how to eradicate the Polish spirit. First of all, Poland must be cut from the West, and Polish scholarship must be submerged in the Russian, the Latin traditions must be uprooted, and above all the Napoleonic Codex which rules Poland must be liquidated; the other Latin institution which must be destroyed is the

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Catholic church. Goldmann elaborated a very systematic plan for a consistent and gradual weakening of the Catholic church and its prestige in Poland. I have no space to enter into the striking details of that program which Kucharzewski revealed in his book; enough to say that it was indeed a diabolic program of systematic spoliation of faith through, first of all, confusion of the minds of the faithful. His aim was not only the Catholic Church but also the Uniate Church. Poles, White Ruthenians, and Ukrainians were to become, as Russian subjects, members of the dominant church of the Russian state. In his cautiously elaborated strategy not a single weapon has been forgotten: the building of Orthodox churches, the substitution of Orthodox crosses in the countryside for the Cahotlic ones, the institution of the Greek calendar, the organization of a press of Orthodox propaganda for the people, the appointment of only Orthodox directors and inspectors in the schools, etc. The Catholic priesthood must be weakened by the favoring of sectarianism and material spoliation. "It is difficult," he says, "to secularize one monastery; but the annihilation of 194 monasteries and the refusal of any noviciates in order to create from the unused wealth larger funds for the clergy will find many advocates among the clergy themselves. In general, the state should not hinder but help the clergy to surely and freely ruin and prostitute itself."[17]

186* 829 [795]

This was, in broad lines, the program for eradication of all Polish ties with the West. One is justified in asking if this system which was adopted by the Russian government in Poland was not very close to the main ideas of the Slavophils and Panslavists as far as the problem of Russian-Polish relations is concerned. As was mentioned before, at the time when Cherkassky and Samarin were active in Poland Slavophilism degenerated into Panrussianism. Parallel to this there developed, especially during the time of the Slavic Congress in Moscow in 1867, Panslavic conceptions of the Slavs united under Russian leadership. The most complete and consistently developed program for the sub-

[17] Kucharzewski, op cit., vol. II, pp. 281-297.

1 [Charles Edward Goldmann ---Analyst]

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jugation of Slavs to Russia was formulated in 1867 by the Slovak, Ludevit Štur, in his book *Slavdom and the World of the Future.* His book, which was republished in 1909 by such modern Russian scholars in Slavic as Lamansky, Grot and Florinsky, who, primarily because of their Slavophil and Panslavist tendencies, considered Štur a "genius of his nation," represents indeed a quite exceptional tribute to the cultural, moral, and political forces of the Russian empire. Štur had, however, predecessors not only in the above mentioned Slavophils but chiefly in the person of the famous Russian historian, politician, and journalist M. Pogodin, who himself represents a bridge between Slavophilism, Panrussianism, and Panslavism. I shall not enter into an analysis of all the voluminous works of Pogodin; sufficient will be his memorandum written in 1838, in which we find items already known to us from Nadezhdin and Gogol and which will reappear in almost similar phrasing in Stur's apology of Russia.

Pogodin writes: "Russia! What a wonderful phenomenon on the world arena. . . . Russia is a population of sixty million people whom it was possible to count in addition to those of whom there is yet no account, a population which increases by a million every year and will soon reach a hundred million. . . . And let us add thirty millions of our brothers and first cousins, the Slavs scattered throughout all Europe from Constantinople to Venice and from Morea to the Baltic and the North Sea, the Slavs in whom flows the same blood as our own, who speak the same language and therefore, by the laws of nature are sympathetic with us, who in spite of geographic and political separation, form one moral unity with us, by origin and by language! Let us *subtract* this amount from neighboring Austria and Turkey, and later from the whole of Europe, and let us add it to ourselves. What will remain with them, and how much shall we represent? One's thought and breath are stopped! A ninth part of the entire inhabited earth, and almost a ninth part of mankind! Half of the equator, a quarter of a meridian! Russia is a state which includes all soils, all climates and is rich in all indispensable

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products. . . ." Further he enumerates gold and silver, which Europe no longer has, mountains, bread with which they will feed Europe, and forests with which they will rebuild Europe should it be destroyed; they will clothe Europe. He stresses the fact that because of the cheapness of labor and the moderate needs of the workers there is no other place where trade might develop so successfully as in Russia. But all these physical powers of Russia are nothing in comparison with her moral powers. These are common sense, daring, intelligence, patience, military virtues. All these powers form "one enormous machine, organized in the most simple and successful manner, ruled by the hand of one man, by the hand of the Russian tsar, who at any moment, by one gesture may put it in movement and give to it any direction and produce any speed." "I ask, is there anyone who would be able to compete with us and whom we would not be able to bring to obedience? Is not the political fate of Europe and therefore the *fate of the world* in our hands if only *we desire to decide it?*"[18]

The first part of Štur's books is a ferocious attack against Western Europe. He throws himself against Catholicism with Lutheran violence, against Protestantism with perhaps less ardor; he vehemently criticizes European political life, European aristocracy, European bourgeoisie, the spoliations of morals, luxury, demoralization, and economic structure and comes quickly to the Slavic village community, which in his eyes appears to be the magic secret of historical success, prosperity, and happiness. Another factor guaranteeing success and prosperity is a strong government, the lack of which seems to him to be the essential vice of Slavic states other than Russia. Russia represents a glorious exception: "Having taken away from the nobility all political rights, the Russian government by its autocracy rendered an immeasurable service in its time not only to Russia but to all Slavdom"[19] I

[18] A. N. Pypin, *Panslavism v Proshlom i Nastoyashchem*, 1878, "Knigoizdatelstvo Kolos," 1913, pp. 87-88.

[19] *Slavyanstvo i Mir Budushchago, L. Štur*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 192.

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186* 829 can not quote all his declamations spread over many pages about the *tsar batyushka* and the love of the Russian people for him.

After these statements he turns his attacks against Austria and destroys the conceptions of Austroslavism. He also demonstrates that Slavs, because of their geographical situation, their religious differentiation, cultural differences, and so on are unable to organize any federation. They are weak, they are simply fragments of one nation, and because of that "the concept of federative states has no sense."[20]

The conclusion is obvious: "There remains a third road, the only one which is sure and has a future—the union of all Slavs with Russia."[21] Then come all kinds of apologetic epithets, comparisons, in which Russia appears as a lighthouse in the dark night, assertions that the Slavs must not start their new life with the declining West but with rising Russia. "Russia . . . is the mother and the leader of all our national family." He is aware, however, of some difficulties as far as the attitude of other Slavs toward Russia is concerned. But he solves them easily according to his assertion that the only Slavs who hate Russia are Poles. By their whole civilization they are opposed to Russia. Poles did not want, as did the Russians, to subordinate themselves to one monarchical will. They did not know how to organize their life, and they had been defeated by Russia, to the great and lasting benefit of all of the Slavs. Had Poland resisted, Russia would have been far away from Europe and would not be able to help the Slavs; and of course the Poles never had any qualifications for leadership among the Slavs.

186* 829 517 With the Czechs the situation is less complicated: "In their present prosaic conditions they only weakly attract other Slavs. Although literature is diligently developed, in higher learning, in philosophy and history, nothing outstanding appears, with the exception of Palacký's *History of Bohemia*. And in arts and poetry the Czechs do not possess, with the exception of Mácha, a single

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 139.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

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creative talent . . . material prosperity is the idol toward which the whole nation tends."[22] The Czechs cannot remain in their seclusion or create anything great—therefore they must join a greater entity. The so-called Illyrians and Catholic Croatians—"flabby," "seduced by Austria," "coaxed by Czechs," will be "inspired by the Slavic idea as soon as they rightly understand it." Of course Serbia and Bulgaria will agree. The end of the book is a kind of glorious finale. He brings an enumeration of all the great battles in Russian history. He stresses the fact that the main power of Russia is in the union of the people with the tsar, that the learned people are work-loving and conscious of the greatness of Russia; that the army is deeply devoted to the tsar and to the fatherland; the clergy, "pious and zealous"; the people, "kind, strong and obedient."

Then comes the "Russian Geography"—"Russia represents nine Turkish empires, twenty-eight Scandinavias, twenty-nine Austrias, thirty Germanies, and thirty-six Frances. The power of Russia is spread from the north-eastern corner of Asia, from Kamchatka, to the distant north of America, from the distant European North almost to the Carpathians, Danube, Black Sea, and farther to Ararat itself." Then follow figures concernings export and import, enumerations of Great Russian names, and so on. He concludes that everything works to the advantage of Russia—"Friend and enemy, war and peace, revolts and quietness;—Russia cast off the whole of Europe. She had the decisive voice at the Vienna Congress. . . . With one arm she embraces Asia, the second extends to America; inaccessible to Europe, she is a neighbor of the rotten Austria and the dead Turkish corps." Russia is the agglomeration of great and small things, of things divided and united; she is full of contradictions—Christianity, paganism, Islam, Byzantine churches, mosques, Catholic cathedrals. "She combines Europe with Asia, East with West, the dawn with the sunset, in other words, in the Russian kingdom the sun never sets."[23]

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 146-150.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-152.

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186* 829 The final conclusion is that the "immense Russian power pushes ahead, it cannot be quieted, it constantly must look to new arenas for its activity. The Slavic conscience strongly awakens in Russia . . . and it can not longer allow its relative tribes to remain in serfdom and shame. . . . To make of the whole of Slavdom a base is the only natural goal of Russian policy."[24]

4. Danilevsky (1822-1885)

The most radical Russian formulation of the Panslavistic program in its two directions—Constantinople and the Western Slavs—unified by a violent anti-Europeanism, was given by N. Ya. Danilevsky whose book *Russia and Europe* appeared in its first edition in 1871 and in its second in 1888 with a preface by another Panslavist, N. Strakhov. I cannot quote here the five hundred pages of this book in which the most fantastic idealization of the Russian past is married to the most vehement disdain and hatred for Western Europe and finally organized into a cynical political theory whose aim is to elaborate a system which would secure to Russia
186* a permanent political supremacy in the world. Danilesvky's starting
829 point is the denial of the conception of humanity and civilization
814 as a whole, to which he opposes a conception of struggle between different cultural historical types based mainly on language groupings.

This conception of cultural historical types deserves special
[177 .81] attention. Danilevsky combined the theme of Hegel, according to which various nations appear in succession on the historical stage as consecutive and ever more complete incarnations of the universal spirit, with the idea of the German historian Rückert about the existence of separate cultural historical types. "For Danilevsky such a cultural historical type is realized by every tribe or every family of peoples characterized by a separate language or group of languages sufficiently near to each other . . . if that tribe or family of peoples is in general, by its spiritual disposition, capa-

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

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ble of historical development and has already risen from infancy. 186*
However, not all nations are equally capable of historical de- 829
velopment. There are some whose destiny is to serve as ethno- 814
graphical material to other stronger and more stabilized nations. Those others are God's whips whose mission is to smash from the face of the earth the outlived cultures and nations. Danilevsky gives a series of historical cultural types: Egyptian, Chinese, Assyrian-Babylonian-Phoenician, Indian, Iranian, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, New Semitic, German-Roman or European, and finally Slavic with Russia at its head. Each of these types works out its own culture, and the principles of the civilization of one type are not transferred to another. Various types differ by the degree of versatility of their culture. Danilevsky sees four spheres of cultural-historical activity: the religious, the strictly cultural, the political, and the social-economic. No one of the listed cultural-historical types developed all of these four spheres of activity at once, with the exception of the Slavs and Russians, whose mission will be to accomplish a complete 'four-principled' culture."[25]

The road to that Russian predominance is a purely nationalistic 186*
one; and, neglecting any declamation on Russian religiosity and 829
other well known features of the Russian character as presented 668
in the writings of the Slavophils and abandoning all ideas about brotherhood and universal love, he brutally opens the door into the great future of Russia. Russia is destined for that future, but the road to it leads first of all to Constantinople and secondly to the emancipation of the Slavic nations. I shall not bring to the fore all his violent criticism applied to "rotten Europe." The Russian anti-Westernism here reached its climax. The book is supported by quasi-scientific arguments taken from anthropology, zoology, geology, geography, and the social sciences. It might be considered one of the most important scientific manifestos or rationalistic Panslavic theories. However, the most important implications of the book are, of course, the political ones. "Being

[25] Danilevsky, *op cit.*, and article by V. Myakotin on Danilevsky in *the Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'*, T-A Granat, vol. 17, pp. 552-557.

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186* foreign to the European world because of its internal structure,
829 and in addition being too strong and powerful to occupy the place
668 of one of the members of the European family, to be one of the great European powers, Russia cannot occupy a place worthy of herself and of Slavdom in history other than by becoming the chief figure of an independent political system of states and by being a counter balance to Europe in its entirety. These are the advantages: the utility and the significance of the Panslavic alliance in its relationship to Russia."[26] And this is another programatic assertion: "Sooner or later, whether we want it or not, the fight with Europe (or at least with the greater part of it) is inevitable, and it will be a fight because of the eastern question, that is, for the freedom and independence of the Slavs, for the possession of Tsargrad—for everything which in the opinion of Europe represents an object of illegitimate Russian ambition and which in the opinion of every Russian worthy of that name represents the inevitable demand of Russia's historical mission."[27]

186* Of course, on his road, Danilevsky fatally met Poland. His
829 fight in this case was very simple. He liquidated Poland with the help of all kinds of historical accusations and political insinuations. In the same way he destroyed every spiritual cultural tie between Russia and Europe. His formula was not at all complicated, and one cannot really deny that this formula is the key to Stalin's present policy. When referring to the theory of political balance he says: "It is not at all difficult to be convinced that between Europe and Russia in this as well as in other respects there exists a direct and complete contradiction. It is precisely the balance of political forces in Europe that is harmful and even fatal for Russia; and the disturbance of this balance, from what ever side it may come, is advantageous and beneficent."[28]

After several historical examples, Danilevsky gives the following formula: "At every disturbance of balance Europe is naturally

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 437.
[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 474.
[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 486.

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divided into two parties—one, the disturbant with those who *volens nolens* are on his side, and the victims of the disturbants who seek to restore the balance. Both parties naturally try to bring to their side the only one strong neighbor who is, by the nature of things (whatever, by the way, might be the forms, words, and appellations applied), outside of their family, outside their system. Therefore both parties flatter Russia. One seeks help from her for the conservation of the obtained predominance; the other one for liberation from the power, influence, and danger coming from the side of the disturbant. Russia may choose of her own will. On the contrary, during the existence of balance the political activity of Europe is directed outside, and its hostility against Russia is given free march: here, instead of two parties one after the other flattering Russia, Europe flows into one entity openly or secretly hostile to Russia. We must therefore abandon the thought of any solidarity with European interests, of any ties with one or the other political combination of European powers, and first of all acquire a complete freedom of action, complete possibility to unite with every European state, on only one condition—that such an alliance should be advantageous for us without any consideration as to what kind of political principle is represented at a given time by this or that state."[29]

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It would not be arbitrary to assert that if for the contemporaries of Danilevsky his book was a "catechism" or codex of "Slavophilism" (words of N. N. Strakhov), for us it might be considered the bible of Stalin's present foreign policy. In the light of Russia's present play with England, America, and France, not to mention Germany and China, the guiding ideas of Danilevsky become particularly significant.

From the historical and moral point of view this book cannot resist any critique. Danilevsky followed the Slavophils in their fanatic admiration for the Russia of the Muscovite period. Even from the point of view of Russian imperialism that Slavophil pre-

[29] *Op. cit.*, pp. 488-89.

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186* 829 dilection for the Ivans of Moscow and hatred for Peter the Great were not justifiable. As far as the territorial expansion of Russia is concerned, the Russia of the Petersburgian period did not acquire or "liberate" fewer nations and lands than the tsars of Moscow.[30]

177 53 538 Besides, for every unprejudiced historian one thing is quite clear—that the universal achievements of Russia in the field of spiritual culture were genuinely connected with her collaboration with Western Europe. The Russian national genius was silent or inarticulate for centuries, and only when the magic wand of the West touched the Russian soul did the voice of Avvakum become the melody of Pushkin's poetry. How can we imagine all the great accomplishments of Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Tschaikowsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov—in other words the Russian culture of the nineteenth century—without Europe and her inspiration? This point of view has been strongly stressed on many occasions by Russians themselves, first of all by Vladimir Solov'ev.

186* 829 From the moral point of view the ideology of Danilevsky is essentially immoral. Where messianistic arguments are adduced in support love changes quickly and easily into hatred. Danilevsky pays some official tribute to the slogans of "brotherhood" and "Slavic reciprocity" brought to the fore by the first Russian and non-Russian Slavophils. But the essence of his doctrine is pure national selfishness. "Life and theory," says Solov'ev, "somehow very easily and unnoticeably replace the just and human formula of the national idea by the formula of violence and national murder. Not by any means do all the advocates of this idea directly preach subdual and destruction of foreign nations; but there exist roundabout means, softer in appearance although just as murderous in spirit. 'Our nation, by its historical march and by the natural succession of national culture, replaces all other nations who have passed away and are passing away.' This 'replacement' also is not without a cruel, bloody struggle and various national murders, but the final result is attained as if by itself. Such a

[30] This point, by the way, was stressed by Pypin and by Sumner.

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softened formula of national selfishness was taken from the Germans by our Slavophils, who applied to Russia that which their teachers applied to Germanism; this view was systematically worked out among us by the author of *Russia and Europe*. Between him and the former Slavophils there is, however, a difference which he himself points out although he does not always observe it. The latter affirm that the Russian nation has a universal historical calling, as the bearer of the final international enlightenment; Danilevsky, rejecting every international task, considers Russia and Slavdom only a special cultural-historic type,—however, the most perfect and complete (four-principled in his terminology), containing within itself the advantages of former types. Difference of opinion, therefore, appears only in abstract terms which do not change the essence of the matter. It must be noted, however, that the orthodox Slavophils (Khomyakov, Kireevsky, the Aksakovs, Samarin), not rejecting universal history and admitting, although only in abstract principle, the solidarity of all mankind, were nearer than Danilevsky to the Christian idea and could affirm it without falling into obvious external contradiction."[21]

I think that there is nothing to be added to this essentially correct critique of Danilevsky's system. One must indeed recognize that from a certain point of view Danilevsky finds himself very far from the first generation of the Muscovite Slavophils who were trying to marry their Russian nationalism and Slavophilism with universal humanitarianism. They had a mystic idea of the nation and a respect for it as for a person, a religious entity. (True enough only for the Russian nation.) Danilevsky lost all these things. There is no spiritualism, no idealism in his approach—just as in the case of another man, Constantine Leont'ev, who was very close to Danilevsky's conceptions and who might be considered the ultramontane of the whole school. Without any great enthusiasm or admiration for the Slavs, but simply guided by a fanatical fear of revolution, liberalism, and Europeanism, stress-

[21] Solov'ev, *Works*, vol. v, pp. 35-36.

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186* 829 ing the fact that Byzantinism was the most definite historical type ("for the state it means autocracy, for religion—Orthodoxy, for the moral world—contempt for earthly things, repugnance for the dreams about the earthly happiness of people, humility") and that the "Byzantine spirit with its principles and influences, like the complicated tissues of the nervous system, penetrated he whole Russian social organism," he proclaimed that: "Russia should be frozen so that she may not decay," as every living process ends in death and decomposition—the state in which Western Europe now finds itself. Although there are no universalistic elements in the Russian past, the Russian civilization must be preserved as it is.

For Leont'ev all means are good as "politics are not ethics." He calls for courage, for people who will not fear the words "reaction" and "reactionary," who will understand "that nothing can be achieved without violence" and that in order to stop the "defrosting" of Russia "retrogressive reforms" are indispensable, first of all "the fight against public education because if Russia has succeeded in her resistance against the spirit of the times, she owes it to the ignorance of the Russian people."[22]

5. Tyutchev (1803-1873)

186* 642 Perhaps from the purely chronological point of view Tyutchev should have been discussed before Danilevsky. Indeed some of Danilevsky's most essential views were first brought to public opinion in 1869 in the review *Zarya*, in which he said that: "Europe not accidentally but in her very essence is hostile to us. Therefor only when she is in conflict with herself might she be safe for us."[23] In a letter to Aksakov on the second of October, 1867, Tyutchev said: "Civil war in the West is our best political ally."

[22] K. Leont'ev, *Vostok, Rossiya i Slavyanstvo*, vol. I, vol. II, *Moscow*, 1885-1886; vol. I, p. 81; vol. II pp. 86, 109-120, 78-152, 180, 24-27; quoted by P. N. Milyukov (Milioukov), *Le mouvement intellectuel russe*, Paris, 1918, pp. 400-410.

[23] K. Pigarev, F. I. "Tyutchev i problemy vneshnei politiki Rossii" in *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, vol. 19-21, Moscow, 1935, p. 206.

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(cf. *ibid.*) However, as early as June 26, 1864, Tyutchev wrote 186*
to his sister: "I of course am not one of those who in their gloomy 648
patriotism would like to doom Russia to permanent solitude, isolate and seclude her forever. I admit agreements, but on the condition that they be only *accidental* and that, accepting them, they never forget the truth-dogma, that between Russia and the West there can be no alliance, neither for the sake of interest, nor for the sake of principles, that in the West there exists not a single interest, not a single tendency which would not conspire against Russia, especially against her future, and which would not try to harm us. And this is why the only *natural* policy of Russia toward the Western powers must be not an alliance with one or the other of these powers, but *disunion*, division of them, because, only when they are divided among themselves do they cease to be hostile to us—because of impotence and, of course, never because of conviction. This severe truth will perhaps shock the tender souls, but in the end this is the law of our existence as a tribe and as an empire, and the only way of ignoring this is to cease to be Russian."[34]

The case of Tyutchev is perhaps the most fascinating. Belonging 186*
to a distinguished Russian family, a man with intimate ties with 538
the court, a diplomat, one of the most brilliant Russian poets, the poet of the *Last Love*, the poet of the metaphysic fear of "the cosmos" and the universal "chaos," the poet of nature, the poet who created new rhythms and melodies in Russian poetry, the Russian poet who translated Goethe, Byron, Schiller, Heine, Lamartine, and who himself wrote poems in French, a man who was plunged in religious indifference and scepticism, a pantheist, an "ashamed atheist" who was "entirely foreign in his domestic life not only to orthodox customs of the church, but alien to the traditions of the Russian church,"[35] (words of Aksakov), a man who had an arrogant disdain for the "gloomy grey Russian life," in which he saw only "offices and barracks, *chin* and *knut*," a man

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.
[35] A. Leshnev, *Dus Poeta*, Gos. Izd., 1934, p. 22.

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186 538 who spent most of his time abroad courting Germans, French, Italians, establishing very friendly relations with Heine, Schelling, and other distinguished poets, writers, and intellectuals in Europe, married to two foreign women who did not know Russian, a cosmopolitan in his private life, "entertaining German barons, poets, and diplomats," always speaking French[36]—Tyutchev became not only in his political treaties, articles, and diplomatic reports but also in his poetry the most violent advocate of Slavophil and Panslavistic ideas and of Russian anti-Europeanism.

186* 648 There were, of course, slight distinctions between him and the Muscovite Slavophils. The kind of patriarchial democratism which characterized them, their adulation of the Russian peasant, their theory about the Russian village community—for all these things Tyutchev cared very little. His primary interests were connected with foreign affairs. He was the "minister of foreign affairs" of the Slavophils. Therefore the Slavic problem was always important to him. He wrote and published many political poems addressed to the Slavs and to the Czechs and poems connected with the Polish problem,—but again in a very peculiar way. When Murav'ev the "hangman" plunged the Polish Insurrection of 1863 into massacres and blood, Tyutchev addressed to him a homage of greatest thankfulness and admiration. And when the grandson of Suvorov, the famous hero of the Prague massacre in Warsaw in 1794, appeared decent enough to refuse participation in a collective address to Murav'ev, Tyutchev launched a mischievous and sarcastic epigram in which he made fun of Suvorov's misplaced humanitarianism. Besides, he, in 1866 wrote a poem glorifying Murav'ev's memory. True enough that in 1831 his attitude had been a little different. He wrote at that time a poem by which Poles have very often been lulled and which was usually quoted as a Russian pro-Polish text. First of all there is, I think, a kind of moral insanity in bringing the name of Tyutchev as a symbol of Russian-Polish fraternity; the name of the poet who in the most cynical way sang the glory of Murav'ev! Besides, even

[36] Leskov, *Ibid.*, p. 20.

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the poem of 1831 gives a rather peculiar consolation to the Poles —this is what Tyutchev says to them: "Believe the word of the Russian nation: we shall sacredly preserve your ashes, and our common freedom as a Phoenix will find its birth in them." 186* 648

In the recent works devoted to Tyutchev such as those of Pigarev, Gippius, Stremoukhov, Lezhnev, one important detail has been revealed. Both the Slavophils and Tyutchev representing the landed Russian nobility, were deeply impressed by the revolutionary movements in Europe. Tyutchev in his anti-revolutionism, became a kind of Russian Joseph de Maistre and he very soon came to the conception that in Europe there existed two powers: Revolution and Russia. He developed this conception in his articles and poems and for many years he was busy with the organization of Russian propaganda in Europe for the spreading of his political ideas.

One of his[1] most significant poems in this respect was the poem *The Sea and the Rock*, in which he gives a picture of how the gigantic foot of the rock will appease the stormy waves of the sea. The idea which was symbolically presented in this poem was developed in a political language in his article *Russia and Revolution* written in 1848.[37] His conception of the greatness of Russia developed as a function of the mission which he attributed to Russia; and here his imagination becomes boundless. In his famous poem *Russian Geography* he mentions Moscow, Petersburg, and Constantinople as the *capitals* of the Russian empire, in which he sees "seven interior seas and seven great rivers from the Nile to the Neva, from the Elbe to China, from the Volga to the Euphrates, from the Ganges to the Danube—this is the Russian empire." 186* 829 538

This was written by a poet who, although he revealed in his lyrical poetry his tenderness for the "original charm" of the "poor villages," "humble nakedness," "boring nature," of the "land of everlasting patience," did not himself care at all for the Russian landscape. This is what he wrote in a letter to his wife:

[37] Pigarev, *op. cit.*, *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, pp. 195-196.

1 [Tyutchev's ---Analyst]

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186* 829 838 "An immense plain—the Scythian plain which you didn't like on my relief map, where it spreads out like an enormous spot, is not more pleasant in reality."[28]

186* 829 814 Not less striking than his *Russian Geography* are his historical views and the formulation of the Russian mission which we find in his two French articles *Russia and Revolution* and *Rome and the Roman Question*, and in a large work which he was preparing — *Russia and the West*. In all these writings he draws an apocalyptic picture of the destruction of the Europe of Charlemagne, of the Europe of the Treaties of 1815, of the destruction of the Papacy, Catholicism, and Protestantism. He demands a definitive formation of a great Orthodox empire, "the legitimate empire of the East, which will be realized by the absorption of Austria by Russia and the 'return' (*sic!*) of Constantinople to Russia and by the union of the two churches." The conclusion of these events will be symbolized by the Russian tsar as the Orthodox emperor in Constantinople, as the master and protector of Italy and Rome, and by an Orthodox pope in Rome as a subject of the emperor.[29] In his article *Papacy and the Roman Question* he constantly attacks all kinds of "usurpatory" tendencies of Western thought and seems completely unaware of the fact that his own conception represents the most fantastic historical usurpation—although not at all unreal in the light of our days. This is the way in which he ends his article: "Permit me to recall in conclusion, an incident connected with the visit which the Emperor of Russia made to Rome in 1846. One may still remember perhaps the general emotion with which the Emperor was received upon his appearance in the Church of St. Peter,—this was the appearance of the Orthodox Emperor who returned to Rome after several centuries of absence—and the electric flash which went through the crowd when it saw him going to pray at the tombs of the apostles. This emotion was legitimate. The prostrated Emperor was not alone; all Russia was prostrated with him.

[28] Leshnev, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[29] Figurev, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
*[Tyutchev--Analyst]

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Let us hope that he did not pray in vain before the holy relics!"[40] 186*
The *Revue des Deux Mondes* published this article and prefaced 829
it with a small and rather melancholic note: "Charlemagne is no 814
longer in Paris or in Aix-la-Chapelle, he is in Moscow or in St. Petersburg. And one must above all keep in mind the fact that the new Charlemagne coming to Rome clearly pretends to bring, as the former one, a great material power, but he has no intention of coming there to find a spiritual, a moral consecration of his power. Far from that; it is he who, so to say, comes to consecrate the papacy. . . ." "One might make many other reflections upon this subject, and give some peculiar details on the march of ideas in one part of Russian society, and show how the school which formerly had Monsieur de Maistre as its chief and which made its gospel from the doctrines of *Du Pape* arrived gradually, by a kind of national logic, to find that the real pope was the tsar."[41]

But what is especially striking here is that Tyutchev appeared 186*
able to marry in his thought and in his heart this conception of a 829
Russian Charlemagne in Constantinople and Rome with his own formula of Russia, a land of "officers, barracks, *chin* and *knut*." Justly asks Lezhnev: "In the name of what is the 'humble Russia' to obtain 'the thunder of earth and sword of heaven?'. . . ." "Tsarist Russia spreads like an enormous spot over the map of the world—this is Tyutchev's 'Russian geography'. . . . What is Russia promising to those innumerable nations which she intends to subdue? Nothing but the quietness of the cemetery or of a northern desert."[42] Indeed this whole transformation of "barracks" into St. Sophia and St. Peter is a terrible fairy tale and on this occasion Lezhnev says that the theocratic tiara suits Nicholas I as "a saddle a cow."[43] As we know there are some other candidates for the same saddle. In his poems launched against the Vatican Tyutchev attacks the Pope because of his "fatal word": "the freedom of conscience is delirium." And this was written by

[40] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1, 1850, p. 133.
[41] *Op. cit.*, p. 118.
[42] A. Lezhnev, *Due Poets* . . . Gos. Izd., 1934, pp. 13-14.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

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186* a Russian of the time of Nicholas! Certainly the most deceiving
329 trait in the whole Tyutchev episode is his hypocrisy—that play of his with love and hatred. Repulsive indeed is this Tartuffe who so much resembles Saltykov's Yudushka Golovlev, constantly spreading around him his ointment of sacred hatred. The starting point of all his conceptions, as I showed before, was his fear of European revolution. This also explains in part his attitude toward the Polish insurrections and toward the Hungarian Insurrection of 1848. Russia had to be strong in order to be able to save the world from the catastrophe. We see here the presence of his former altruistic conceptions—Europe is in a state of ideological disaster, the world is in danger—the "Russian rock" of legitimism will save it! However, this was not quite so. Russia's tragic days during the Crimean campaign brought our political Tartuffe to some different views. He consoled himself by the following significant consideration: "In this ultimate fight we should perish if the West were one, but it is two: the red one and the one which must be absorbed by it. We have been opposing it for forty years, and now here we are on the border of the precipice. And now the red one in its turn will save us."[44] This is the best revelation of Tyutchev's universal historiosophic conceptions.

Merezhkovsky once justly observed that "one" of the traits of Russian Slavophilism was its "softbodiness," bonelessness and inability, lack of desire to carry its thought to the end. And Tyutchev "puts bones into the body and dots the *i's;* his logic is merciless." . . . "Tyutchev is clever, and his politics are not stupid; but as far as his conscience is concerned it enters least of all with his politics."[45] Not only hypocrisy but really a complete lack of human loyalty characterized him. During the whole of the life of Nicholas I this "bishop of Russian imperialism" did nothing but spread incense around Nicholas. But as soon as the latter died, after the Crimean War, Tyutchev shouted: "Thou wert not

[44] Pigarev, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
[45] Lezhnev, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

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a tsar but an actor" and expressed his indignation about "the monstrous stupidity of this ill-fated man." 186* 829

This was one missionary of holy Russia, a prophet who appeared before the world with "a crucifix and a dagger" in his hands. Let us now meet one who for the triumph of his Russian truth was ready to change his crucifix into a dagger.

6. Dostoevsky (1821-1881)

Without entering into a detailed description of Dostoevsky's well-known messianic conceptions about the "God-bearing nation" and all his speculations about Russia and Europe, which he develops in his novels and short stories as well as in his *Diary of a Writer*, I shall confine myself to his general philosophy of history. The first thing I should like to stress is that the book of Dostoevsky is a book almost as much about Europe as about Russia—if not even more about Europe. His "Russian boys" are constantly busy with the Russian God—but even more with the Catholic God—with the Inquisition, with socialism, European rationalism, atheism, revolutionism, and so on. And this is so in spite of the fact that in his novels we remain in Russia, constantly in Russian monasteries, taverns, St. Petersburg apartments or streets, or in some provincial Russian towns. Another thing which should be remembered is that Dostoevsky from his very childhood and youth was a pupil first of all of European literature. If one should try to discover in the texts of Dostoevsky any proof of genuine and real sympathy for that European civilization which formed his art and thought, one would undoubtedly be unsuccessful. He very often declaims his enthusiastic love for Europe, but that love is addressed only to the "holy stones" of the "European cemetery." On the other hand the types of Europeans who appear in his novels—French, Italians, Poles—as well as the pictures of Europe taken either from the gambling casinos, London streets, French railways, or Parisian department stores, are deeply repulsive—with some few exceptions: Mr. Astlee in *The Gambler* and 186* 538 829

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186* Dostoevsky's feeling for Germany, especially for Bismarck.
538 This obvious antipathy, if not hatred, appeared in Dostoevsky
829 after his Siberian exile. One would be willing to explain this by the negative impression which Europe made upon Dostoevsky when he visited it. However, I think that the motives of his feel-
186* ings were of a different nature. Dostoevsky was sent to Siberia
829 because of his European infatuations. We know how deeply he suffered during his exile and indeed how unpleasantly he denied his former opinions and appeared ready to embrace less dangerous and less politically compromising roads of thought, although in his situation it was difficult to be heroic to the end. Dostoevsky suffered because of Europe, and I think that this personal motive has to be taken into consideration. It would be useless here to quote all Dostoevsky's astonishing and fantastic conceptions of what he thought to be the real historical relationship beween Russia and Europe. We know that Dostoevsky was always ready to say that "to be a real Russian means to be a real European," and that some of his heroes felt when abroad that they were the unique Europeans among Europeans, that French were French, English English, Germans German, but only Russians besides being Russians were also Europeans, and have I to recall his really incredible and almost absurd speculations about the "Russian seekers"—Onegin and Aleko—in his Pushkin speech? Only an aberration of mind could bring one to assert that Onegin killed his friend and Aleko his wife perhaps because of their longing for universalistic ideals. Dostoevsky's deep belief was that only the Russian thought was able to embrace universalistic goals. By these trends of his beliefs he certainly closely approached the Slavophils and later the Russian *narodniki* as well as the Panslavists; and in his political articles he very often waved the banners of Slavic brotherhood, of a Panslav union under Russian leadership. And one easily remembers his piercing and hysterical shouts: "Constantinople must be ours!" But not all these slogans which, after all, in Dostoevsky's time had become trivial clichés, should interest us here. More significant, as I mentioned before, is Dostoev-

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186* 829

sky's general philosophy of history, and this has been brilliantly studied and presented by L. Grossman in his study *Dostoevsky and Europe*. Dostoevsky likes to hide the horrible truth about man and mankind with the help of a Russian ikon which miraculously allows him to escape from responsibility. His heroes very often act in the same way, and Dostoevsky usually insinuates that their monstrous moral degradations are due to Western European influences. He constantly uses the method of substitution, attaching European labels to the most ferocious manifestations of his own thought. He very freely uses the author's privilege of disclaiming responsibility for the opinions of his heroes. Shestov, however, seized Dostoevsky in his elusive jumps of thought and brought him to trial. As far as the purely political historiosophic conceptions of Dostoevsky are concerned, Grossman did the same. These are the general conclusions which the "complex philosophy of Dostoevsky" implies: "The mission of the Slavs is to decide and finish the thousand-year old internal conflict of the Roman-German world to the advantage of the Germans and to the mutual domination of the Slavs and the Germans in Europe."[48] Ancient Rome was the source of European civilization; gradually losing its pagan character the Roman idea of universal monarchy was transformed into the European ideal of universal union in Christ. With centuries this great historical conception split— in the East appeared the Slavic idea of union based on the gospel, in the West—the Roman Catholic idea of a universal monarchy with the Pope at its head. The Papacy yielded to the third temptation of the devil and "sold Christ for earthly domination." The next phase of the development of the Catholic idea, and this means the next deformation of Christian ideals, is to be found in France which created Socialism. In this period the definite triumph of materialism over spiritualism was achieved.

To this extreme historical formulation of Western conceptions was opposed the German idea which, from the time of Arminius

[48] L. Grossman, *Tvorchestvo Dostoevskogo*, Moscow, 1928, p. 198. All of Dostoevsky's political system is to be found in the *Diary of a Writer* and in novels like *The Possessed* and in his letters. I follow Grossman for lack of space.

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186* 829 to Bismarck, represented only a negative idea of protest against Rome. This negative "idealism" was the main source of national German inspiration. But at the moment of the final German victory Germany, lacking its object, will be also lacking inspiration, and this will bring her to spiritual death. The final course of this worldly struggle will take on an apocalyptical character. The Pope, having lost his allies in the persons of emperors and kings, will throw himself into the arms of the proletariat, trying to become a socialistic vicar of St. Peter. Against this will rise Germany for the ultimate battle. But the last word will be said by the united East. In alliance with Germany, Russia will destroy the "two-headed monster" of Catholicism and Socialism, and then will be established the domination of the Germans, now inspired by Russia, in the West, and the domination of Russia in the East.[47] As I mentioned before (and Grossman brings many proofs of this), Dostoevsky had a great admiration for Bismarck, the "iron chancellor." He hoped that the creator of the formula of "union in blood and iron" would split Europe with his powerful sword, and that "after rivers of blood and hundreds of millions of heads" the world would accept the new word of the Slavic gospel. And this was to be what Dostoevsky called "The free Panslavic union of Europe."[48] The Franco-Prussian war became a source of inspiration for his conception. "Just like the most aggressive German professors he calls for a march against France" and "wants to enlighten Europe by the light of the gospel, by Bismarck's formula, and by the direct help of the German armies." France will be broken by "blood and iron," "Tsargrad" will be in the hands of Russia, England and France will be defeated by the Russian-German armies, and so the triumph of Russian Christianity will be achieved.[49] In other words he follows the reasonings of his Raskolnikov: "*vive la guerre eternelle*—till the new Jerusalem."

[47] Grossman, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-203.
[48] Grossman, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208.
[49] Grossman, *op. cit.*

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It is true enough that in the very last period of his life as if 186*
having lost his hopes for Russia to achieve that universal mission 829
he suddenly called: "To Asia! To Asia!" "To that great mother of all religions, to the original 'neighborhood of God,' to the sacred nearness of the thousand-year-old contemplators of heavenly revelations—to India and Palestine. . . ."[50]

7. Bakunin (1814-1876)

There is a literary theory that Dostoevsky's "possessed" Stav- 000
rogin is a fictionized portrait of Bakunin. The author of this hypothesis, L. Grossman, accumulated extremely interesting proofs for his discovery. I shall not enter into an analysis of this theory, but it is quite true that the moral labyrinths of Bakunin's life and political revolutionary career lend themselves very well to this comparison. Bakunin's biographers made great efforts to explain and justify by political Machiavellianism Bakunin's rampant attitude towards Nicholas I and Alexander II, and his behavior in Siberia, which was morally paradoxical to say the least. Therefore, there is no doubt that the ideological prestige of Bakunin's political activities as well as of his writings is strongly contaminated by his very doubtful personality. His *Confession* and his letter to Alexander II surpassed the repentence of the Decembrists, the agony of Chaadaev, and the yielding of Dostoevsky. His infatuation for Murav'ev-Amursky and the role he played in the Irkutsk society are not less astonishing. However, he has his 186*
place and an important one in the development of Slavophil and Panslavistic ideas. Bakunin represents a kind of revolutionary Panslavism, but in this field of his political conceptions one may find the same inconsistency that characterized his moral attitude.

National and Slav feelings as well as feelings of sympathy for 186*
Poland had been awakened in him by Lelewel, famous Polish his- 829
torian and geographer, radical democrat and member of the Rev- 648
olutionary Government of 1830-31, during their meeting in Brus-

[50] Grossman, p. 213.

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186* sels. Lelewel "told him about the primitive democratic Polish
829 municipality, about the agrarian Slavic collectivity, about broth-
648 erly institutions and customs distorted later by the class structure and the enslavement of people which came from the West. At that time he conceived a new goal for himself which was "a Russian revolution and a republican federation of all Slavic lands, and the establishment of one indivisible Slavic republic, federative only as regards administration, and politically centralized."[51] At that time, under the influence of western European populism and socialism on one side and, on the other, of his intimate contacts with the Polish emigration in Paris, Bakunin started to crystallize his own Russian populist and revolutionary ideas. The first manifestation of these crystallized ideas took place in Paris in 1847 when he delivered his famous Polish speech at the commemoration of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31. In this speech he attacked Nicholas I, he asserted that the Russian and Polish nations must be reconciled, that both were paying for the discord introduced by Russian autocracy, and that the Russian revolution would bring freedom to both nations. He said that this task could be realized only through the Russian-Polish alliance; without the liberation of Poland, Russian freedom could not be born. And finally he called for the liberation of all Slavic nations in order to bring about the final collapse of despotism in Europe.

186* A little more complicated was the atmosphere of the Slavic
668 Congress in Prague, in which he took part and delivered several
[575] speeches. At that Congress, as we know, Palacký advocated the idea of a Slavic federation with Austria in which the Czechs would play the dominant role. This idea was not popular among other Slavs, and the atmosphere of the Congress was not at all encouraging.

Bakunin first of all stressed the fact that Russia, by enslaving Poland and especially by giving a part of her to the Germans—the main enemies of the Slavic race—tore herself away from Slav-

[51] J. Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 161-162; cf. also V. Polonsky, *M. A. Bakunin*, vol. I, Gos. Izd., 1925, pp. 155 156.

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dom. She could return to Slavdom only by the liberation of Poland. In this point Bakunin was certainly much more consistent than the Muscovite Slavophils ever were. On the other hand, he tried to warn the Congress against narrow nationalism, against hopes attached to the Austrian dynasty as well as against hopes attached to the Russia of Nicholas I: "Entering the Russia of Nicholas I you would enter a coffin without any national life or any freedom." In several articles such as *The Foundations of a New Slavic Policy, The Foundations of a Slavic Federation, The Interior Organization of Slavic Nations,* and finally in his *Manifesto to the Slavs,* he formulated his view on that future federation. He dreamt about the abolition of tsardom through Russian revolution, which was to be preceded by a Slavic revolution. He thought that the Slavs under the leadership of a free Russia would fight against Austria, Turkey, Germany, Hungary, and even against the whole world if that were demanded by the interests of the Slavic Union. This Slavic Union was to contain not only Slavic peoples but also the Magyars and Greeks. It would be an Eastern world with Constantinople as its capital and it would be opposed to the Western world. The political regime of the Union would be republican but without a parliament, a dictatorship would be established especially because of Russia, which would be unable to reach a higher level of civilization without it.[53]

These articles and his manifesto passed without any great effect. His striking idea of dictatorship representing a kind of anarchical despotism was an idea which obsessed him and which reappeared in different forms on many occasions during his life. He even admitted that a Russian tsar, Nicholas I or Alexander II, or a general, such as Murav'ev-Armursky or Nicholas Ignat'ev, might be a beneficent dictator over the Slavs. The next most important manifestation of Bakunin's Panslavism took place after his Siberian exile, when in 1862 he published his revolutionary *Manifesto to Russian, Polish, and all Slavic friends.* As a matter of fact,

[53] Polonsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-227.

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186* 668 he returned in this manifesto to his former ideas—of an agrarian revolution, of the abolishment of bureaucracy and the privileged classes and a federation of Slavic peoples. Characteristically enough, and this is what Kucharzewski stresses in his studies on Bakunin, Bakunin's relationship to Poland was a very peculiar phenomenon. He was attracted by Poles (in Siberia he married a young girl of Polish origin), he always spoke very warmly in his writings and manifestos to Poles, but on the other hand these contacts with Poles each time, just as during his rencontre with Lelewel, aroused in him Russian national feelings. I may add that in his youth he greatly admired Pushkin's anti-Polish odes. When discussing the social structure of the future Slavic federation, he strongly stressed the fact that that structure "will in no way be different from ours." It is clear enough that his manifesto expressing such views on the future of the "Slavs liberated by a revolutionary Russia" could not awake great enthusiasm among them. Hence Bronislaw Zaleski, a distinguished Polish émigré, wrote a long answer to Bakunin's manifesto in which he said that: "Bakunin wants not only the abolishment of despotism but he also wants the destruction of everything which existed before, in other words he wants a deluge—and into the ark, which would save from this deluge a creative idea for mankind, he puts only the Russian village community with its common landownership as it had been formed in serfdom. Hence any individual property must be abolished forever. . . . How many ruins it will be necessary to make in order to prepare that vast pasturage—is what the new reformer does not take into consideration."[53]

Besides this, Bakunin pushed the Russian frontiers of his federation so far into the West that indeed only a very small part of Poland would remain as a Polish entity in the Union. The Polish periodical *Review of Polish Affairs* ended its analysis of Baku-

[53] Kucharzewski, *op cit.*, vol. II, p. 443.

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nin's manifesto by saying that "Russian revolutionism is, in its consequences for Poland, similar to Russian despotism."[54] 186* 668

I shall not enter the further complication of his relations with the Poles, the details of his self-imposed activities in the Polish Insurrection of 1863, nor the mutual deceptions between himself and Poland.

After the Polish Insurrection the Panslavic conceptions played a less important role in the second part of his life with the exception of his program for the Slavic section of the International in Zürich in 1872.[55]

8. Herzen (1812-1870)

Herzen also has some ties with Dostoevsky and these ties are to he found in his critique of the West and in his enthusiasm for the Russian village community which, as we know, was one of the chief objects of admiration of the Muscovite Slavophils though they first heard of it from the German Haxthausen who in 1845 published his work on his travels in Russia. Herzen's cult of the Russian peasant, his populism, made of him a precursor of *narodnichestvo.* 186* 829

That evolution was not quite simple—Herzen, before his trip to Europe and stay there, was one of the most enthusiastic Russian Westerners, and he very often opposed the Muscovite Slavophils. His stay in Europe changed his opinions, and there he became one of the most violent fighters against *l'esprit bourgeois* of the Western civilization. The conception of the dying Western civilization became a kind of obsession with him and against these constantly drawn pictures of the chaos, agony, and disease of Europe suddenly arose in the mind of this former Westerner his Russian and even Slavophil messianism. To Chaadaev's formula that the past of Russia is empty, the present unbearable, and that she has no future, Herzen replied that the "past of the Russian

[54] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 412.
[55] Cf. Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, and E. H. Carr, *M. Bakunin*, London, 1937.

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186* 829 people is dark; its present is terrible, but it has rights to the future." And he filled that future first of all with the hope that Russia would avoid the poison of Western Philistinism. "Philistinism—this is the last word of civilization, based on the absolute autocracy of property." Russia, by the fact that she knew only communal property, had indeed every possibility of avoiding the poisonous influences of the West.

Certainly Herzen's disgust for European Philistinism was in some degree justified, but the *esprit bourgeois* does not exhaust the content of the Western civilization. It is amazing to see how quickly that former Russian Westerner lost his psychological inclination toward Europe—toward the lights of European thought—toward the intellectual energy of Europe, its philosophy, arts, science, traditions of freedom.

In addition, Herzen had a deep belief in the essentially revolutionary mind of the Russians. "The thinking Russian is the most independent man in the world. What can stop him? Respect for the past? But what is the starting point of the history of modern Russia, if not the negation of nationality and tradition? On the other hand, the past of the Western nations has only a didactic value for us. We in no way consider ourselves the executors of their will. We share your doubts, but your faith does not warm us. We share your hatreds, but we do not understand your attachment to the heritage of your ancestors; we are too oppressed, too unhappy to be satisfied with half-freedom. You are bound by scruples, you are stopped by reservations of mind, we have no scruples, no reservations, we are lacking only in power."[58]

We have here a kind of combination of Chaadaev's pessimism 186* and the Muscovite Slavophils' optimism. The essential idea of 829 Herzen, a very Slavophil and very Russian idea, was that "the 177 western fruit will ripen in the Slavic world." Kucharzewski, whom I quote, very justly states: "The West produces thoughts, Russia utilizes them; to the West is alloted the task of creating, to

[58] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 395-396.

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Russia—the role of leadership among future mankind, with the help of the ripe fruits of the work of other nations."[57] 186* 859

When dealing with Herzen as well as with Tyutchev and Dostoevsky—but I think with Herzen even more than with the latter, one is really amazed to see how well and deeply he knew Europe. The more astonishing is, then, that lack of attachment and love for European tradition. They understand everything, but they love nothing. 177

All these thoughts were developed in Herzen's work *From the Other Shore* (1849), in his letter to Michelet, and a little later, in 1854, in his letter to Riberol, editor of the review *L'Homme*, and in his letter to Linton, editor of the *English Republic*. In this last publication he develops his Panslavic system in connection with the Crimean War. He states that Poland was the one Slavic country who preserved her independence. "Only Poland remained independent and strong, but this because she was less Slavic than the other nations, she was Catholic, and Catholicism is a flagrant contradiction of the Slavic genius. Hence Poland preserved independence by weakening her racial ties and by coming nearer to the Western states."

One must not, forget however, that in 1863 and in 1864, as I mentioned before, Herzen in his *Kolokol* published the most penetrating articles filled with great sympathy and admiration for Poland and the Poles.[58] He greets the Crimean War as "the beginning of a Slavic era, the Slavs will raise the banner of Socialism, and Constantinople will be the capital of the united Slavs. . . . Constantinople is one real capital of the united Slavs, it is the Rome of the Eastern Church, the center of all Slavo-Greeks—Byzantium, surrounded by a Slavic-Hellenic population . . . In any case this war is the *introduzione maestosa e marziale* of the Slavic world into universal history and at the same time *una marcia funebre* of the old world."[59]

[57] *Op. cit.*, p. 397.
[58] Lednicki, W.: "Russian-Polish Cultural Relations," *New Europe*, 1944.
[59] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.

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186* 829 177 Yes, Herzen was certainly one of the most brilliant and penetrating singers of the Russian requiem for Europe, but even in this he was a pupil of the Europeans—of the Saint-Simonists, Fourier, Cabet, and Proudhon, who violently criticized contemporary European civilization. They did for Herzen what later in the seventies Renan did for Strakhov. Strakhov filled his book *The Struggle with the West in Our Literature* with Renan's criticism. But Renan did even more—he suggested some ideas to the Russians which they didn't forget. Strakhov quotes one of them: "There still exists in the world a reserve of barbarian forces, which are almost all in the hands of Russia. As long as the civilized nations conserve their solid organization, the role of these barbarians will be almost null; but without doubt, if (from which God preserve us!) an epidemic of selfishness and anarchy brings our western states to destruction, the barbarians will accomplish their duty, which consists in raising the many forces in spoiled civilizations, in producing the vivifying current of instinct which was lost when reflection destroyed subordination, to show that readiness to sacrifice one's life for faithfulness to one's sovereign (a deed which a democrat considers low and absurd) is a source of power and leads to the possession of the world."[60]

The case of Herzen is particularly eloquent: it shows how demoralizing were the Slavophil and Panslavistic conceptions if a man of Herzen's caliber, Europeanism, and superior generosity could find himself in such a moral and spiritual impass.

186* 829 539 The ultimate expression of this eastern Messianism suggested by the Russian Westerners is to be found in the *Scythians*, a poetical message which Alexander Blok addressed to the West: "Now rejoicing, now sorrowing, now flowing with black blood, she (Russia) looks at you with hatred and with love. . . . We love everything—the heat of cold numbers and the gift of divine visions, everything appeals to us—the perspicacious Gallic thought and the gloomy German genius. . . . We remember everything—the hell of Parisian streets and the refreshing coolness of Venice,

[60] Strakhov, *Bor'ba s zapadom v nashey literature*, St. Petersburg, 1882, vol. I, p. 324.

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the distant aroma of the lemon groves, and the smoky buildings 182*
in Cologne. . . . We love the body, the taste and the color of it, and 829
its oppressive deadly odor. . . . Is it our fault if your skeleton 539
cracks in our heavy, soft paws?"

9. Reactions Among the Slavs Toward Panslavic Conceptions

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Southern Slavs 186*
attracted no great attention from the world. However, after the 175
Russian-Turkish wars of the time of Catherine II they began to move more distinctly on the political stage of Europe, as Pypin justly says.[61] The fight of Serbia for her independence, the fight of the Montenegrians against the Turks and their resistance against the French (I am still following Pypin), Illyria established by Napoleon—all this revealed the existence of energetic Slavic elements in the Near East. To this should be added facts as Vuk Karadžić's collection of popular songs in which the deeds of Serbian national heroes were glorified. The fights of the Croatians against the Hungarians, the Russian intervention in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, the part which Russia took in the liberation of Serbia, all created an atmosphere in which the Panslavistic conceptions could, of course, count on a sympathetic reaction. However, as far as the final results are concerned, Russian Panslavism was not at all successful even among the Southern Slavs. The Croatians, who in the forties when fighting against the Hungarians were dreaming of Slavic unity, very soon abandoned these dreams and looked more and more toward the West for help against Turkey. The Serbs in spite of their religious ties with Russia were returning closer and closer to the traditions of Obradović and of Vuk Karadžić and his reform which brought the Serbian cultural development away from Russian influences, and to conceptions of a national state, and of the building of a national culture. Russia's tactless approaches to Serbia, the Rus-

[61] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

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186* 175 sian tendency to consider Serbs as merely a new sort of Russians and the Serbian intelligentsia a class which did not represent the real feelings of the people, and facts such as the Russian correspondents calling Serbs "Russians of Belgrade *gubernia*" clarified the situation so that the famous letter of Khomyakov to the Serbs from Moscow published in 1861 created a very unfavorable impression in Serbia; and this found its expression in the answer of the Serbian scholar Daničić.[62]

In Bulgaria the situation has for centuries been even more complicated and dramatic because of the fact that when fighting for their national independence and national culture, the Bulgars had to fight against not only Turks but also Greeks. In spite of the activity of Venelin and the role which Russia played in the restoration of Bulgarian independence and the ties between Bulgarian intellectuals and Russian scholarship, the Panslavistic conceptions could not destroy the existence of strongly nationalistic tendencies.[63]

Among the Czechs and Slovaks, where in spite of their deep and pathetic Germanization there appeared the first great scholars in the field of Slavic philology and history—Dobrovský, Šafařík, Palacký, Havliček, and Jungmann (who, by the way, very often wrote in Latin and in German), the Panslavistic tendencies received a rather cold reception. As I mentioned above, it was only at the time of Jungmann, Rautenkranz, and Puchmajer that the pro-Russian feelings of the Czechs were strong—with Kollár giving the most eloquent expression of these feelings. Palacký, as we know, was an advocate of a Slavic federation but under Austrian leadership. He was too close to the Western traditions to feel any enthusiasm for a conception which would bring all Western Slavs under Russian domination. Such was, by the way, the attitude of the Congress in Prague in 1848. This point of view

[62] Pypin, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[63] Here must also be stressed the religious pressure in Bulgaria coming from Constantinople and the fact that elements of national consciousness were preserved only among the people and the émigrés. Important, too, was the role of the monk, Paisey, his activity on Mt. Athos, and his collection of Bulgarian legends, songs, historical documents, and his *History of Bulgaria*, of 1762.

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was formulated in *The Scientific Dictionary*, a Czech Encyclopedia.[64] The article referring to Panslavism is very reserved. The speculations of the Muscovite Slavophils on the item of Hussism as a purely Slavic movement which presumably had its ties with Slavic Orthodoxy did not appear very convincing to the Czechs. 186* 175

In general, the Prague Congress of 1848 reduced the Panslavic tendencies to a formula of political organization of Austria which would satisfy the national political demands of the Slavs. In this way was developed a special Austrian Panslavism directed against Russia and later called Austroslavism. The same trends might be discovered in the so-called "Slavic Union" in the Vienna Parliament of 1908. However, under the leadership of the Czech Kramař there developed at the same time the so-called neo-Slavism, which stressed the political solidarity of all Slavic nations on the condition of complete cultural equality, but which certainly contained pro-Russian tendencies. The movement was created in 1908 at the Slav Congress in Prague, followed by a Congress in Petersburg in 1909 and one in Sofia in 1910. There took place only vague and very general formulations of Slavic mutual respect, sympathy, and efforts to calm the inter-Slavic antagonisms —Russian-Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Serbo-Bulgarian, and so on. In spite of the participation in this movement of several important political leaders among the Slavs, it did not reach any concrete results. Most Poles and Russians very soon abandoned it. The War of 1914 brought again to the fore ideas of Slavic union, proclaimed this time by representatives of Russian public opinion and by the Russian government. I should also mention the outstanding activity aiming at spiritual and intellectual collaboration among the Slavs of the brilliant Polish scholar, thinker, and writer Marian Zdziechowski, who established his Slavic Club in Cracow with its review *The Slavic World* before the War of 1914 and who entertained close relations with the Russian sympathizers of these trends, about whom I shall speak below. 186* 668 575

[64] Quoted by Pypin, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153.

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186* 575 Almost at the same time there reappeared in Russia a spiritual, idealistic, mystic approach to the Slavophil conceptions. It was a kind of continuation of neo-Slavic trends. One may find in the writings of distinguished and honest politicians, poets and writers such as V. I. Ivanov, S. N. Bulgakov, and Prince E. N. Trubetskoy items connected with this idealism and mysticism. These trends reappeared during the War of 1914. They were preceded by the old Muscovite "Society of Slavic Reciprocity" which was a quite honorable institution and by the subsequent "Society of Slavic Culture" in which the progressive elements among Russian and Polish politicians and scholars met, such as Professor Korsh, Prince E. N. Trubetskoy, Alexander Lednicki, and some others. The aim of this society was to pacify inter-Slavic relations primarily by the help of cultural activities.[65]

186* Some of the Czechs belonging to the period preceding neo-Slavism, however, remained faithful to their pro-Russian feelings in face of the opposition of Palacký and Havlíček. So Kollár, who even in his *Slávy Dcera* excluded Emilia Plater, the Polish heroine of 1830-31, from paradise "because this sister fought against brothers, a Slav girl against Slavs," and yet, as Kucharzewski observes, granted a place in that paradise to Suvorov and Nicholas I, behaved quite disgustingly at the Slavic Congress in Moscow in 1867, where in the absence of the Poles he did his best to please their Russian persecutors.[66]

186* 814 Thus the Bohemian Panslavism found practically no expression in the nineteenth century other than a purely scientific one—in the fields of Slavic archaeology, Slavic ethnography, Slavic philology, and Slavic history. I can devote no space to Slavic philology here, but I should like to stress the enormous achievements in this field of, besides the Czechs, Polish, Russian, and Serbian scholars, to whom should be added German, French, Italian, Eng-

[65] Details connected with neo-Slavism, with events preceding the First World War, the policy of Izvolsky, the activities of Count Bobrinskoy on one hand—and on the other, activities of people such as Dmowski among the Poles the attitude of the Ukrainians, and the situation in the Balkans preceding the War of 1914 may be found in Dr. Alfred Fischel's *Der Panslavismus bis zum Weltkrieg*, Berlin, 1919.

[66] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, Warsaw, 1925, p. 303.

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lish, and recently American scholars.[67] From this point of view the Czechs might be considered those who prepared weapons for Panslavism. And even in our days the Czech scholars remain faithful to their conceptions of Slavic cultural unity. It should be stressed, however, that the most prominent advocate among the Western Slavs (with the exception of some Poles) was, as mentioned before, the Slovak Štur, who represents an integral Panslavism practically degenerating into Panrussianism.

10. Polish Reactions

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The fate of the Slavophil and Panslavistic conceptions among the Poles has not been simple. Without going too far into the past or refering to Boleslaw the Great in whose policy one may find some elements connected with our subject, I shall abandon the effort to find some manifestations of interest for the Slavs in early polish historians, such as Jan Dlugosz (fifteenth century), and leave aside some Polish plans for political union with Russia in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

A forecast of the full growth of Polish Slavophilism was contained in the interesting "Manifesto" of the Sandomierz confederation or "An Address to the Russian Nation," which was published about 1733, at the time when Poland's political power during the Northern War had begun to decline and Russia's to increase. In this manifesto the Poles, expressing in warm words their sympathy for the Russian nation's "yearning for liberty and freedom, and waiting for a favorable moment to abolish serfdom" "frankly encouraged" Russians "to rouse their knightly spirit." The manifesto stressed that the Polish country "wishes for nothing more than your progress and the freedom of the Russian nation."

[67] This information may be found in the studies on Slavic Philology of Jagić, Alexander Brückner, Frantsev, Mazon, Máchal, Lehr-Splawiński, W. Lednicki, A. P. Coleman, in different reviews such as *Archiv fur slawische Philologie*, *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, *Le Monde Slave*, *Swiat Slowiański*, *Przeglad Slowiański*, *Slavia*, *Slawische Rundschau*, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, and *The American Slavic and East European Review*.

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However, the really first classical manifestation of Slavophilism in Poland, a manifestation which, by the way, preceded the Muscovite Slavophil school, is to be found in Stanislaw Staszic's *Thoughts on the Political Equilibrium of Europe*, written in 1815. It is a work in which Staszic dealt with the problem of the future of Europe, Russia and Poland. He was aware of the catastrophe threatening contemporary civilization, he saw a possibility for the regeneration of mankind through the Slavs. His views of the three main European races, the Romanic, Teutonic and Slavic, led him to the conclusion that only the last of them was destined to bring about such a regeneration; the Romanic nations had, he held, become exhausted by the controversies which originated in the separation of the state from the church. The Germans, on the other hand, had lost their moral unity owing to their sectarianism, which was based on their "excessive inclination for metaphysics." He further emphasized "their indomitable spirit of conquest and their lust for cruelty, which would always have made lasting peace impossible in the world." The Slavic races were developing intensely; owing to their primitive culture they had suffered less from calamities, their inner union was always durable and they were supported by their "religious unity, which for the most part was blended with the secular power." Among the Slavic nations he gave the first place to Russians whose geographical position rendered them more secure and impregnable than the Poles, and whose Orthodox Church enjoyed a higher type of religion, harmoniously blending, as it did, the secular and ecclesiastical forces. At the same time he attributed great importance to the War of 1812 which Russia "made into a Slavic war," thus showing to the world her inexhaustible power. Poland, in her turn, was destined to reveal that idea of unity which would have been realized by Russia had she overcome the political temptation which had beset the German emperors, for such ambitions would only result "in wars between brethren and in bloodshed." Staszic might be indeed considered the precursor of the Muscovite Slavophils; a still nearer approach to them may be found in the article published by

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J. Jaroszewicz in 1826: *On the Influence of the Christian Religion upon the Civilization of the Slavs.* Comparing the influence of Byzantium and Rome, Jaroszewicz found Eastern Christianity attractive, whereas he regarded Rome as a power that had destroyed all native power of the Slavs by forcing upon them the Latin language and foreign clergy. "Thus, although the chains of the new religion bound us (the Poles) to the rest of the European nations, yet after its introduction Poland was educated on foreign models, and the result was that the Poles have become foreign to themselves." Some decades later, "Latin Poland," "the unfaithful daughter of the Slavic race," was to suffer the same reproach from Moscow. On the other hand Jaroszewicz openly acknowledged the beneficent influence on Slavic life of the Greek church. Under that influence the Eastern Slavs preserved the habits and rites that had originated in the pagan period. The conclusion was immediate and plain: it was Russia alone that had kept the ancient tribal traditions.

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After the events of 1830 and 1846 Polish political thought reverted to principles which approached the systems of Staszic and Jaroszewicz, but of course very often for quite different motives. Limitation of space does not allow me to go into detail nor to quote the opinions of numerous writers who tried to elaborate Slavophil or Panslavic systems. I shall confine myself to only certain ones. Among them, Count Adam Gurowski deserves attention. For the sake of gain he became an apostate from his nation, and disclaiming his early activity (he took part in the Insurrection of 1831 and was one of the founders of the Polish Democratic Society in Paris), he accepted the amnesty, annoyed Paskevich, the Viceroy of Nicholas I in Poland at that time, by applying for remunerative posts, and wangled money from his acquaintances. Finally, during his stay abroad, in 1841-1848, he published a number of dissertations. Inspired by hatred of the Germans, he defended Panslavism and Panrussianism and tried to prove that the former was a historical necessity and that the Russian conquests aimed only at establishing the total independence

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of the Slavs from foreign influence. The imperialistic Russian tendencies were only an expression of the principle of defense and of reaction against invasion. He thought that "the archangel of independence seemed to have left old Poland forever; there was, however, some future for the ancient Polish nation if it could be dissolved with no matter how great pain and suffering into Russo-Slavism." He looked with particular sympathy on the Orthodox Church, he thought it much superior to Protestantism, which was split into fragments, and to Catholicism. He considered that the Orthodox tenets depended on a sincere faith in Christ and on tradition. Gurowski considered even that the Polish language when compared to the Russian revealed its decadence and senility. He suggested substituting in Poland the Russian language for the Polish—this to be preceded by the introduction of the Slavic language in order to make the change less drastic.

The views of the second Polish Panslavist of the same period, Waclaw Jablonowski, were very similar. A disappointed monarchist, a pessimist in his views on Poland's future, a man who suffered from a nervous disease, he came to the same conclusion —that the only genuinely Slavic current was that of the East, the Russian and Asiatic, which incorporated the deepest tribal characteristics of the Slavs, who had come from Asia, and belonged to the Asiatic system by their character, their political tendencies and their commercial connections. The views show some likeness to the so-called Eurasian doctrine which appeared among the Russian emigrants between the last two World Wars. Jablonowski was very aggressive. In a French book propagating the idea of a Slavic-Russian empire under the leadership of the Tsar with a capital in Kiev, he suggests the organization of Slavic movements in the Balkans and an invasion of the West: "This movement might very easily coincide with some decisive step in the eastern question. A small army corps may cross the Danube and support movements arising on the other side. Europe, Germany and France, will utter a great cry; the latter will perhaps be obliged to break her alliance. That will be the culmination of

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the crisis. Then the Tsar will come to Poland, take the title of the Tsar of the Slavs and proclaim the union of these nations. The enthusiasm of the Polish army and of the Polish nation will have no limits. . . . You may believe me that on the day when Tsar Nicholas launches his Cossacks from Cracow at a gallop with the *knut* in one hand and a bag of rubles in the other, the Cossacks will stop only on the other border of the Austrian empire: nothing will resist him on the road. . . . This revolution will fall on Europe like a thunderbolt. . . . " (Cf. J. Kucharzewski, *op. cit.* vv. II and III). 186* 829

The most original and outstanding Polish Panslavist was Joseph Maria Hoene-Wroński, one of the creators of Polish messianistic philosophy. His philosophy originated in Hegel's dialectic methods and was based on the principles of the threefold development —thesis, antithesis and synthesis—as applied to history by Schelling; and it was in its essence rather teleological. Influenced by the creative philosophy of Fichte and Schelling, Hoene-Wroński replaced the idea of infinite progress by the conception of a purposeful development of humanity which aimed at bringing about God's kingdom on earth and the achievement of immortality. He distinguished three periods. There was first the tendency to realize relative aims. Material welfare, for example was the goal of the Oriental states. Then comes the necessity of securing the welfare attained. This led to the conception of justice, which formed the moral aim of the classical period of Greece and Rome, and to the development of the Christian ideals of the Middle Ages; finally there was knowledge—the spiritual goal of the period which heralded the Reformation. The second period was marked by absolute aims, but this tendency was still immature and split into two ineffective currents of thoughts: one, which regarded feeling and good as the absolute aim, was based on revelation; while the other aimed at reason and truth and rested on experience. The first current became in practical life "illiberal," the second, "liberal," and the conflict between them furnished the basis for the "social antinomy." The third period would represent 186* 829 812

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186* the union of absolute good and absolute truth. Such is the law
829 of development, and it must be understood if the goal is to be
812 reached. Messianism is but an exponent of this law, that is, a condition of the further development, a factor which can help to create reality. In this way philosophy leaves the field of knowledge and enters the field of action. It is the mission of the Slav world, with Russia at its head, to embark on this philosophy and to realize it. Russia aided by the Slav world is to blend the two contemporary associations of men, state and church, into an "absolute union" which, in its turn, will solve the "social antinomy."[68]

186* The ideas of Hoene-Wroński were also drawn from his views
829 on the contemporary state of Europe; he thought that Europe was in a critical condition and threatened to collapse. The western nations had produced two destructive ideas which were bound to bring catastrophe,—the French idea of the autocracy of the people, the German philosophic dogma of the infallibility of reason. The Slavs had twice appeared as the defenders of mankind. They had stopped the advance of both Islam and of Jacobinism, proving that they were chosen by God to perform the unification of the different tendencies of mankind: "The absolute destiny of France consists in the realization of the state. The absolute destiny of Germany consists in the realization of the church: the absolute destiny of Russia consists in the realization of their absolute union."[69]

By the way, these ideas about the kingdom of God on earth are an exact anticipation of the analogous views of Vladimir Solov'ev, and an eloquent forecast of the latter's theocratic philosophy of history with its tendency toward Caesaropapism. It would be possible to cite here several other names of writers involved in the same ideas. I think, however, that the three men whom I have mentioned are the most representative. These Panslavist systems, even though not all of them were of the same merit and importance, flowed from a common spring, an excessive concern for national

[68] J. Kleiner, *Zygmunt Krasiński*, Lwów, 1909, Vol. II, pp. 85-87.
[69] *Messianisme ou Réforme absolue*, Vol. I, pp. 22-23.

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and European crises. But they had something more in them than that, particularly the system of Hoene-Wroński. At the bottom there was an exaggerated desire for self-sacrifice, a profound love for the misty and chimerical ideas of a universal happiness to which the Slavs were destined to lead mankind, and in particular, the western communities. In the cause of those ideals Poland was to be the victim of a fantastic self-immolation. There we see a significant difference between Polish and Russian Panslavists. The Russian thinkers looked with contempt upon the "rotten West" (while the Poles obviously constructed their systems on behalf of the West). Staszic, and especially Hoene-Wroński had in mind universal aims, but detached from Polish imperialism or Panpolonism. A further difference is traceable to the fact that the Polish Slavophils sacrificed national egoism for higher purposes in their desire to be consistent with their philosophic systems. And thus, whether it was acceptable to the Polish nation or not, they found some consistent solution to the Russo-Polish problem. Finally another difference should be stressed—that the Russian Slavophils and Panslavists were all, in their private lives, honest men and quite independent of the Russian government. The same cannot be said of some of the Poles whom I have mentioned above. It must be added, nevertheless, that the Poles, almost without exception, were different from the healthy, fat, and comfortable Russian Slavophils; they were confused, nervous, excessively sensitive emigrants, sad and despairing exiles who had been compelled to taste of every kind of humiliation and to suffer every kind of trial. There is no need to add that the Polish Panslavists were in disaccord with the majority of the nation, which could not accept the sacrifice of the national self. The best reaction to these Polish political thoughts may be found in the writings of Lelewel, Mickiewicz, Krasiński and Slowacki, in which there will appear different formulations of conceptions of Slavic solidarity and unity; but in all of them the belief in the creative, dynamic powers of the Polish nation will be preserved.

For Lelewel, the Russian-Polish conflict represents the conflict

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186* For Lelewel, the Russian-Polish conflict represents the conflict
829 between the ancient Slavic liberty as preserved by the Poles, and
648 the Mongol despotism that has enslaved Russia. He pointed out, however, that Poland, influenced by the magnates and the Jesuits, had run counter to her own republican principles, that this had caused her collapse, and that in her recent fight with tsardom the sympathies of Russian public opinion were with Poland. This, by the way, had been violently denied by Pushkin (Lelewel mentioned his name) who confessed that *"l'accolade de Lelewel me paraît plus dure qu'un exil en Sibérie."*

Mickiewicz went through different phases as far as his attitude towards Russia was concerned. During his exile in Russia he favored some conceptions of "fraternity" of nations and believed in the possibility and, of course, the necessity of the pacification of Russian-Polish relations. However, he was always strongly opposed to Russian autocracy. The Insurrection of 1830-1831, the complications of his personal life, the religious crisis through which he passed during his stay in Rome gave rise to his gloomy opinion of Russia's history in his *Forefather's Eve, Part III*, particularly in the *Digression*. Subsequently he limited his aversion to Russia's political system and tried to overcome his hatred of Russia.

[544] In his lectures at the Collège de France from 1840-1844, he expounded his views on Russia which he now enlarged with historical and political arguments of a precise and penetrating nature. These lectures dealt especially with Poland and the role which she was destined to play in the future of Slavic world. His conception of his native country grew more and more exalted. He regarded her as a martyred nation destined for the sake of humanity to rescue it by her suffering, a nation fated to lead the human race from the "Kingdom of the Old Testament" into that of the Gospel. This view led Mickiewicz to consider Poland as a representative of all that was most creative and fertile in the Slav world, and Russia as the natural "antithesis" of Poland—and hence, the antagonist of the Slav world and of all mankind. He saw the origins of the Russo-Polish antagonism even in the pre-Christian

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period, expressed in the shape of the two Gods, the "black" and the "white"; their dualism was reflected in the splitting up of the Slavic language into Russian and Polish "dialects." This dualism was strengthened by the alien influences which formed the Slavic states. With regard to the different structural characteristics of the states of the Lechs (Poles) and the Norsemen from their early existence, Mickiewicz sketched the history of the struggle between these two nations for the possession of the northern lands. Catholicism and Orthodoxy only deepened the already existing cleavage. The territory separating Poland from Moscow had been in dispute between them ever since Ivan III. Religion was an instrument, an obstacle, a pretext, but it never was the real basis of the dispute. However, the schism which separated the Greek and the Roman churches had intensified the earlier diversions in the spiritual culture of Russia and of Poland, a cleavage caused by the structures of the two states. The complete dependence of the Orthodox clergy on the secular power nullified any influence which they might have exerted on the spiritual growth of the Russian community. "The Catholic clergy, full of inexhaustible zeal, won in Poland the political liberties which subsequently spread to the other social classes. Whereas the old Bulgarian language segregated Russia from the influences of European civilization, the introduction of Latin among the Western Slavs established a vital contact between Poland and Bohemia and Western civilization, and stimulated the development of the languages and national literatures of these countries."[70]

On the other hand he also stressed the Mongol influence upon Russian mentality. Mickiewicz conclusively proved that it caused that Russian despotism which was fundamentally opposed to the Polish idea of patriotism and Polish traditions of civil liberty. This patriotism and love of liberty, and finally, the conviction that the individual conscience must be the highest form in the national life, were based upon the Christian principle of belief in

[70] I am following here, in general, "Poland and the Slavophil Idea." Cf. Z. Klarner, *Słowianofilstwo w Literaturze Polskiej lat*, 1800-1848, Warsaw, 1926, pp. 175-177.

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186* the close communion of man with God. Hence, whereas Polish
829 political thought is entirely spiritualized, the Mongol principle
177 of autocracy has triumphed in Russia; it has created the immense
181 material power which, if this principle were to prevail, would threaten the world with universal serfdom. In other words Mickiewicz was a pessimist as far as Slavophilism is concerned; the Russo-Polish antagonism broke the unity of the Slavic world. He foresaw, nevertheless, a possible solution. Only by a change from without in her religious mentality could Russia be transformed. Mickiewicz believed in the coming of a new epoch of universal religious rebirth, which was to effect the reconciliation of the divided Slavs. This hope seemed to him quite reasonable. The "heroism of serfdom," Russia's heroic obedience, the intensity of her religious life, allowed him to prophesy that the looked-for religious regeneration would include Russia.

186* Violently aggressive to Russia were some other Polish Slavo-
829 phile theorists, eliminating Russia from their systems either because Russia embraced in the early days of her history the political principles of the Scandinavians and worshipped the power of the monarch and the descendants of Odin, and as such was the Anti-Christ of the Slav world; or because of her ethnic consistence: the theory of Duchiński considered Great Russians non-Slavs by reason of the supremacy of their Finnish and Mongolian elements.

A vehemently anti-Russian attitude was taken by Count Zygmunt Krasiński, an aristocrat and conservative, a westerner, a profoundly ardent Catholic and at the same time a messianist, and one of the greatest Polish poets and thinkers. His main idea was that the Polish nation was destined to introduce the gospel into the public law of Europe showing . . . that the incarnate word of God is law for empires as well as for individuals. This idea was later developed by Solov'ev in Russia. Krasiński thought that Polish martyrdom prepared Poland for the practical and concrete foundation of this principle in political life. In his dramas and in his political memoranda he fought against material-

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ism, showing the tragic picture of the European proletariat, "the modern slaves," torn from the cross by a materialism which promised them an earthly paradise, actually unattainable—lacking the light of knowledge and faith, and concentrating all their hopes upon the force of numbers, upon the division of estates, on the abolition of property, upon the destruction of the family, and relying upon violence alone. Only religion could secure individual equality and the brotherhood of nations. He also became in a way a philosopher of the Russian-Polish antagonism. Moscow, which in its childhood dreamed of heroic deeds, "of the western glory of Knights," of "conquering the conquerors," was in later years, "when adolescent," subjugated by the Mongols and could not shake off their yoke. He depicts further the progressive triumph of autocracy, which gradually embraced the whole nation and became settled in space and in time. According to Krasiński there were two main sources of Russian mentality and culture. The first was Byzantium, which seemed to the poet a symbol of the moral decay of the Roman empire in all its aspects, its "validity," its "sense of art," its "acute sensitiveness"; the human soul in Byzantium became so mean that even Christianity became unable to breathe new life into it. The second parent of Russian culture, the Mongol world of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, "found a sovereign power only in destruction"; it had no idea of God, but it knew terrifying rulers "who changed by slaughter the most fertile and most populated countries into deserts." "In Russian history the passive mother was Byzantine conservatism; the father who made her fruitful was the Tartar invasion; their product, which grew to gigantic proportions, was the Russian government." This government instinctively employed "whatever is evil in good things" whenever liberty declined to the level of violence. It loved not liberty but casual license. It admired and championed any oppression, revolutionary or monarchial, so long as it was oppression. It organized its troops in a Prussian manner, and like the French revolutionaries terrorized its citizens. "Wherever it traced Satan's footsteps in Europe, it stopped to examine

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them and took its measure from them." "Having made a supreme priest of itself," in the person of Peter the Great, "it displayed itself abroad," that is, it attempted "to destroy the only work of God in Europe." It began to abolish nationalism, which by its body separated Russia from Europe, by its soul kept her from deceiving all the Slavs, by its spirit nullified the probability of a victory over the human race.

Contemplating with horror a future in which Russia might win the victory, Krasiński cast his speech into the form of a prophecy. Thus in the memorandum to Napoleon III during the Crimean War he said: ". . . In case of a pacific solution Russia will find formidable auxiliaries in the fire of anarchy which she will then continue to animate everywhere, and in the very nature of things created by nearsightedness, by wealth, by agitations of misery and by that complete moral prostration about which I just spoke. Therefore all possibility for the future will henceforth be granted to this power. Gifted with an incomparable sagacity, as far as destruction is concerned it will not let escape a single occasion to turn to its profit all the hatreds and envies of our time. It will know admirably well how to exploit on one side the hopes of the legitimists and on the other the fury of demagogy. . . . Then will come the day of the explosion—then there will come another day when Europe, covered with blood and ruins, will collapse under the weight of a thousand crimes and a thousand disasters; then the mistaken conservatives imagining that the Russian government represents order, will indicate it as a liberator and at the same moment the Socialists, recognizing in it their true master, will greet it by the name of the supreme initiator. It will fool everyone and everyone will fall at its feet." In another passage speaking about Russia Krasiński says: "Humiliated and unmasked, but not weakened, she will henceforth try to make use of other weapons and before renewing her unsuccessful attack against Constantinople she will prepare more obscure and more efficient roads. She will stretch out her hand to all secret societies, to all conspiracies, to all shadowy plots from one end of Europe to the

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other. She will pay them with her gold and support them by her critiques—in a word, she will put her whole power at the service of the social revolution with the aim of precipitating from the throne the dynasties which recently disdained her alliance."[71] 186* 829

There are indeed some striking passages in this prophetic memorandum. "The whole role which is played by the demagogical party in the breast of every European nation was accepted by Russia long ago and in measure much more gigantic toward all these nations taken together. She also announces an unknown era; she also proclaims another God, another church, the coming of a new society, religion as the slave of the temporal power, the soul subordinate to the body, the destruction of every aristocracy, the obliteration of the individual from the book of life, the realization of absolute equality, it is true at the cost of the most execrable of tyrannies, but unobtainable in a different manner here below; finally, the idea of property erased from the organization of labor—and as a crown for this system, the enjoyments of the brute accorded as a unique consolation to mankind . . . Russia . . . it is the arisen revolution, organized, disciplined, armed with a million bayonets knocking at the doors of the world! If one is not on guard, if she is not stopped in time, sooner or later she will reach her aims. . . ."[72]

Krasiński was aware of the fact that the affinities he stressed between revolution and the Russia of Nicholas I, could appear paradoxical to the people to whom he addressed his memoranda. Therefore in his memorandum to Napoleon III he says that the fact the Russian government had too solemnly proclaimed its principles does not prevent it from following such a course of action. He stressed that "the only principle of that government is to have no principles at all, and that ever since a secret and profound affinity has existed between the Russian Genius and the revolutionary Genius."[73]

[71] *Pisma Zygmunta Krasińskiego*, Vol. VII, Kraków, 1912, pp. 316-317.
[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 317-318.
[73] *Op. cit.*, p. 317.

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In his opinion Russia had only one dream—that of a universal monarchy and nothing would ever oblige the government which rules Russia to abandon "the monstrous idea of introducing itself in Europe through interior destruction, wrought by parties which would tear apart the civilized states, and of planting its victorious eagles on the fragments of ruins or on heaps of mud accumulated by the baseness of some, by the unskilfulness of others, and the discord of all. Its very ideal is the triumphal march of Fortinbras at the end of the fifth act of *Hamlet*, arriving almost unknown, where there were none but the dead, and succeeding to them by an unheard concurrence of strange fatalities." (Cf. the article *Deux Puissances.*)[74]

In another article he stresses the same idea that Russia waits for the decomposition of Western civilization; Russia waits for the moment when Europe, "exhausted by cruel wars, social conflicts, injustice, bribery, and spoiliation will call her and surrender to her." "Then with its Asiatic foot she will stamp upon Europe and will give to the Europeans, tubercular, miserable, exhausted, lying in smoking ruins and amidst puddles of blood, the *Knut* to kiss. Then Moscow, convinced that nothing more will resist her, that all the prophesies of Peter the Great are realized, will start to rage but so loathesomely and so inhumanely again that she will awake the last despair in Europe."[75]

It is unfortunately impossible to follow Krasiński further because of lack of space. These examples are striking enough, but actually one may read almost the same things in the articles of Karl Marx published in New York at the time of the Crimean War. Krasiński was an aristocrat, a conservative and a Catholic —and I need not explain who Marx was. Krasiński was led by a fear of revolution organized by Russia. Marx counted on revolution to destroy all despotisms in Europe and first of all, Russian despotism. Who was right, in the long run, that is the question. Before coming to Marx, I should like to add that Krasiński

[74] *Op. cit.*, pp. 175-176.
[75] *Poland in the Face of Storm.* Op cit., pp. 277-78.

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might be considered a Slavophil whose views might be compared to the views of the Muscovite Slavophils—with, however, the significant reservation that he attributed to Poland the role which the Slavophils gave to Russia. He eliminated Russia entirely from his system and saw Poland's historical mission in the liberation and preservation of different Slavic nations from Russia's imperialism. To the moral decline of Russia Krasiński opposed Poland which, he maintained, had foreshadowed the future ideal, the unification of republic with kingdom, of democracy with aristocracy, of pagan classicism with the Christian spirit. This unification was manifested in a series of heroes, Zamoyski, Zółkiewski and Sobieski. Poland, in fact, had blended the Roman type with the Christian. These ideas Krasiński expressed in a letter to Montalembert and they represent from a certain point of view the Polish classical formulations of Polish culture. When compared to the conceptions of the Muscovite Slavophils and Panslavists, especially to the conceptions of writers like Aksakov, Nadezhdin, Danilevsky, Tyutchev, and Dostoevsky, they represent a flagrant contradiction.

Of course this was, to say the least, a very abstract idea. In other words, whereas Mickiewicz eliminated Russia from his Slavic system only temporarily, because he believed in her religious and moral rebirth, Krasiński did so irrevocably. The Polish Slavophil systems eliminating Russia as a Slavic state from the other Slavic nations may now be said to have begun. The same standpoint was adopted by Slowacki in his *Letter to Prince Adam Czartoryski* and in the second "rhapsody" of *King Spirit*. Upon the same premises Trentowski, the Polish philosopher, founded his philosophy of history, and the opinions of Tyszyński and Heltman were similar. So, too, the above-mentioned Duchiński argued that Russia was not a Slavic country because of her relationship with the Asiatic nations. Turning for his article to the map of Karamzin, he considered the line of the Dnieper to be the eastern frontier of the Slav world, the center of which was historically Poland. The Polish Walter Scott, I. J.

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Kraszewski, and the brilliant essayist Julian Klaczko followed similar lines, in so far as they endeavored to belittle Russia and to represent her as surrounded by other Slav states whose destiny was to check the imperialistic expansion of tsardom. It was this anti-Russian current of Polish political thought which animated the group known as the Democratic Society; and its tradition has survived in certain analogous political tendencies up to the modern times.

But on the other hand one must not forget that the Polish Panslavic conceptions as well as the Russian ones were deeply connected with the weakness of the policy of Western Europe, especially France and England, toward Russia. This weakness discouraged the Poles and encouraged the Russians. Especially critical were, of course, the years of the Polish Insurrections and between them, the years of the Crimean War.

11. Marx (1818-1883)

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The policies of the Russian government and of the Western powers affected not only Poles and Russians, but European public opinion as well. I need not recall the fanatic enthusiasm of Paris at the time of the Russians' presence in France after the Napoleonic Wars, the French aristocratic ladies riding horseback with the Cossacks to show their admiration for Russia (the *Cosakée* French girl, to use the expression of Alfred de Vigny), the yielding attitude of the same public opinion in 1831, which provoked indignation among the best Europeans in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and England (cf. my books; *Pouchkine et la Pologne*, and *Life and Culture of Poland*), and later when Tyutchev published his article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. A little before that time C. Robert, the successor to Mickiewicz's chair at the Collège de France, started the publication in the same *Revue des Deux Mondes* of a series of articles devoted to Panslavism. He went through a peculiar evolution in these articles. The first part of his study contains elements of acceptance of the Russian interpreta-

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tion of Panslavism. He stresses the fact of existing mutual understanding between the most distant Slavs, the unity of geography; he constantly mentions the "Greek-Slavic world"; he calls the Russians "the Greeks who emigrated to the North"; he compares the Russian *izvozchiks* to the Hellenes, etc. On the other hand, in the second part of his article he suddenly declares that "there is an abyss between the Spartan Slav of Montenegro and the *mouzhik* of Muscovia."[76] He calls Poland the France of the Graeco-Slavic world, protests against the Russian policy in Poland, Russian "cruelties" in Poland, expresses the opinion that it was only the "apathy and unexplainable indifference of western Europe" which let Russia have such an absolute ascendancy in the affairs of the Slavs, and he comes to the point that Poland should be the representative for Europe of the Slavic world and that Poland has a "sacred right to become the head of the coalition of all oppressed people." Hence his ultimate formula of Panslavism is a union of oppressed Slavs against the tsarist Panslavism. There are here and there in his vacillating study some very just remarks about, for instance, the paradoxical play of geography and culture in the case of Poland: the anti-Slavic enthusiastic Polish Latinism flowering in a completely uncovered and defenceless plain surrounded by the Germans and the Russians. This vision leads him sometimes to pessimism and he is ready to believe that the only condition for Poland's rebirth is Poland's reconciliation with oriental ideas. On the other hand, he perspicaciously loathes the significance of some social and economic reforms and manoeuvers applied by Russia to the conquered provinces, aiming at Russification.

Some few years later appeared, as I mentioned before, Tyutchev's article: *Rome and the Roman Question.* The Polish Library in Paris launched an anonymous answer under the title, *La Russie considérée au point de vue européen.* Unfortunately I do not know who the author was, but he did not confine his polemic to Tyutchev alone—he also had something to say about one of the

[76] *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1846, p. 478.

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000 French collaborators of the *Revue*, M. Desprez, who was in charge of Slavic problems in the *Revue*. M. Desprez represented exactly the same attitude that has reappeared in our times in the form of so-called political realism. He not only accepted the accomplished facts but even justified them. "The Hungarians were broken against impossibility." Russia and Austria represented justice. With Poland—"infernal freedom" was the source of disaster. "To raise Poland again would be the most hazardous enterprise." The enslavement of Poland does not represent any menace for Europe. France could not help either the Hungarians or the Poles, because she would thus compromise her relations with the immense and generous race of the Slavs. In answer to other similar assertions the anonymous author of the pamphlet says: "They insult Poland who has loved France so much, and they adore Russia who asserts that France does not know what she wants. If you lack courage to be just toward Poland, be at least indifferent. Prostrate yourself, if you like, before tsarism, but at least do not spit in the face of the victim; this does not give you any advantage and does not bring you any honor. . . . They fear Socialism and Communism in the West, but Russia is a power which has to a great degree applied Communism; and by the most strange aberration, there are in Europe parties which place themselves under Muscovite protection. . . . In the West it is possible only to dream of or discuss socialism. Russia has it: this is the law of the state. The tsar is the only universal and real proprietor. . . . We do not know whether or not Communism will be established in the West, we doubt it; but if it one day establishes itself, Russia has laid broad and solid foundations for that deadly or beneficent transformation."[77]

One cannot but be surprised to read such texts, realizing that they were written in 1850.

The "disastrous weakness" of the Western powers was also attacked from another side. One may find in the voluminous book of Karl Marx—*The Eastern Question* (London, 1897), containing

[77] *Op. cit.*, Paris, 1851, pp. 21, 41.

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his articles written in London and published in the *New York Tribune* in the years of the Crimean War—the most fascinating texts, especially when read in the light of the present day. Let us take this for instance: "Russia has all along been glorified for the forebearance and generosity of her 'august master,' who has not only condescended to cover the naked and shameful subserviency of Western Cabinets, but has displayed the magnanimity of devouring Turkey piece by piece, instead of swallowing her at one mouthful. Russian diplomacy has thus rested on the timidity of Western statement, and her diplomatic art has gradually sunk into so complete a *mannerism*, that you may trace the history of the present transactions almost literally in the annals of the past."[78]

He continues, saying: "Russia now claims occupation of the Danubian Principalities, without giving to the Porte the right of considering this step as a *casus belli*. Russia claimed, in 1827, to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia *in the name of the three powers*. . . . Russia announced in her manifesto, October 10th, 1829: 'Russia has remained constantly a stranger to every desire of conquest—to every view of *aggrandizement*.' "

In another letter he quotes a letter of Count Pozzo di Borgo written on November 28th, 1828, to Count Nesselrode: " 'It is our policy to see that nothing new happens during the next four months, and I hope we shall accomplish it, because *men in general prefer waiting;* but the fifth must be fruitful in events.' " And then Marx says: "Having kept them (the courts of Europe) in this manner for weeks, nay for months, in suspense, Nicholas suddenly makes a declaration that neither England nor France nor Austria nor Prussia has any concern with his quarrel with Turkey, and that with Turkey he alone can negotiate . . . but while he declares that the powers are not to meddle in Russia's concerns, we are informed, on the other hand, that the representatives of France, England, Austria, and Russia killed their time by meeting in conference at Vienna, and in hatching projects for the ar-

[78] *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

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rangement of the Eastern question, neither the Turkish nor Russian ambassador participating in these conferences."[79] In this most interesting book one may find striking details showing how the Russian government was organizing its subversive propaganda in the Balkans. The Russian historian, M. N. Pokrovsky, also brings many details connected with the preparation for the Crimean War by Nicholas I, and illustrating that subversive activity of Russian diplomacy in Serbia and Athens. He justly says: "The head of European legitimism quickly stepped into the new role of a revolutionary agitator on the Balkan peninsula."[80]

Not less convincing and even fascinating are the details connected with the same Crimean War brought by the contemporary Russian historian Tarle.[81]

Marx saw the whole situation from a very lucid point of view. He was trying to convince his American readers just as writers in *The New Leader* are now trying to do. Marx asserted that those of his readers who followed his correspondence from London "will have learned before that the idea of Russian diplomatic supremacy owes its efficiency to the imbecility and the timidity of the Western nations, and that the belief in Russia's superior military power is hardly less a delusion." We know how fully Marx's views were confirmed by the events of the Crimean War. How just indeed was Marx when with the genuine emotion of a great political mind he said: "Both (England and France) together have been frightened out of the only policy which would at once have guaranteed the preservation of peace, while maintaining their own respectability. To the arrogance of the autocrat they have replied with the symptoms of cowardice. They have encouraged the very assumptions they have depreciated, just as poltroons always encourage bullies to be overbearing. If at the outset they had used a manly style of language, adequate to the positions

[79] *Op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

[80] *Istoriya Rossii v XIX Veke*, Vol. III, p. 33.

[81] E. Tarle, "Nakanune Krymskoi Voiny," *Krasnaya Nov'*, nos. 11-12, 1940, pp. 260-270.

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they hold, and the pretensions they set up before the world, if 000
they had proved that cluster and swagger could not impose on them, the autocrat would not only have refrained from attempting it, but would have entertained for them a very different feeling from that contempt which must now animate his bosom. . . . There is only one way to deal with a power like Russia, and that is the fearless way."[82]

Marx's optimism had sources very similar to those which inspired the Polish radical and democratic Slavophils and Panslavists and, of course, men like Herzen and Bakunin—this was the hope for revolution. "Russian policy, with its traditional craft, cheats, and subterfuges, may impose upon the European courts, which are themselves but traditional things, but it will prove utterly powerless with the revolutionized peoples." "Western Europe is feeble and timid because her governments feel that they are outgrown and no longer believed in by their people. The nations are beyond their rulers and trust in them no more. It is not that they are really imbecile, but that there is new wine working in the old bottles. With a worthier and more equal social state, with the abolition of caste and privileges, with free political constitutions, unfettered industry, and emancipated thought, the people of the West will rise again to power and unity of purpose, while the Russian colossus itself will be shattered by the progress of the masses and the explosive force of ideas. There is no good reason to fear the conquest of Europe by the Cossacks. . . ."[83]

From the Marxian texts quoted above there appears distinctly first of all the salient Westernism of Marx, and, of course, his anti-Panslavism. He stressed the Western "unity of purpose," and he expresses the conviction that one need not fear the "conquest of Europe by the Cossacks." This becomes extremely significant in the light of modern historical developments. What kind of Marx has been applied by Russia? It is clear that the Panslavic trends favored now in Soviet Russia are in conflict with Russia's

[82] *Op. cit.*, pp. 187-188.
[83] *Op. cit.*, p. 80 and 189.

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000 political gospel. One may wonder what would be the attitude of Marx in the face of present events, and one has some right to wonder if Marx would not now write about the "Soviet Autocrat" and the "weakness of pusillanimity" of the Western powers in exactly the same terms.

The above mentioned Russian historian Tarle quotes, in his study *On the Eve of the Crimean War*, a very interesting letter which Nicholas I wrote to his wife on June 7th, 1844, from Windsor at the time when he paid his visit to England: "Very comical things are taking place here in connection with the Poles. At the present moment there is being collected a subscription for a ball given by swindlers: at the head of the subscription list is the name of the Duchess of Somerset who even offered her house for the ball, and the name of the Duchess of Sutherland. All these events had taken place before my arrival; since I have been here the wind has changed; all these ladies have become afraid that they may defame themselves in the face of the majority of the public which receives me so nicely. And what did they think: the Duchess of Somerset writes to Brunnov (the Russian ambassador) that she is desolate that she permitted herself to be so misled that her name appears on the list and that she has asked to have it crossed off. Many have acted in the same way. I ordered that she be asked not to do anything like that and that even if the subscription does not cover the expenses of this enterprise, I shall be ready to complete the sum. Judge for yourself what was the effect and what was their confusion."

At the same time Herzen wrote in his diary: "Ostrowski (a famous Polish émigré, and translator of Mickiewicz) has been arrested during the sojourn of the Emperor. Such is the *habeas corpus*."[84]

As a matter of fact, although the views of the Polish author of the above mentioned answer to Tyutchev preceded Marx, they are no less significant than the texts of Marx. The unknown Polish author says: "You thought that you had satisfied Russia, having

[84] Tarle, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

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given her Poland, and the divine justice has already put you at 000
her feet. Poland resisted and succumbs as a martyr. And what is Europe doing? She is pleased to proclaim her own bankruptcy. . . . The greatness of Russia is not her own achievement; it is the result of the anarchy and inconceivable lack of foresight of the other great powers. . . . In 1815 did they not proclaim that it was the Muscovite Slavs who liberated Europe from French domination? Did they not accord to Russia magnificent aggrandizements? The ambition of Russia does not astonish us at all." And, fascinatingly enough, the unknown Polish author of 1851, overwhelmed by his distress, asks: "Was it not the *Revue des Deux Mondes* itself which made the confession that the Russian power could be broken only by the American people of the United States? And even it doubts it. France, Europe, exist no more."[85]

Comparaison n'est pas raison, one may say; however, the temptation to quote these texts was too strong.

12. Validity of the Doctrine

It would be difficult to enter into all the historical and political details connected with the Panslavistic doctrine and its radiation. I mentioned above the political reactions against Panslavic conceptions among different Slavic nations. The distinguished Russian scholar Pypin, whom I have quoted several times, accumulated many arguments which even from his own Russian point of view are against the Panslavistic doctrine. Even more critical were Solov'ev and Chicherin. Pypin also stressed the fact that the Russian government has not always been willing to adopt this doctrine as a policy of its program. He mentioned that during different phases of her foreign policy Russia had acted against those conceptions and against the interests of the Slavic nations which were under her special protection, such as Serbia and Bulgaria. Russia, for instance, on several occasions guaranteed the integrity of Turkey,

[85] *La Russie considérée au point de vue Européen,* Librarie Polonaise, Paris, 1851, p. 7.

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which was against the interests of Southern Slavs whom she considered under her protection. Correct are also the following remarks of Sumner: "Although Russia was undisputably the only effective political and military Slav power, her claims to cultural predominance seemed sin and arrogance in the eyes of many Western Slavs. . . . Despite the reforms of the early sixties, Russian tsardom ran counter to the traditions and aspirations of every other Slav people. Emancipation at the hands of the Russian tsar might mean but an exchange of dominations. Gorchakov, always an opponent of Panslav schemes, was justified in writing: '*Je ne vous dissimule pas qu'il m'est difficile de croire à une sympathie sincère des races slaves pour la Russie autocratique.*' However much some of the Czech leaders might blind themselves to the nature of Russian tsardom, the trees of liberty were likely to have very queer blossoms if transported from the ranks of the Neva or the Moskva. Certainly they were not recognizable along the Vistula."[86]

I have just quoted a distinguished modern English historian. Let us see what is said on the same subject by an earlier historian—C. Robert. "It is principally the South Slavic nationalities that the Russian cabinet works to subjugate. For half a century it has surrounded the schismatic Slavs of Turkey and Austria with quite a special protection. Promises, magnificent gifts, nothing is spared in order to seduce them. Sacred ornaments sent by Russia fill their churches; their most beautiful liturgical books are presents of the Holy Synod of Petersgurg. The principal personalities of Illyria and Bohemia are, so to say, harassed by homages by the Russian agents. The scholars of Prague receive all kinds of gratifications from the tsar, rings with diamonds, even decorations arrive from the Neva as recompense for services rendered for the cause of Slavic literatures. The Muscovite agents know how to hide under this purely literary propaganda one of the most active political propaganda. In the name of the independence of the whole race they call the subjugated Southern Slavs for a coalition with the tsar against their oppressors. Thus they pretend to find a Pan-

[86] B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans*, Oxford, 1937, p. 269.

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slavism of a special order, which would consist of grouping the different Slavic nations under the sceptre of the Romanovs as protected powers. This thought appears from the beginning to the end in the long Panslavist epos of the Slovak poet Kollár under the title *Slávy Dcera*. The poet visualizes the peoples as united to form a sort of Colossus modeled on the Babylonian Colossus of the Bible. Russia forms its head, Poland its heart, Bohemia and Illyria are its hands and feet. It would be imprudent to contest what the ideas have of the seductive and the dangerous, one must indeed recognize the exxistence of a Russian Panslavism, only one may deny its Slavic character and that it ever could possess the eympathy of any independent Slav."

C. Robert stresses another important point when speaking about the activities of the "great protector" among the Danubian and Adriatic Slavs. He would protect them on the condition that they would never follow the example of Serbia and show any pretension for a distinct national existence. "Let one look through the history of these Russian protectorates since the protectorate has been exercised over the last kings of Poland and Georgia to those which the tsar exercises at the present time over the Serbian and Moldavian-Wallachian principalities and over the crumbling Persian empire. One will see that these various protectorates have always had and still have as a unique aim to prevent the protected nations from rising from their humiliation and being reborn to independence."[87] More than that, the same C. Robert observed that during the upheavals in Cracow and Galicia Russia constantly played the role of an ally of Germany.[88]

On the other hand from time to time, as we may see not only in the brilliant articles of Marx but also in the extremely interesting recent publications of the Soviet scholar Tarle connected with the Crimean War, the tsardom was ready to utilize the Panslavic conceptions when they appeared advantageous for it. It is quite true, for instance, that for Nicholas I it was not easy to combine his

[87] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1846, pp. 472-473.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 479.

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imperialistic views on Constantinople with a policy which would necessarily favor revolutionary movements among the Slavs and compromise the gospel of his legitimism. Nevertheless, Marx, Pokrovsky and Tarle gave, as we saw, striking examples of this Machiavellism of Russian policy. Let us, however, analyze the doctrine itself and try to see what were the concrete historical and cultural realities which it had to face. We saw that one of the chief problems, that of Russo-Polish relations, has not been and could not have been solved within the frame of Slavophil or Panslavistic schemes. But what was the general picture?

The main argument of unity among the Slavs was of course that of language. The Slavic languages belong to the same family and it is not difficult to prove that certain similar phenomena which appear in different Slavic languages represent not a result of inter-Slavic influences but an independent parallelism of development. For the tenets of the Slavophil doctrine the fact of a common linguistic origin meant very much theoretically. Language is an expression of the relationship between man and the universe, and therefore this expression reveals a—let us say—philosophical outlook. In other words language possesses an ideological value. On the other hand history differentiated the Slavic peoples. During long centuries they went sometimes not only through different but very often even opposite and contrasting cultural influences; and because of that the languages in their turn also differentiated to such a degree that Slavs are no longer able to understand one another. The amusing point here was the fact that the Slavophils of the various Slavic nations used German in order to communicate with each other. This was indeed a paradoxical situation for those who were trying to unite themselves first of all against Germanism. Of course Russia was and still is suggesting that the Russian language be accepted as the common language for the Slavs. But this generous offer has not so far been adopted. The linguistic divergencies become even more salient when we leave the field of language proper and try to apply the methods of unification to the field of belles lettres,

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especially poetry, even if it be the popular poetry. A synthesis 197
appears absolutely impossible. It would be enough to compare 538
the Czech versification and all the changes it went through with the Russian and Polish to see how great are the differences. Let us take the Russian *byliny* with their assonances, which have no correspondents in other Slavic productions. On the other hand the *Shchedrivky* and the *Koladki* are ritual poems often inspired by historical subjects of a purely Ukrainian character. A quite distinct group is represented by the Serbo-Croatian and Bulgaro-Macedonian popular poetry—heroic rhapsodies which sing of the legendary Serbian hero Kralević Marko, the mother of the Jugović and her sons and many others. This poetry which served the fantasies and mystifications of Mérimée, which enchanted Goethe, Pushkin, Mickiewicz and Nodier, represents a quite special formation and a unique genre in the Slavic world. How different is the medieval Polish poetry, only semi-popular in its most distant origins, with its origin in the Church. Its lyrical starting point is to be found in the *Kyrie Eleison* and *Alleluiah*, refrains of liturgical songs.

Let us abandon for a moment this purely philological state- 795
ment and turn to a more essential factor which determined the 563
historical development of the Slavic nations: I have in mind re- 177
ligion. Religion divided the whole Slavic world into two parts. 538
Bulgarians, Serbians, Great Russians, Ukrainians, and White Ruthenians embraced Eastern Orthodoxy from a Byzantine source. Czechs, Croatians, Slovenes, Slovaks, and Poles embraced the Catholic religion from its Roman Source. And in addition the Czechs went through Hussism; a part of the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians adopted the Union. The Muscovite Slavophils and Panslavists were fighting against Catholicism. By that very fact they were in opposition to the whole Western Slavic world. Religion determined the cultural differentiation, and if we add to that some other historical factors we shall see that at the time when Russia was under the influence of Byzantium, of the Bulgarian and Serbian messianistic literature which formed her

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795 theory of "Moscow the Third Rome," based on all kinds of im-
563 ported legends and apocryphas, Poland was shining in the sun of
177 the Renaissance. She had her Rabelais—Nicholas Rey, her Ron-
538 sard—Kochanowski, and a wonderfully rich and brilliant political literature connected with Latin republican writers, some of which was soon translated into foreign languages, even English.

The Southwestern Slavs, the Croatians, Slovenes, and Dalmatians also took part in the achievements of the Renaissance. They lived that period in contact with Italy while on the other hand Dalmatia was under the influence of several Byzantines. Let me recall the brilliant Italianism of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the flowering of the Dalmatian literature which followed the songs of the provencals troubadours, and of the *Dolce stil nuovo*. The Dalmatian muses found their inspiration in Petrarch, Boccaccio, Guarini, Tasso, Metastasio; this literature knew all genres from *canzone* to the pastoral drama and *la commedia dell' arte*. The Czechs went through this epoch carrying their religious reform—a heavy burden but rich in immense moral consequences. It is probably this reform that gave the definitive form to the moral and intellectual character of this Slavophil and Slavologist nation, least Slavic in its spiritual physiognomy.

The marvellous flowering of the Russian and Polish literatures in the nineteenth century represents again a kind of exception among the Slavic nations. And in spite of a close parallel development, these two literatures very often, following the same roads of literary evolution, in many ways contrast with each other.[88]

186* So even if one should try to eliminate the purely political bar-
563 riers separating the Slavic nations, such as the political antagonisms existing between Bulgars and Serbs, Serbs and Croatians, Russians and Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Ukrainians and Great Russians, Ukrainians and Poles, etc., the problem of spiritual

[88] I have discussed these problems in a more detailed form in my article, "Existe-t-il un patrimoine commun d'études slaves?" Cf. *Le Monde Slave*, Paris, 1926.

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unity among the Slavs would still appear very difficult. The cultural differentiation in the march of historical development became so deep that the parental affinities in the Slavic family have been completely lost. And today the cultural type of a Russian differs greatly from the cultural Polish type, and this would be true for all other Slavic examples. 186* 563

How significant, although in part paradoxical in the light of the events of this war, are the following remarks of Vladimir Solov'ev: "Poland is in Eastern Europe the representative of the spiritual principle which became the basis of Western history. In its spiritual essence the Polish nation, and with it all Catholic Slavs, belong to the Western world. The spirit is stronger than blood; in spite of a blood antipathy toward Germans and blood nearness to Russia, the representatives of Polonism would accept Germanization rather than a union with Russia. A Western European, even a Protestant, is nearer by spirit to a Catholic Pole than an Orthodox Russian. Being the foremost fighters for Western principles, Poles see in Russia the East, hostile to their spiritual essence, an alien and dark force. . . ."[90] "The East," says Solov'ev, "worked out an order of ideas in which man was subordinated to supernatural power. The West created the ideal of the independence of man. In the East the state enslaved the peoples, while Greece elaborated the ideal of the freedom of the peoples. The supernatural element and the predominance of the state have given rise to the idea of resignation. Greece and Rome with their republics developed the principle of spiritual energy and popular activity." (Cf. *ibid.*) 181

Cultural differentiation represents progress, and the idea of racial unification might be considered as essentially reactionary. And indeed the Panslavistic doctrine is an anti-historical, anti-cultural, and anti-European idea, not only because of its anti-European political implications but because Panslavism refers first of all to theories of racial superiority, supporting them by dubious 000

[90] V. S. Solov'ev, *Velikiĭ Spor i Khristianskaya Politika.* Cf. *Sobr. Soch.* u, IV, 15.

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000 anthropologic speculations. And from this point of view the ideas of Danilevsky, for example, paved the way not only for Stalin's anti-European imperialism but for Hitler's racial conceptions. Besides, Danilevsky's theory of historical-cultural types destroyed the idea of the stability of European culture. From this point of view it was a highly disaggregating, anti-cultural, and belligerent conceptjon of history. The conflict between the Eastern and the Western world was constantly emphasized, and instead of a search for a pacific harmonization of these two worlds, Danilevsky called for a war. This is why he was against the conception of the balance of powers, this is why he was against a Europe in a state of equilibrium and peace. He saw that only a divided Europe, a Europe in a state of conflagration was desirable from the Russian point of view.

Coming back to those conflicting racial and cultural conceptions, we may find many excellent examples which show that a cultural tradition means more than a racial one. If we take the names of some German generals in the last war such as Blaskowitz, Brauchitsh, and Jeschonnek, we may see that their Slavic or even Polish names did not prevent them from making war against Poland. On the other hand, Fabrycy, Januszajtis, Dreszer, Mond, Prugar, Langer, Abraham, and Anders were generals in the Polish army.[91] It would be really impossible to mention all the Poles who played a decisive role in the development of Polish culture and who had names like Copernicus, Chopin, Reymont, Grottger, Andriolli, and so on. What would Polish Slavic philology be without Lelewel, Linde, Kolberg, Baudouin de Courtenay, Kallenbach, Finkel, and Brückner? It would be as difficult to exclude Andrzej Morsztyn, Weyssenhoff, Reymont, and Berent from Polish literature as to exclude Askenazy, Handelsman, Kleiner, Winawer, Wittlin, Tuwim, Slonimski, and so many other Poles of Jewish origin. Is not the Russian picture similar with Pushkin and his Abyssinian ancestry, with Lermontov and

[91] Articles by Jan Wolny "Choroba Slowiańska" in the review *Tygodnik Polski*, New York, nos. 47 and 48, 1946.

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his Scotch origin, with Dostoevsky and his Polish origin, and Gogol with his Ukranian descent, not to mention Kantemir, Fonvizin, Delvig, Boratynski, Korolenko, Blok, and so many others? And is it not really stupefying that the ultimate aggressiveness of an Asiatic Scythian Panslavism found its expression in the terrible poem *The Scythians*, written by one of the most European of Russian poets, the above mentioned Alexander Blok? 000

Let us return again to the Russian Polish problem, which is edifying enough. The Russian Slavophils and Panslavists, who, because they were indebted for their inspiration to European humanitarianism and idealism, seemed to have been destined in theory at least to sanction Poland's right to independence and thereby to redeem the political crime committed by Russia, never proved capable of being true to the dictates of political conscience. They remained blind even to the dictates of necessity, because any attempt to achieve the unity of the Slavic world as long as the Polish question was unsettled was chimerical, just as indifference to Polish national injuries was dishonesty of thought and conscience. No wonder, then, that the Russo-Polish *mariage forcé* was not dissolved by the Slavophils and Panslavists; divorce by collusion was achieved between those Poles and Russians who lacked connections with the Slavophil traditions and represented the spirit of positive Western thought. It is indeed striking to note the absence among the Russian Westerners of any irreconcilable hostility toward Poland. From the brothers Turgenev, who are contemporaries of Pushkin down to Granovsky, Stankevich, Chicherin, and the later liberals, the Westerners, although they realized the difficulties of solving the antagonism, did not succumb either to Slavophil fancies or to an elemental Slavophil hatred for Poland. The Polish problem, as I mentioned above, was from the very beginning the most important obstacle to the advancement of Slavophil ideas, for either the system collapsed or the "unity" of "indivisible Russia" was endangered; consequently the Russian Slavophils and Panslavists were frozen into immobility by the dangers of both alternatives and were unable 186* 648

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186* 648 to pursue their proper course. An exit from this dilemma did, however, exist and was discovered by the Westerners. Characteristically enough, the author of the manifesto by which the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov proclaimed Poland's independence, Professor Milyukov, was one of the most brilliant critics of the Slavophil and Panslavistic doctrines. His collaborator in this field was a Pole, Alexander Lednicki, who also never had any tendencies toward the Slavophil fancies but from the beginning to the end of his life remained faithful to his European orientation.

But perhaps the most edifying Russian example of the overcoming of nationalism and chauvinism by Christianism and humanitarianism is to be found in the "Polish story" of Tolstoy —in the touching tribute paid to the Polish martyrdom which truly inspired this great Russian writer.[82]

13. "Facies hippocratica"

186* 829 648 After this rapid course through the thoughts of so many Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovak and other writers and politicians, one unavoidable conclusion is that practically all of them, in spite of their political conflicts, ideological contradictions, and national antagonisms, agreed on one point—the recognition of the moral weakness and lack of moral dignity of Europe. Of course their approaches, motives, points of view, and goals were different. The Russians stated the moral decrepitude of Europe in a more or less speculative way. The Muscovite Slavophils could, after all, take an attitude of indifference and disinterestedness towards Europe. Russia could separate herself from the West and build a life independent from Europe. The Russian Panslavists could try to take advantage of the weakness of Europe for the realization of their Russian imperialistic views. The other Slavs, and especially the Poles, were in a different situation—for them the di-

[82] W. Lednicki, *Quelque aspects du nationalisme et du christianisme chez Tolstoï*, Cracow-Paris, 1935.

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lemma, Europe—Russia, was not a question of speculation—it was a question of life or death. What did Europe give to the Poles? Every day of their life was a day of betrayal by Europe of those ideals which Poles considered Polish ideals because of the very fact they were European. This is the main item of the Polish political texts of that period; and perhaps the most eloquent and at the same time tragic expression of these feelings is to be found in the famous message of the Polish National Government of August 15, 1831 addressed to its Western agents: "Truth, seen whole, has appeared before our eyes. We no longer count on the support of the great powers, who could and who would not, who still can and who will not, save us. We can no longer place any faith in the promises which they have made to us and which they belie by their conduct. . . . England and France, then, would not have employed us for the occasion except as an instrument fit to serve the course of their interests. England would not have lulled us with a few illusions except in order to have one more method of establishing the independence of Belgium. And France would not have made promises to us except to win a majority in the Chambers. Will faith, then be wholly banished from cabinets, and the words of a French and English minister be nothing but worthless farthings? . . . If France and England abandon us today and fail to justify the hopes that they have aroused, our ruin will have been brought about, not by the fury of Russia, or the hostility of Prussia, or the indifference of Austria, but by the self-styled sympathy shown us by France and England. . . . If the cabinets lack the courage to help us, let them at least possess enough dignity to acknowledge their barbaric indifference toward our cause. And if they have ignored the duty imposed on them by prudence, morality, and humanity, the Poles will know how to follow him who prescribes to them the sanctity of their rights and the love of their country. . . ."[98]

For Poland was facing not only the loss of her independence but a complete change of her historical mission. For centuries

[98] W. Lednicki, *Life and Culture of Poland*, pp. 212-213.

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186* she was considered the *antemurale christianitatis*, the rampart of
829 Western civilization. An absorption by Russia within the frames
648 of a Panslavistic conception would mean that Poland would become an anti-Western rampart. This is what Count Valerian Krasiński stressed already in 1848, foreseeing the present Polish catastrophe; Krasiński wrote: "If however the Poles will see that they have no chance of receiving from other nations and particularly from the Germans, the necessary assistance for the recovery of their country's independence, and that those nations in granting them some advantages, have no other object in view, than to make use of them as a bugbear to frighten Russia, in order to prevent the consolidation of the internal strength of that country by an intimate union of its Slavonic elements, being themselves ready to sacrifice the Poles as soon as their interests may demand it. If such a conviction becomes prevalent amongst the Poles, and there can be no doubt that it is rapidly spreading, what will then remain to them except cordially to unite with the Russians and to become, from a barrier between Russia and the rest of Europe, the vanguard of the Slavonic race against western Europe and Germany in particular."[94]

000 There was perhaps some consolation in the fact that the Poles, Russians, and the Slavs in general were not alone in their pessimistic critique of Europe. The Polish catastrophe, which absorbed the Poles and became a test case for all conceptions of Slavic union, was not the single factor that shook all European life in 1830-31 and in 1863. The French Revolution inaugurated a long period of upheavals and perturbations—revolutions, wars were following one after the other and the thunder of social turmoils was constantly menacing Europe during the whole 19th century. Have I to mention here the piercing voices expressing despair and "Weltschmerz," the voices of Chateaubriand, Byron, Alfred de Musset, Alfred de Vigny, and so many others as far as the "period of transition," to use Krasiński's formula, is concerned? Have I to recall the pessimism of H. Taine, the indig-

[94] Valerian Krasinski, *Panslavism and Germanism*, London, 1848, pp. 218-219.

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nant admonitions of Ruskin, the anxiety of Renan, not to mention 000
the period of the *fin de siècle* and the modern European pessimism of Spengler's jeremiads?

This does not change the fact, however, that in the light of the events of the 19th century and especially in the light of the present tragedy of Poland, the Polish "message to Europe" becomes particularly poignant. History has repeated itself almost textually with, however, one exception—that the present betrayal of Poland by the Western democracies has followed an even more cynical and indecent road. And has not the same fate overtaken Yugoslavia?

Of course in all Slavophil and Panslavistic texts one may find political hyperbole, exasperation, dreams, vain hopes, idealistic universalistic conceptions of fraternity of nations, beliefs in international justice, aspirations for national independence, imperialistic pretensions, the ideological play with various historical traditions. But as I stressed above, all that Slavic polyphony starts and ends with a dirge for Europe. Indeed we see all of them—those brilliant prophetic writers like Tyutchev, Dostoevsky, Mickiewicz, Krasiński, and so many others, involved in a great ideological battle, in which clashed their most essential thoughts about humanity and civilization, as if petrified by the same vision of Europe which we find in Herzen's terrible suggestions about "*facies hippocratica*, by which the doctors recognize that death has raised its scythe."

14. Post Scriptum

I mentioned on several occasions the fact that we are witness- 186
ing a kind of revival of the Panslavistic conceptions under the 668
Soviet sponsorship. Indeed there was created in Moscow in 575
1941 a new Panslavic committee under the chairmanship of a general, A. Gundorov, and with representatives of different Slavic nations as its members. This committee started to organize first of all Panslavic meetings in Moscow. Then later Panslavic meet-

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186* ings, manifestations, and commemorations in America; in June
668 1942 such meetings and congresses took place in New York, in
575 Pittsburgh, in Detroit, in Kansas, in Cleveland, in San Francisco, in Oakland, and also in Canada, Argentina, etc., organized by local Slavic committees. These organizations in America and in other countries represent ramifications of the Moscow center; and at each meeting they manifested this relationship by sending addresses and telegrams not only to the Panslavic committee in Moscow but to Stalin, Kalinin, Molotov, and so on. Around the Muscovite center were organized during the war all kinds of Slavic national committees and unions of patriots at the head of which one could find the members of the Panslavic committee in Moscow. These committees and unions were nuclei from which originated the "democratic governments" imposed by Russia to the Slavic and non-Slavic countries (similar committees were organized for Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria) which found themselves in the sphere of Russia's influence.

[208] For the task of propaganda of these Panslavic ideas of union and fraternity of the Slavs under the protection of Soviet Russia and under her cultural leadership there has been established a monthly review under the title *The Slavs,* published in Moscow in Russian.

186* It is paradoxical enough that if one takes different Soviet encyc-
829 lopedias one may find a radical refutation of Panslavic con-
651 ceptions; the Panslavism of the 19th century has been always qualified there as a bourgeois imperialistic doctrine. It would be very difficult, however, to find any salient difference between the Panslavistic imperialistic conceptions of Tsarist Russia, as far as their essence is concerned, and the Panslavistic policy of the Soviets, even though their motives and ultimate goals are not identical. In order to save appearances the official Soviet press still stresses that difference; so N. Leonidov in his articles *The New Phase in Slav History* published in *New Times* in Moscow in September, 1946, said: "The Russian people never identified themselves with the imperialistic chauvinistic Panslavism of the

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186* monarchists." "The slanderous talk about new Panslavism is part of an anti-Soviet campaign."[95]

829 656 Of course there are differences. The Russian tsarist government used to change from time to time its attitude toward the doctrines of the Muscovite Slavophils and those of the Panslavists. All depended on the international situation. Besides, in spite of its Machiavellian policy the tsarist government was still bound by precepts of international and public law as well as by international public opinion, and because of that its Russianizing methods and proceedings were still in a certain degree moderated. Therefore in some cases there appeared a divergence of views between the representatives of the government and the most chauvinistic, aggressive representatives of Russian Panslavism as, for instances, the famous apologist of the Russification of Poland—Katkov. Anyhow the Slavophils and Panslavists at that time represented a free, independent initiative. From time to time they even found themselves under a governmental observation that was not very benevolent to them, especially when their Panslavic enthusiasm was bringing harm to the Russian government in its relation with neighboring countries.

186* 656 It is obvious that the present situation from this point of view is completely different. Everyone knows that there is no room and no possibility for any individual free political initiative under the rule of the *Politburo*. The whole present Panslavic movement has been organized by the Soviet government, and people who are taking part in it are agents of that government. In the beginning the aim was to organize Slavic elements for the fight against Fascism and Hitlerism, against Germany; the unspeakable German atrocities greatly encouraged these activities. Such is the aspect of the first years of the publication *The Slavs*. We find there articles dealing mostly with war events, with German crimes, or with the military history of Russia, articles glorifying great Russian generals like Kutuzov, Suvorov, great Russian tsars or princes like Alexander Nevsky, Peter the Great, some articles

[95] Quoted from "Degeneration of Panslavism" by George C. Guins. The article has not yet appeared, but the author has kindly permitted me to use it.

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186* 666 glorifying the outstanding Soviet generals and, of course, men like Molotov, Lenin, "the great son of Slavdom"; and Stalin, "son of the nations of Russia"—it would be rather difficult to make of him a Slav. There are also articles about different manifestations of old and modern Slavic culture, biographies of great Slavs, predominantly Russian. Copernicus, one of them, had a rather amusing fate under the pen of Soviet clerks writing under the *Politburo's* dictates. The *Small Soviet Encyclopedia* (1926) calls Copernicus the "greatest Polish scholar"; and later, its *Great* brother leaves the reader with the impression that he was a German Scholar. Finally, the review *The Slavs* emphasizes his Polish patriotism and the prestige of the University of Cracow!

186* 575 668 The activities concerning the further organization of Panslavic meetings abroad have not been abandoned. On the contrary, recently at the end of 1946 there again took place such meetings in America and in Belgrade with the predominant role played by official and unofficial agents and delegates of Soviet Russia, ending with telegrams and addresses expressing loyalty to Soviet Russia, sent to Stalin, Kalinin, and Molotov. All these facts must lead one to the conclusion that we are witnessing here the organization of a new International, of a Slavic International, parallel to the Comintern, and that the numerous ramifications of this organization outside of Russia represent nuclei of a Slavic fifth column in the countries which are outside of the immediate zone of Soviet influence. Within this zone Russia is much less interested in the development of the Panslavic movement through any special organizations, as she has there at her complete disposal the governments of the countries which are under Russian political domination. I do not have to stress what I mentioned before—that Stalin has in his hands means of Russification about which Goldmann and Katkov could only dream.

Not without interest is the fact that the Inter-Slav Bureau of Foreign Contacts had during the war six sections—for the United States, Canada, Central and South America, Australia and New Zealand, the Near and Middle East, and Great Britain. A seventh

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section dealt with the "occupied countries" and came partly under the jurisdiction of the Bureau and partly under that of the Committee for Active Struggle Against Fascism. In 1942 the All-Slav Committee's budget amounted to 320,000,000 roubles, in 1943 to 400 million, and in 1944, when the financial division had ceased to come under the control of the Secretariate, the Committee's budget had risen to 550 million roubles. The All-Slav Congress which took place recently in Belgrade has afforded some indications of the place which the All-Slav Committee holds in Russia's post-war political propaganda apparatus. The main speech of the Soviet delegate, General Gundorov, was an invitation to the Slav peoples to ignore "the sinister forces of world reaction" and submit to Communist guidance. Two resolutions passed by the Belgrade Congress deserve attention. The first, which makes Belgrade the center of the All-Slav Committee and Maslavitch its chairman, is an indication of the importance attached in Soviet policy to Slav sentiment in the Balkans, where to some extent it is a substitute for nationalist sentiment. The second resolution provides for the participation in the work of the All-Slav Committee of representatives of "the largest progressive Slav organization from non-Slav countries, with the right to an advisory vote."

In order not to be misunderstood I feel it necessary to stress that in spite of some striking parallelisms in the use of Panslavic conceptions by Soviet foreign policy and by the Russian tsarist governement, the differences remain enormous—but not at all in the sense of Mr. Leonidov's views. As I mentioned before, the Russian tsarist government of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was bound by international and public law; and because of this the fate of the Russian subject of those times cannot be compared to the fate of the modern Russian citizen. Russia was not hidden behind an iron curtain from the world, and foreign travellers could visit Russia and freely observe her life. Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Russians were sent to Siberia, but tsarist Russia did not know concentration camps; and the conditions of

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178 the exiles in Siberia during the time of the tsars could not be compared to the atrocious conditions reigning in Soviet concentration camps. Besides, the number of people sent to Siberia by the tsars during a whole century never reached even the smallest portion of the number deported by Stalin in one year. The tsars sent individuals there; Stalin transfers whole nations. Finally, one has to remember that free speech was not completely non-existent in tsarist Russia; the Panslavistic doctrines could be and were discussed—and even criticised. Nothing like that, of course, is possible under the Soviet regime. It happened that during the tsarist period Russia realized her greatest achievements in every field of her life. From Pushkin to Tolstoy, from Glinka to Rimsky-Korsakov, from Levitsky to Repin, from Lomonosov to Mechnikov one has pleiads of Russian men who created the great Russian culture and its prestige. Therefore, at that time Russia might indeed represent a spiritual attraction. People realized that Panslavism did not mean exactly Tolstoy and Rimsky-Korsakov but rather a Russian gendarme. This is why Engels wrote that behind the Panslavic conceptions "stands the terrible reality of the Russian Empire." But still the power of suggestion and attraction, to say the least, of the great Russian writers was a concrete fact, and even Russian Emperors like Alexander I, Nicholas I, and Alexander II were not deprived of traits which might captivate Europeans.

000 How different is the present situation! Where are the great spiritual achievements of Soviet culture? Even if one admits that there is a Soviet literature, that there is a Soviet science, that there is a Soviet music, what would these achievements mean without the background of the great Russian nineteenth century, and what do they mean in comparison with it? What are the promises and gifts which modern Russia would be able to offer to the Slavs, to mankind? What kind of reality "stands" behind Soviet Panslavism?

When one reads the horrifying, really monstrous reports on the abysmal sufferings and tortures which entire nations are en-

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during cloistered in that terrifying *castrum doloris* which is the present Russia, when one reads the unspeakable stories of the thousands of concentration camps that have been established in Russia one must indeed be terrified by Soviet Panslavic conceptions; *Timeo Donaos et dona ferentes.* St. Augustine once said that he did not like those who speak about mankind because such people do not like man. Neither Slavophil nor the Panslavist systems have any inspiration for the future.

Such inspiration I have found in a courageous Russian review, *Independent Thought,* appearing in Paris under the editorship of S. P. Melgunov. Not a Slavophil but simply an honest Russian, telling the horrible story of the cruel and fantastic co-operation of the UNRRA with the Soviets in their common fight against hundreds of thousands of displaced persons in Europe who did not want to return to the frightening sphere of Soviet domination, writes as follows:

"The fate of the Poles cannot be indifferent to us. We have no right to forget numerous cases when Polish exiles showed a touching solidarity toward their Russian companions in misfortune. So it was, for instance, last year in Bad-Kempten (South Bavaria), when one ill-omened, terrible morning a detachment of American policemen forced their way into the camp of Russian expatriates in order to make extraditions by force. Looking for the last defense, the Russians gathered in the camp church. When the victims were torn out of the church and put on trucks to be taken to the station, the Polish émigrés ran out of their neighboring camp and lay down on the highways blocking the road of the death transport. Taking advantage of the confusion which arose, numerous Russians succeeded in jumping from the trucks and escaped from the American policemen and the disguised Chekists who accompanied them. Then on the day following this memorable application of justice, over all foreign camps in Bad-Kempten, and among them the Polish camp, funeral flags were raised in memory of eighty-six Russians who did not escape repatriation by force and fell into the hands of the NKVD."[96]

[96] *La Pensée Libre—Svobodnaya Mysl',* No. 6, 1946, p. 37.

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The facts and, let us believe, the accidental excesses, reported in *Independent Thought* show the moral impasse in which the ruling political powers of the world found themselves at the end of the war. However, these facts also show something else: that these unfortunate, displaced people, although divided by the political conflicts that separate their countries, were able to forget their dissensions in the name of human solidarity and common European ideals of freedom and justice.

Who knows, indeed, if the sole source of hope for the future does not lie in the misery of these very people, who fought on all the battlefields of the war for their ideals, vainly looking, at the end of their fight, for some recognition of their human rights.

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[For data on panslavism and slavophilism see category 116.]

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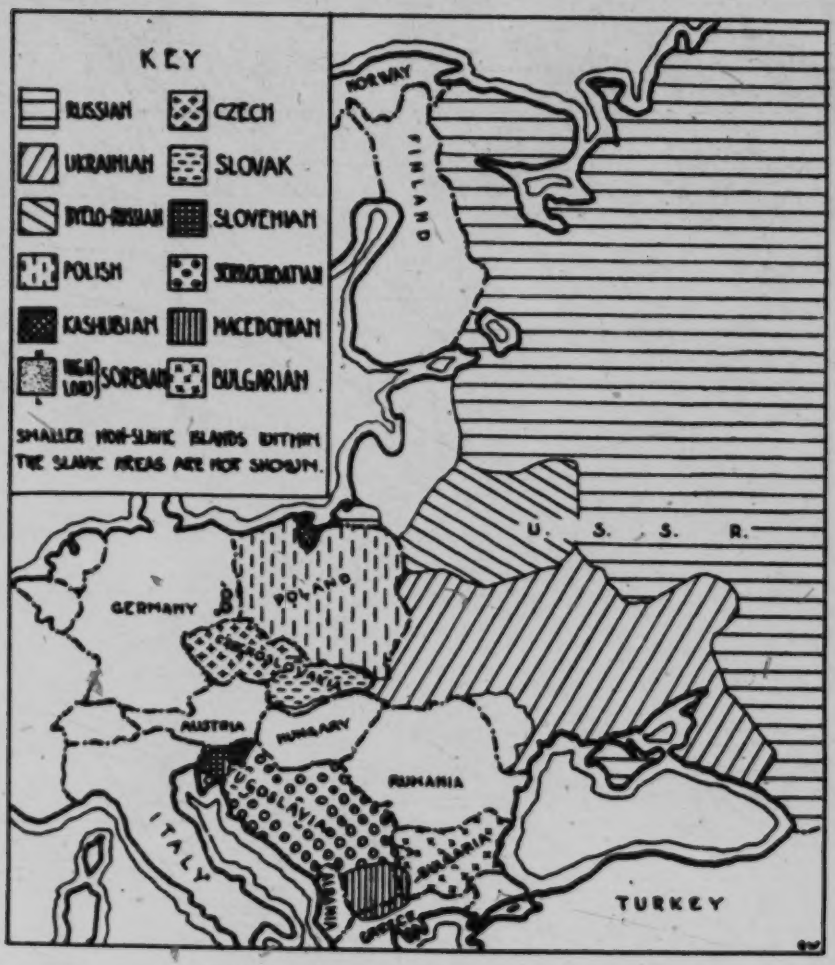

APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVIC LANGUAGES IN PRESENT-DAY EUROPE

MAP PREPARED BY G. WEINREICH

[facing p. 1]

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DISTRIBUTION, SUBDIVISIONS

198 AT THE PRESENT TIME the Slavic world comprises thirteen languages,
162 each with a distinct literary standard. In the usual classification they are distributed into three groups—Eastern, Western, and Southern Slavic.

Eastern Slavs. (1) RUSSIAN (Great-Russian) is spoken as a native language by the preponderant majority (73 per cent) in the Russian SFSR and by minor groups in the other Republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Moreover, being the principal cultural and state language of the USSR, it is employed as a second tongue in nearly all parts of the Soviet Union that have non-Russian native populations. The study of Russian is promoted on a vast scale in the school programs of all, especially Slavic, states within the Soviet sphere of influence; the official Soviet phraseology labels Russian as "the future world language of Socialism." (2) UKRAINIAN (Little-Russian, Ruthenian) is the native language of the vast majority in the Ukrainian SSR and of minor groups in the RSFSR and some other Republics of the Soviet Union. Outside the USSR, there is a compact Ukrainian minority in Northeastern Slovakia. (3) BYELO-RUSSIAN (White-Russian, White-Ruthenian) is the major language of the Byelo-Russian SSR. According to official Soviet estimates, at the start of the Second World War there were in the Eastern Hemisphere some 99 million native speakers of Russian, over 36 million of Ukrainian, and up to 8 million of Byelo-Russian.

Western Slavs. (4) POLISH is the native tongue of the overwhelming majority of the present population of Poland, of 100,000 Poles in the Těšín district of Czechoslovakia, and of a vanishing minority in those parts of pre-War Poland incorporated into the USSR; in all, at least 21 million speak Polish in the Eastern
000 Hemisphere. (5) KASHUBIAN is spoken in Poland by some

(5) KASHUBIAN is spoken in Poland by some
198 200,000 people on the left bank of the Lower Vistula. To the
162 northwest, away from this compact Kashubian area (in the Stołp district), survive the last few families that still know SLOVINCIAN, an archaic variant of Kashubian. These are the remnants of the POMORANIAN group which in the early Middle Ages extended from the Lower Vistula to the Lower Oder and was later Germanized. The Pomoranian group together with Polish belongs to the larger unit of the so-called LEKHITIC languages, which also includes POLABIAN, the former language of the Elbe (Laba) area. The last remnant of Polabian on the left bank of the lower Elbe (Dravăno-Polabian) died out toward the middle of the eighteenth century, but is known through a few vocabulary lists and short texts recorded about 1700. The other extinct Lekhitic languages are known only from isolated words and proper names, mostly toponymic. The Kashubs were alternately under Polish and German rule and thus were subjected both to a heavy Germanization and to a strong influence of the closely related Polish language. At the present time Kashubian is treated as a regional vernacular, and its cultural role is limited to a few folk publications, plays, radio programs, and social gatherings. (6) and (7) LOW and HIGH SORBIAN (Lusatian, Lower and Upper Wendish) are spoken by some 150,000 people on the Upper Spree. Surrounded by German, they form two neighboring linguistic islets, the northern one being Low Lusatia (Dolna Lužica) in Prussia and the adjacent part of Saxony with its center at Kottbus (Chośebuz), and the southern one being Upper Lusatia (Hornja Lužica) in Saxony with its center at Bautzen (Budyšin)—the former Protestant and the latter Catholic. Together with the disappearing Eastern Sorbian dialect around Muskau (Mužakow), these are the last remnants of a linguistic group that was quite extensive during the Middle Ages and bordered Polabian on the North, Polish on the East, and Czech on the South, forming a linguistically intermediate zone between these three languages. After the Second World War both Sorbian languages have been, for the first time, introduced into primary and secondary schools of Lusatia. (8) CZECH
198 is, since the postwar transfer of the German minority, almost the
162 only language of the whole western part of Czechoslovakia (Bohemia

and Moravia including the Czech part of old Silesia). Adjacent to this compact area, there are small Czech communities in Kladsko and Upper Silesia (both belonging to present-day Poland). (9) SLOVAK is the predominant native language of Slovakia (an autonomous part of Czechoslovakia). In Europe Czech is spoken by over 8½ million and Slovak about 3 million people.

Southern Slavs. (10) SLOVENIAN is spoken in the Slovenian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslovia) and in small adjacent areas of Austria and Italy. (11) SERBO-CROATIAN covers the greatest part of Yugoslavia: Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia. In the Europe of 1940 Slovenian was spoken by almost 1¾ million and Serbocroatian by some 11 million people. The standard language of the Greek Orthodox Serbs and the Catholic Croats is the same, except for a few lexical variations and the adaptation of the Russian alphabet by the former and of the Latin by the latter. (12) MACEDONIAN is the prevailing language of the Macedonian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslavia). The central dialect, belonging to the Western Macedonian group, has recently been elevated to the status of a standard language. There are about a million native Macedonians including those in the adjacent areas of Bulgaria and Greece. (13) BULGARIAN is the dominant language in Bulgaria. At the end of 1940 it was spoken by about 6 million people in Europe including Bulgarian colonies in the USSR and Bulgars in the part of Dobrudja that remained under Rumania.

Incomplete data on the extent of some of the Slavic languages in the United States are given in the 1940 census: 585,080 people with Russian as their mother-tongue; 83,000 (?) with Ukrainian; 2,416,320 with Polish; 520,440 with Czech; 484,360 with Slovak; 178,640 with Slovenian; 153,080 with Serbocroatian. From the Canadian census of 1951 we may cite the following figures indicating the mother tongue: Ukrainian, 352,323; Polish, 129,238; Slovak, 45,516; Russian, 39,223; Serbocroatian, 11,031.

As a consequence of World War II, western Byelo-Russia was detached from Poland, and the western Ukrainian areas from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania and were incorporated into

728 the USSR; the Polish and Kashubian sections of Germany passed to Poland; some Slovenian and Croatian dominions of Italy to Yugoslavia; and a part of Dobrudja was returned from Rumania
162 to Bulgaria. The total number of Slavs in the world is now over
198 200 million. Except for a few border minorities and Americans with Slavic mother-tongues, all Slavic peoples, save the Sorbs, live in states with a Slavic majority and state language—USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria.

197 Between the three Eastern Slavic languages there are intermediate dialectal areas. Russian is divided into Northern, Southern and transitional (Middle Russian) dialects, each of them with archaic islets presenting salient common features. Ukrainian dialects are classified into Northern, Southeastern, Southwestern, and Carpathian groups; the marginal dialects (called Rusnak) of the latter group are Slovak-influenced. Byelo-Russian is divided into two dialects—the Northeastern and the Southwestern, disclosing a stronger Polish impact. Polish contains, besides various border dialects, two fundamental groups: Great and Little Polish in the Northwest and Southeast respectively. Kashubian comprehends two types of dialects: the Southern, and the Northern, which includes Slovincian. In Czech there are Bohemian, Central Moravian, and Silesian groups, with transitional dialects from group to group and from Czech to Slovak and to Polish. Slovak consists of three dialectal types: Central; Western, closely linked with Czech; and Eastern, connected with Polish and Ukrainian. Slovenian exhibits great dialectal variety. Serbocroatian from East to West presents three basic groups: Štokavian, Čakavian, and Kajkavian which is transitional to Slovenian. Bulgarian is divided into three basic dialects: Western, Northeastern, and Southeastern. Macedonian sets up a scale of intermediary dialectal zones between West Bulgarian and Štokavian.

PROTOSLAVIC; EXPANSION

PROTOSLAVIC (Primitive Slavic), which substituted (1) *s*, *z* for advanced *k*, *g*, and (2) *x* for the old *s* preceded by *i*, *u*, *r*, *k*, was a Western offshoot of the satem-group of Indo-European languages

and shares the fusion of *a* and *o* with the majority of this group. 197
Common isoglosses testify a close and prolonged neighborhood with Germanic, Iranian, probably Thraco-Phrygian and foremost with Baltic, which is tied to Slavic by significant innovations both in vocabulary and in grammatical and phonemic, especially prosodic, features. Old loan-words from Iranian pertain mostly to spiritual, and those from Germanic to material culture. Contact with Altaic and Finno-Ugric languages seems to be confined to the late stage of Protoslavic and has left but scanty vestiges in its vocabulary. The long evolution of Protoslavic, which took around three millennia, can be traced up to its final stage—the entrance of the Slavs onto the historical scene (fifth–sixth centuries), [175] the oldest foreign records of Slavic proper and common nouns (fifth–seventh centuries), the formation of the first hereditary Slavic states (ninth–tenth centuries), the appearance of Slavic [538] written literature (ninth century), and the final dissolution of the Slavic linguistic unity toward the beginning of our millennium.

The territory of present-day Poland, Byelo-Russia, and North- 175
western Ukraine seems to exhibit perceptible vestiges of the oldest Slavic settlements. According to the first detailed literary accounts about the Slavs, the sixth century A.D. witnessed a strong Slavic expansion to the South, West, and East. The Slavs swarmed over the Peloponnesos during the seventh century, but were eventually driven back from Greece. With Charlemagne began the protracted retreat of the Slavs in the West and the gradual Germanization of the Elbe and Oder basins in the Northwest and of the Slavic regions of Bavaria and Austria in the Southwest. In the tenth century the Southern Slavs became separated from the Western because of this continuous German offensive toward and the Hungarian intrusion from the East; later they were cut off also from the Eastern Slavs by the extension of Rumanian. While the expansion of the Western and Southern Slavs was curtailed and even repelled during the early Middle Ages, that of the Eastern Slavs has never stopped and particularly their colonization of the East still continued, checked only in the Bering Sea area in the late nineteenth century.

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HISTORY OF THE LITERARY LANGUAGES

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SLAVIC LITERARY ACTIVITIES begin in the ninth century with the rise of the first Slavic national state, Great Moravia, where two Byzantine missionaries brought up in Macedonia (Salonika), St. Cyril (Constantine the Philosopher, an erudite polyglot, formerly professor at the University of Constantinople) and his brother, St. Methodius, organized in the 'sixties a national church with services in Slavic. For this purpose they translated the Bible, liturgic and other ecclesiastic texts into the Slavic dialect spoken in the Salonika region, patterning it after the Greek model and adapting it to the Czechoslovak linguistic habits of Great Moravia. Since the dialectal differentiation of the primitive Slavic language at that time was insignificant, there were no obstacles for the spread of this Macedonian vernacular among the great majority of the Slavs as their first written and liturgic language. The literary activities of the two Slavic apostles were preceded only by a few primary Christian texts (such as the Baptismal Vows, the Paternoster, Credo, etc.) translated probably in Great Moravia in the early ninth century, partly from Latin, partly perhaps from Old High German, and preserved in later copies. The Moravian mission was forcibly terminated in 885, after some two decades of work, but it had given the Slavs many standard translations from Greek and occasionally from Latin, as well as original homilies, legends, prayers, and poems in a new but highly elaborate literary language adaptable for scholarly and poetic expression. Moreover, it bequeathed to them the lasting idea of the propriety and the necessity of using the mother tongue for all, even the highest, cultural purposes. This literary language, called by modern scholars OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC (Old Slavic, or inaccurately Old Bulgarian), penetrated from the late ninth to the eleventh centuries into the whole Slavic world except for its Northwestern margin. It produced several local variants: the MORAVIAN recension itself is known to us only indirectly through later copies made in other areas, the BOHEMIAN recension, which exhibits Latin influence, is preserved as far as indigenous manuscripts

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are concerned, in single fragments of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and moreover local literary activities are known through some later foreign, mostly Russian, copies; the MACEDONIAN recension, particularly conservative in its vocabulary and phraseology; the BULGARIAN recension, which weeded out Greek and Moravian words and expressions, created a new rich terminology, and reflected the intense scholarly and literary life of Bulgaria in the early tenth century—these last two recensions are preserved in several manuscripts of the eleventh century and in many later copies; the CROATIAN and SERBIAN recensions, both manifesting a strong Macedonian influence and attested by twelfth century manuscripts; and the Eastern Slavic (usually called RUSSIAN) recension offering the oldest of the dated Slavic manuscripts preserved, Ostromir's Evangelium (written in 1056), as well as some twenty-five Kiev and Novgorod manuscripts of the eleventh century and numerous others of later date—copies of Southern and Western Slavic originals, and in a great part, local creations. This recension derived from the Bulgarian but later tended rather toward the Macedonian and in its further development has shown a repeated reciprocity with the Serbian recension. The Freising Fragments of the late tenth century in Latin letters seem to be a SLOVENIAN modification of Old Church Slavonic. During the twelfth century the language of Cyril and Methodius, wherever it appears in the Slavic world, is essentially modified; the Old Church Slavonic period ends and thenceforth we speak simply of CHURCH SLAVONIC.

With the Great Schism of 1054 and the First Crusade, Latin triumphed as the only liturgic and literary language for all of the Western Slavs and for the Western part of the South Slavic area. Of the Catholic Slavic peoples, only a part of the Croats preserved the use of Church Slavonic in liturgy and literature and spread this use during the thirteenth century, which in general was favorable to the renascence of Church Slavonic culture among the Southern Slavs. In the Czech state this use was abolished toward the beginning of the twelfth century, but its tradition contributed to the rise of a Bohemian vernacular literature in the late thirteenth. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, besides highly developed

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belles-lettres, even Czech science and philosophy turned to the national language and adapted it to the Latin cultural pattern. Rich terminological dictionaries were elaborated; attempts at holding church services in the mother tongue were made, and under the Hussites they became a contagious precedent for the European Reformation. After a weakening of its foremost position in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, literary Czech resurged with the nineteenth century, exploiting the old heritage, borrowing from other Slavic languages (especially from Polish), and quickly adapted to modern cultural needs. The Polish literary language, which especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been modeled on Czech (the language of the Polish world of fashion until the sixteenth century), reached a world status, first in sixteenth-century poetry and then in Romanticism. In the sixteenth century the Reformation inspired religious texts for the Slovenian, Sorbian, and Kashubian people in their mother tongues. The propaganda of the Counter Reformation, endeavoring to penetrate to the populace, and later the democratic tendencies of the nineteenth century reinforced these vernacular literatures. Particularly modern Slovenian scholarship and literature and their means of expression attained a high level. In both of the smallest of the Slavic speech communities striving for the literary use of their vernacular, the champion writers were American emigrants —the Kashub H. Derdowski (1852–1902) and the Low Sorbian poet Mato Kósyk (1853–1940).

During the whole of the Middle Ages the written literature of Greek Orthodox Slavs was prevailingly ecclesiastic and used Church Slavonic; lay documents and juridical texts, however, were written in the local vernacular. Secular literary works, such as fiction, chronicles, profane itineraries, etc., oscillated between Church Slavonic and the vernacular. Even though the last three centuries have strongly secularized Russian culture and strengthened the vernacular (Middle Russian) stratum in the literary tongue, its traditional hybrid structure, which differentiates Church Slavonic and folk components semantically and stylistically and distributes them in various ways, has remained the pivotal principle of modern Standard Russian and is still the main source of its

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unusual richness. The political conditions of the Moscovite period created two distinct variants of the Eastern Slavic literary language: the Great-Russian pattern on the one hand, and the Southwestern on the other, which, besides a Moscow influence, exhibited a Ukrainian and locally a Byelo-Russian ingredient and which, moreover, was somewhat occidentalized through the Czech and Polish intermediary. To overcome this split, the patriarch Nikon, after the incorporation of the Ukraine into the Moscow Tsardom in the middle of the seventeenth century, initiated a radical revision of the Russian liturgic and literary language along Kievan lines. This reform contributed to the gradual Westernization of Standard Russian which in different ways during the seventeenth century imported a large number of Polish and Czech words, and then under Peter, directly followed Germanic and later on Romance models.

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After a rich development in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Church Slavonic literature waned in Bulgaria and suffered a decline in Serbia with the Turkish invasion, diffusing at the same time a Balkan influence on both Southern and Northern Russia's literary language and giving birth as well to a new, RUMANIAN recension of Church Slavonic which served as the literary and liturgic language of Rumanians from the late fourteenth to the eighteenth century. Toward the sixteenth century, even in the Ottoman court and administration, Balkan Slavic speech came into use. On the other hand, the spiritual life and literary language of Serbia in the seventeenth century underwent a still greater Russian influence, and in the eighteenth century the native recension of Church Slavonic was replaced by the Russian pattern. In that part of the Serbocroatian world which adhered to Western Christianity there appeared, partly under the influence of the Reformation, partly after the model of the Italian Renaissance, regional attempts at raising the vernacular to a literary language with a Church Slavonic tinge. The most fertile of these were the Dalmatian schools of poetry—the western one flourished in the sixteenth century, and that of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in the sixteenth and seventeenth. But the modern standard language, unifying both Serbs and Croats, which developed during the first half of the

538 nineteenth century, was only sporadically linked with earlier
197 attempts: it raised to literary usage a folk dialect of Herzegovina and emphatically rejected Church Slavonic or Russian ingredients and the influence of any older literary heritage. A similar populist tendency characterized the rise at the same period of modern literary Ukrainian which was first used in the burlesques of the very late eighteenth century, and in its further development oscillated between the Western (Polish-influenced) and the Eastern (Russian-influenced) variants. Both Standard Byelo-Russian and Macedonian modestly entered into literature in the nineteenth century and acquired civil rights—the former after the First, the latter after the Second World War. On the other hand, modern Standard Bulgarian, likewise formed during the nineteenth century after some isolated earlier attempts, strongly and consistently continued to borrow from Russian and particularly from its Church Slavonic stock. Toward the middle of the same century, the Slovaks, who had used literary Czech (somewhat adapted to their own habits), inaugurated their own literary language based on the Central Slovak dialect but patterned after standard Czech.

197 Church Slavonic perseveres as a liturgic language in several
795 slightly distinct variants: Nikon's recension is used by Greek Orthodox Slavs (and—with somewhat stronger orientation toward the old Kievan tradition—by the Greek Catholics); the pre-Nikon, Great-Russian recension is followed by the Old Believers; the Croatian Roman Catholics, in so far as they use Church Slavonic, maintain their own recension, although since the seventeenth century they have incorporated a considerable Kievan strain.

198 In the Slavic standard languages, besides Greek influence, pre-
177 vailing in the area of the Eastern Church, and Latin, predominant in that of the Western, there can be noted a strong Turkic lexical layer in Eastern Slavic and in the majority of Southern Slavic languages, and a German stamp on the vocabulary and phraseology of Slovenian and of Western Slavic languages and on the technical terminology of modern Russian. To some degree all the main Slavic literary languages in their recent phase bear French imprints. Neighboring languages have undergone an appreciable Slavic influence, principally in their vocabulary. This is particularly so

for the Baltic languages, Albanian, Greek, Rumanian, Yiddish (in the syntax of the latter two, as well), for Gipsy in Slavic environment, for most of the Uralic, Altaic, and Paleosiberian languages, and for Aleut and Alaska Eskimo. 198 177

Systems of Writing. In order to symbolize the sovereignity of the Slavic language, St. Cyril invented a quite distinct alphabet, adapting and modifying certain Greek, Samaritan, perhaps Coptic, and other Oriental letters. This alphabet, called GLAGOLITIC, was used in Great Moravia, and then in Bohemia and Croatia, Macedonia, and partly in Bulgaria. In the latter country it met strong competition from the so-called CYRILLIC alphabet which had been created there at the beginning of the tenth century to bring Slavic writing closer to the Greek—both Slavic alphabets occur in the fragmentary inscriptions of Preslava from the early tenth century. Cyrillic won out in all of the Greek Orthodox Slavic countries and is still used there in the Church, while for lay purposes it was refashioned under Peter the Great and the shape of the letters brought closer to the Latin: this modification spread from Russia to all Slavs of the Eastern rite. Since the twelfth century the Glagolitic alphabet has been limited to Croatia, except for isolated attempts of single Czech and Polish monasteries to borrow this Croatian habit in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. With the sixteenth century it began to disappear from secular Croatian writings and the area of its Church usage has become more and more limited, but after the Second World War spadework has been undertaken among Slavic Benedictines for a new extension of the Slavonic liturgy. With these exceptions all the Catholic Slavs now use the Latin alphabet. The fourteenth century Czech system of expressing those phonemes which have no graphic symbols in the Latin alphabet by various digraphs is still the basis for Polish spelling, whereas the Czechs have introduced the diacritic system, first tried by Jan Hus under the influence of the Glagolitic alphabet. This kind of spelling is now general for all Slavs of Western denominations with the exception of Poles and Kashubs. 212 177

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SAMPLES

198 Since the Gospel has been universally translated, a sample may be selected from it in the various Slavic languages. We choose the colloquial sentence from St. Luke 10.35 (using and completing Nahtigal's quotations in his Slovanski jeziki and applying the American scholarly transliteration for the non-Latin alphabets): 'Take care of him: and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.'

Old Church Slavonic (Bulgarian recension): prileži emь. i eže ašte priiždiveši. azъ egda vъzvraštǫ sę vъzdamь ti.

Modern Greek Orthodox (Cyrillic) Church Slavonic: prileži jemu: i, ježe ašče priiždiveši, az, jegda vozvraščusja, vozdam ti.

Modern Roman Catholic (Glagolitic) Church Slavonic: Prileži jemu, i ježe ašće priiždiveši, az jegda vazvraću se, vzdam ti.

Russian: pozabot'sja o něm; i esli izderžiš' čto bolee, ja vernuvšis' (*or* kogda vozvraščus'), otdam tebe.

Ukrainian: Dohljadaj joho, i ščo nad se vydasy, ja, vernuvšys', oddam tobi.

Byelo-Russian: dahljadaj jaho i, kali vydaš što balej, ja, vjarnuwšysja, addam tabe.

Polish: Miej o nim staranie, a cokolwiek nad to wynałożysz, ja, gdy się wrócę, oddam ci.

Kashubian: Mnjej ŭo njim stôranji, a cokolwjek nad to wědôsz, jô, ciej sę wrócę, ŭoddôm cé.

Low Sorbian: Zastaraj jogo, a cožkuli wěcej nałožyš, zapłašim tebje, gaž se vrošim.

High Sorbian: Zastaraj jeho, a štožkuli wjacy wułožiš, zapłaću tebi, hdyž so wróću.

Czech: Měj o něj péči, a cožkoli nad to vynaložíš, já když se vrátím, zaplatím tobě.

Slovak: Maj na neho starosť, a čo by si nad to viacej vynaložil, ja ti, keď zase prijdem, zaplatím.

Slovenian: Poskrbi zanj, in kar boš več potrošil, ti jaz nazaj gredé povrniem.

Serbocroatian: Gledaj ga, i što više potrošiš ja ću ti platiti kad se vratim.

Macedonian: Zagriži se za nego, i što ke izarčiš ke ti platam koga ke se vratam. 198

Bulgarian: Pogriži se za nego; i kakvoto poveče iždiviš, na vrъštane az ště ti zaplatja.

COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

THE CHARACTERISTIC tendencies of Slavic evolution before the dissolution of unity are: (A) the complete abolition of aspiration (a loss common to all those Indo-European branches which did not set up a new *h* phoneme), and the persevering clear-cut opposition of voicing and voicelessness; (B) the consistent opposition of front and back vowels and accordingly that of 'soft' and 'hard' syllables, achieved by all kinds of mutual adaptation between vowels and adjacent consonants; (C) the recasting of prothetic semivowels (at the beginning of the word certain vowels require either the presence or the avoidance of an initial *v*, while other vowels that of an initial *j*); (D) the change of the short *u* and *i* into reduced vowels ('jers,' according to their Church Slavonic spelling name), the back ъ and the front ь; (E) the gradual elimination of closed syllables: loss of final consonants, simplification of consonantal clusters, reshaping of all diphthongs ending in *u* and *i* (*ou* > *ū*; *ei* > *ī*; *oi* > *ē*, but in final position *oi* is represented either by *ē* or by *ī*, going back to a difference in quantity), suppression of tautosyllabic groups 'vowel (dialectally only the non-reduced one) plus liquid or nasal': in initial position the group *ŏr** > *ra*; *ŏr* > *ra* only in the South Slavic area and Central Slovak, and > *ro* elsewhere; between consonants the groups *ŏr* and *ŏr* (1) changed into *ra* in the South Slavic and Czechoslovak area (with a parallel mutation of ъr into *r̥*), (2) dissolved into a disyllabic sequence—Polish-Sorbian *tъrot* (with a metathesis) and East Slavic *torot* (without a metathesis), (3) merged with ъr in North-Lekhitic; in those Slavic dialects where the groups *on*, *en* preserved the nasal, they were changed into ъn, ьn; (F) substitution of qualitative for old quantitative distinctions and development of new quantitative vocalic oppositions; 194

* *r* in these formulas stands for any liquid, *o* for any open non-reduced vowel, *ŏ* for any reduced vowel, *t* for any consonant.

194 (G) a prosodic pattern based on opposition of rising and falling pitch both in long and short syllables, with word-accent appended to the rising pitch and, in its absence, to the initial syllable (while the Balto-Slavic prosodic pattern had tolerated the word-accent on the second mora of any long syllable and on the initial or final mora of the word).

194 During the second half of the first millennium A.D., the diffusion
197 of innovations within the vast Slavic area became slower, and in particular regional divergences in their temporal order gave rise to certain dialectal features. Differently treated are: prothetic semivowels; vowels plus tautosyllabic liquids and nasals; *ě* (called *jat'*, the reflex of *ě* and *oi*); on the one hand the clusters *tj* and *dj*, and on the other, the fricative *x* when preceded by certain front vowels and followed by certain back vowels ('progressive palatalization') and furthermore, *x* before the reflexes of *oi* ('second regressive palatalization'): either only this *x* or only *tj*, *dj* become hissing sounds; *j* after non-initial labials; *t*, *d* before *l* and nasals; velars before the reflex of *woi*; front vowels before dentals followed by back vowels; the prosodic variety of the accented syllables (long and short, both either falling or rising) which underwent diverse regional modifications and limitations.

Some of the local innovations within the final Protoslavic period serve (1) to distinguish Eastern Slavic (*tort* > *torot*, ъ in *tъrt* had the same treatment as the strong ъ before obstruents, *dj* > *ž*, *bdm* > *m*, initial *j* disappeared before *u* and under certain conditions before *e* becoming *o*), and (2) to divide it into two dialects—Northern (the affricates *č* and *c* coalesced) and Southern (*g* became fricative): North Russian derives from the former, and the other Eastern Slavic speech-varieties from the latter dialect. The difference between Russian and Ukrainian will come later, in the twelfth–thirteenth century, when the tendency to use a common phonemic pattern still persists, but the etymological distribution of these phonemes is already somewhat different (e.g., both Russian and Ukrainian at that time developed the same diphthong *uo*, with the same prothetic *v* in initial position, but in Ukrainian, *uo* originates from *o* before a dropped 'jer,' and in Russian, from *o* under a rising accent). The formation of Byelo-Russian as a

whole will not start until the fifteenth century with its strengthening Polish influence. 194 197

Some dialectal innovations within the final Protoslavic period are common to the whole Western Slavic group (*tj*, *dj* changed to hissing sounds; all the palatalizations of *x* gave *s*). Except the change of the final group *jŏns* into *en* in the Slavic South, and *ě* in the West and North, there are no common, exclusively Southern Slavic innovations: some changes link Southern with Eastern Slavic (velars undergoing the second palatalization were changed into hissing sounds; after labials *j* gave a palatal *l*; *d*, *t* were los before *l* and *n* except in some marginal Slovenian dialects and i Pskov-Russian); some other changes link the Southern group wi h Czechoslovak or at least with its eastern variant now represented by Central Slovak. Certain mutations were undergone by the whole central Slavic area (e.g., change of *g* into a fricative, attested in Czech, Slovak, High Sorbian, Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, South Great-Russian, and part of Slovenian). A wider spread of central isoglosses as opposed to a marginal pattern is the oscillation of 'ě' between *e* and *i* and the connected change of the tautosyllabic groups *on*, *en* to the back and front vowels of the lowest timbre (*u* and mostly *æ*) everywhere except in the Lekhitic, Bulgaro-Macedonian, and in a part of the Slovenian area: here 'ě' oscillates between *e* and *a*, while *on*, *en* became ъn, ьn; still preserved is the nasal component in the Lekhitic languages and in some border dialects of Slovenian and Macedonian.

The loss of the 'jers,' a feature which expanded slowly in the tenth–twelfth centuries from the Southwest to the Northeast of the Slavic world, was the last common Slavic mutation. Throughout the whole of the Slavic area the 'jers' were lost with one essential limitation: of the two 'jers' in the neighboring syllables, the last (called 'weak') was dropped but the preceding (called 'strong') changed into an unreduced vowel. The loss of the 'jers' destroyed the uniformity of the Slavic syllable—its openness and the harmony of its constituents—and therewith forced the prosodic reshaping of the Slavic languages. (1) *A*. Serbocroatian and Slovenian, and *B*. North Kashubian maintained or partly restored both distinctive features of Protoslavic word-prosody—pitch and quantity: type *A*

194 maintaining and *B* eliminating the quantitative opposition under
197 accent. (2) Having abolished the rising pitch, Czech and Slovak, except for some transitional dialects, automatically fixed the accent on the initial syllable and maintained free quantity. On the contrary, the Eastern Slavic area and Bulgarian, with the adjacent Macedonian strip, abolished quantity in favor of free stress (this evolution is bound up with avoidance of vocalic contraction, whereas the maintenance of quantity implies new long vowels due to contraction). The intermediary zone between the languages with free quantity and those with free stress now presents neither quantity nor free stress—the latter is stabilized on the penult in Polish, Eastern Slovak, and Rusnak, on the first syllable in Sorbian and Southern Kashubian, on the antepenult in Western Macedonian. Thus we distinguish languages (3) without free stress and quantity and (4) with free stress.

The latter two types have a higher number of consonantal phonemes and clusters, the former two, especially the first one, a greater number of vocalic phonemes. The liquids assume a syllabic function only in the phonemic patterns of types 1A and 2; Czech excepted, they participate in the quantitative opposition. Type 4 tends to reduce the number of vocalic phonemes in unstressed position (e.g., to four in North Russian, to three—*u*, *a*, *i*—in South Russian and Byelo-Russian); type 1A reduces the phonemic inventory of velar consonants (mostly losing *x*, and in some Slovenian dialects even *k* and *g*). Only types 3 and 4 tolerate double consonants. Before losing the weak 'jers,' all Slavic dialects, except 1A, maintained the difference between ъ and ь and between the preceding consonants—palatalized before front vowel but not before back vowel. With the loss of the weak 'jers' this consonantal difference became phonemic, but in various ways was then gradually eliminated by 1B and 2, whereas the whole area 4 and most of the intermediary area 3 preserved or even strengthened this opposition. Except Slovenian and Kashubian, the languages which either did not develop or lost palatalization (softness) as a distinctive feature, acquired in different ways a fourth, palatal series of stops besides the labials, dentals, and velars (particularly so in Serbocroatian, Czech, and Slovak). Except for Slovenian,

Serbocroatian, and some Bulgarian dialects where ъ and ь in strong position coalesced into *ə* or *a*, the strong ь in all languages became *e*, while ъ changed to *o* in the whole Eastern Slavic area, in Macedonia, partly also in High Sorbian and Central Slovak; everywhere else it changed to a corresponding unrounded vowel which later in 2 and 3 (but never in 4) coalesced with *e*. The vocalic phonemes of 4 are determined by the opposition of rounded and unrounded; and to the South moreover, the unrounded series splits into front and back: both for the higher and for the lower vowels the Ukrainian and the Bulgarian phonemic pattern distinguishes (a) unrounded front, (b) unrounded back, (c) rounded (back). The change of long vowels into decrescent diphthongs occurs only in the Western borderland of the Slavic world—in Czech, Polabian, and Kashubian.

In various regions of the Slavic world—in some Russian, Polish, Sorbian, and Serbocroatian dialects—the hushing and the corresponding hissing affricates, or generally sibilants, coalesced. A rare phoneme, the sibilant vibrant *r*, formerly common to the majority of the Western Slavic languages, is maintained in Czech and Kashubian.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

THE AUTONOMY of the word and the markedness of word boundaries are preserved both in Protoslavic and in the modern Slavic languages; and there is a clear-cut difference between the treatment of affixes on one hand, and proclitic conjunctions or enclitic particles on the other. The root plus derivational and inflectional suffixes forms a simple word. A root preceded by another root or by a prefix produces a complex word. Prepositions are phonemically treated as prefixes. Derivational suffixes remain an extremely productive means for neology in Slavic languages. Prefixes play only a derivational role but prefixation as such has an important part in the building of Slavic verbal aspects. Alternations of phonemes are relevant auxiliary means in Slavic inflection; pivotal are prosodic alternations both in Protoslavic and in those Slavic languages which maintain in their word structure such

193 distinctive features as pitch, quantity, or place of accent; as a result of the loss of the 'jers' alternations of vowel and zero as well as zero desinences occupy a great place in all Slavic languages. Autonomous alternations of different vowels in the root are in part the residue of Indo-European or Protoslavic processes, and in part essential innovations of separate Slavic languages, e.g., Ukrainian, Polish, Czech. In desinences vocalic alternations conditioned by the stem-end (a characteristic feature of late Protoslavic), remain, in spite of all analogic changes, a pertinent factor in the morphologic structure of modern Slavic languages. Due to various palatalization processes, the alternations of the last stem-consonant are partly inherited from Protoslavic, partly developed in the separate Slavic languages. There is still a pronounced tendency (particularly striking in Russian) to differentiate the alternations used in declension and those used in conjugation.

193 Protoslavic preserved the Indo-European system of cases (Nom.,
197 Acc., Instr., Dat., Gen., Loc.), losing only the ablative which merged with the genitive—the latter took over the ablative desinence for *o*-stems. The use of *m* in the Instr. and Dat. desinences links Slavic with the Baltic and Germanic area. The nominal declension exhibits a strong influence from the pronominal, an interaction of different paradigms, and a tendency to identify paradigms with genders. The impulse to unify the declension continues in separate Slavic languages. All of them tend to eliminate the prepositionless use of the Loc. and of the Dat. of destination. The substitution of the possessive Gen. for the original possessive adjective is widespread. Western and Eastern Slavic languages developed a predicative Instr. Bulgarian and Macedonian, for the most part, have lost declension (as well as the suffixal comparative forms of the adjectives) and developed instead a postpositive article. Distinction of single cases, weakened both formally and functionally in Sorbian, Czech, Slovenian, and Serbocroatian, is firmly held in the other Slavic languages and even enriched by two new cases (Gen. 2 and Loc. 2) in Russian, and the general meanings of the cases remain here distinctly delimited (e.g., the persistence of the Gen. of negation perfectly fits the general meaning of the genitive

as a purely restrictive case). The vocative form is preserved in all Slavic languages except Russian and Slovenian. 193 197

A sharp distinction between the singular and the plural unvaryingly goes through the whole Slavic inflection, whereas the dual, still vital in the Slavic medieval world, died out but for Slovenian, Sorbian, and Slovincian. Residues of the old nominal dual serve to denote nouns after numerals from 'two' to 'four' in Russian and Serbocroatian, and after all numerals in Bulgarian which, along with declension, lost the clear-cut Slavic difference between the substantivized numerals from 'five' and the lower numerals consistently adjectivized. Slavic substantives and adjectives still strikingly distinguish masculine, feminine, and neuter in the singular; in the plural, however, these distinctions are lost by Russian and Bulgarian and tend to weaken as well elsewhere. The difference between the animate and inanimate started for the Acc. Sg. M. in late Protoslavic and became generalized for some other cases in Western Slavic languages, and for the Acc. Pl. in Russian. Bulgarian, Western Slavic languages (particularly Polish and Sorbian), and Ukrainian tend to promote a new, personal gender.

For the adjectives Protoslavic developed a new, definite form which distinguishes more clearly their declension from that of the substantives. In Serbocroatian and Slovenian the difference between the definite and indefinite forms is more or less preserved and marked by prosodic alternations; Bulgarian and Macedonian have reduced the use of the definite form, whereas Byelo-Russian, Ukrainian, and Western Slavic languages tend to eliminate the indefinite doublet; Russian has changed it into a purely predicative, indeclinable form.

The Protoslavic verb had been more essentially reshaped than the noun. Only the forms of the present tense continue closely an Indo-European prototype; the forms of the aorist are perceptibly refashioned, while the forms of the Slavic imperfect have nothing in common with the Indo-European stock. Neither the form nor the function of the Indo-European perfect find correspondence in the Slavic. Besides two sets of simple forms—the sequential past (the so-called 'aorist') and the synchronic past (the so-called 'imperfect'), Slavic created new, compound pasts: the retrospective

193 past (inadequately called the 'perfect'), and three pluperfects
197 corresponding to the aorist, the imperfect, and the perfect. Protoslavic abolished the Indo-European subjunctive and innovated a compound conditional. The Indo-European optative was re-formed into an imperative, whereas the old imperative disappeared completely. The middle voice became obsolete and its functions were partly assumed by the Slavic (and Baltic) construction with the enclitic Acc. of the reflexive pronoun which had been generalized for all persons; besides, a periphrastic passive was developing with verbal adjectives changed into participles. The nominal forms of the verb, the infinitive and supine, are due to a convergent development in the Slavic and some other Indo-European dialects. Partly paralleled by the Baltic, Protoslavic developed a system of coupled verbs of perfective (denoting the completion of a process) and imperfective (without such denotation) aspect; of the imperfective verbs a few couples denote the opposition of determined (characterizing the process as an uninterrupted whole) and undetermined aspect. The future was usually expressed by either the present of perfective verbs or different periphrastic constructions with imperfective verbs. Various types of impersonal constructions were developed with a zero-subject and a verb in 3rd pers. Sg. or Pl. as predicate. Conjugation drew upon two stems, one full and another truncated, chiefly regular in their alternation (depending on the vocalic or consonantal onset of the desinence)—a feature which has persisted for the most part to the present time.

This rich set of verbal forms (in Old Church Slavonic an imperfective verb had up to 236 forms, without counting the compound ones) persisted fundamentally through the Middle Ages. Later, most of the Slavic languages generalized the original 'perfect' as the only past; the imperfect and the aorist have been kept only in Sorbian on the one hand, and in Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbocroatian on the other. These same Southern Slavic languages stabilized the use of the verb *xotěti* 'want' for the compound future and generalized this construction for the perfective verbs as well, somewhat dampening (as Sorbian also does) the opposition of the aspects. Bulgarian and Macedonian have developed the richest

pattern of finite forms with a consistent opposition of direct and 193
indirect narration. Fundamentally, the Protoslavic pattern of 197
aspects, voices, and moods is preserved in all Slavic languages. The imperative becomes (especially in Russian and Ukrainian) a bare stem, agglutinating autonomous suffixes phonemically treated as particles. The supine remained only in Low Sorbian and Slovenian. The infinitive is lost in Bulgarian and Macedonian. Participles tended at an early date to do away with declension and to become gerunds—in the Eastern and partly also in the Western Slavic area they even lost gender and number.

Enclitics traditionally followed the first accented word, but in 193
languages with free stress the inflected enclitics were attracted by the governing word and then completely eliminated in the whole Eastern Slavic area, except for Western Ukrainian dialects: in the reflexive verbs the pronoun became an inseparable suffix; the other pronominal enclitic forms, richly developed in Protoslavic, were lost; the auxiliary verb as used in the 3rd pers. Sg. Neutr. of the compound forms was generalized (in the conditional *by* and in the pluperfect *bylo* became mere particles); in the 'perfect' the pres. 3rd pers. zero-form of the auxiliary verb *byti* 'be,' when used for all persons, changed the 'perfect' into a simple form. Subsequently the present of *byti* was likewise omitted in its other functions and the use of the correlative verb *iměti* 'have' essentially reduced; the abolishment of the copula favored asyndeton; finally, in personal constructions the use of pronouns, which was pleonastic for the Slavic pattern, became normal and their omission, which was normal for the Slavic pattern, became elliptic.

Word order underwent some alterations in the separate development of the Slavic languages. Particularly the verb tends to a medial position in the sentence and the place of attributes depends on regional changes in the system of definite and indefinite adjectives. Generally, word order is still based on the same principles as in Protoslavic: there is one basic pattern and a set of usual deviations each of which possesses a distinct semantic or stylistic value. In the spoken Slavic languages hypotaxis is weakly developed and less used than parataxis. The evolution of Slavic languages shows an extreme instability of conjunctions and relative pronouns.

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Serbian Church Life
The Way of a Pilgrim, *and*
The Pilgrim continues his Way
(*translated from the Russian.*)

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THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH

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TO
MY WIFE

P.5

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PREFACE

NOT only political events in the east of Europe, but also the growing desire for unity among the various bodies of Christians, in the face of a world largely indifferent or hostile, have caused the Orthodox Church to figure a good deal more prominently in the minds of people of the twentieth century than it did in the minds of their fathers and grandfathers.

I have tried to give a picture of the Orthodox Church for the use of the general reader who wishes to know something about Orthodoxy and the significance of the Orthodox Church in Christendom.

It is my hope that the book may be of some service also as a general introduction for students who intend to pursue the study of Orthodoxy further in larger books which deal with various aspects of the subject.

Necessarily much has had to be omitted, but I hope that something approaching due balance and proportion have been preserved in what is left. My debt to works written and edited by Mr. Norman Baynes will be clear. I have an additional reason for thanking him, in that he has been kind enough to read my book before it was sent to the printer and to make some valuable suggestions for its improvement. I am most grateful also to Dr. Dvornik, who kindly read Chapters V and VI, and gave me some criticisms; and to Mr. H. St. L. B. Moss for his help and advice. But I alone am responsible for any faults the book may have.

My obligations to other writers are acknowledged in the appropriate places, and I trust that none have been omitted.

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The latter part of Chapter VIII, which deals with Orthodox Church Services, is based upon, and often quotes, what I had already written in *Liturgy and Worship*, published by the S.P.C.K. to whom I express my thanks for permission to use it thus.

My thanks are due also to Miss K. E. Dickson, who patiently spent much time and labour in typing and who made the index.

R.M.F.

Hampstead, 1950.

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INTRODUCTION

THE subject of this book is those organized bodies of Christians which formed the original nucleus of Christendom in Apostolic times, together with those Churches which owed their foundation directly to that nucleus and have not since broken their communion with it. That, at least, is a rough and ready description of the Eastern Orthodox Church. It consists of a number of independent and self-governing Churches which together constitute the second largest organized body of Christians in the world. Geographically they lie for the most part at the meeting of East and West, and this has been a dominating fact in shaping their destinies and in forming their distinctive character. East meets West in Russia in the north, and again in the South where Asia juts out westwards to touch Europe on the one hand and Africa on the other.

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The Orthodox Church presents a spectacle of the most venerable antiquity and often of an impressive continuity of life which is second to none in Christendom. Its territory embraces the land where Christ himself was born and lived and died. It includes bishoprics in cities of which the names are already familiar words in the New Testament, Jerusalem itself, the Mother of all Churches, and Nazareth; Antioch where "the disciples were first called Christians", and many others. When St. Paul sailed out from Antioch, as many another after him in the history of that great Christian centre, he founded Churches some of which are flourishing centres of Orthodoxy to this day, though from others the glory has long since departed. He wrote letters to the Corinthian Church: the former Archbishop of Corinth, now Archbishop in America, was at one time Dean of the Greek Cathedral in Bayswater. One of the Seven Churches of the Book of Revelation was Thyatira: there is still a Metropolitan of Thyatira, though the

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Christian population of the place was wiped out a century ago, and its late Archbishop, Germanos, lived for many years in London.

It is not as simple a matter as might be supposed to enumerate exactly all the independent Churches which are constituent members of the Orthodox Communion. The tumultuous events of the two world wars have left some of them in an uncertain position. It is a general principle of Orthodoxy that an independent nation has an independent Church; it is also an Orthodox principle that such ecclesiastical independence requires the recognition of the parent Church. Thus the various Churches of the Balkans became self-governing after the peoples concerned wrested their political independence from the Turks in the nineteenth century, and in due course their ecclesiastical independence was recognized by the Mother Church of Constantinople. The same parent Church has more recently (1927) granted autocephalous status to the Church of Albania. But political independence takes time to establish securely, it may even prove to be transitory. Moreover, parent Churches may display a very human reluctance to recognize the fact that their daughters have grown up.

There are organized Orthodox Churches in the Baltic States—in Esthonia, Latvia and Finland—as well as in Czechoslovakia, whose autonomy has been recognized by Constantinople. The Church of Georgia too, which was for long absorbed into the Russian Church, has, under the Soviet régime, regained its ancient independence. There is a difference in the degree of independence. An autocephalous Church is entirely independent and self-governing. It appoints its own chief bishop and conducts its relations with other Churches directly. Autonomous Churches are also self-governing and manage their own internal affairs. But the appointment of their chief bishops requires the sanction of the Mother Church, and it is through the Mother Church that their relations with other Churches are carried on.

Up to a point an order of precedence among the autocephalous Churches is recognized. Thus the four ancient patriarchates come first, in this order: Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem. Then comes the Church of

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the Island of Cyprus, after which there is no strict order of dignity. They are enumerated here roughly according to the number of their adherents, Russia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, Poland, Georgia, Albania, Sinai. To these must be added the autonomous Churches of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Czechoslovakia.

It will be seen that the order of precedence by no means corresponds to relative size. The Russian Church is still, in spite of events since 1917, immensely the largest of them all, while the ancient Patriarchates have flocks numbering at most a hundred thousand or so each, and some much less. But Constantinople, the Ecumenical Patriarchate—shorn as it is of almost all its former splendour and dignity externally—retains its hold upon the reverence of the whole Orthodox Communion as the first of all its sees and the centre of its unity. The smallest of all these Churches is Sinai, which consists of no more than the Monastery on the mountain of that name and contains a score or so of monks.

In the Churches of Alexandria and Jerusalem, the Patriarch himself and the rest of the hierarchy are Greeks, but the enormous majority of their flocks are Arabic speaking, and the relations of these two elements have, in modern times, given rise to some dissensions.[1] The position was similar in the Patriarchate of Antioch, until in 1900 the Arab-speaking Orthodox succeeded in securing the appointment of a Patriarch of their own race and language.

In the Balkan peninsula the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Church of Greece are, of course, Greek, both racially and linguistically. The Serbs to the north of them are Slav, the Bulgars are a mixed race. Both use forms of Slavonic speech akin to Russian. In the midst of this great tract of Slavdom is embedded the Rumanian Church. The Rumanians claim to be a people of Latin origin and their tongue is derived from Latin. The fact that they are Orthodox by religion provides an interesting contrast to the Poles, who are Slav by race, but prevailingly Roman Catholic in religion.

All these belong to what might be called the home lands

[1] See the Bertram and Young Report (Oxford University Press, 1926 for the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

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795 of Orthodoxy, they are all places in which the Orthodox Church has been established for many centuries. But adherents of the Orthodox Communion are to be found in groups of varying size and importance in many other parts of the world. Russian imperial expansion under the successors of Peter the Great led them far afield to the north and the east, and again the Russian Revolution scattered them in all directions in the present century. Colonists from the Balkan countries have sought new homes in the New World, and many of them have settled in different parts of the British Empire. Thus the organized Church life of the Orthodox has extended far beyond its homelands and something of this modern expansion of Orthodoxy and its significance will be said in the last chapter of this book.

Everywhere it has borne with it its two names. To the Greeks it is the Orthodox Church, the Church which has received, which guards and teaches the right belief. To the Slavs it is "pravoslavny"—the Church which praises and worships aright. Each name expresses a cherished conviction which belongs to the very core of Orthodoxy. "The Orthodox Church" is its name in English. "The Greek Church" is too narrow, for many, indeed most Orthodox are not Greek. "The Eastern Church" is too wide, for Eastern Christendom includes beside the Orthodox, the Separated Churches of the East.

ooo The latter fall outside the scope of this book which is concerned with the Orthodox Communion only. But for the sake of clearness it may be well to add a few paragraphs here to show who they are and to distinguish them from the Orthodox East, particularly as the interest which attaches to them and their historical significance is out of all proportion to their numbers.

The first group consists of the people commonly called the "Assyrians". Now but a handful of refugees they are the remnants of the once mighty "Church of the East". The Church of Persia, as it then was, asserted its independence in the fifth century, and it has been separated from the Orthodox since the time of the Council of Ephesus, the decrees of which it refused to accept, and thus became, theoretically at any

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rate, "Nestorian".[1] It lay outside the confines of the Roman Empire and the Persian rulers were by no means averse from this doctrinal cleavage between their Christian subjects and the Churches of the Great Empire across their frontiers. In the seventh century the Arabs destroyed the Persian Empire, but under its Moslem masters the Nestorian Church continued to flourish and sent out its missions all across the Continent, even as far as Pekin and the Malabar Coast of South India.[2]

The whirlwind of Genghis Khan's brief dash into the West about the year 1220 led to some interesting contacts between Europe and the Far East and stimulated missionary activity. But the appalling campaigns of Tamerlane, a century and a half later, wiped out completely the splendour of the Nestorian Church. An island of Christianity (which, however, turned Monophysite in the seventeenth century) remains to this day at Malabar, to bear witness to its missionary activity. The survivors of the Mother Church escaped to the highlands of Kurdistan, where they continued to live under a Patriarch whose office became hereditary by transmission from uncle to nephew. These are the "Assyrians" who fought on the Allied side in the first world war. But the hurricane of world events focused in the ferocity of the Turks who after 1918 again devastated this gallant and much suffering little people. Some of the remnants have settled in Syria; but they are without their Patriarch Mar Shimun, who as a boy was educated in England under the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and now lives mainly in America, where a portion of his flock resides.

A similar sort of story belongs to the other group of the Separated Eastern Churches—those known as Monophysites. There is this difference, however, that whereas the Nestorians dwelt outside the Roman Empire, a large section of the Monophysites, though by no means all, lived within it. Thus the strong political element which entered into the religious divisions was, in the case of the Nestorians (and also of those Monophysite Armenians who were dominated by the Persians) part of the rivalry between the Empires of Rome and Persia.

[1] See page 27.

[2] For the evidence, see Kidd *The Churches of Eastern Christendom*, London, p. 420.

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000 In the case of the Monophysites of Syria and Egypt it was an expression of nationalism in revolt against Byzantine dominance. The Monophysites consist of the Armenians, the Jacobites (in Syria), the Copts (in Egypt) with their daughter Church, the Abyssinians. To these must be added the Christians of Malabar who, as noted above, renounced their original Nestorianism and became Monophysite three hundred years ago. Christianity reached Armenia as early as the third century, and the building up of the Church there was largely due to the work of St. Gregory the Illuminator, at the beginning of the following century. The Armenian Church rejected the decision of the Council of Chalcedon almost at once and it has remained Monophysite throughout the tragic history of the Armenian people. They have been submerged by the successive floods of Persian, Arab, Mongol and Turkish conquest. They have suffered persecution and massacre, but they have survived to live more happily under the Soviet régime than has been their lot for many centuries.

The Jacobites and the Copts represent the original Christian population of Syria and Egypt respectively. The story is much the same in each case. The attempt to impose the decision of Chalcedon upon these parts of the Empire provoked a violent reaction in which doctrinal differences in the interpretation of the faith served as a vehicle for the expression of racial and political animosity. Breaking away from the "Melchites" ("Imperialists") as they dubbed their opponents, they formed independent Monophysite Churches which have continued to this day, leaving but a numerically insignificant minority of loyal adherents of the Orthodox Patriarchs of Alexandria in the one case and of Antioch in the other.

The Jacobites derive their name from one James (Jacobus) Baradaeus—"the ragged"—a picturesque and vigorous personality who devoted his life to organizing the Syrian Monophysites into an independent and rival Church within the Patriarchate of Antioch[1]. He died in A.D. 577.

But if the specific treatment of these Separated Churches lies outside the scope of this book, they cannot be ignored, for the political and religious problems which led to these, the

[1] See page 39 (Chapter II).

first permanent schisms within the Christian Church, played a 000
vital part in the historical development of the Orthodox Church.

The following pages are an attempt to show in bare outline a picture of Orthodoxy in its historical setting, its characteristic contribution to the life and thought of the Christian Church and its significance for the Orthodox people themselves. In a picture with so wide a scope, only salient features can be depicted. In the early centuries the fortunes of the Orthodox Church were involved in the prolonged and unsuccessful attempt of the Byzantine civil power to hold the disintegrating Empire together. In the long run, and in spite of divisions within itself, it refused to collaborate in holding the East by compromise with heresy, as later it declined to purchase material support from the West by recognition of the Papal claims.

With the loss of Syria and Egypt in the East, the increasing 795
estrangement from the West, and the incorporation of the Slav peoples into the Orthodox world, the axis of Orthodox consciousness veered round from an east-west direction to one which ran north and south, and Orthodoxy stood alone, conscious of itself as the sole guardian of the integrity of the traditional faith of Christendom, proud of its inheritance of Hellenistic culture and all too aware of the splendour of its civilization. The alienation from the Papacy was accentuated by the latter's recognition of a rival emperor in the West, and the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 both revealed how profound the break between East and West had become and set the seal of permanence upon it.

With the fall of the city in 1453 Greek and South-Slav Orthodoxy went underground, yet succeeded in preserving its life and maintaining its identity. In it the peoples, submerged beneath the rule of Islam, found not only consolation but hope also, and inspiration to cherish their national and cultural aspirations. They looked wistfully northwards to the only Orthodox country which was ruled by Christian sovereigns; to Moscow, itself still isolated from the West, but claiming to be the heir of the glory and Orthodoxy of Byzantium.

A mere glance at such a history helps the understanding of

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781 A mere glance at such a history helps the understanding of much that is characteristic of Orthodoxy. It is small matter for wonder if the Orthodox are in some ways rigid, if they are conservative and inspired by the conviction that the Faith is above all something to be guarded, if their attitude is defensive with perhaps at times a nuance of what some would call an inferiority complex. History has sentenced them to cherish their faith in the face of opposition, not even Russia has been immune in modern times, and to learn to resist the lure of a material well-being to be gained by abandoning it. As a reward they have their profound sense of the reality of the unseen spiritual world, and their developed genius for corporate worship. Their experience of this world has confirmed their belief that the choice of the monk and hermit who renounce it is the highest expression of the Christian life. They look less for justice in this life than for fortitude to bear injustice and for reverence towards those who suffer, and this blends well with the temperamental melancholy of the Slav. In the beauty and truth of the unseen world they find their consolation, and also their strength, for in the resurrection of Christ they see the guarantee that in the end that world of the Spirit will redeem and transfigure not only human life but the whole cosmos.

1 [See p. 17 of text in cat. 116 --A]

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PART I

CHAPTER I

FROM CONSTANTINE TO CHALCEDON

In the year 330 the commanding, if in some ways enigmatic, figure of Constantine inaugurated his new capital city and thereby switched the stream of world history into new channels. It was the recognition of facts by genius. For the centre of gravity of the Roman Empire had already shifted to the East, and that for many reasons. It was from the East that came the riches which supplied the luxury the Roman patrician demanded and provided the doles and donatives which kept the populace and the army in good temper. Nor was the harbour of Old Rome able to offer shipping facilities to receive them which could begin to compare with Byzantium, where the harbour was one of the finest in the world. It was in the East of the Empire that intellectual life flourished and men's minds came into direct contact with new movements of thought which were agitating the Mediterranean world. The person of the Roman Emperor himself was conceived after a different fashion from that of earlier days. Ceasing to regard himself as a god, he became the vicegerent of God. He was now a monarch after the Oriental pattern, remote, surrounded by the adulation of an obsequious court.

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Thus Constantine, left sole master of the Roman world by his victory over Licinius (324), chose Byzantium for his imperial seat, refounding it, marking out its new boundaries and bestowing his own name upon it. But this city which was to become the bulwark of Christendom for a thousand years, was to have many names on the lips of men as time went on. It

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175 was New Rome to its founder and such it officially remained.
361 Almost legendary in its fantastic splendour and power it will be the Mickelgard of the wild Northmen. The Russians will look enviously upon it from their own bleak plains and call it Tsargrad. The Turks, to whom it will finally fall, will call it Istamboul.

The city was built on the peninsula between the Golden Horn and the Propontis, which were connected by walls which still survive. Nature seemed to design, and history confirmed for the City so situated, a double rôle. On the one hand it linked the world of the Black Sea with the Mediterranean world, its shipping passed through the Bosporus to Sinope, Trebizond and beyond to bring the produce of Georgia and the Caucasus. Through the Dardanelles its fleets sailed into the Aegean and the Levant. Constantinople was at various times a great maritime power. On the other hand it was destined to be a great continental and military power, for it was the focal point of the great roads which linked Europe and Asia. Two such, coming from the West through the Balkans, converged upon the city, while the great military and commercial route through Asia Minor to Iconium forked thence north and south to reach the Valley of the Euphrates and connect with trade from the Indies. (In 995 the Emperor Basil moved an army from the Bulgarian Front and brought relief to Aleppo in sixteen days.)

Through these communications the many-sided business of the Empire flowed like blood through the veins, and upon their being kept safe and clear the vitality of the Empire depended. Along them passed and repassed its statesmen, soldiers, and merchants, its bishops to meet in councils, its
175 missionaries of the Christian Faith. Constantine had already
659 made clear that he favoured the new religion which no persecution had been able to destroy, and although he postponed baptism until his deathbed, a practice not unknown at the time, he was a Christian believer himself and was in due course canonized in the East. Before he became sole emperor he had proclaimed freedom for the churches in the West, decreed the restitution of their property without compensation to their present possessors, and made generous donations to churches in

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Africa and Italy. After the meeting of the two emperors at Milan, Licinius had issued from Nicomedia a similar proclamation of freedom and restitution for the churches in the East. And when Licinius changed his attitude and grew more hostile again towards the Christians, Constantine made use of his own pro-Christian policy in his final attack upon his rival, and having gained his victory he reiterated his proclamation for the benefit of the whole Roman world. Moreover, New Rome, he determined, should be Christian from its inception. 175 659

It will be convenient here to review briefly the geographical expansion of Christianity by this time.

The founder of the Christian religion had left His disciples with the injunction: "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature", and the stories and legends about the missionary journeys of the Twelve, however unhistorical they may be in detail, at least suggest that the Apostles were eager to give literal obedience to the command. Certainly the new faith spread rapidly: the persecution in which St. Stephen met his death scattered the rank and file of the believers domiciled in Jerusalem, and wherever they went they were bearers of the new faith: the constant movement of men from place to place in the Mediterranean world about their ordinary affairs carried the Christian religion in all directions apart from any definite missionary plan. Already in New Testament times there were Christians to the west in Rome and to the north in Asia Minor and Greece. From Antioch St. Paul set out on his deliberately missionary journeys, in the course of which he founded Christian Churches in many of the strategic centres of the Eastern Mediterranean. 175 797

The destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and the fact that after Hadrian's edict of 135, which forbade Jews to dwell in the city, the Christian Church there was wholly Gentile, finally settled the vexed question of the relation of the church to the synagogue and made clear that the former threw its doors wide open to all men. By the end of the first century the number of Christian Churches had reached one hundred: and three-quarters of them lay in the East. In the following century the expansion continued, more and more Churches came into being on the coasts of the Aegean Sea. Nor were these any

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175 longer mere isolated outposts: in some of the provinces of
797 Asia Minor, Phrygia, Cappadocia and Pontus it may be that the majority of the population was Christian by the year 200.

At the same time the Christian faith moved eastward. It crossed the Euphrates about half-way through the century, towards the end of it it had reached Edessa, while further south missionaries from Palestine and Syria were penetrating into Mesopotamia and Arabia. Such conquests became the starting points for still further expansion to the east and north. The Church of Persia probably owed its origin to missionaries from Edessa. The Armenian Church which was to have so tragic a history came into being about the year 280 when King Teridates accepted baptism, and owed much of its organization to St. Gregory the Illuminator who came from the Cappadocian Caesarea. Northwards again the movement spread to the foothills of the Caucasus where the Georgians received their Christianity early in the fourth century. But little later, away in the extreme south of the then-known world, the Abyssinians were receiving a bishop and priests from Athanasius of Alexandria.

By this time Christianity had captured the imperial throne itself and under Constantine found itself a recognized religion in a despotic State. Not yet the only recognized religion, for if Constantine favoured the Church, he did not forget that as emperor he was Pontifex Maximus, and the duties which that involved. If he tried to hold in check divagations from the norm in Christianity, he also exercised a similar control over paganism.

175 Not until the latter part of the century did Christianity
659 become the one State religion and definitely replace the old paganism as the religious basis of the imperial power. But the reversal in the fortunes of the Church was startling enough. No doubt the imperial favour led to an influx into the Church of many who were but half converted and imperfectly instructed, but the dominant fact was the complete alteration in outlook involved in the exchange of a position of subjection for one of dominance, of fear of annihilation for the hope of converting the Empire, of defiance of imperial edicts for co-operation with the occupant of the imperial throne.

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It is not to cast doubt upon the genuineness of Constantine's conversion to draw attention to his conviction that the prosperity of the State was bound up with the unity of the Church, nor to impugn the religious sincerity of his successors to suggest that the emperors sought in the Church a unifying force among their heterogeneous subjects. The unwieldy bulk of the Roman Empire was already showing signs of disintegration, and the primary task of its ruler was to consolidate it and, if possible, secure its unity. The dealings of the emperors with the Church and their intervention in its internal disputes are to be explained not merely by zeal for abstract truth and theological principles but perhaps primarily by a determination to maintain law and order, to preserve at least the semblance of peace and unity. To this end Constantine, "the man of God", as he styled himself, was prepared to go to considerable lengths in intrusion into the domain of ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs, witness his action in the matter of the Donatist schism:[1] while his successors were prepared to suppress heresy and schism by force if need be, or to endeavour to do so.[2] From this point of view the Church failed the Throne, and we may note two chief respects in which this was made clear.

First, the Church had not yet worked out the intellectual expression of its own faith, and in the process of doing so was itself convulsed by discord and rent by factions.

It was inevitable that the brief expression of faith attributed in the Authorized Version to the Ethiopian eunuch, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God" should, in course of time, be expanded. As men reflected upon their religious experience as Christians they desired to give to it what intellectual explanation they could. When people sought admission into the Christian Church they had to be told, so far as human words could express it, to what beliefs about God and about Jesus Christ they were committing themselves by joining it. The attacks of pagan writers, philosophers or others, called for a reasoned defence and explanation of what the Church

[1] Though it must be remembered that he acted reluctantly after two attempts to get the dispute settled by ecclesiastics.

[2] Baynes' *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church*. (Proc. of the British Academy, 1929.)

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175 really did teach. In particular, the statement "Jesus is the Son
779 of God" is one which opens up long vistas of discussion directly an answer is sought to such questions as: "In what sense is He both God and man? What is His relation to the eternal Godhead, or does the fact that He is both God and man mean that He is two distinct persons at the same time?"

The process of finding official answers to these and similar questions racked and rent the Christian Church over a long period of time. And it should be noted that the task was undertaken on the whole with reluctance. The Church was not eager to define the subtle distinctions of its belief, but it was driven to make the attempt by the necessity of repudiating what it held to be false and, therefore, dangerous solutions of the problems involved. The Councils met and argued and promulgated their decisions, not because it was thought, so to speak, that it was, in general, a good thing that this should be done, but because it was considered imperative that such and such teaching should be disowned and rejected lest it should be successful in masquerading as orthodox Christian doctrine. A further point may be noted. The bishops who assembled in the Ecumenical Councils conceived themselves not as expounding Christian doctrine *de novo* or setting forth what seemed to them at the moment the best expression of Christian belief. They were concerned to proclaim and safeguard the teaching which they had received, to make as clear a statement as might be of the faith as it had been handed down to them and entrusted to their care.

Both points of view, the reluctance to define, and the sense of custodianship of a faith received and to be transmitted intact, have always been characteristics of the East. And, in fact, the great Councils were overwhelmingly Eastern. They met in the East, and the vast majority of the bishops attending them came from Eastern sees. At the first Council of Nicaea, out of the 318 bishops traditionally said to have been present only three are known to have come from the West. At the first Council of Constantinople there were no Western bishops at all among the 150 who constituted the assembly, nor was the Pope even invited to it. This is not to say, of course, that the Western Church had no share in the task of giving intel-

lectual expression to the traditional faith of Christendom. On the contrary, it had indeed, and from time to time weighty pronouncements were issued from Rome, pronouncements which, at times, turned the scale, e.g., the famous *Tome of Leo*. But in the main, the work was the achievement of the Greek mind, and it is this that accounts for the statement that the formulation of the Creed was the last great achievement of Greek philosophy.

The first of the Ecumenical Councils met in the year 325 at Nicaea, a town in Asia Minor just across the water from Constantinople. Its purpose was to settle the Arian dispute. Arius was a priest of Alexandria who had taken exception to expressions used by his bishop Alexander in a charge to his clergy. Alexander insisted upon the Unity of the Holy Trinity in such strong terms that Arius accused him of being Sabellian, that is to say of confusing the Son with the Father. Arius himself was a pupil of the martyr Lucian and thus inherited the point of view of the School of Antioch. This local dispute at Alexandria was to develop into a controversy which long agitated the Christian world and threatened to disrupt it altogether. The teaching of Arius appealed to many people because in appearance, at least, it simplified things, and safeguarded monotheism. It made of Christ a created being, differing in essence from God, and in theory at any rate capable of sin.

When the assembled bishops at Nicaea were faced by the teaching of Arius in plain terms they were in no doubt, and they tore up his suggested creed. The real difficulty was to decide what to say instead. The most learned bishop in Christendom, Eusebius of Caesarea submitted a creed which he said had been for a long time in use in his own Church. The creed itself was unobjectionable and all parties might have signed it, and it was, perhaps, with such a mediating purpose that it was offered to the Council. But it left the actual point at issue with Arius undecided, and the Alexandrians led by St. Athanasius were determined that it should be decided. They persuaded the bishops to amend this creed in such a way as definitely to exclude Arianism. This was achieved by the insertion of the word "*homoousios*" so that the Son was

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175 said to be of the same substance with the Father. No Arian
779 could accept this.

But though the Council of Nicaea settled the wording of the creed, which became the official creed of orthodox Christendom, it was far from settling the Arian controversy, which continued to rage in three-cornered form among Orthodox, Arian and Semi-Arian, and with varying fortunes for many years to come. So far as the East was concerned, it was the saintly character, the strong personality and the vigour of the three Great Cappadocian Fathers, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Basil of Caesarea, which finally won Asia Minor and Syria to allegiance to the Creed of Nicaea.

When the Second Ecumenical Council met at Constantinople in 381, it solemnly reaffirmed that Creed. Arianism was thereafter suppressed by force, it lost the palace influence which had often served it well in the past, and was driven from the Empire to take refuge among the Goths and other barbarians.

But the enquiring subtlety of the Oriental mind had already led to the rise of other disputes, and especially to those concerned with the relation of the human and the divine in the Person of Christ. In the course of the Arian controversy it had been established as Orthodox doctrine that Christ was divine, that He was human, that He was one Christ and not two. But the further question arose of how these two natures were combined.

One Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea, in the second half of the fourth century, who had acquired some prestige by defending Christianity against the Emperor Julian the Apostate and by championing the faith of Nicaea against the Arians, advanced the theory that in the Person of Christ the divine Logos took the place of the human soul. On this showing Christ was the Word of God inhabiting a human body. From this it followed that He was in no true sense man, and could have no real experience of human weakness and liability to temptation. Thus a flame was kindled which spread into a conflagration of even greater intensity than the Arian Controversy, for it led in the end to a permanent schism in Christendom.

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The opposition to Apollinarianism came from Antioch with its traditional insistence upon the true humanity of Christ, and where the tendency, as revealed in such great teachers and scholars as Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, who were shining lights of the School of Antioch, was to emphasize the reality of Christ's human experience, even at the risk of separating the two natures and implying two persons. It was in this tradition that Nestorius was trained, and when he became Patriarch of Constantinople in 428, he headed an attack upon the ascription of the title "Theotókos" (usually translated "Mother of God") to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Mary, he said, was the Mother of Christ's human nature only. Nestorius, though it is open to dispute whether he really held the opinions attributed to him, was condemned at the third Ecumenical Council, which was held at Ephesus in 431. He was banished and disappeared from the scene. But the controversy went on, and another attempted solution of the problem of the Person of Christ was advanced by Eutyches. He was accused of confusing or blending the divine and human natures in Christ.

It was not until the fourth Ecumenical Council, at Chalcedon in 451, that a final statement was reached. The Council was the largest which had yet met, over six hundred bishops being present, though beside the four papal legates only two bishops came from the West. But the Pope's statement of doctrine known as the *Tome of Leo* which was read and received with acclamation, was of great importance in securing the verdict of the Council upon the various heresies involved. This verdict was the famous Chalcedonian Definition which proclaimed that Christ was consubstantial with the Father as touching His Godhead and consubstantial with us as touching His Manhood, and that the two Natures concur in one Person, without confusion, without change, without division, and without separation.

Thus, by the middle of the fifth century, orthodox doctrine on the fundamental subjects of the Trinity and the Incarnation was, so far as verbal expression is concerned, settled. This is the doctrine which the Orthodox Communion still holds, and, moreover, holds in common with the whole of the West.

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175 779 But the Definition was far from putting an end to religious controversy; the renewed dispute to which it gave rise constituted one of the reasons for the failure of the attempt to hold the Empire together.

A *second* disintegrating factor in the situation was the rivalry among the great sees of Christendom, and it was closely connected with the former.

175 793 To go back to the earliest times, the bishops who carried on the work of the first missionaries would naturally take up their residence in the towns. It was there that the bulk of their flock would be, and there too the greater, or, at least, the more concentrated scope for missionary work among their pagan neighbours. From these towns other Christian centres would be formed in places nearby and thus a number of Churches would grow up in dependence upon the one to which they owed their origin, and the bishop of the latter would continue to be regarded as having jurisdiction over the bishops of such daughter Churches. But this was not the only criterion. A second consideration was the antiquity of any particular see. Bishops of places with a relatively long Christian history, especially if they could lay claim to foundation by an apostle, or to some sort of association with any of the Twelve, tended to rise in the hierarchical scale. Later on, and particularly after Diocletian had reorganized the civil administration of the Empire, a third principle comes to the fore. That is, as far as may be, to make the ecclesiastical coincide with the civil territorial divisions and to rank a bishopric roughly in accordance with the position of its seat in the civil administration. This is a principle which has persisted in the East and has had greater influence there than in the West where Apostolic origin was held to be of more importance. Rome makes her claim as having been founded by the chief of the Apostles, Constantinople bases hers upon the fact that she is the city of the Imperial Throne and the "New Rome". It was explicitly stated at a Council of Antioch in 341 that the reason for all this was a practical one. People were accustomed to have recourse to the Metropolitan City for the settlement of their civil affairs. It was, therefore, convenient that the Bishop in the Metropolitan City should

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have a certain jurisdiction over the other bishops in the same province.

The interaction of these three theories thus established in due course a hierarchy of sees, ruled by simple bishops, above these the metropolitans, and highest of all the patriarchs, though this last title came later in that fixed sense. By the time of the Council of Nicaea (325) we find five episcopal thrones occupying this highest rank in the East. They were Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Heraclea, and Caesarea in Cappadocia. Ephesus was the capital of the civil diocese of Asia, and had its venerable associations with the old age of St. John; Heraclea was the capital of Thrace, and Caesarea of Pontus. These three were, however, destined soon to be eclipsed by the rising power of a new Patriarchate, Constantinople, and their bishops to sink into the status of metropolitans.

It must be recalled that two great centres of Orthodoxy in later times, Constantinople and Jerusalem, were of minor importance at that time. Byzantium, to give Constantinople its earlier name, was a simple bishopric subordinate to the Metropolitan of Heraclea. Jerusalem had not recovered from the disasters of 70 and 135, and was a bishopric in dependence upon the Palestinian Caesarea. It was not to recover a position of any significance until the fifth century, while the story of Constantinople's achievement in becoming the primary see of the Orthodox Communion is one of the major themes of Orthodox history.

On the other hand the splendour of Alexandria must be realized. It was the largest city of the East with a population numbering at one time a million. Into its ample harbour flowed the rich trade of the East. There was the famous lighthouse and the still more famous library of hundreds of thousands of books. It was a city of temples, theatres, colonnades. It had a flourishing colony of Jews—and it was the centre of a brilliant intellectual life, the Museum providing the most distinguished school of Greek learning to which scholars flocked from all directions. At Alexandria Philo and Basilides taught and there too a great Christian school was established and adorned by such names as Clement and above all Origen who was esteemed the greatest genius of his age.

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175 The Bishop of Alexandria was, therefore, the bishop of
773 the first city of the East. The Christian Church there claimed to have been founded by St. Mark and, therefore, enjoyed a rather vague connection with St. Peter himself. The prestige of its catechistical school was enormous and among its bishops were men of vigorous character and outstanding ability, such as St. Athanasius (328–373) and St. Cyril (412–444), champions in their day of Orthodoxy against the heretics.

Before the rise of Constantinople no one disputed the predominant position in the East of the Patriarch of Alexandria, with Egypt always solidly behind him and an immense body of fanatical monks ready to emerge from the desert at his call. To this day he ranks second in the Eastern Orthodox hierarchy.

The third is his brother of Antioch. "Golden" Antioch lay some five hundred miles to the north-east of Alexandria and bid fair to rival it. It had been laid out on the "gridiron" street pattern of Alexandria on the bank of the Orontes about three hundred years before Christ. It also was the focus of converging trade routes and became wealthy and populous. But it was thirty miles inland from its port of Seleucia, it was liable to earthquakes and it was exposed to the attacks of the Persians. As a Christian bishopric, however, Antioch was secure in the third place after Rome and Alexandria. Like the former it claimed St. Peter for its first bishop. However that may be, no one could deny the apostolic origin of the Church from which St. Paul set out on his missionary journeys. The third Bishop of Antioch was the renowned Ignatius, who wrote his celebrated letters on his journey to Rome and martyrdom in the year 107. The Emperor Constantine favoured the city and built a splendid church there.

Antioch also had its school of Christian theology which developed a distinctive tradition of its own and she too, like Alexandria, had daughter Churches even beyond the limits of the Empire. As Alexandria sent out its bishops to the Ethiopians in the south, so Antioch reached out to the east beyond the Euphrates and founded a Church whose centre was at Edessa. From Antioch also the Church of Georgia was founded. In the heyday of his glory the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Antioch was widespread indeed. But it had not the homo-

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geneity and solidity of the Alexandrine Patriarchate. The island Church of Cyprus, owing to the prestige it derived from its foundation by St. Barnabas, persuaded the Council of Ephesus in 431 to recognize its independence of Antioch. Twenty years later the Council of Chalcedon separated Palestine and Arabia from Antioch by the creation of the new Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Political troubles severed the connection of Antioch with many Christian communities to the east, and in 538 the Persians sacked Antioch itself and completed the ruin which a severe earthquake had begun some years earlier. No fewer than thirty ecclesiastical synods of varying importance were held at Antioch from the year 264 onwards.

At the beginning of the Christian era Byzantium was a small provincial town of no particular importance and there is no record of the foundation of the Christian Church there. It was not until centuries later that someone brought to birth the legend of its foundation by St. Andrew, and when a bishop of Byzantium emerges in history he is simply a local bishop under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Heraclea. But in the year 330 Byzantium was transformed and refounded by the Emperor Constantine who made it his new capital and gave it his name. The Bishop of Byzantium was now Bishop of Constantinople, of New Rome, the city of the Imperial Throne. It was hardly likely that he would remain a mere bishop under the jurisdiction of the neighbouring town. Nor did he. He was, so to speak, the Emperor's own bishop and he could rely upon his imperial master's support in seeking the aggrandizement of his see.

Deliberate policy worked hand in hand with a widespread recognition of the fitness of things. The Fathers assembled at Constantinople for the second Ecumenical Council in 381 accorded the first place of honour in the Christian Orient to Constantinople, which is to rank next after Rome "because it is the New Rome". Thus the Bishop of Constantinople not only threw off the jurisdiction of Heraclea, but attained the summit in a single bound, in theory at any rate. But it is to be noted that although Rome recognized this Council as Ecumenical and accepted its dogmatic decrees, she protested against this particular canon, the third, and it was some eight hundred

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years before she consented to acknowledge the position it gave to Constantinople. Whatever the Fathers of 381 intended to imply by the position they conferred upon Constantinople, the latter was not slow to interpret it in terms of jurisdiction, trenching upon what others considered the rights of the great sees of Asia Minor, and even of Antioch.

But the real struggle was with Alexandria which viewed with much uneasiness the growing power of its rival on the Bosporus. Alexandria was strong as the champion of the Orthodox Faith against heresy and for long it kept the upper hand. John Chrysostom was no heretic, but Alexandria succeeded in bringing about his deposition and exile when Chrysostom's stern sermons on morals made him unpopular with the Court. The trial of strength came to another crisis in the matter of Nestorius and his teaching. Nestorius was Patriarch of Constantinople and was accused of dividing the personality of Christ in his anxiety, true to his training in the school of Antioch, to safeguard the real humanity of Jesus. Again Alexandria was victorious and its Patriarch Cyril secured the condemnation of Nestorius at the third Ecumenical Council, which was held at Ephesus in 431.

The all-powerful Egyptian patriarch was to achieve one more triumph before he fell. In 449 at what was afterwards known as the "Robber Council" of Ephesus, Dioscorus of Alexandria led this disreputable assembly in its condemnation of Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople. The latter was the outstanding opponent of Eutyches the monk who in his attacks upon Nestorius was held to have gone to the opposite extreme and taught that Christ had not only one single personality, but a single nature also. Dioscorus had his own nominee appointed to the Throne of Constantinople, as Flavian's successor. But the supremacy of Alexandria was coming to an abrupt end. It had itself fallen into heresy—the world was tired of its dictatorial attitude, it lost its influence at Court after the death of the Emperor Theodosius II. Only two years after the Robber Council, the fourth Ecumenical Council met at Chalcedon. The teaching of the Monophysites—that Christ had only one nature—was condemned and Dioscorus, inflexible and domineering to the last, went into exile. That meant the

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end of the dominant position of Alexandria and the triumph of Constantinople in the long drawn-out struggle fought in the field of theology. 175 793

The controversy which raged around the alleged teaching of Nestorius and his opponent Eutyches brought about what even Arianism for all its temporary triumphs had failed to do, it made a lasting breach in the unity of Christendom. The mass of the Christian population of Egypt and Syria nominally embraced the doctrine of the Monophysites and refused to accept the Council of Chalcedon, with its definition of Two Natures in the One Person of Christ. They broke away from the unity of Christendom to become the Coptic Church in Egypt and the Jacobite Church in Syria, leaving the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem as Greek-speaking islands of Orthodoxy, which, with the remnants of their flocks, still remained in communion with Constantinople. From now onwards Constantinople was to remain indisputably supreme in Eastern Christendom. 175 793 795

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CHAPTER II

LOSS OF THE EAST

131 HISTORIANS have noted that whereas Old Rome was geographically well situated to be the capital of a Mediterranean power the same was not true of New Rome on the Bosporus. Geographically, the natural territory of an Empire of which the centre was in Constantinople would include the Balkan peninsula, with the basin of the lower Danube, the littorals of the Black Sea and the Aegean, and Asia Minor, extending possibly to the Caucasus and the Upper Euphrates, and the most brilliant periods of the Empire were those in which the actual territory beneath its sway more or less corresponded to these geographical limits.

659 643 But the theory of Rome as a world power was transported from the Tiber to the Bosporus with other conceptions and the apparatus of government. It met too with the sanction and support of religion.

The Church also regarded the Empire as both universal and eternal. The occupant of the throne, whether he reached that position by succeeding his father, or by staging a successful *coup d'etat*, provided his position was confirmed by the acclamation of senate, army and people, was the vicegerent of God. In course of time, it is not known exactly when, this was symbolized in a ceremony added to the coronation rite in which the Patriarch of Constantinople anointed the new ruler with the sacred oil. Whatever steps may have brought him to the throne, once seated upon it the Emperor was the elect of God and there was a religious aspect of his office as well as a secular. As the vicegerent of Christ upon earth, he claims the whole world as the sphere of his dominion whatever appearance to the contrary actual circumstances may shew, *à fortiori*,

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therefore, should he hold beneath his sway all that Rome ever held.

With this ecclesiastical support to sanction and invigorate their secular pretensions the Byzantine Emperors were committed to the superhuman task of endeavouring to hold, or to recover piecemeal, as the case might be, the whole vast extent of the Roman Empire; to secure it against dismemberment by barbarian attacks from without and against disintegration from disruptive forces within.

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Egypt had never been fully absorbed into the life of the Empire, nor was it more so when it was dominated by a series of masterful Patriarchs of Alexandria who wielded more actual power over its turbulent populace than the representatives of the civil government could make effective. Syria too was not only exposed to constant attack from the east and south but was continually at odds with Constantinople about matters both secular and religious. Justinian, that striking figure who combined the ascetic and the student with the vigorous man of action of an immense capacity for work, did indeed at vast expenditure of effort and treasure recover Italy and north-west Africa from the Barbarians. But they were never again completely restored to the unity of the Empire. Like Egypt and Syria they became outlying provinces almost like colonies which readily became a prey to new invaders, who found within them elements which made their task of conquest easier.

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In course of time both East (Syria and Egypt) and West were lost. In Syria and Egypt separatist tendencies in the political sphere were combined with continued controversy in ecclesiastical matters. The Council of Chalcedon, for all its unanimity, was far from bringing peace to the Church. It stated the problem rather than solved it. Its assembled bishops may have cried: "We all say the same thing", but the thing they said did not cease to be the matter of further dispute in the Church at large. True the Council had definitely disposed of the heresy of Eutyches. But there were many ready to enquire doubtfully whether in accepting the *Tome of Leo*, it had done sufficient justice to the language of Cyril of Alexandria, which was widely accepted in the East as theologically

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authoritative. It was noted that though some of his letters were read to the Council, the most crucial, the third letter to Nestorius, which contained the anathemas, was passed over in silence. Moreover the Council had condemned Dioscorus. True this had not been on doctrinal grounds, but might not his condemnation be taken to mean that the Council was not wholehearted in its adherence to Cyrillian doctrine? In any case Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria, represented Egyptian national feeling. He had been deposed, and Egypt did not like it.

The hatred which the Egyptian Monophysites felt for the Council of Chalcedon was not based entirely on dogmatic grounds. In its famous 28th Canon the Council confirmed and even emphasized the Canon of the Constantinopolitan Council of 381 which assigned the second place after Rome in the order of precedence to the throne of Constantinople. The undisputed authority so long enjoyed by the Patriarch of Alexandria, his riches and his dignity, did not allow the Egyptians to forget that that second place had once belonged to their own patriarch, and that so it had been recognized at Nicaea.[1]

Trouble broke out almost at once both in Syria and in Egypt, in spite of an imperial rescript imposing the decisions of Chalcedon and forbidding further discussion. To the accompaniment of riots, arson and bloodshed the Orthodox bishops were driven from their sees by hordes of infuriated monks, and regular troops had to be employed to restore some semblance of order.

For many years the story is confused and obscure. Bishops, both Orthodox and Monophysite, are removed from their thrones and reinstated, then expelled and reinstated again. Disorder and violence, at times of a most brutal kind, supplement arguments to sway men's minds and dispose of their fortunes. Definite leaders of Monophysitism emerge into the foreground, Timothy the Cat at Alexandria, Peter the Fuller at Antioch, Peter Mongus, whose vivid careers cannot be followed here.

The emperors made energetic and repeated attempts to

[1] At Ephesus in 449, the Latrocinium, Dioscorus of Alexandria called himself "Ecumenical Patriarch", the first recorded use of the title.

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reconcile the Monophysites and to restore peace to the Church. Basiliscus put out his *Encyclical* which affirmed the doctrine of Cyril and condemned the Council of Chalcedon. The bishops were all required to sign this *Encyclical* and most of them did. But Acacius the Ecumenical Patriarch steadily resisted it. In the year 482 the Emperor Zeno issued his *Henoticon* which, while emphatically affirming the faith of Nicaea and Constantinople (381), studiously avoided saying anything definite on the points about which people were quarrelling so violently at the time. The *Henoticon* was not expressly heretical, but its allusion to Chalcedon was not exactly happy: the faith of the 318 Fathers (Nicaea) is the one and only faith, whoever thinks otherwise, now or at any time, "at Chalcedon or at any other Council" is anathematized.

Acacius accepted, perhaps indeed inspired, the *Henoticon*. But such attempts to secure peace by compromise did not really satisfy anyone, even though they were accepted in theory by the Eastern bishops. What is more, there was a heavy price to pay for them. It meant discord with Rome. Rome stood for the Chalcedonian Faith and the *Tome of Leo* and would admit no tampering with it. It was indeed an impossible situation. There were many forms of Monophysitism, some more extreme than others; it was entangled with separatist ambitions, especially in Egypt. The Emperors' well-meant efforts to conciliate by compromise, without really achieving their purpose in the East provoked reaction in the West and brought the Pope into the field. Matters came to a head in 484 when Pope Felix III excommunicated Acacius, and some were found with the necessary skill and hardihood to pin (at the cost of their lives) the act of deposition to the Patriarch's vestments while he was celebrating the Liturgy.

This schism between Constantinople and Rome was to last till 518. But by that time a reaction in favour of Orthodoxy had taken place in the East.

The populace of Constantinople insisted upon their Patriarch's acceptance of Chalcedon at a ceremony in honour of that Council in the Church of the Holy Wisdom. The Emperor Justin and the Patriarch wrote to the Pope inviting reconciliation. The Pope Hormisdas responded favourably but sent his

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legates with instructions to insist upon the removal from the diptychs of the names of Acacius, Zeno and others who had supported the *Henoticon*. This was not an insuperable difficulty. Already the rising tide of Orthodoxy in the East had reinstated many Orthodox bishops who had been imprisoned or exiled. Egypt, it is true, remained unmoved by the imperial order to recognize Chalcedon, and the Emperor Justin found it politic to allow the election of a Monophysite Patriarch. But in Syria even Severus, the outstanding champion of Monophysitism at this time and one of the most learned men of his day, was obliged to abandon his patriarchal see of Antioch and yield to an Orthodox bishop while he betook himself to Egypt.

Justinian, who ascended the Imperial throne in 527, threw all his great abilities and immense energy into a two-fold task, the recovery and consolidation of the whole ancient inheritance of the Caesars, and the establishment of peace and unity within the Church. The recovery was to be accomplished by military conquest, the consolidation by law, of which his will was the divinely appointed source.

It was a grandiose and in many respects a noble enterprise, but the attempt to achieve it exhausted the Empire, the resources of which were unequal to the task. And so far as the Church was concerned the imperial counsels were divided. The remarkable and picturesque Theodora, Justinian's wife, to whom he was much attached, was a woman of great ability and wielded as Empress almost as much power as the Emperor himself. And she was decidedly Monophysite in her sympathies. While Justinian was issuing edicts against the dissidents, Theodora was openly protecting Monophysites even in Constantinople itself. The Emperor sought the establishment of Orthodoxy and union with Rome, but the eyes of the Empress were fixed upon the East. To her the rich lands of Asia, Syria and Egypt were the Empire. Unlike her husband, she was not a theologian, and she was convinced that these Eastern provinces must, Pope or no Pope, be reconciled by wise concessions. There are those who think that from the political point of view she sensed the future more clearly than Justinian. The Emperor himself did not regard Monophysitism, especially of the more reputable type represented by Severus, as on the

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same level as other heresies. Renewed attempts to conciliate the Monophysites met, however, with no more success than had attended similar efforts in the past. And meanwhile, one Jacob Baradeus, a monk who had enjoyed the protection of Theodora, being made bishop, set himself to tour the East with a view to re-establish and secure the permanence of the Monophysite hierarchy: and this indeed he did.

In due course Justinian was persuaded to take up the question of the Three Chapters, and he issued an edict in which on his own authority he condemned them.

The Three Chapters were writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret and Ibas, Bishop of Edessa. All belonged to the School of Antioch in their theology, and Theodore had been the teacher and Theodoret the fellow-pupil of Nestorius. All three had been dead for nearly a century, but the two latter prelates had been condemned on Dioscorus's charge of Nestorianism at the Latrocinium of Ephesus, and subsequently restored at Chalcedon. The question of their condemnation, or rather recondemnation, played much the same part under Justinian that the *Henoticon* had played under Zeno—that is to say it was offered as a bait to catch the Monophysites and restore unity in the East; and without achieving any permanent result in that direction, it provoked hostile reaction from Rome and the West.

In this case, however, the Pope, Vigilius, hesitated in his pronouncement so long that the Emperor lost patience and had him kidnapped and brought to Constantinople. There he was induced to issue the *Judicatum*—condemning the three writers. The whole of the West protested so violently that the Pope obtained the Emperor's permission to withdraw his *Judicatum* and it was decided to refer the matter to a Council. This was the Fifth Ecumenical Council summoned in 553. Only six Western bishops attended, all from Africa. The Pope refused to take any part in the proceedings, and after considerable delay produced his own decision in a document called the *Constitution*. While condemning sixty passages from Theodore of Mopsuestia, he refused to condemn Theodore himself on the ground that it was not customary to condemn the dead. Neither would he condemn Theodoret and Ibas,

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659 since Chalcedon had declared them free from heresy. Mean-
798 while the Council continued its proceedings and in accordance with the Emperor's will it erased Vigilius's name from the diptychs and condemned the Three Chapters. In the end the unfortunate Pope, who had been scandalously treated by Justinian and whose liberty and even life were often in danger, accepted the decision of the Council, but it was long before the West as a whole did the same.

659 One more great effort to reach agreement with the Mono-
643 physites must be noted, and that was associated with the name of the Emperor Heraclius (610 to 641) and with the circum-
721 stances of the Persian War. Heraclius's accession to the throne was the result of a revolution which overthrew his predecessor, Phocas, and it occurred at a crisis in which the fortunes of Byzantium were at a very low ebb. The Persian armies had captured the great frontier fortress of Dara already in 604 and were sweeping west and south. In the nature of the case it was the provinces of the Empire in which Monophysitism was predominant which bore the brunt of the invasion. The Persian advance was rapid. Syria was overrun, Antioch fell, Jerusalem was captured in 614, Constantine's Church of the Holy Sepulchre was burnt and the relic of the True Cross despatched as a trophy to the Persian King. The following year Persian raiding parties were crossing Asia Minor without hindrance. In 617 Alexandria fell and all Egypt was occupied. The news of the capture of the True Cross was received in Byzantium with utter consternation. But all this was not the full measure of disaster. The Avars and the Slavs were at the same time invading the Balkan peninsula, settling in the open country and besieging the cities while the populace fled for refuge to the coasts. The Barbarians even pillaged the suburbs of Constantinople. Added to this the city was ravaged by epidemics, and there was no money in the treasury.

It is against such a background that the greatness of Heraclius stands out. He was a man of great strength of character and of indomitable courage. And he was one of the greatest strategists that the Byzantine Empire produced.

His plan was to placate the Avars and secure some sort of peace on that front, however precarious, while he set

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methodically to work on a programme of economic internal recovery and on the preparation of a counter-blow against Persia. In all this he had the assistance of a Patriarch who was worthy of him, Sergius of Constantinople, who placed the treasures of the Church at the Emperor's disposal.

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In twelve years' time he was ready and launched his counterblow. It took the form of an attack upon Persia itself. Nor did he abandon his plan when the Persian King succeeded in persuading the perfidious Avars to attack Constantinople, and the city was besieged by the joint forces of Barbarians and Persians in 626. This was one of the great moments in Byzantine story, when the city stood out clearly in its historic rôle as a rampart which prevented the Barbarians of the North from joining with invaders from the East. The Patriarch Sergius was the soul of the defence and employed all his eloquence to maintain the courage of the Byzantines, and all the apparatus of religion to stimulate their faith and instil terror into their enemies. Whether the Akathist hymn was composed by Sergius at this time or whether it belongs to a later period, certain it is that the Byzantines attributed their deliverance to the intervention of Our Lady, and instituted a yearly festival in thankful commemoration of the occasion.

By 628 Heraclius was completely victorious and Persia was to trouble the Roman Empire no more. Two years later the Emperor entered Jerusalem in triumph and brought back with him the True Cross. From the first the religious aspect of the war had been prominent and has given Heraclius the title of the First Crusader.

The religious question was never far from his mind. As so many of his predecessors he saw the political urgency of an ecclesiastical settlement, and like them he pursued the will o' the wisp of reconciling the Monophysites. The urgency was even more apparent now. His predecessor Phocas had exasperated the Monophysites by his persecution of them. The Persian King when he overran the Orient intended to remain there, and indeed did remain in Syria for eighteen years and in Egypt for eleven. Chosroes had Christians in his own country, two of his wives belonged to that religion, and bishops, both Nestorian and Monophysite, came in the train of his

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643 armies. Everywhere the Orthodox bishops in the invaded
659 provinces were expelled, for Chosroes, though on the whole
well-disposed to the Christians, naturally favoured the
798 Monophysite form of their faith, the Orthodox form being the official religion of the Empire he was fighting. Thus, when the war ended, the Monophysites had been living for years under another political allegiance and without being harassed because of their religious convictions. But Heraclius did not wait for the end of the war. He had from the beginning faced the question of religious unity as part of his plans for imperial reconstruction. He had put forth an edict about the Faith which while Orthodox itself revealed in its use of Cyrillian phraseology a desire to reconcile the Monophysites; and it was with imperial sanction that the Copts and Syrian Jacobites had united about 616.

But it was just at that time that the Patriarch Sergius thought he had solved the perennial problem. He suggested a formula which recognized a single "energy" in Christ, behind the two natures and operating through each. Heraclius took up the idea and became convinced that this was really the means for reconciling the dissidents to Orthodoxy. In the midst of his military operations against Persia he found time to urge it upon various Monophysite prelates and he met with striking success. In 633 even Egypt was won over and accepted the new doctrine of the single "energy". Thus Sergius in writing to the Pope to secure his adherence, frankly laid stress upon the happy results in achieving peace and securing the acceptance of Chalcedon which had attended the formula, rather than argued in its theological defence. Pope Honorius agreed, but himself used and recommended the phrase "a single will". Both Pope and Patriarch agreed that once union was reached it would be prudent to drop the discussion of the matter in future and avoid the phrases, "single energy" and "double energy".

659 All seemed well; but everyone had reckoned without one
798 Sophronius, who had been opposing in Egypt the propagation of the new formula by Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria. The
795 weight of his opposition was greatly increased by his elevation to the Patriarchal Throne of Jerusalem at the end of the year

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633. On that occasion he issued a synodical letter in which he vigorously asserted the existence of two "energies" in Christ, and argued that the acceptance of a single "energy" really amounted to Monophysitism. 659 798 795

Thus, all was in dispute again, and it became clear that the successes of "monergism" had been more apparent than real. And the Pope's new formula, "one will", could be accepted in different senses, or rather its stress could be applied in different directions. To the Pope it emphasized the unity of Christ's Person, to the Monophysites it implied their own doctrine, that He had but one Nature.

Shortly before his death in 638, the Patriarch Sergius published, in the name of the Emperor, the *Ekthesis*. This celebrated document was an exposition of the Faith of Chalcedon in regard to the Trinity and the Incarnation, which went on to prohibit the phrases "one energy" and "two energies" and affirmed that Christ had a single will. The *Ekthesis* roused a storm of protest both in East and West, and the controversy continued for long after the original protagonists had died. Honorius's two immediate successors (John IV and Theodore) both pronounced against it; the monk Maximus led the opposition in Africa. The Emperor Constantine II issued his *Typos* in which he simply forbade discussion of the matter. But Pope Martin I called a Council at the Lateran and condemned both the *Ekthesis* and the *Typos* more uncompromisingly than ever. Both he and Maximus paid for their boldness, and each in due course died from the effect of the treatment they received. The dispute dragged on and both sides became heartily tired of it. It was not definitely settled until the Sixth Ecumenical Council was called to deal with it in 680. The Council finally condemned monergism and monotheletism and anathematized the principal exponents of the heresy. The names included Sergius of Constantinople and his two successors Pyrrhus and Paul, Pope Honorius, Cyrus of Alexandria and others.

Thus the last attempt to reconcile the dissidents failed as the others had failed. The pattern is familiar. Anxious to strengthen and consolidate the Empire by securing religious unity the imperial authority puts forward proposals which 659 798

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amount to compromise. The proposed formula is backed first by argument and then by force. But concessions which seemed to the Monophysites inadequate, appeared to the West to be unwarrantably great. And the result was no more than interminable dispute. By the time of the Sixth Ecumenical Council the political situation which faced Heraclius and Sergius when they put forward their solution of the "one energy", had passed away. Even if monergism had been successful in reconciling the dissidents, it would have come too late, so far as saving the Empire from dismemberment was concerned.

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The Hegira, the Flight of Mahomet from Mecca, took place in 622, the year of Heraclius's counter-offensive against Persia. Ten years later the Prophet died, having returned in triumph to Mecca and imposed his authority and religion upon the Arab tribes. And in 634 the movement of those tribes began.

The hosts of Islam were hardy warriors to whom the war of conquest was a religious act, but the exhausted and disordered state of both the Persian and the Byzantine Empires, the incapacity of the Byzantine generals, the religious strife which divided the Christians, and the hostility of the Jews, who were ready to help the Arabs as they had helped the Persians, all this made the Orient an easy prey. And Heraclius was now a sick man.

The Arabs crossed the Byzantine frontiers in 634, and in three years Syria was conquered. The True Cross was removed for safey to Constantinople from Jerusalem which fell in 637. The flood of conquest spread to Roman Mesopotamia, and at the same time other Arab armies conquered Persia. Then came the turn of Egypt. Alexandria capitulated in 641 and the Arabs pushed on to Tripoli and the West. The speed of the Islamic conquests may be realized from the fact that the battle of Poitiers was fought just one hundred years after the death of Mahomet.

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CHAPTER III

ESTRANGEMENT FROM THE WEST

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In spite of the brilliant campaign of Heraclius against the Persians, the seventh century was a period of gloom and decadence. It was also a century of developing changes which made it a critical era in Byzantine History. Spain had been lost two centuries earlier, Africa, so recently recovered from the Vandals, was in imminent danger from the westward progress of Islam. Large tracts of north Italy had been lost to the Lombards. The definite loss of Syria, and still more of Egypt, was an immense impoverishment of the Empire, and with the control of Egypt went the imperial dream of re-establishing the ancient realm of the Caesars. The battleground against Islam was in Asia Minor, or what was still more serious, on the sea; for the seventh century saw the inauguration of an Arab navy.

The Slavs were pressing southwards into the Balkan peninsula and towards the end of the century a new people made their appearance from the north, to cross the Danube and become a recurrent menace to Constantinople for three centuries. These were the Bulgars, a Turanian people who subdued the West Slavs and formed them into a kingdom while adopting their language and culture and giving them their own name in return.

Thus the Empire's lines of communication were in peril. The great northern road round the head of the Adriatic which would bring a traveller to Lyons, for instance, in five weeks' journey from the Eastern Capital, and the southern road which went across the peninsula through Thessalonika to the coast town of Dyrrachium from which Rome could be reached in a week, both so vulnerable since the Barbarian invasion

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175 began, were definitely cut. The sea route alone remained, lengthy and hazardous.

The Mediterranean had in the past held the Roman Empire together. Even when there were two rulers, one in the East and one in the West, it remained one empire and it was largely the sea which kept it so. Germanic tribes broke through the land frontiers and reached the sea. When the Vandals crossed into Africa, they administered a severe shock to imperial sea power. But Islam was a different matter, with its uncompromising desert Faith and its contemptuous aloofness from the people it conquered. When Islam established itself along the south-eastern and southern coasts and became a Mediterranean power, the great sea highway was deserted and the sea, from being a unifying element, was converted into a barrier between Christianity and Islam. Ships from Byzantium to Italy must hug the coast. Travel which had made the influence of Eastern art and culture felt as far west as Gaul and Britain and made possible the appearance of ornament from Coptic Egypt in the manuscripts of Ireland, was still further restricted.

But the invasions of Barbarian and of Arab alike were but accelerating a process which was inevitable in the nature of things and had been going on for a long while. When Diocletian decided to share the government of the Roman world with a co-adjutor he recognized the fact by establishing the division of authority upon a geographical basis. Thereafter it was only for short periods that the Empire was governed by a single ruler. As time went on, it became increasingly clear that, in this restricted application also, "East is East and West is West" and common misfortunes from without did but emphasize antagonisms, misunderstandings and ecclesiastical disputes within.

175 The Empire in the East increasingly disclosed its true
178 Hellenistic foundation. Even before the time of Constantine the influence of Oriental ideas about monarchy, court ceremonial and the administrative hierarchy had made themselves felt. Although they had to make headway against other conceptions of Empire they gradually prevailed, especially as the prospect of restoring the territorial integrity of the old Empire receded further and further. After Heraclius crushed

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the Persian Empire he took himself officially the title *Basileus*, by which the Persian monarch had been known; and "Basileus" the Byzantine sovereigns remained until the end. 175 178

Justinian, himself a native of a Latin-speaking district, had to face the problem of language and found himself obliged to issue his *Novels* in Greek, and under his successors Latin disappeared in official documents. The Byzantines continued to call themselves "Romans", but they wrote the word in Greek and Greek was their tongue. Thus, difference of language was added to the difficulties which Rome and Constantinople experienced in trying to understand each other. Letters between the Pope and Eastern bishops had to be translated and translations were, at times, liable through inadvertence, ignorance or perhaps even falsifications, to be inexact. Gregory the Great, consecrated in 590, did not understand Greek, although he had spent some years in Constantinople. A century earlier, such a scholar as St. Augustine of Hippo only mastered Greek towards the end of his life. Even that prodigy of learning, Photius of Constantinople, whom we shall meet later, did not know Latin, and at the time of the final schism in 1054, when Peter of Antioch received a letter from the Pope, he had to send it to Constantinople to be translated.

The Byzantines regarded themselves as the Romans *par excellence*. New Rome in its wealth and culture, its power and its prestige, was the object of their pride; the traditions and glory associated with the name of Rome, were on the Bosporus. Old Rome on the Tiber had relapsed into barbarism in their eyes and they tended to neglect and despise it. "The West" conjured up thoughts of Ravenna or Milan rather than of Rome. The Emperor Zeno shewed little compunction in deliberately diverting Theodoric and his Goths into Italy in 488.

The Barbarians had, indeed, captured Rome at the beginning of the fifth century, and although their occupation of it did not last, the blow was a shattering one to the prestige of the old imperial capital. By the end of that century the Empire in the West was dead. The last legitimate Western Emperor was assassinated in exile in 480. Thereafter, except for 175

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175 Justinian's temporary restoration, there was only the rule of Barbarian kings standing in various relations to the Emperor at Byzantium.

It was against this background of confusion and political collapse in the West that the rivalry of the Great Sees of Christendom, which we have noticed, was working itself out, and Rome was insisting upon her position as the premier episcopal throne. Leo I protested vigorously against the celebrated 28th Canon of Chalcedon, which renewed and stressed the assignment of the second place to Constantinople, which had been decided at the second Ecumenical Council (381). It was long before Rome accepted it. But Constantinople held to its position. The fact that the great heresies (apart from Pelagianism) arose in the East strengthened the position of Rome, as the champion of Orthodoxy, and she frequently intervened in the disputes with decisive effect. On the other hand in Eastern eyes, and in actual fact, the whole of the West apart from the papacy and the Franks and Celts, was Arian.

Then came Justinian's superb but futile attempt to turn back the course of history. He recovered Africa from the Vandals and by an immense effort restored Italy to the Empire and marked the event by the Pragmatic Sanction in 554. But Rome was in ruins and almost depopulated, as were many other cities in Italy. Byzantium had not the strength to hold what Justinian had reconquered. The Goths under Theodoric had been able to protect the country and ensure an ordered Roman life to the people. When Justinian's armies wiped them out, Italy was left a prey to newcomers. No sooner was the great Emperor dead than the Lombards fell upon it with a savagery more intense than Italy had yet experienced.

Justinian's reconquest did nothing to draw East and West together. Rather the reverse. Theoretically the Italians were delivered from their Barbarian tyrants and taken once more to the bosom of the "Roman" Empire. But the armies which liberated them were largely composed of Barbarians, and the sufferings of the people during the nineteen years' war were immense. The men sent out to administer the country, the functionaries and merchants who followed in the train of the

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armies, were strangers from as far east as Syria, alien in every respect from the Romans of the West.

The Popes were treated in highly cavalier fashion once the need to use them in relation to the Goths had come to an end. The Emperor might receive Pope John II at Constantinople in 524 with the most profound gestures of veneration, and Pope Agapetus might even be allowed to depose on his own authority a Patriarch of Constantinople, during his stay in the Eastern capital ten years later. But when the imperial generals were masters of Old Rome, the Popes Silverus and Vigilius were treated in very different fashion (see page 40) and in the persons of its Pontiffs the Western Church was grossly humiliated.

It is not surprising that the Pope, beside being the chief bishop of Christendom, was often driven by mere force of circumstances to take the lead in secular affairs as well, and in that capacity to inherit something of the bygone glory of the Caesars. Nor is it surprising that his policy should develop into one which aimed at converting the Barbarians from their Arianism and making common cause with them against the Greek East. In point of fact, burdened with heavy commitments in the East, Byzantium could do little for the West, which was largely left to fend for itself, though the Empire in the West continued to exist in theory long after it had ceased to operate in fact. The Empire was immortal in men's thoughts, whatever vicissitudes it might suffer in historical fact. Heraclius after his Persian victory might have emulated Justinian and driven back the Lombards, but any such hope was shattered by the thunderbolt of Islam. The Lombards descended upon Italy in 568, and in a few years' time were masters of the north of the peninsula. They were for the most part Arians (though some were pagan) and as such added a special hostility to the Church to their normal ferocity.

With the Lombards nearing the very gates of Rome, Pope Pelagius II appealed to the Emperor for help. But this appeal from West to East for help in dire peril was as vain as the appeals which the East was to make to the new nations of the West centuries later in parallel circumstances. But Pelagius's successor was Gregory the Great. The administrative

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175 experience and forceful character of this deeply religious and commanding personality were not long in making themselves felt in the Western Church as a whole. He took the Patrimonium in hand. The Patrimonium was composed of the lands belonging to the Roman Church. They were scattered in various places, notably in Sicily, and were of great extent. They made the Pope the largest landowner in Italy.

Gregory reorganized and consolidated the Patrimonium and that gave him a solid basis from which to take his part as need might be in secular affairs. And that was to no small extent. In 593 we find him conducting the defence of Rome when the Lombards were besieging it, as his counterpart the Patriarch Sergius was to be the soul of the defence of Constantinople in 626. Gregory was loyal to the Emperor, though he was not on good terms with him. The Emperor Maurice was, as usual, preoccupied with the East and was prepared to let Italy go. He suspected and disapproved of the Pope's policy, which was to secure some sort of pacification by coming to terms with the Barbarians, to make the most of the fact that the Lombard Queen was a Catholic and aim at converting the Lombards from their Arianism.

The mission of St. Augustine to England which Pope Gregory in his missionary zeal for souls had despatched in 596 may be regarded as a symbol, perhaps a premonition, of that which the inexorable movement of events was to usher in. For gradually the Pope's eyes came to turn towards the north, to the Catholic Franks, whose ruler was the greatest, in fact the only, effective power in the West. Under the impact of Islam, the stresses within the Empire were to give it two axes instead of one. And both axes ran northwards, the one from Rome through the Frankish territories to Britain, the other from the Balkans into Russia. But by that time there were two Emperors, for the Pope crowned Charlemagne on Christmas Day in the year 800. The details of this process lie outside the scope of this book, but the process itself must be noted as a dominant aspect of the drift apart of East and West and the coronation of Charlemagne as marking the climax of its political consummation.

We must return, however, to a brief consideration of another

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potent factor which operated in the same process. This was the Iconoclast Controversy, which in the eighth century shook the Eastern world and widened the breach between it and the West.

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With the definite loss of Syria and Egypt the political reasons for the continual attempt to placate the heretics by doctrinal compromise disappeared, and in Baynes's words "the Empire could afford to be orthodox". The dogmatic decisions of the six Ecumenical Councils were accepted everywhere within the Empire. The new dispute was concerned with the traditions and customs of worship, with the use of "images", that is to say icons, pictures of sacred persons and scenes.

In the earliest days the use of painting and sculpture in connection with worship was but scanty. Its association with heathen rites caused it to be looked at askance by the Church, which inherited from Judaism a vivid consciousness of the perils of idolatry. But there are early frescoes in the catacombs, and from the fourth century onwards the feeling that the pictorial representation of sacred persons was to be feared and repudiated, subsided, and the tendency was to call upon the arts more and more for the embellishment of worship. The Peace of the Church brought increased opportunity for the building of new churches, and new wealth to provide for their adornment. The earliest icons which have survived, date from the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. The use of them spread rapidly and the attitude of the Church towards them at first seems fairly clear in the East and West alike. Gregory of Nyssa speaks of the silent painting speaking from the wall. And Pope Gregory the Great says that the use of them is to teach those who are unable to read. The Quinisext Council which met in 692 decreed in its 82nd Canon "that the figure in human form of the Lamb who taketh away the sin of the world, Christ our God, be henceforth exhibited in images, instead of the ancient lamb, so that all may understand by means of it the depths of the humiliation of the Word of God, and that we may recall to our memory His conversation in the flesh, His passion and salutary death, and His redemption which was wrought for the whole world."

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778 Thus the function of the icons was twofold: they were to instruct, and they were to stimulate devotion. This latter function came to assume enormous proportions—and as the seventh century passed into the eighth the number of icons produced increased greatly. The subjects included not only pictures of Christ, Our Lady and the Saints, representations of incidents in the Old and New Testaments, but also scenes from the Apocryphal Gospels, pictures of martyrdoms and the like. The religious estimation in which the icons were held, particularly those of them to which a miraculous origin was attributed, those "not made by (human) hands", developed to an astounding and sometimes a fantastic extent. It passed, at times, into sheer superstition of a gross and material kind, 778 and many people were much disquieted by it. Voices were heard declaring that the icons should be abolished altogether. 798 The destruction of the "images" was to the iconoclasts an urgently needed reform to purge away idolatry and superstition, while to their defenders, the iconodules, it was a crude and wanton desecration of sacred things, sheer sacrilege and even a sign of heretical belief.

But one must beware of over simplifying the issue and of regarding iconoclasm as a mere expression of Puritanism. Historians have yet to reach agreement upon a balanced estimate of the motives which gave rise to the attack upon the icons. Some have thought it was due to the influence of the Jews or the Moslems, and this in spite of the fact that the Emperor Leo III, in whose reign iconoclasm as State policy began, was no friend of the Jews and had recently achieved a signal success against the Moslems. Others have seen it as part of the general programme of reform attributed to that Emperor, and especially as an attack upon the monasteries, which it certainly became later on.

798 Monasticism had, indeed, spread to vast proportions, and a statesman might well be disturbed by the loss to the exchequer from the immunity from taxation which the monas- 792 teries enjoyed, as well as by the loss of man-power to the army, the public services and the land which the increasing number of men who took the vows of religion involved. The monks, who made the icons and were their great defenders, exercised

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an enormous influence upon the populace. Thus, the controversy might be interpreted as due to a revolt of the laity against the spread of spiritual and especially monastic influence in directions held to be harmful to the interests of the community as a whole; or, from the opposite point of view, as an effort on the part of the Church to defend its freedom in the spiritual sphere.

The impulse to iconoclasm came from Asia Minor when two bishops took the initiative and endeavoured to persuade the Patriarch of Constantinople, Germanos, to accept their views. In the Eastern (now the most important) provinces of the Empire there was a strong feeling against the images, under the influence of the Jews, Moslems and possibly the Paulicians.[1] There had been a violent outbreak of iconoclasm at Antioch even in the sixth century, and half a dozen years before the Byzantine Emperor took any action, the Khalif Yezid had ordered the removal of all icons in the churches and houses of his Christian subjects. The army was largely recruited in Asia Minor, and was solidly behind the Emperor, himself a native of Isauria, and the Court party in their attack upon image worship. In defence of the images were ranged the bulk of the Western provinces, the majority of the clergy, the monks, and devout women (it is worth noting that the two sovereigns who restored the images, Irene and Theodora, were both women). The quarrel was between the Asiatic party in Constantinople, and the defenders of the Hellenistic traditions of the Empire.

There were two phases in the struggle, which it is not proposed to follow in detail here. The Emperor Leo III, the Isaurian, after some attempt at peaceful persuasion, launched his attack by ordering the destruction of the great icon of Christ over one of the gates of the imperial palace, a gesture which provoked an immediate riot and that in turn led to reprisals. His successor, Constantine V, besides being an iconoclast and hater of monks, was frankly heretical in other respects. He continued and intensified the attack his father

[1] On the Paulicians see Steven Runciman: *The Mediæval Manichee*, Camb., 1947, and Dmitri Obolensky: *The Bogomils*, Camb., 1948. The Paulicians were a Christian sect in Armenia and Asia Minor who had affinities with Gnostic Dualism and Manicheeism.

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798 had begun and focused it especially upon the monastic order.
778 A real persecution of the iconodules took place, and there were many cases of martyrdom. Constantine secured the support of a Council held at Hieria in 754, though neither Pope nor Patriarch (the See of Constantinople was vacant at the time) was represented at it. The Council condemned the cult of the images, but refused to be persuaded to condemn also the veneration of the saints and the belief that they intercede for men. Constantine's son, Leo IV, died in 780 after reigning only five years and his widow, Irene, who was a Greek of Athens, during the minority of his infant son, succeeded in restoring the cult of the images at the Second Council of Nicaea (the seventh Ecumenical Council) in 787.

This closed the first phase and a quarter of a century of uneasy peace followed. But the decisions of a council were not enough to calm the deep-seated passions which lay behind iconoclasm, and with the accession of Leo V, the Armenian, the quarrel broke out afresh. But this second phase of the struggle under Leo and his two successors Michael II and Theophilus shewed some marked differences from the former. For one thing the defenders of the images were not taken by surprise as they had been before. They were better organized with the centre of their dogmatic defence based upon the great monastery of Studium in Constantinople under its redoubtable Abbot Theodore who had already suffered exile as a prominent iconodule. Further there was not the same drive behind the iconoclastic movement in this second period, not the same enthusiastic support from the eastern provinces. There was a persecution and some martyrdoms under Leo V, but the two following emperors displayed much less zeal in the matter. Finally, and perhaps for these reasons, the second phase was shorter than the first by some twenty years, and another Empress, Theodora, restored the images again in 842, achieving in one year what had taken Irene seven. This time the victory was final and it has been celebrated ever since in the Orthodox Church by the annual observance of "Orthodox Sunday" on the first Sunday in Lent.

And, indeed, much was at stake. It was no mere matter of

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the retention or otherwise of *objets de piété*, nor even of the value of the images as picture books in which the unlettered could read and learn their faith. Argument and counter-argument were exchanged on the terrain of the sin of idolatry. But the question was viewed at a deeper level still and notably by St. John Damascene who, from the safety of his position outside the Empire, wrote three treatises on the defence of the images in the time of Leo III. To him nothing less than belief in the truth of the Incarnation was involved. Since God took human flesh it is right and reasonable to depict that flesh. To the thorough-going iconoclast to use the material to represent the divine was blasphemous. It may well be that here we can trace the influence of Manichaeism, which taught that matter was essentially evil and that God did not truly assume human flesh at all: or, at least, of the Monophysites who held that the divine in Christ completely absorbed the human.

Vast numbers of works of art perished in the fury of the iconoclastic onslaught. On the other hand the artistic life of Southern Italy was enriched by the flood of immigrants escaping from the iconoclastic East, and in the East itself an incentive was provided for the ornamentation of churches with purely decorative forms of animals, of flowers and secular scenes, to which the iconoclasts had no objection.

To return to the special subject of this chapter. The iconoclastic controversy had an important bearing upon the loss of the West. At the outbreak of the struggle when Leo III failed to persuade either the Patriarch Germanos or the Pope to approve of his policy, he deposed the one and sent a naval expedition against the other. His fleet was destroyed by a storm. But the Emperor confiscated the revenues of the Papal lands in Calabria and Sicily to the imperial treasury, thus completing the political rupture between Byzantium and Italy. At the same time he transferred the ecclesiastical allegiance of the dioceses in the same regions as well as in Illyricum and Crete from the Pope to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

After the deposition of Germanos and Leo's appointment of an iconoclast Patriarch in his place, Rome was out of

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communion with Constantinople almost continuously for nearly fifty years.

And Charlemagne who was so shortly to become Emperor in the West had his say in the matter. A version (said to be made by someone who apparently knew neither Greek nor Latin) of the decrees of Nicaea II was sent to him. His reaction was prompt and definite. His case against the Council, perhaps drawn up by Alcuin in England, was sent to Pope Hadrian in the form known as the Caroline Books. It attacks the presumption of the Council in pretending to dictate to the Christian world, it attacks both the Council's doctrine of the Images and the iconoclast position, and how in any case, asks the Catholic Frank, can one trust people who say that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father alone?

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CHAPTER IV

CONVERSION OF THE SLAVS

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THE final breach between Rome and Constantinople still lay in the future. But to all intents and purposes Orthodoxy now stands alone, the religion of the Empire, and conceiving itself as the heir and guardian of the traditional Hellenistic culture. In the West the Papacy, still recognized as the primary see of Christendom, was virtually a secular power also, between the Empire and the Franks, with whom it was in close alliance and upon whose kings it had poured the anointing oil, and in the end bestowed an imperial diadem.

In the East the Melkite Patriarchates were isolated outposts within the fierce world of Islam which was battering at the defences of the Empire.

It was some compensation for those losses that Orthodoxy was able, in the ninth and tenth centuries, to initiate a great missionary achievement and to strengthen its position by securing the allegiance of the bulk of the Slavs. The inclusion of the Slavs within the orbit of Byzantium was not undisputed by Rome, and the rivalry was intertwined with other quarrels concerned both with jurisdiction and with doctrine which broke out between the two Churches in the ninth century.

The Balkans had been swept by successive waves of invaders, by the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, and finally, as we have seen, by the Slavs and Bulgars, who established themselves there permanently, settling first in the open country, and later in the cities. The old civilization with its civil and ecclesiastical administration disappeared. But the Empire refused to regard the territory as permanently lost, it was still in theory a recoverable part of the Empire, and involved in the process of recovering it was the task of converting it to

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797 Christianity. In districts where the primitive Slavs came into close touch with the Greek and Roman world and accepted its higher civilization and culture, they were far more easily induced to accept the Christian religion also, than was the case among the more remote masses of the invaders. These latter soon became aware of the fact that to embrace the new religion was a danger to their own tribal coherence and even to invite foreign domination in the political sphere.

There were other obstacles, too, which slowed down the process of converting the Slavs and Bulgars, and prominent among them the fact that ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Balkans was a bone of contention between Rome and Constantinople. Politically the whole peninsula was part of the Eastern Empire, whether in fact or in theory. Ecclesiastically it had for centuries been divided between East and West. The geographical line of division had varied, but had tended to shift westward, and, as was recorded in the previous chapter, Leo III during the iconoclastic controversy had expelled Roman jurisdiction from Illyricum altogether. But this did not mean that the Papal claims in that respect were abandoned, and missionary enterprise for the conversion of the Slavs (including the Bulgars) came from the West as well as from the East. The invaders had by this time crystallized into various recognizable national units. There were the Moravians to the north, roughly in what is now Czechoslovakia; Slovenes in the south of Austria and the north-west of Yugoslavia; the Croats along the Dalmatian coast; the Serbs in the centre of the peninsula, and the Bulgars along the lower Danube.

The Slovenes having occasion to enlist the help of the Bavarians against their Avar enemies, came under the lordship of Bavaria, and later, with the Bavarians were engulfed in the Empire of Charlemagne. He drove out the Avars and incorporated both the Slovenes and the Croats of this region into the diocese of Salzburg. Thus they were converted from the Catholic West and later came under the direct control of the Pope. They have remained Roman Catholic to this day. The same is true of the Croats further south and along the Dalmatian Coast, though they showed some wavering between East and West in early days. For here, after the action of

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Leo III above referred to, great efforts were made to induce the people to accept the Byzantine rite. But by the end of the ninth century the country had finally settled down to the Papal allegiance. Yet Mestrović's colossal figure of Gregory of Nin at Spalato stands as a witness to the long struggle of the Croats for the use of their Slavonic language in worship. 797

The Moravians also were destined in the end to come under the Roman obedience, although they owed their conversion largely to the Byzantines. And here we have the romantic story of Cyril and Methodius, two brothers who came to be known as the Apostles of the Slavs. They were Greeks of Thessalonika, men of great ability, the younger in particular (known in his lifetime as Constantine) having an established reputation as a teacher and philosopher in Constantinople. He had already been employed by Photius, before the latter became Patriarch, upon a political and religious mission to the Khazars, who lived on the plains through which the Dnieper and the Don flow into the Black Sea, and have the unique distinction of having adopted Judaism as their religion. While there Constantine acquired the relics of St. Clement of Rome, and apparently carried them with him on his later travels.

About the year 862, the Moravian Prince Rastislav sent emissaries to Constantinople, where they found Photius, now Patriarch, the most conspicuous figure. To counteract the danger of the recently formed alliance between Louis the German and the Bulgarians, Rastislav offered, and succeeded in establishing, his own pact with the Empire. The military side of this alliance bore fruit two years later when a Bulgarian army on its way to help Louis the German was defeated by the Byzantines.

There was an ecclesiastical aspect of the agreement also. Rastislav was restive under the vigorous nationalistic tendencies displayed by the German missionaries in his country: and to Photius the situation may well have seemed a valuable opportunity to strengthen his position against the Pope. Constantine and Methodius were despatched into Moravia where their efforts soon shewed signs of success, for they brought the Christian religion to the people in their own language. The brothers seem to have formed a happy

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combination, the elder with his gifts as administrator and the younger as scholar and linguist. And doubtless one of their main qualifications was that coming from Thessalonika, they had lived in close contact with a Slav population and were perfectly familiar with a Slav language.

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It was presumably this Macedonian Slav dialect which the brothers reduced to writing and into which they translated a number of books, liturgical and other, for the use of their converts. They adapted the Greek minuscule letters into an alphabet to convey the Slavonic sounds, and this is the Glagolitic in which some old Church Slavonic was written and which, in a modified form, has survived for liturgical use still in certain dioceses on the Dalmatian coast. All the Orthodox Slavs today, however, use another alphabet, called Cyrillic, which is based upon the Greek uncials. Whether the Apostles of the Slavs had anything to do with the invention of the Cyrillic letters is uncertain—but they bear the name of the younger, for at the end of his life Constantine became a monk and took the name of Cyril. His death occurred in Rome in 869. Methodius went back as an Archbishop, to continue his labours in Moravia till his own death in 885.

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The two brothers, with their devoted band of helpers, did an immense service for Slav religion and culture. But the attempt to set up a Slav Church in Moravia failed, and after the death of Methodius the Germanizing party secured the upper hand. Methodius's disciples and helpers were treated with some indignity and harshness and expelled. We shall meet them again later in Bulgaria.

The Serbian clans, lying inland, were less exposed than the Croats and Slovenes to outside influences, and although there was some infiltration of Christianity among them, no general conversion took place until the latter part of the ninth century. The Serbian Prince Mutimir, who died in 891, sent a request for missionaries from Constantinople and was himself baptized with large numbers of his people. But the political and utilitarian aspect of the event was rather unusually prominent. The Emperor had recently made a signal display of the might of Byzantine arms in his suppression of certain Serbian pirates in the Adriatic. It was not until the returning

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disciples of Methodius made their influence felt that Christianity as religion made real progress among the Serbs, and even so, many pagan customs were retained and, more or less, blended with the new Faith. But the official conversion of the Serbs is dated from the baptism of Mutimir. During his reign the Serbian Church was under the direct influence of Byzantium and the services were in Greek. But as Bulgarian ascendency became predominant in the Balkans, Byzantine suzerainty gradually gave place to Bulgarian, and the Greek liturgy to the Slavonic. 797

The first Bulgarian king to receive baptism was Boris, who reigned from 852 to 889 and was one of the ablest monarchs in Bulgarian history. Christianity had penetrated into Bulgaria before that time, and there had even been some persecution of it, due largely to fear of it as an agent which prepared the way for foreign and, in particular, for Byzantine domination. Boris was a statesman and although his own personal religious convictions played their part in his acceptance of Christianity, there were other considerations also that he had in mind. To make his realm a Christian State was some defence against the political and religious missionary zeal of his Christian neighbours. Further, it would tend to consolidate his own position. The great bulk of his subjects were Slavs, and many of them already Christian; the Bulgars were a ruling minority among whom Boris was the chief of many rulers. To favour the Slav element in his realm, therefore, and to Christianize it would be to break the power of the Bulgarian nobility and establish himself as sole ruler with all the force of the current Christian conception of royalty and the divine authority delegated to kings, to support him. The revolt of the Bulgarian nobles which subsequently broke out showed that they realized all this clearly enough, but they were too late. 659

In furtherance of his plans Boris looked first towards Rome for the same reason that Rastislav of Moravia had looked to Constantinople, i.e., each looked to the opponents of those from whom their own danger was greatest. But the Byzantine Emperor and Photius, then at the height of his quarrel with the Pope, were just as much alive to the facts and struck first. 659 648

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648 Boris found his country invaded and himself compelled to receive baptism at Greek hands. Accepting the situation, Boris now set himself to achieve the independence of the Bulgarian Church and with much astuteness availed himself of the bargaining power which the quarrel between Rome and Constantinople placed in his hands. He would have preferred to align himself with the West, and he made urgent and persistent efforts to induce the Pope to give him a Patriarch of his own. Pope Nicholas, who saw a chance of recovering for the Papacy the jurisdiction of which Leo III had deprived it, gladly sent Boris a couple of bishops, Latin service books and much good instruction (in answer to Boris's questions), but not a Patriarch. So Greek priests and books were turned out and Latin took their place and Boris continued patiently but urgently to press his request. But the Pope's star was in the ascendant, in 867 the Byzantine Emperor was assassinated, and the Patriarch Photius deposed. Feeling the ball at his feet the Pope ignored Boris's requests and adopted a high-handed policy towards him.

Boris lost patience and turned to Constantinople, which was ready enough to receive his overtures. But in view of the fact that a Council had been called to try to settle the differences between the two great sees, the question of the Bulgarian Church was submitted to it. The Council was packed with Eastern bishops, and in spite of the protests of the Papal legates who were present, naturally it was decided that the Bulgarian Church should be under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. An archbishop, with considerable independent powers, was appointed for Bulgaria. He was himself a Bulgar and with a train of bishops and priests he left for his archbishopric where once more everything Latin was replaced by Greek. Thus the victory in this affair remained with Constantinople. Not that the Papacy acquiesced in it. Much expostulation, many exhortations, and the sternest threats issued from the Pope, but no one paid any attention. But the time came when the sagacious Photius, now again Patriarch, thought it prudent to try to secure the Pope's recognition of his status. The Pope agreed provided that Bulgaria was restored to him.

The matter was once more submitted to a Council (in 879) which, surprisingly, decided that Bulgaria should be returned to Rome. But Boris refused to be returned to Rome. It is possible that this was a contingency which had been foreseen by Photius, but in any case he loyally abode by the agreement reached, sent no more clergy to Bulgaria, and remained on good terms with Nicholas's successor, John VIII. The final decision had, however, been reached and the Bulgarian Church was to remain within the orbit of Orthodoxy. One other aspect of Boris's policy remained to be realized. To make his Church a really national institution, worship must be in the language of the people, to whom the bewildering changes from Greek to Latin had meant but the substitution of one foreign language for another.

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The disciples of Methodius, who had just been expelled from Moravia provided Boris with precisely what he needed. The less important of these unfortunate men had been dubbed heretics and sold as such into slavery, the more prominent leaders, Gorazd, Clement and others more politely conducted to the Danube and bidden to cross it, never to return.

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Boris gave them a cordial welcome, and under his patronage they did a great work, far-reaching and permanent, for Slav Christianity and culture. A centre for the training of a Slav clergy was established, a Slav Bulgarian Church was organized, and many translations into the Slav language were made. Boris was wise and skilful enough to effect these changes without offending Byzantium and his own Greek hierarchy, and the latter were in due course replaced by Slav bishops. Thus through Clement of Okhrida and his companions the work of the Apostles of the Slavs bore a rich harvest among the Slavs of the Balkans. For the political ascendency of Bulgaria continued to grow until for a while it wrested the hegemony from Constantinople itself. Boris's successor, Simon, was an outstanding personality, who not only decisively defeated the Byzantines in war, and had himself crowned with an imperial title, but himself a scholar and erstwhile monk, carried on his father's ecclesiastical and cultural policy and declared the Bulgarian Church autocephalous. Thus was welded into shape in Bulgaria a cultural and religious instrument which was ready to hand when needed for the evangelization of Russia.

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was ready to hand when needed for the evangelization of Russia.

The Vikings, who were the terror of north-west Europe, made their way south-eastwards also, along the waterways which connect the Baltic with the Black Sea. Here they found a Slav population which about the middle of the ninth century was organizing itself in political centres such as Novgorod in the north and Kiev in the south. The Scandinavian warrior merchants passing from the Volkhov to the Dnieper, established themselves whether as protectors or conquerors as masters of these communities, and if *Russ* is indeed a Scandinavian word the process which took place in Bulgaria was repeated, and the ruling minority gave its name to the Slav people which absorbed them. These "Russians" soon found their way across the Black Sea to the Great City, Byzantium, known to them as Tsargrad. In 860 their fleet appeared beneath its walls but was dispersed by a tempest. The part of Sergius in 626 was on this occasion played by the Patriarch Photius, who inspired the defenders with courage and energy.

The early contacts of the Russians with Constantinople are shrouded in a good deal of obscurity, but certain events connected with their conversion stand out as historical. The Patriarch Ignatius sent an archbishop into the country and he made a number of conversions. Igor, Prince of Kiev, made an unsuccessful attack upon Constantinople in 941, and a treaty which he made with the Byzantine Emperor a few years later reveals the fact that there were then Christians at Kiev and that they had a cathedral dedicated to St. Elias. Whether this community was the direct descendant of the converts made by Ignatius, or derived its Christianity from elsewhere is unknown. Igor's widow, Olga, who was later canonized, was definitely a Christian. She visited Constantinople and may have been baptized either there or at Kiev, and at one time seems to have adopted the policy of Boris of Bulgaria and to have played East and West against each other in her ecclesiastical relations. In response to her request, a mission was actually sent from Germany by the Emperor Otto, but it was half-hearted, and returned without accomplishing anything. Neither Olga's son Svyatoslav nor her grandson were Christians,

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but they at least tolerated Christianity, and Olga who lived until 969 was able to foster the growing Christian community. 797

It was Vladimir, an illegitimate son of Svyatoslav, who less than twenty years after Olga's death took the decisive step and accepted the new religion for himself and his people. He was lord of Novgorod and made himself master of Kiev. Much discussion has taken place about the circumstances of Vladimir's baptism and the relation in which that event stood to his marriage and his capture of Kherson.

Some scholars see no reason to look for any one external event as the occasion which brought about his baptism. He must have been familiar with the Christian religion and with the work of his paternal grandmother Olga, and it would not escape the attention of an intelligent man that while culture, civilization and political power were associated in his world with Christianity, paganism belonged to the half-barbarous hordes against whom he warred on the steppes. They therefore suppose that Vladimir was baptized in his own city of Kiev, before, or possibly during, the visit of an Embassy from Constantinople.

The more usual view is that the baptism took place at Kherson after Vladimir had captured that place, in the following circumstances. In Byzantium the imperial throne was being shaken by rebellion, and its occupants hard put to it to deal with the rebel. The Embassy was sent to solicit the military assistance of the Russian chieftain. It was successful, Vladimir's terms being good payment for his men and the hand in marriage of the Emperor's sister for himself. The terms were accepted, Vladimir carried out his part of the bargain, and with his help the rebellion was crushed. When the danger was over, however, the Emperors showed marked reluctance to let their sister go back with the victorious Russian, and Vladimir had to resort to force to secure possession of his bride. The walls of Constantinople were too strong even for his wild warriors, so on his way home he besieged and captured the Greek town of Kherson in the Crimea. This display of force proved sufficient to bring the Byzantines to reason, and the bride was forthwith despatched to her distant future home. She, with her ecclesiastical retinue from Constantinople, joined Vladimir 797 648

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at Kherson. And thither also at the same time arrived an Embassy from Pope John XV.[1]

Vladimir set to work with energy to make his people 797 Christian. The idols of the great god Perun and others, erected in not too distant a past (for Vladimir before he embraced Christianity had toyed with the idea of revitalizing the pagan religion) were overthrown and churches built in their place. The more or less instructed people were baptized in droves in the Dnieper. Other influences were at work beside that of Byzantine Orthodoxy. The institution of tithes is found in the early Russian Church, and it would seem that that must have come from the West, and the same is true of the veneration of certain distinctively Latin saints.

Even before the time of Vladimir, books and perhaps missionaries also had arrived from Bulgaria. The work which the disciples of the Apostles of the Slavs had carried on in that country spread into Russia, with the result that the Russian Church had a Slavonic liturgy from the beginning. After Vladimir's death there was a continued period of quarrelling among his sons, in the course of which the celebrated Boris and Gleb, unresisting, met their deaths. But one of the sons, Yaroslav, finally succeeded in establishing his position and reigning for thirty-five years. He it was who finally settled the dependence of the Russian Church upon the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

[793] In 1037 Alexis the Studite consecrated Theopemptos as Metropolitan of Kiev and thereafter, with two notable exceptions, the Russian Metropolitans were Greeks appointed from Constantinople until the fall of that city. Yaroslav was a great lawgiver and he raised Kiev to a status in which he treated with European nations on equal terms and married his daughters into royal houses of the West. He built the superb cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev and in his time the Petchersky Monastery was founded there. He died in 1054, the year in which the schism between Rome and Constantinople was finally consummated.

[1] On the puzzling question of the contact between the West and the Russian Church of this early period, see Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*. London, 1949, p. 173 ff. and 255 f.

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CHAPTER V

PHOTIUS AND CERULARIUS

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THE story of the conversion of the Slavs in the ninth century was much entangled with the personal fortunes of Photius as Patriarch of Constantinople. That remarkable man was a scholar of immense erudition in many diverse fields of knowledge, and he occupied a conspicuous position in cultural circles in Constantinople, where as a layman he had held high office in the service of both the Emperor and the Patriarch Ignatius.

Few men have had such diverse judgments passed upon them as has Photius. The traditional view of the West has been one which regards him (in spite of his repeated assertions that he longed for a life of secluded study and accepted the Patriarchate against his inclination) as a man dominated by a passion for power, who stooped to lying, bribery and forgery to hold it, and as the real author of that schism between East and West which, although healed for a time, became final in the eleventh century.

Nevertheless, it is a Roman Catholic scholar who in recent years has undertaken his defence. Dvornik maintains that Photius has been grossly misrepresented in the West and that fuller knowledge of the facts of the case gives a portrait of the man more in accordance with the opinion of him held in the East, where he was long ago canonized and revered as a saint. "If I am right in my conclusions," he writes, "we shall be free once more to recognize in Photius, a great Churchman, a learned humanist and a genuine Christian, generous enough to forgive his enemies, and to take the first step towards reconciliation."[1]

[1] Dvornik: *The Photian Schism*, Cambridge, 1948, p. 432.

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793 In any case Photius's position is secure as an embodiment of classical learning and culture and as one of the greatest of the men who cherished and handed on to the future the tradition of Hellenistic life and thought which they had received from the past. In any case, too, the name of Photius became in the stress of later controversy a symbol; he and his writings became the expression of Orthodoxy, and the classical statement of the Eastern case against Rome.

793 779 His career must be viewed against the stormy background provided by the recurring dispute of parties in Byzantium. Party strife is a permanent feature which runs all through Byzantine history, dividing not merely the intellectuals but the whole populace into antagonistic sections, for the people of the city were passionately interested in theological questions. Dispute after dispute arose and was more or less settled, but the life of the parties continued and revealed itself again as new matters of controversy came to the fore. But as time went on such quarrels tend to become less and less purely theological, and more and more political. Controversies waged in the rarefied air of trinitarian and christological theology are replaced by the quarrel over the icons, which had but recently been settled when Photius comes upon the stage.

The old antagonism disclosed itself in a new feud concerned with the application of the moral law and the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. The party which had been the champion of Orthodoxy against heresy and upheld image worship in the teeth of iconoclasm finds itself at odds with the hierarchy and the court on the question of the attitude of the Church to moral delinquency, real or alleged, in the imperial family. On the one hand, then, stands the extreme party, led by the monks of the Studium Monastery who held that a principle is best served by pressing it to its extreme logical conclusion, and insisted upon the rigorous enforcement of the moral law in every case alike. They found their supporters among the traditionally minded, the conservatives, people whose worldly position was reasonably secure and comfortable, who held to the old paths, devout people who feared that any concession would open up the way to laxity and undermine the established order in Church and State. They sympathized

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with those who thought it right to proceed to extremes against the iconoclasts, and their profound mistrust and even hatred of the study of the Hellenistic past and of profane learning in general was still another aspect of their general position.

There was a deep rift between them and the party of more moderate men, in closer touch on the one hand with secular intellectuals who viewed things from a more liberal standpoint and on the other with ordinary everyday life outside the cloister, where in the rough and tumble of living strict theory has sometimes perforce to give ground before the exigencies of practical experience. It was the opinion of these men that the best interests of the Church and of the moral law of which it is the appointed guardian, warranted, and on occasion demanded, some concession to human frailty, and that the stringency of the rigorists did not always in the long run serve the true interests of the ideal it sought to promote. Such a position was not without sympathisers among the parochial clergy, while it is easily understood that many of the bishops, part of whose responsibility was to translate theory into practical action, tended to view it with at least respect.

The situation was, therefore, highly complex, and any man who occupied the Patriarchal Throne had to take into account the many forms assumed by this permanent cleavage in Byzantine society. Indeed his accession to the see was usually the expression of the temporary ascendency of one party or the other, though many of the best of the Patriarchs were alive to their responsibility to try to reconcile contending factions and bring peace to the Church. Photius himself expressed a hope that his occupancy of the Patriarchal Throne would achieve such a result, though in fact it was far from doing so. His predecessor, Ignatius, a zealous and devout ascetic, but no scholar and of an unaccommodating mind belonged to, or at least allowed himself to be used by, the extremists. He fell foul of the imperial court by accepting, apparently on hearsay, the truth of current rumours of sexual immorality on the part of the Caesar Bardas, and by refusing him Communion. He was banished, and under pressure he resigned. Photius, still a layman, was elected in his place by the local synod and appointed by the Emperor, according to the usage of

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793 Constantinople, and hurried through ordination to the various degrees of the sacred ministry within a week. He was enthroned on Christmas Day, 858. But the friends of Ignatius had no intention of accepting the position, and the Pope became involved in the dispute.

793 648 When any new occupant acceded to one of the five great Patriarchates it was the custom that he should notify the other four of his election and send them his profession of faith. This procedure was followed as usual by Photius, the most important notification being, of course, the intimation sent to the Pope. The Emperor also wrote to the Pope at the same time telling him what had happened at Constantinople, and inviting him to send legates to a Council which the Emperor was calling to secure a further pronouncement on the doctrine of the Images. Pope Nicholas, however, was suspicious. He was not sure that Ignatius had been justly treated; nor did he look favourably upon the rapidity with which Photius had passed from the status of layman to that of Patriarch. In spite of such cases as that of St. Ambrose, action such as this was regarded more seriously in the West than in the East. He sent legates, therefore, with strict orders to investigate, but no more, and they carried with them a letter to the Emperor which pointed out that the removal of Ignatius could not be recognized since it was done without the authorization of the Papal See; and the letter contained significant complaints about the Illyrian Sees which had been detached from the papal jurisdiction. The legates, however, were unable to resist the persuasiveness (whatever forms that may have assumed) of Photius and his friends.

More important than this was the fact that they, being in Constantinople, were in a position to see that the state of affairs there was in important respects not quite as it appeared in Rome where the persistent propaganda of the monk Theognostus on behalf of Ignatius was having its effect. They could have claimed a precedent for exceeding or even altering their instructions.[1] At any rate they consented to take part in a synod which condemned Ignatius and confirmed Photius in his position.

But the Pope still refused to make a definite pronouncement

[1] Dvornik: *The Photian Schism*, p. 90.

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in favour of Photius, and the correspondence continued. Not until it became clear to the Pope that Byzantium would not yield in the matter of the Illyrian provinces did he decide. Then he came out vigorously on the side of Ignatius. A council was called at Rome, the legates, who on their first return from Constantinople had received no rebuke, were now punished for exceeding their instructions, and sentence of deposition was pronounced against Photius with the penalty of excommunication should he fail to yield up the See of Constantinople to its lawful occupant Ignatius. To these fulminations Photius made no reply, indeed no reply was called for from him, for since in the eyes of the Pope he did not exist as Patriarch, the letter was not addressed to him, but to the Emperor; the latter did reply in terms which the Pope said were blasphemous.

Yet a couple of years later the Pope set ajar once more the door that he had slammed so violently, and invited both parties to submit their case at Rome. But whatever hope of reconciliation lay in this gesture on the part of Nicholas, was wrecked on the Bulgarian question. The Pope was making desperate efforts to secure the young Bulgarian Church for the West. The Greek missionaries whom Boris had expelled (see p. 62) were streaming back to Constantinople when Photius startled the world by his famous letter of 867 addressed to the East at large. It complained in no measured terms of the Papal conduct in Bulgaria. He writes that the Bulgarians are being taught by the Papal mission to fast on Saturdays, and allowed to use milk, butter and cheese in the early days of Lent. Other strictures concerned matters of greater moment, such as the desire to enforce celibacy upon all the clergy and the alleged refusal to recognize confirmation administered after the Eastern fashion by the priest immediately after baptism, with oil consecrated by the Bishop.

The letter summoned the Eastern prelates to a Council which should proclaim their condemnation of all these deviations from Orthodoxy. The Council did indeed assemble at Constantinople that same year. It provided an overwhelming majority in support of Photius, and even went to the length of pronouncing the deposition and excommunication of the Pope. Photius claimed that he had the support of certain

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bishops in the West and there was even an attempt to turn the Franks against the Pontiff, and an offer of the title *Basileus* to Louis II, which may suggest that the Council looked to him in return to give effect to its decisions and eject the Pope. It was a moment of Byzantine triumph. The Emperor had recently won a great victory over Islam to match the Patriarch's triumph over the Pope, the missions among the Slavs were prospering. The Eastern Patriarchs were solidly behind Photius, and precisely at this juncture the great Pope Nicholas died. But precisely at this juncture also, Photius fell, swept away in the wake of a palace revolution which overthrew the Emperor Michael III.

Ignatius was recalled to the Patriarchal Throne and peace was made with Rome under Nicholas's successor, Hadrian II. Another Council was convened in 869. Photius was condemned, but not even now would Constantinople yield on the Bulgarian question, which was indeed vital to Byzantium from the political point of view, all ecclesiastical questions apart, for Bulgaria was a next-door neighbour. Nor could the extremist party continue to hold the ground it had won. The new Emperor Basil began to modify his policy towards Rome and the West, there was a reconciliation between him and Photius, and it would seem that the latter was personally on good terms with Ignatius also. The latter died in 877 and Photius reascended the Throne of Constantinople. Still another Council was assembled which, in 879, reversed the decision of ten years earlier. Photius remained Patriarch until another change of sovereign ejected him again, and this time finally. His attitude was conciliatory to Pope John VIII, who recognized him as Patriarch. He was even ready to compromise on the matter of Bulgaria, and it was not his fault if the Bulgarians themselves insisted on remaining Orthodox. But the Eastern grievances against "innovations" introduced by the West both in matters of discipline and in doctrine remained, and prominent among them was the question of the *filioque*. Photius himself wrote much on this subject. No less than thirty-one arguments against the use of the *filioque* may be collected from his writings.[1]

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[1] A summary statement of them is in Gavin : *Eastern Orthodox Thought*, p. 129 ff. London, 1923.

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In the West when the Creed which is commonly called Nicene is recited, the belief is expressed that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and the Son*. The last three words, in Latin *filioque*, do not occur in the Creed as used in the Orthodox East. They form no part of the original Creed as it first appears in Acts of the Council of Chalcedon 451, where it is attributed to the Second Ecumenical Council. The *filioque* arose and spread rapidly in the west of Europe and particularly in Spain, where it made a very effective weapon in combating the Arianism of the Barbarians. It appeared in the Creed as recited at the Council of Toledo in 589 and this fact contributed to its widespread use in Spain and Gaul. It was the Franks who were the great champions of the *filioque*, and it was long before the Pope was persuaded to adopt it at Rome. He had not done so at the time of the Photian controversy. It was not introduced into the Creed at Rome indeed until 1014. It is clear, therefore, that the East had, and has, legitimate grounds of complaint that the phrase was introduced into the Church's Creed irregularly and without the authority and consent of the whole Church. It is important to observe that the Eastern rejection of the *filioque* rests primarily upon the fact that it is an unauthorized innovation.

But Photius maintained and the Orthodox have always believed not only that the words are irregularly inserted into the Creed, but that they are in themselves untrue. It must be clearly noted that as used in the Creed the *filioque* does not refer to the temporal mediating of the Holy Spirit to this world. If that were so the Orthodox would agree that although invalid in the Creed the words are true in fact. But the reference is to the timeless being of the Trinity, to the very nature of the Godhead, and it is to the disproof of the truth of the *filioque* in that respect that the thirty-one arguments of Photius are directed. Remote as so subtle and transcendent a mystery might seem to be from human concerns, the *filioque* has figured prominently in the relations between East and West, and has furnished material for learned and often acrimonious debate from the days of Photius to the Bonn Conference in 1874. The Orthodox allow that the phrase "through the Son" might be permissible as an opinion, but they will not tolerate a form of

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1793 words which seems to them to suggest the possibility that two 1779 Sources, Causes or Originating Principles exist within the Godhead.

It was an uneasy peace between Constantinople and Rome 648 which followed the Photian affair. The Byzantines felt all the while that they were faced by a two-headed foe. Over against 1793 their Patriarch, the Bishop of the Imperial City, the New Rome, inheritor and guardian of the treasures of the past in civilization and religious faith, stood the Pope with his claim to universal jurisdiction in the Church. Over against their Emperor stood the ruler of the Franks who had assumed the title Emperor of the Romans, and for the Byzantines there could in the nature of things be but one Emperor, and he the occupant of the throne of Constantine.

It was a shock to read such words as Louis II had written to the Emperor Basil urging that it was no matter for surprise if the writer calls himself Emperor of the Romans, rather than of the Franks. It was the Church of the old Rome which had conferred the imperial title upon his family, and it was his mission to defend and exalt the Mother of all the Churches. The Greeks had ceased to be Emperors of the Romans because of their heresies and moreover they had forsaken the city and seat of Empire for another city, another people and another language.[1]

At much the same time a Pope had written "stop calling yourself Emperor of the Romans, since these Romans are from your point of view merely Barbarians." As for the bishops of Constantinople and Jerusalem, although the title of Patriarch has been conceded to them they have not the same authority—"No apostle founded the Church of Constantinople: the Council of Nicæa makes no mention of it. It is only because Constantinople is called New Rome, and more due to the favour of princes than of right, that its bishop has assumed the title of Patriarch."[2] Here indeed was a radical difference in outlook which would call for much charity to adjust, charity which was not always in evidence. Moreover, in the tenth century the Papacy fell upon evil days and presented a series

[1] Lavisse et Rambaud : *Histoire Générale*, Vol. I, p. 656. Paris.
[2] Ibid., p. 657.

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of Popes who from the moral point of view may be simply described as bad. Although by the middle of the next century the turning point had been reached and the great Popes Hildebrand and Leo IX were inaugurating the reforming movement which was to change the face of the West, by the time Michael Cerularius ascended the Patriarchal Throne of Constantinople in 1043 the Byzantines had grown accustomed to looking upon the Papacy with justifiable apprehension.

Opening the campaign indirectly through Leo, Bishop of Okhrida, Cerularius in 1053 launched a general attack upon the West. Some of the slogans inscribed upon the banners carried into the fray seem today to be almost incredibly trivial. The *filioque* was scarcely mentioned, the Western enforcement of clerical celibacy was dwelt upon, and the East attributed this to the intrusion of Manichaean ideas; but it provides some food for thought that a disaster of such dimensions as the Schism could be made to rest even ostensibly upon a list of charges in which such matters as fasting on Saturdays and the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist figure with some prominence. The conflict was short and violent.

The Pope, Leo IX, answered with much indignation in a letter which, while replying to the Patriarch's accusation and making counter accusations of his own, strongly asserted the claim that the Roman see "must hold the primacy over the four sees of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and Constantinople as well as over the Churches of God throughout the whole world."

Soon afterwards the Pope died, just as his predecessor Nicholas I had died at the climax of his dispute with Photius. But meanwhile he had despatched legates to Constantinople, one of whom was Cardinal Humbert, a learned man who was in the forefront of the controversy on the Papal side. He knew Greek but whatever the language he was not accustomed to choose his words with any great regard for the feelings of his opponents, nor was he given to compromise.

The Emperor, Constantine X, had no desire to break with the Pope, whose military alliance he needed against the Normans in Sicily, and he welcomed the legates graciously. His power was enough to guarantee the personal safety of the

648 legates, but could do no more to counter the will of the for-
793 midable Patriarch who would have nothing to do with them.
795 On July 16, 1054, the Papal legates deposited on the altar of St. Sophia a bull of excommunication against (not the whole Eastern Church, but) the Patriarch and his adherents.

In vain had the Patriarch of Antioch counselled Cerularius to be patient "with the Barbarians". Whatever virtues Cerularius had, patience was not conspicuous among them; and the fact that the sincere and general opinion in the East was that the Latins were Barbarians, and in the West that the Easterns were schismatics, was one of the deep-rooted causes of the trouble.

795 In the event, Peter of Antioch and the other Eastern Orthodox hierarchs stood by Constantinople, and the West remained unshaken in its loyalty to the Pope. Historians have remarked that at the time the breach seemed to attract little attention. The two great sees had so often been out of communion before that no doubt it was supposed that the schism would in due course be healed again. But this time it was to last, and to bring vast evils in its train.

The worst effects of the schism were the intensification of the fundamental causes which had brought it about. Each side held the more tenaciously to its own position, the isolation one from the other was deepened, their paths became the more divergent, each went upon its own way. Animosity grew more marked, and if the mere lapse of time tended to soften this into indifference and suspicion, yet it was ready to flare up again at any moment.

Attempts were made from time to time to repair the breach. But they all came to nothing. It is easier to tear one's coat than to mend it. The Pope desired reunion, but only on his own terms. The enhancement of the power of the Papacy and its increasing centralization, after the Cluniac reform of the monasteries and the Pope's decisive victory over the Emperor, gave him confidence to insist upon his conditions. In the East there was no desire for reunion for its own sake, but only a vivid sense of how useful it would be; and this, though it might carry the day at a Conference, proved an inadequate incentive for the Orthodox as a whole to accept the Western terms.

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Political events moved in directions which emphasized for intelligent men the urgent need for unity, but at the same time in the actual course they took hindered rather than promoted it. The Orthodox world was through centuries the great bulwark of Europe against Asia, and in fulfilling this function it needed the military as well as the moral support of the West. It was in the teeth of the secular authority that Cerularius had precipitated the quarrel, and the Emperor Constantine remained on friendly terms with the Pope. This aspect of the Crusades must be borne in mind. That romantic episode in Christian history, a great ideal which became a great disillusionment, was on the one hand a war for the recovery of the Holy Places and to render them safe for Christian pilgrims to visit. On the other hand it arose from a letter which the Byzantine Emperor, Michael VII, wrote in 1073 to Pope Hildebrand appealing for help against the Turks and promising ecclesiastical reunion of East and West in return. The Pope responded favourably and himself issued an appeal to the faithful of the West to go to the assistance of "the Christian Empire, against the pagans who have now carried their devastation almost to the walls of Constantinople." The project of rescuing the Holy Places was an afterthought.

Further cries for help from the hard-pressed East led to renewal of the appeal by another Pope, Urban II, twenty years later, and the response to this became the First Crusade. But the Crusades achieved nothing good in the relations of East and West. To the turbulent hordes of enthusiastic Crusaders the Greeks were primarily "schismatics" whatever might be their shock of surprise to discover the wealth and civilization of Constantinople. The Greeks complained vigorously of the disorderly conduct of the Crusaders and the insolent ignoring of the Emperor's rights in their setting up of Latin kingdoms in the East. The Crusaders on the other hand were loud and bitter in their resentment of the lying and treachery with which they said they were treated.

All this bad feeling culminated in the unspeakable infamy of the Fourth Crusade. In 1204 a crusading army sacked the Christian city of Constantinople with every circumstance of horror, barbarity and sacrilege. The memory of this burnt

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deep into the Eastern mind and it was the behaviour of the Crusaders more than any other single circumstance which made the breach between East and West permanent. A puppet Latin Empire was set up in Constantinople, while the authentic line of the Eastern Emperors continued to function across the straits at Nicaea, until in 1261 Michael VIII returned to Constantinople where the restored Eastern Empire, although grievously wounded, maintained its life for another two centuries.

Against such a background of secular experience it is hardly surprising that well-meant and even eager attempts to reunite the Churches, came to nothing. A synod was held at Bari in 1098. The acts have been lost and our knowledge of the proceedings is derived from Eadmer's life of St. Anselm of Canterbury, who played a prominent part in them, undertaking the defence of the *filioque*. It is assumed that the Eastern point of view was represented solely by Greek bishops from Southern Italy. Under strong political pressure the Council accepted the Western position upon all the points at issue, including Papal jurisdiction; but there the matter ended. The Council of Bari, it will be noted, was held long before the Crusaders' sack of Constantinople, and if that Council failed to have any permanent effect, it was not probable that the Council of Lyons (1274), only seventy years after the sack, would be any more successful. But at first it looked more hopeful. Constantinople was officially represented by three distinguished envoys sent by the Emperor, but the Patriarch of Constantinople refused to have part or lot in the matter. There was no great discussion; within a few weeks the Eastern representatives agreed to everything. Reunion was proclaimed. The Eastern Emperor replaced his recalcitrant Patriarch by one who favoured reunion, and set to work to try to enforce the bargain of Lyons. He did his best, although the Pope excommunicated him for not doing better. But he died without being able to induce his Church and people to accept the agreement reached at Lyons, and his successor openly repudiated it.

It was nearly two centuries later that the greatest and most famous of the "Reunion Councils" was held at Florence in 1439. Meanwhile, the Turkish menace was becoming ever

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more insistent. The Empire had weakened, it lost its supremacy at sea, and it had also to face the rise of the Bulgarian and Serbian powers in Europe. It had lost much of its trade to Venice and Genoa. By the time of Florence the Turkish tide was half-way across Asia Minor, by 1353 they had reached its western coasts and crossed into Europe. Adrianople was captured and the Turks made it their capital and from it proceeded to their attack upon the Serbs and Hungarians. The southern Slavs were completely crushed at the disastrous battle of Kossovo in 1389 when the Serbs and their allies under Lazar were wiped out. Constantinople was becoming an island fortress, proud and Christian in the ever-encroaching sea of Islam.

Negotiations were continuously taking place with the object of securing aid from the West. It was always the same story. The West was prepared at times to use force and at times to be accommodating. For using his influence to bring succour to Constantinople, the Pope's price was always the same. And whatever was in their hearts about reunion, the Eastern Emperors were prepared to pay the price. Time and again they agreed to yield in the matter of Papal jurisdiction, the *filioque*, unleavened bread and the rest. But the Church and the bulk of the people would not support them. With the memory of 1204 still vivid their feeling was—better the Turk if needs must than the Pope.

The Council of Florence was, however, distinguished from the Council of Lyons by the fact that at the former the Easterns were officially represented by envoys duly accredited from the Patriarchates of the East and not merely sent by the Emperor. Indeed the Patriarch of Constantinople was present in person (he died while the Council was meeting) and in addition to representatives from Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem and a score of other bishops, the Metropolitan of Kiev came from Russia. There were long and stormy debates, but the end was as before. The Easterns, all except Mark of Ephesus, who refused to sign, once more accepted the *filioque*, unleavened bread and the rest, including the Papal Primacy; though the Pope, himself anxious to bring matters to a close, accepted an acknowledgment of the claims which contained the phrase

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"without prejudice to the privileges and rights of the Patriarchs of the East."

So the union was proclaimed with due thanksgiving. Even in England the bells of all the parish churches were rung to celebrate the event. But it brought no military aid to the dying Empire, save a few hundred men sent by the Pope himself. The Pope could no longer bring effective influence to bear upon the mutually jealous Western powers to unite them in defence of Constantinople. The Eastern delegates on their return were execrated by Church and people and their action was repudiated. Mark of Ephesus was acclaimed as the hero of Orthodoxy. Yet in theory the union survived the fall of Constantinople, and the last Emperor who exclaimed "I will die with my city", died in communion with Rome. The victorious Turk found it to his interest that his new Christian subjects should not be on friendly terms with the military powers of the West. The union was formally denounced at a synod in Constantinople in 1472.

With the notable exception of Russia, and of Crete, which was held by the Venetians till 1669, the Orthodox world had now to live its life under the rule of the Turks until the nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER VI

ORTHODOXY IN BONDAGE

THE Sword of Damocles fell at last, and the menace which had hung over Eastern Christendom for centuries became the realized fate of the Orthodox peoples for centuries more. The armies of Islam swept over the Balkan peninsula and submerged it, though the city of Constantinople itself still stood inviolate. 175

In the year 1389 the battle of Kossovo was fought which decided the fate of Serbia, and brought its mediaeval glory to an end. A page of history was turned over. It was a page upon which the name of Sava had been inscribed, the national Saint of Serbia, prince, monk, educationalist and organizer of the Serbian Church, and the names of the saints and leaders of the Serbian Church who succeeded him. Upon it was recorded the achievements of the Serbian Empire in the first half of the fourteenth century, when the warrior Dushan struck terror into the hearts of his neighbours and at their expense brought wide territories under his sway. He was a lawgiver and administrator too, a stern dispenser of justice. On that same page is described the precocious civilization and enlightened culture of Dubrovnik, known otherwise as Ragusa, which in the fourteenth century, Miss Waring tells us,[1] had "a city police and sanitary board", as well as men of letters and exponents of the arts. And Dubrovnik if pre-eminent was not alone, as the mediaeval churches of Serbia and their furnishings testify.

The battle of Kossovo brought the Serbian Empire to an end. But in the minds of the Serbs themselves it also revealed

[1] L. F. Waring: *Serbia*. London, 1917 (Home University Library), p. 154.

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175 the idealism of the Serbian spirit at its highest point. For the night before the battle the Serbian Tsar had a vision in which he was offered the choice between an earthly and a heavenly crown. He chose the heavenly and rode out to the conflict and his own death on the morrow, knowing that from the earthly point of view all was already lost. There is something truly Orthodox here and especially perhaps Slav Orthodox, for Russian religion, too, is permeated by reverence for suffering in body or mind and a sense of its regenerating power.[1] It is this dark day of Kossovo which has become the National Day of the Serbian people. Day of utter defeat and obliteration of earthly hope as it was Kossovo Day has been observed ever since as a yearly memorial of the greatness of the past, and an occasion of self-dedication to the Serbia of the future.

But the new chapter of Balkan history which immediately follows bears the record of the Turk whose rule was marked by casual neglect, haphazard uncertainty and ingenious brutality.

The City of Constantine held fast for another sixty years. Then its walls were breached, and in the breach the last Byzantine Emperor died. Mahomet, the conqueror, rode to Justinian's Church of the Holy Wisdom where he dismounted and entered. He stopped the pillage that had already begun, and caused a passage from the Koran to be read from the pulpit.

For good and evil, Christian Byzantium had played out its part at the meeting place of East and West. Alexander's *Drang nach Osten* had come back like a flowing tide.

198 The story of the Orthodox Church under the Turkish régime is one to excite both admiration and pity. The Turkish point of view must be grasped. They drew no distinction between nationality and religion, to them secular and religious politics were one and the same. This might be said of the Byzantine Empire too, but with a difference. Within the latter, there was a Church distinct from, and it might be, opposed to, the State. The Turkish armies sallied out with the con-

[1] Cf. Gorodetzky: *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought*, London, 1938.

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viction that the world was to be subdued to Islam. If the people they conquered were simple pagans they were offered the crisp alternative of accepting either Islam or death. But the Jews and the Christians were different. They were recognized as being, like the Mohammedans themselves, People of the Book. Each had a scripture, a written record of revelation. Their faith was regarded by the Turks as true but incomplete, since Mahomet had superseded both Moses and Christ. 798

The Orthodox were, therefore, permitted to survive and to practise their religion, but under severe restrictions. They had to pay tribute, to wear a distinctive dress and to conform to other irritating and humiliating regulations. In practising their religion they had to refrain from letting any outward sign of it be seen or heard, there were to be no crosses, for instance, on their churches, and no bells were to be rung. All this was the letter of the Law, nor was there any guarantee that it would be adhered to by the victorious Turkish governors; indeed, it was often violated by a harsh sultan or a bloodthirsty local administrator. There was much suffering and many instances of martyrdom. Doubtless there were many cases of apostasy also.[1] Social pressure was a more effective agent in winning converts to Islam than deliberate oppression and direct official action.[2] Its results are to be seen in the atrophy of the Christian Church in North Africa, and in the considerable number of adherents which Islam gained at the expense of Christianity in the Balkans.

But it is the glory of the Orthodox people as a whole that under centuries of Turkish oppression and misrule, with every inducement to abandon their religion, they remained faithful to it in spite of all.

For purposes of administration under the Turks the Orthodox Church became the *Rum Millet*—the Roman nation, with the Ecumenical Patriarch as its recognized head and representative. That is to say the Patriarch of Constantinople 793 659

[1] See Latourette: *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. III, p. 71 and f. London, 1945.

[2] It has been discovered in modern Russia that religion is like a nail, the hardes you hit it, the deeper it goes in, and that the subtler policy of leaving social pressure to do its work is the wisest course for those who hope to see the disappearance of religion.

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was given civil jurisdiction over all the Orthodox within the Turkish Empire; he was responsible for their behaviour, they could approach the Government only through him. Thus, to his former claim to ecclesiastical precedence over the other Eastern Patriarchs, was now added a delegated civil jurisdiction as well.

The result was a signal example of the corrupting influence of power. The temptation to use secular authority as a means to ecclesiastical aggrandizement was strong, and it is one of the ironies of history that the Turkish régime led to the steady expansion of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. It reached its climax in the eighteenth century when the Churches of Rumania, Bulgaria and Serbia were brought under its sway and the Patriarchate extended right across Asia Minor. But the price paid was seen in the Patriarch's relation with his Turkish masters.

He was obliged to receive his "berat" from an infidel source, that is the confirmation of both his spiritual and secular authority. He was removed, and sometimes more than once reinstated, at the Sultan's will, and this combination of humiliating loss of prestige with the prize of rich emoluments led to a long and depressing story of simony and intrigue. There have been notable exceptions and some Patriarchs have suffered deprivation and even death for their principles. But over long periods of time the acquisition and tenure of the Patriarchate was a matter of intrigue and money, and the precarious nature of the dignity is reflected in the fact that "out of 159 Patriarchs who have held office between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries, the Turks have, on 105 occasions, driven Patriarchs from their throne; there have been 27 abdications, often involuntary; 6 Patriarchs have suffered violent deaths by hanging, poisoning or drowning; and only 21 have died natural deaths while in office."[1] During the seventy-five years from 1625 to 1700, there were 50 Patriarchs—an average of eighteen months each.[2]

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Nor was the evil limited to the Patriarchate itself. The party which had bought the office for their nominee recovered

[1] Kidd : *The Churches of Eastern Christendom* (1927), p. 304.
[2] Fortescue : *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (1907), p. 242.

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their expenses, through him, from the Greek bishops whom he appointed to the sees within his vast jurisdiction. They in their turn passed on the burden to their parochial clergy, who finally reimbursed themselves from their parishioners in the Balkans and Asia Minor. 793

It must be remembered that the level of education and culture really was higher among the Greek clergy of the Phanar[1] than among the Bulgars, Serbs and Rumanians, and to that extent there was good reason for appointing Greek bishops in those "daughter" Churches. But it is not surprising that the system, especially in its fiscal aspect, gave rise to much resentment, and that when in the nineteenth century the Balkan peoples began to recover their political independence from the Turks, they were equally eager to escape from their ecclesiastical dependence upon Constantinople. This movement met with its first success in 1833 when the Church of the Kingdom of Greece declared its independence, though it had to wait seventeen years for its recognition by Constantinople. The Serbian Church followed suit in 1879 and the Rumanian in 1885. These independent Churches were established not without struggle and a good deal of friction, but at least they have remained in full communion with Constantinople. In the case of Bulgaria, however, it led to schism. The Bulgars claimed more than ecclesiastical independence within a defined locality, i.e., the Kingdom of Bulgaria; they insisted that the head of the Bulgarian Church must have jurisdiction over all Bulgars wherever they may live. This the Phanar would not agree to, and branded it as the heresy of "Phyletism".[2] In 1872 the Ecumenical Patriarch, with the concurrence of the other Patriarchs, except Cyril of Jerusalem, excommunicated the Bulgars, and the Schism remained till 1945. 793 795

Nothing perhaps more clearly illustrates the isolation into which the East was driven by the Schism of 1054 and the Turkish conquest than the fact that it had no part in the making or opposing of the Reformation, that great cataclysm which shook and split, and yet revivified, the Western Church in the

[1] The seat of the Patriarchate in Constantinople from 1586 onwards.
[2] Exaggerated emphasis upon the spirit of nationality in the ecclesiastical sphere.

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sixteenth century. That is not to say that the Reformation had no effect at all upon the East. Its repercussions were felt there in the following century, and about this something must now be said. It is connected with the person of Cyril Lucar, a remarkable and tragic figure, whose personality and writings dominated Orthodoxy in the seventeenth century. He was born in Crete, which was then still under Venetian rule, in 1572. It was to Venice, and also Padua, that he went as a student, after which he settled in Alexandria, where he was ordained, became an Archimandrite and took his place in the immediate entourage of the Patriarch. In due course the latter sent him on a mission to Poland, the purpose of which seems to have been to try to persuade the Protestants in that country to become Orthodox. It was a fateful journey for Lucar, for while there he became attracted to Lutheran and Calvinist doctrines and followed the trail of them to Wittenberg and Geneva.

On his return he succeeded his late patron who died in 1603, and became Patriarch of Alexandria. Seventeen years later he was made Patriarch of Constantinople and continued so intermittently till his death in 1638. His tenure of that high office is a conspicuous example of the insecurity that attached to it under the Turkish régime, for he was six times deposed and as often reinstated during those years. Both at Alexandria and at Constantinople Lucar made vigorous and persistent efforts to popularize the ideas which had aroused his enthusiasm in the West, and to establish a reforming movement within the Orthodox Church on the same lines as had been adopted by the Western Reformers. With the co-operation of the Chaplain to the Dutch Embassy at Constantinople he started a Protestant school in that city, and put out a Greek version of the Bible which he had printed at Geneva and which bore evident doctrinal marks of its place of origin. He conceived and carried out a plan for sending promising theological students to study in Switzerland, Holland and England, the best known of them being Metrophanes Kritopoulos (himself later Patriarch of Alexandria) who was sent to Balliol College, Oxford. Lucar's relations with this country are of great interest. He corresponded with Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury; and the

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fifth century manuscript of the Bible, known as Codex Alexandrinus which is one of the most precious treasures of the British Museum, was presented by Lucar to Charles I from the Library of Alexandria. 795 793

This strange figure of a Protestant Patriarch encountered violent opposition. Not only had he to face the solid uncompromising body of traditional Orthodoxy, he was met also by the bitter hostility of the Jesuits and of a Latinizing party within his own Church which had been formed by the proselytizing efforts of Roman Catholic missions. These were very active at the time, and enjoyed the support of France and Venice.

In 1629, Lucar published his celebrated *Confession*, a document which contained much Calvinist doctrine and inaugurated a controversy which was not settled until the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672. Lucar himself was strangled by order of the Sultan on a trumped-up charge which his enemies brought against him. Just how far Cyril Lucar himself was a "heretic" has been disputed. It has been maintained that he did not hold the doctrines attributed to him, and the assertion of the Synod of Jerusalem that he did not write the *Confession* has been repeated by modern writers.[1] A synod held at Constantinople the year after his death condemned both Lucar and the *Confession*; the following Synods of Jassy and Jerusalem the *Confession* only. What is certain is that the Orthodox Church rose in a body to repudiate Lutheran, Calvinist or any other sort of "Protestant innovations"—whether Lucar held them or not.

The Synod of Jerusalem (sometimes called the Synod of Bethlehem, because it was convoked from that place) is of very great importance. It was convened with the express purpose of condemning the *Confession* attributed to Lucar but in doing so it promulgated a positive affirmation of the faith of the Orthodox Church.[2] Its acts include a Confession of Faith which "is a closely knit, carefully worked out summary of theological doctrine, in its phraseology very strongly 774

[1] E.g., Mesolora, and others. See Gavin: *Greek Orthodox Thought*, footnote on pp. 214 ff.

[2] The Acts of the Synod of Justin, and Cyril's *Confession* may be found in English in J. N. W. B. Robertson: *The Synod of Jerusalem*, 1899.

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779 impregnated with scholastic terminology and in the exactness of its language and dialectical distinction refreshingly clear and lucid."[1] It is known as the *Confession of Dositheus* and is one of the "Symbolic Books" of Orthodoxy.

There are important doctrines of the Church, such as the theology of Grace, the Church, the Sacraments, and Justification, which were not dealt with in the seven Ecumenical Councils and upon which Orthodoxy made its pronouncements after the Schism, and mainly in the synods of the seventeenth century when the need arose for the Orthodox Church to define its position in relation to the teaching of the West, both Roman Catholic and Protestant.

The Symbolic Books of Orthodoxy are expositions of the belief of the Orthodox Church written by various authors on various occasions which called for them, and subsequently recognized by ecclesiastical authority.

The teaching of these books, though not on the level of the decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, are received throughout Orthodoxy as of very great authority, particularly because they are held to express nothing which is not consonant with the Ecumenical Councils and the writings of the Fathers. There are five Symbolical Books, and with the exception of the first they all came into being as a result of the Reformation. They are:

1. *The Confession of Gennadius Scholarius.* This was written by the Gennadius who became Patriarch of Constantinople in 1454. He wrote it as an exposition of the Christian Faith for the use of Moslems.

2. *The Three Answers of the Patriarch Jeremiah II* (1576, 1579, 1581). These are the Orthodox side of a correspondence between Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople, and certain Lutheran theologians of Tübingen who brought him a Greek translation of the *Confession of Augsburg* and suggested negotiations with a view to reunion.

3. *The Confession of Metrophanes Kritopoulos.* Before Kritopoulos became Patriarch of Alexandria in 1630, he travelled in Germany and England (see page 86). While in Helmstadt in 1625 he wrote this *Confession*, setting forth the

[1] Gavin, p. 216.

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tenets of the Orthodox Church as compared with both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, for the benefit of his Lutheran friends who had asked him to do so. 779

4. *The Orthodox Confession of Mogila.* Peter Mogila was Metropolitan of Kiev, 1632–46. His *Confession* is written in catechetical form, and received the approval of more than one synod. It was revised and in its final form has the signatures of the Four Patriarchs and many other hierarchs.

5. *The Acts of the Synod of Jerusalem* (1672) and *the Confession of Dositheus* which was promulgated with them. Dositheus was the Patriarch of Jerusalem at the time and he presided at the Council. This Synod of Jerusalem (or Bethlehem) was the most important of the group of synods which were convened as a result of the alleged *Confession* of Cyril Lucar (see page 87). There were three others beside Jerusalem, i.e., Constantinople (1638) Jassy (1641) and Constantinople (1672).

The Synod of Jerusalem is of great significance for the modern exposition of the faith of the Orthodox Church, and it will be of interest to look at its proceedings more closely. The Synod was concerned in the first place to assert that Cyril Lucar did not write the *Confession* attributed to him, and to support this contention by citations of other utterances which were undoubtedly his and were, in the view of the Synod, inconsistent with passages in his alleged *Confession*.

Nevertheless, so eager was the Synod to repudiate the teaching of this document and to deny that it expressed the teaching of the Orthodox Church, that it incorporated in its own Acts those of the Synod of Constantinople in 1638, which had anathematized Cyril by name. This was done on the ground that Cyril had survived the publication of the *Confession* for six years, and yet had not written against it, although he had often been begged to do so. His verbal repudiation of certain passages in the *Confession* were held to be insufficient, and the Synod of Jerusalem confirmed his condemnation "if he was, indeed, a heretic and did not repent."

The Synod refers all who wish to know what the Orthodox Church teaches to the Answers of Jeremiah and the *Confession* of Mogila, and then adds its own exposition of the faith. This

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is the *Confession* of Dositheus, which takes the form of 18 decrees and 4 questions dealing one by one with the 18 chapters and 4 questions of Cyril's *Confession*, in conjunction with which therefore they should be read to be fully understood. The *Confession* of Dositheus bears seventy signatures beside his own.

The first of the Decrees is a brief statement of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. "Cyril" had said that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son.[1] The second deals with the Holy Scriptures, which ought to be believed "without doubting yet not otherwise than the Catholic Church hath interpreted and delivered the same."[2] Then follow Decrees which state the Orthodox doctrine as opposed to Lutheranism and Calvinism on such matters as Predestination, Original Sin, and Free Will. "We believe the most good God to have from eternity predestinated unto glory those whom He hath chosen, and to have consigned unto condemnation those whom He hath rejected; but not so that He would justify the one, and consign and condemn the other without cause. For that were contrary to the nature of God who is the common Father of all, and no respecter of persons, and would have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth; but since He foreknew the one would make a right use of their free-will, and the other a wrong, He predestinated the one, or condemned the other." Decree 13 states very clearly the necessity of both Faith and Works: "We believe a man to be not simply justified through faith alone, but through faith which worketh through love, that is to say, through faith and works. But (the notion) that faith fulfilling the function of a hand layeth hold on the righteousness which is Christ, and applieth it unto us for salvation, we know to be far from all Orthodoxy." The Church is taught and illuminated by the Holy Spirit, not, however, immediately "but through the Holy Fathers and Leaders of the Catholic Church." (Decree 12.) Indeed "the dignity of the Bishop is so necessary in the Church, that without him, neither Church nor Christian could either be or be spoken of.

[1] The Synod of Jassy which also dealt with "Cyril's" chapters seriatim apparently takes this as equivalent to the *filioque*. Unlike Jerusalem, Jassy did not condemn Cyril personally, but only the alleged *Confession*.

[2] The quotations are from Robertson: *Synod of Jerusalem*, 1899.

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For he, as a successor of the Apostles, having received in continued succession by the imposition of hands and the invocation of the All-holy Spirit the grace that is given him of the Lord of binding and loosing, is a living image of God upon the earth." (Decree 10.)

Decree 15 is concerned with the Sacraments and 16 and 17 with Baptism and the Eucharist in particular. The Sacraments, called "Mysteries" by the Orthodox, are seven in number, to accept any other number of sacraments is "heretical madness". They are: Baptism; Confirmation or Holy Chrism, which was instituted by the words "Tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye be endowed with power from on high"; Holy Orders, which was instituted by the words "This do ye for my memorial" and the words "Whatsoever ye shall bind or loose upon the earth shall be bound or loosed in the heavens"; the Eucharist; Marriage; Penance; and Unction—"the Holy Oil or Prayer Oil is spoken of in Mark and is expressly witnessed to by the Lord's brother."[1] In general, the Sacraments have "something natural" and "something supernatural". They are not "bare signs of the promises of God", but "efficient means of grace to the receivers", and "we reject as something abominable and pernicious the notion that when faith is weak the integrity of the Mystery is impaired."

It is to be observed that the Decrees of the Synod of Jerusalem, and particularly the 17th and 18th, carry what Neale called "a clear taint of Latinism". They belong to a period when the influence of Rome was strong in the Orthodox Church, and of all the authoritative formulae of Orthodoxy they reveal that influence at the highest. For instance, the 17th Article on the subject of the Eucharist uses the word transubstantiation and employs the terminology of substance and accidents. "We believe," it says, "the Lord Jesus Christ to be present, not typically, nor figuratively . . . but truly and really, so that after the consecration of the bread and the wine the bread is transmuted, transubstantiated, converted and transformed into the True Body Itself of the Lord which was born in Bethlehem of the ever-Virgin." "Further, we believe that after the consecration of the bread and wine there no

[1] St. Mark vi, 13. St. James v, 14.

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779 longer remaineth the substance of the bread and the wine, but the Body Itself and the Blood of the Lord under the species and form of bread and wine; that is to say under the accidents of the bread." "Further, that the Body Itself of the Lord and the Blood That are in the Mystery of the Eucharist ought to be honoured in the highest manner, and adored with *latria*. For one is the adoration of the Holy Trinity, and of the Body and Blood of the Lord. Further, that it is true and propitiatory Sacrifice offered for all Orthodox, living and dead; and for the benefit of all, as is set forth expressly in the prayers of the Mystery delivered to the Church by the Apostles, in accordance with the command they received of the Lord. Further, that before Its use, immediately after the consecration, and after Its use, What is reserved in the Sacred Pyxes for the communion of those that are about to depart (i.e., the dying) is the true Body of the Lord, and not in the least different therefrom; so that before Its use after the consecration, in Its use, and after Its use, It is in all respects the true Body of the Lord." "Further, that this Mystery of the Sacred Eucharist can be performed by none other, except only by an Orthodox Priest who hath received his priesthood from an Orthodox and Canonical Bishop in accordance with the teaching of the Eastern Church."

The sacramental doctrine of the Orthodox Church is, therefore, the same as that of the Catholic West. But there is this important fact to be noted. This same 17th Decree expressly states that the word transubstantiation is used not to explain the manner of the change but to express and emphasize the reality of the fact of it. Gavin[1] quotes Chrysostom Papadopoulos as saying "the influence of Latin theology was entirely external and ought not to be over-emphasized. This superficial similarity of expression in its teaching ought not to be regarded as identity in thought." That is to say that the Orthodox use of the word transubstantiation to express the fact of the change need not be held to commit the Easterns to acceptance of the scholastic philosophy to explain the manner of the change.

It is significant that when the Acts of the Synod of Jerusalem were translated into Russian and published in 1838,

[1] p. 217, footnote.

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considerable alterations in phraseology were made: the more obvious Latinisms and in particular the reference to substance and accidents were excised.[1]

The 18th Decree of the Synod of Jerusalem is concerned with the state of the departed and with prayers on their behalf. After death, souls enter into joy or misery according to their actions in this life. But neither the joy nor the misery is complete until after the General Resurrection. The souls of those who have sinned mortally but have repented before death, "though without bringing forth any fruits of repentance" descend into Hades and there endure punishment. "But they are aware of their future release from thence and are delivered by the Supreme Goodness through the prayers of the Priests and the good works which the relatives of each do for their Departed; especially the unbloody Sacrifice." The word Purgatory is not mentioned. The wording of this Decree is also slightly modified in the Russian version. And, indeed, the general conception which seems to control the Orthodox mind on this matter, is of the Church as the body of the faithful whose life is upheld by mutual prayer and intercession. The death of the body is irrelevant. All the departed, from the Blessed Virgin Mary to one's own parents may be prayed for, and prayed to. If a man can ask for the prayers of someone he knows on earth, there is no reason why he should cease to do so after that person has died, nor is his physical death any reason why he should cease to be prayed for.[2]

The Questions appended to the Decrees are the same as those attached to "Cyril's" *Confession*. 1. Ought the Divine Scriptures to be read in the vulgar tongue by all Christians? 2. Are the Scriptures plain to all Christians that read them? 3. What books do you call Sacred Scripture? 4. How ought we to think of the Holy Icons and of the Adoration of the Saints?

[1] See a translation of the Russian text with comparison with the Greek of Decree 17 in Neale: *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, London, 1850, Vol. II, p. 1173. And an interesting report of a conversation with Philaret of Moscow on the Russian use of the word transubstantiation in Headlam: *History, Authority and Archeology*, p. 199, note 2. London, 1909.

[2] See Khomyakov's well-known poem printed in Birkbeck: *Russia and the English Church*, Vol. I, p. 2. London, 1895.

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779 The Synod's Answer to the first three is that the Scriptures "should not be read by all but only by those who with fitting research have inquired into the deep things of the Spirit," and who understand how they should be read. The New Testament itself is quoted to shew that the Scriptures "are very profound and their sense lofty; and that they need learned and divine men to search out their true meaning." It is asserted that the Books of the Apocrypha are genuine parts of Scripture.[1]

In answer to Question 4, "Cyril" had said, ". . . We permit those that so desire to have icons of Christ and the Saints; but the worship and service of them . . . we reject." The Synod, however, gives an answer of some length and reasserts the doctrine of Icons affirmed by the Seventh Ecumenical Council (see p. 54) and refers to that Council by name. It draws a clear distinction between worship as *latria* which may be offered to God alone, and the *dulia* with which the Saints and their icons are adored, or rather, honoured. There is further a higher degree of *dulia*, called *hyperdulia* which is paid to the Blessed Virgin Mary, "the Mother of God the Word. For though, indeed, the Theotókos be servant of the Only God, yet it is also His Mother as having borne in the flesh one of the Trinity; wherefore also she is hymned as being beyond compare, above as well all Angels as as Saints; wherefore also we pay her the adoration of *hyperdulia*."

Finally the *Confession of Dositheus* appeals by name to a number of writers who have written expositions of the Orthodox Faith, to the Fathers, to the Ecumenical Councils, as expressing the same teaching as the Confession. And even the heretics, it says, Nestorians, Armenians, Copts and the Ethiopians, apart "from their own particular heresies" believe the same thing.

795 A few years before this Council of Jerusalem assembled, Macarius, the 147th Patriarch of Antioch, had returned from a journey to Moscow. It was his second visit to that city. He had been there before in 1655, when his son Paul, Archdeacon of Aleppo, had accompanied him, and kept a diary which is full of interest and at times diverting.[2] He made his journeys

[1] The Russian version omits this: and tones down somewhat the refusal of permission to all to read the Scriptures.

[2] Ridding: *The Travels of Macarius*. London, 1936.

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apparently in defiance of the Sultan's general order which forbade such travel without his leave, and one account says that the Sultan hanged him on his return; but the matter is obscure. The reasons for his visits to Russia, however, are clear enough. In the first place he went to collect alms for his flock, whom Turkish misrule had reduced to the last extremity of misery and debt. Russia was at this time the only Orthodox land under Christian rule, and it is rather pathetically referred to as "the land of the Christians" by one Oddib who celebrated in verse his master the Patriarch's return. Macarius's second journey was undertaken in company with Paisius, the Patriarch of Alexandria, to take part in the Council which tried and deposed Nikon of Moscow in 1666.

To the Orthodox in bondage under Moslem rule, Russia appeared as a far off land of promise, a place of rest and peace, where Orthodoxy was free and honoured. And it is to Russia that we too must now turn.

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CHAPTER VII

RUSSIA

THE important fact about Russian civilization is that it is Byzantine in its origin, and that in spite of what Toynbee refers to as Russia's "fits of Westernization", its convulsions due to the injection of ideas from the West, (e.g., under Peter the Great), and again in its adoption of Marxism, Byzantine it has remained.

If anyone cares to dispute this about Russian civilization as a whole, he can hardly do so about the Russian Church in particular. In the eleventh century the Russians, or rather their Scandinavian rulers, took over Orthodoxy as one whole thing from Constantinople. It was the reverse process of what happened in the Roman Empire when the State adopted Christianity after it had largely won the people. In Russia the princes accepted Christianity and then gradually imposed it upon their subjects. Christianity had a thousand years' experience behind it, and Orthodoxy had reached its final form when Russia embraced it. No disputes about fundamental Christian doctrines disturbed the Russian Church. The Trinitarian and Christological controversies were settled, the marriage of Christian revelation with Greek philosophy had been consummated, and the conflict to settle the relations between religion and art had been fought out. Together with the liturgical books and all the external apparatus of worship, Russia took over a fixed body of doctrine, a monastic system, a style of building and ornamenting churches, and a body of legal principles.

In all these matters Russia was to introduce modifications and to set a Russian stamp upon them, for in spite of its method of adoption Orthodoxy entered into the soul of the

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Russian people and became its very life. But the Byzantine character of Russian religion was conserved. As we have already seen the Russian Church was for long dependent upon Constantinople. Its literature consisted of translations or imitations of Byzantine writings. Its Metropolitan was a Greek consecrated in Constantinople and sent to rule the Russian Church. The two exceptions provided by the appointment in Russia of Hilarion in 1051 and Clement in 1147 are regarded as isolated cases which did not impair the theory and change the practice, which held good till 1448.

Politically the Russians lived for a century and a half under Mongol domination. From the battle of Kalka in 1223 the onslaughts of these mysterious, hideous and inhuman hordes, suddenly appearing from whence no man knew, burning, killing, capturing, had struck terror into the hearts of the dwellers on the Russian plain. Kiev, the cradle of Russian Christianity, the ancient and beautiful stronghold on the Dnieper, was sacked in 1240, and one by one the rest of the Russian towns speedily succumbed. Novgorod alone escaped, protected by its remote situation behind its marshes and forests, and by the courage, self-sacrifice and political wisdom of its prince, St. Alexander Nevsky. The Tartar rule bore less heavily upon the Church than upon the State. When their victory was assured the Tartars were at first, in matters of religion, easy-going pagans, and so long as they received their tribute, did not interfere unduly with the religion of the people they conquered. And as was also to be the case later on with the Balkan peoples under the Turk, it was their religion and their Church which, in the days of social and political disaster, saved the Russians from complete despair and preserved among them some sense of fundamental unity in spite of all their factions and divisions.

The Russian Church was the nurse of the growing national spirit of Russia. In the person of one of its great national saints, Sergius of Radonezh, who founded the Monastery of the Holy Trinity near Moscow, for centuries the citadel of Russian religion and national aspiration, it inspired the movement which thrust back the Tartar domination. In 1380 Dmitry of the Don, whose building of stone walls round Moscow had been a challenging gesture to which the Tartars were not slow

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795 to respond, came to seek the advice of St. Sergius and received the calm assurance: "Go forward and fear not, God will be with
186 thee." Everything was at stake, including Russian religion, for the Tartars had by this time embraced Islam, and their easy-going tolerance of Christianity was a thing of the past. The hard-fought wavering battle of Kulikovo Pole followed and ended in a Russian victory, and the beginning of the end of the Tartar dominance.

795 Much missionary activity was displayed by the Russian Church during the period of Tartar domination. Even among
1797 the Tartars themselves this evangelistic work was carried on, while many a lonely outpost of monastic life in the forests and swamps of the north spread the faith of Christ in regions where it had been unknown before. Few names of individual pioneers have been handed down, but among them is that of the energetic missionary bishop, Stephen of Perm.

After the fall of Kiev, the centre of gravity in Russian life, both political and ecclesiastical, had moved northwards, first to Vladimir and finally to Moscow, around which Ivan the Great and his son Vasili IV built up the Tsardom of Muscovy at the close of the Tartar period.

It was at first but a small area in the centre of what is modern European Russia. Kiev and the south were not under its control, nor did it extend to the Baltic. It had no port until the commercial enterprise of the Englishman, Richard Chancellor and his fellow traders, provided one at Archangel in the sixteenth century. But to the east expansion was to prove surprisingly easy, the counterflow to the Tartar invasion swept into Siberia under Yermak towards the end of the sixteenth century, and the colonists that followed bringing the life and religion of Russia were soon to reach the shores of the Pacific.

795 But to return to the fifteenth century, the Tsardom of Moscow was for long to remain the only Orthodox Christian realm free from foreign and non-Christian suzerainty, and it became aware of itself as the heir of Constantinople. Nor were the Russians unwilling to see their Church play the leading rôle in Orthodox Christendom. From their point of view Constantinople had deserved its fate, for its act of apostasy in accepting the terms of Union at Florence. A Greek named

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Isidore had been appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople to be Metropolitan of Moscow. Isidore represented the Russian Church at Florence and in company with the other Easterns (except Mark of Ephesus) he signed the Act of Union, which two years later, on his leisurely return to Moscow, he caused to be solemnly read at the Liturgy in the Uspensky Cathedral. The response of his flock was to arrest him and imprison him in a monastery. He escaped and fled to Rome and the Russians elected their own Metropolitan in his place. The fact that Constantinople accepted, even for a time only, the Florentine terms of Union which the Russians themselves so energetically repudiated, convinced them that Constantinople had betrayed the Orthodox Faith, and the fall of that city so soon afterwards seemed to them to set the seal of divine approval upon their judgment.

It is a matter of some surprise that the Russian Church was content to remain for so long a period in its dependent position and did not claim its autocephalicity until 1448. Long before that date the number of its bishops far exceeded what was required for a Church to become autocephalous. Its adherents were ethnically different from those of its mother Church, and the difference of language between them must have been a source of difficulty. Politically the Russians owed allegiance to their Tsar, and were not subjects of Constantinople. Geographically they were far removed from the administrative centre of the mother Church and communication involved much expenditure of time, considerable inconvenience and some danger. There would seem then to be ample grounds for the independence of the Russian Church to be claimed and granted long before it was. On the other hand there were clear advantages accruing from the fact that the Metropolitan was a Greek who came from abroad and owed ecclesiastical allegiance outside Russian territory. It enabled him with impartiality and with better hope of success to mediate in the constant feuds which rent the early Russian State. It assisted the Church to play its part as peacemaker and a unifying power. The Russian princes themselves were often wise enough to recognize this.

A Russian writer[1] has recently claimed the reverence of

[1] S. Troitsky in the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, July, 1948.

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795 the Russians for ecclesiastical law as a further reason for the delayed independence of the Russian Church. For the canons require the consent of the mother Church before the daughter can become autocephalous, and Constantinople was reluctant to give this consent. "The income which Constantinople received from the broad and rich Metropoly of Russia formed a huge item in the Patriarchal budget." It is, however, not fair to assume that Constantinople was actuated entirely by mercenary motives. However that may be, in the end the Russians took the matter into their own hands, regarding themselves as absolved from their canonical obedience by the fact that in their view Constantinople had lapsed into heresy by accepting the Union of Florence.[1]

795 186 Thus the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the submergence of the Balkans beneath the flood of Turkish invasion, roughly coincided with the emergence of Russia from beneath the yoke of the Tartars. As Orthodoxy was eclipsed in the south, it arose with new strength and splendour in the north and Moscow picked up the torch which fell from the dying hand of Constantinople. The legend of "Moscow the Third Rome" came to birth as the inspiration and expression of this renewal of life and ambition among the Russians after their long experience of depression under the Mongols, and brought with it a sense of their responsibility for the future destiny of Orthodoxy in history and of a Russian mission to the world. The message of the monk Philotheus to the Tsar Vasili III (1505 to 1533) assuring him that although two Romes had fallen a third had risen in the north which should never pass away, and acclaiming him as the supreme and only Christian ruler in the world, long haunted the minds of the Russians, and was expressly endorsed by the Stoglav Council in 1551 (see below, p. 101). A surprising ancestry was discovered for the Russian ruler, whose line of descent was traced back to the imperial house of ancient Rome, if not beyond. Correspondingly he assumed the imperial title, he became Tsar (Caesar) and "autocrat".

[1] According to the writer just quoted the Russians did apply in due form for the consent of Constantinople to the consecration of their nominee Jonah as Metropolitan of Moscow in 1448, but there is no evidence that any reply was received.

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Thus Church and State developed side by side and often worked harmoniously together. As time went on, however, the Metropolitan came to be more and more dependent upon the Tsar, who on more than one occasion dispensed with the form of election altogether and frankly appointed his chief bishop himself, a course of action for which Constantinople had supplied precedents. A case in point is that of the Metropolitan Daniel, and it is involved in the controversy between the Possessors and the Non-possessors which divided ecclesiastics in sixteenth-century Russia.

The Non-possessors desired a reform of the monasteries and in particular disapproved of the possession of landed property by monks whose vow of poverty, they held, should apply corporately as well as individually. They were led by scholars and mystics like Maxim the Greek and Nil Sorsky. The Possessors, under Joseph of Volokalamsk, while holding the opposite opinion on the subject of monastic property, were supporters of the steadily increasing autocracy of the Tsar, whereas their opponents took a more liberal and humane view both about the authority of the State and about the exercise of discipline upon heretics, whom Joseph and his friends felt little compunction in calling upon the secular arm to destroy. The Tsar Vasili III was childless and proposed to divorce his wife and marry another woman. The Metropolitan Barlaam whose sympathies inclined to the Non-possessors refused to sanction this or to perform the ceremony. He paid for his principles by life imprisonment in a monastery, and a pliant Possessor was found in the person of Daniel whom Vasili made Metropolitan in his place and by whom the new marriage was solemnized. Moralists have not failed to point out that the fruit of this marriage was Ivan the Terrible.

The dispute between the Possessors and Non-possessors went on. Some legal adjustments were introduced into the hitherto unrestricted right to bequeath lands to the religious houses. The celebrated Council of the Hundred Chapters or Stoglav[1] which met in 1551 enacted certain reforming measures,

[1] *Sto* means one hundred, and *glav* means chapter. The enactments of the Council were divided into a hundred chapters. Hence the name Stoglav, which is applied both to the document and to the Council which produced it.

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some of which were concerned with the monastic life. But the core of the Council was conservative and it set the seal of its sanction upon the general pattern of Russian life. It authorized a revision of the Service books, though little came of the authorization. It pronounced in favour of the old Russian customs in making the sign of the Cross and the singing of Alleluia. All these were matters which were to give much trouble to the Patriarch Nikon later on (see below, p. 103).

The differences between the Possessors and Non-possessors on the ethical and humanitarian sides of their controversy remained unresolved, and in general Nil Sorsky failed to establish the ideals he desired in Russian monastic life, and to secure the acceptance of more humane principles in the treatment of heretics. In this respect perhaps he lived before his time. More than a century later two deacons whose wives had died of the plague had forsaken their ministry and married again. They were sent to prison to be kept without food until they perished, and only escaped this fate through the special intercession of the Patriarch of Antioch who was in Moscow at the time.

As the power and dignity of the Russian Tsar increased, it seemed but fitting that his chief bishop should have a corresponding status and receive the supreme ecclesiastical title. With little difficulty this was achieved in 1589 and the title of Patriarch of Moscow was conferred upon the Metropolitan Job and subsequently recognized by the other Eastern Patriarchs.

Thus Russia became the fifth Patriarchate of the Church, and was held, in some sense, to have taken the place of Rome, which had "fallen away". The assumption of this new dignity was accompanied by the creation of a number of new Russian dioceses, and the raising of others to Metropolitan rank.

A generation later Russia again lay under the heel of an invader. The period of disturbances and civil war known as the Troublous Times brought with it foreign invasion. The Poles overran Russia and were in possession of Moscow. For sixteen months they had been laying siege to the famous Monastery of the Holy Trinity a few miles away. Then a dramatic episode occurred. In response to letters sent out from

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the Monastery a great patriotic host came to its rescue under the leadership of a prince, a butcher, a monk and a Cossack, drove out the Poles, and established Michael as the first Tsar of the House of Romanov and his father Philaret as Patriarch. The House of Romanov was to last until the collapse of imperial Russia, and the advent of the Soviets. The Patriarchate was not so long lived. But in addition to Philaret himself it produced at least one outstanding figure in the vigorous personality of Nikon.

Nikon, of peasant origin, was a rigorist, vigorous and dominating, sincere and ascetic. As head of the Chudov monastery in Moscow he had been the close friend and adviser of the Tsar Alexis, the devout son and successor of Michael, for some years, when in 1652 with a good deal of reluctance and some stipulations he yielded to the Tsar's entreaties and accepted the Patriarchal Throne. Perhaps he foresaw that his own personality and conception of his duty as Patriarch were bound to clash with those of his friend and sovereign. Such in fact proved to be the case. Nikon felt himself bound in conscience to resist the encroachments of the secular power in the realm of spiritual affairs. But at the same time he had little scruple about intruding his own will into secular matters, where his harsh severity and arrogance made him many enemies among the boyars.

There was another aspect of the troubles which were to gather around Nikon and in the end overwhelm him. It was the question of the revision of the Service books of the Church —a thorny matter on which many men both in Russia and elsewhere have pricked their fingers.

The Old Slavonic books used by the Russian Church had been translated from the Greek, and in the course of centuries of transcribing, minor errors had inadvertently crept into the text. Beside these matters there were other questions in dispute, such as whether the sign of the Cross should be made with two fingers in the Russian manner or with three as the Greeks were accustomed to make it. And how often should Alleluia be sung on certain occasions? One may be pardoned some astonishment at the fury of the passions aroused by the mere discussion of these subjects. But this is to misunderstand. Men

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were not fighting about trivialities as such. In a sense nothing in the sphere of religion was a triviality. It is to overlook the fundamental fact that Orthodoxy was, and is, regarded by the Orthodox as one whole thing. To a man like Avvakum,[1] Orthodoxy, doctrine, rites, ceremonial, painting and music was one integrated whole. The slightest change in any detail was a breach in the fabric of Orthodoxy—and no such breach was to be tolerated at any price.

The question was not new in Nikon's day. A century before under Ivan the Terrible an attempt had been made to revise the Service books, and earlier still a learned Greek monk named Maxim had been brought to Moscow to undertake the work. The extraordinary history of that unhappy man reveals the intractable nature of the task in the atmosphere of ignorance, prejudice and passion which enveloped it. He came to Russia, as an invited guest, to carry out a work of scholarship. He spent thirty-eight years in Russia, twenty-six of them in captivity and sixteen in an actual dungeon, and for a long while excommunicate.

It did not ease the difficulty that the only standard by which the Russian books could be corrected was the corresponding Greek books. Russian ecclesiastics did not know Greek, and few, if any, wanted to know it. The Greeks were suspect, living now in the land of the infidel, and had they not surrendered to Western heresy at Florence, for which the judgment of God had swiftly overtaken them in 1453? Moscow was now the torch-bearer and champion of Orthodoxy, the third and final Rome, the guardian of the true faith.

No improvement in the Service books emerged from all this high feeling, and the matter cropped up again when Nikon became Patriarch. By nature an ardent reformer he would reform not only men but books.

The presence of Macarius the Patriarch of Antioch and his suite in Moscow presented an opportunity of which the Russian Patriarch was not slow to take advantage. Both informally and formally in a synod summoned for the purpose, he compared the Russian practice with the Greek and always accepted the latter as correcting the former, and the rulings

[1] See page 105.

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of the Greek visitors were acquiesced in. This did not add to Nikon's already scanty popularity, especially when he proclaimed with more honesty than tact: "I am a Russian and the son of a Russian but my faith and religion are Greek." 793 779

Even Avvakum had been prepared to amend the Russian books from the older Slavonic editions and manuscripts. But that was before Nikon's day as Patriarch, and when the latter proposed to appeal to the Greeks as the criterion, Avvakum and his friends from being moderate reformers went into the most violent and unappeasable opposition.

Avvakum was a remarkable man and he could write. He was in fact the most outstanding figure in Russian literature before Peter the Great. His autobiography which has been translated into English, should certainly be read. He defied the authorities with implacable obstinacy, goaded them with virulent abuse, suffered untold hardships as a consequence and in the end won the martyr's crown which he so eagerly desired.

In due course, the conflict between the ecclesiastical authorities and Avvakum's party (for he had many friends and sympathizers) developed into an open schism which has persisted to this day. Thus Russian Dissent, unlike English, owes its origin to opposition to reform, not to the advocacy of it. The Old Believers, as the dissenting party was called, became highly fissiparous and sometimes most eccentric. They suffered much persecution over a long period of time. "But on the whole," to quote Prince Mirsky,[1] "they have been the truest —in many cases the only—preservers of pre-Petrine Russian civilization. Were it not for them our contemporaries would hardly have rediscovered the Church music of Old Russia, nor the boundless wealth of its religious painting, which is the purest, strongest and most original flower of Old Russian civilization." [795]

Nikon won against the Old Believers, but he lost against the nobility, which succeeded in detaching the sympathies of the Tsar from the Patriarch. The same Council which in 1667, in the presence of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch,

[1] In his introduction to *The Life of the Archpriest Avvakum by Himself* The Hogarth Press, 1924.

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793 779 excommunicated the Old Believers, deposed Nikon himself and banished him into monastic seclusion.

793 659 The line of Patriarchs continued until 1700 when Adrian the last of the original succession died. By this time the dynamic personality of Peter the Great had appeared on the scene and inaugurated a new period in Russian history. In building the city on the Neva which bore his own name he opened his famous "window upon Europe" through which a hurricane blew which disturbed, scattered and rearranged many things in the life of the Russians. Peter admired all things Western and was determined to make Russia a great nation after the pattern of the West. So far as the Russian Church was concerned Peter's reforms had little if any effect in the sphere of doctrine, but he saw to it that bishops were appointed who sympathized or at least were ready to co-operate with his critical ideas on traditional Russian customs and who were willing to acquiesce in the subservience of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to his own autocratic will. Most important of all, he permitted no election of a successor to the Patriarch Adrian, and twenty-one years later abolished the Patriarchate altogether. The formal instrument by which this change was made was entitled the "Ecclesiastical Regulation". There were to be no more Patriarchs in Russia, instead the supreme authority in the Church was to be vested in a body formed on the German Lutheran model and known as the Holy Governing Synod.

This was no synod in the ordinary ecclesiastical sense of the word, but a committee whose members were appointed and dismissed at the will of the Tsar. In addition a secular official called the Procurator was appointed by the Emperor. This layman was not indeed a member of the synod, but his function was to supervise all its proceedings, and without his consent the synod could enact nothing, nor even choose what matters it should discuss. The bishops were dragooned into acceptance of this system, completely foreign as it was to the spirit of the Russian Church. Yet Peter's organization lasted until the collapse of the Empire in 1917.

177 186 It is an eloquent testimony to the dynamic force of Peter's personality that the impetus of his reforming movement survived his death. But it introduced deep cleavages and

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confusion into Russian life. The Court and governing classes in St. Petersburg became the least Russian of all sections of the nation, indeed they were more German than Russian, and for long the reform of Peter affected only the educated classes of society. Behind the St. Petersburg façade was the great mass of the people who continued to regard everything Western with suspicion and even abhorrence. Nevertheless, the movement gradually made headway and in due course the interplay of Western ideas and native Russian thought was to produce modern Russian culture and especially the astonishing achievement of Russian nineteenth-century literature. 177 186

The "Westernizers" who believed that the destiny of Russia was to follow the path of the West, and the "Slavophils" who put their faith in the Orthodox tradition of native Russian culture, sharpened their wits upon each other in drawing-room discussions and set forth their views in books. But behind all this and but little affected by it, the religious life of the Russian people went on as before. The official Church and the majority of the hierarchy supported the Government even if they disapproved of things Western. Tsar and Metropolitan needed each other, for each believed that in the preservation of the other his own well-being was involved. 177 186 659

But the schism inherited from the seventeenth century still continued and the "Old Believers", among whom was conserved much that was most profound and sincere in the traditional religion of Russia, would have no truck with the St. Petersburg Empire which was anathema to them, nor with the official Church which had come to terms with it. There were in course of time many groups of these interesting schismatics, some of whom had a clergy and some had not. If sections of them degenerated into sects which were psychologically abnormal, the bulk of them, consolidated by persecution and fanatically tenacious of their beliefs, upheld a high standard of conduct and their communities were a storehouse of many significant and beautiful elements of Russian Orthodoxy. Although after 1800 some availed themselves of more generous terms offered them for reconciliation to the Church, the Old Believers exist to this day as a well-organized body of some millions under their own bishops. 795

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795 The Old Believers maintain, not without some show of reason, that it is the official Church which has left them, not *vice versa*. But in any case the vast bulk of the Russian people remained within the fold of that official Church. They lived their lives in close contact with their village churches oblivious of the disputes of Slavophils and Westernizers, pathetically constant in their belief in their Little Father, the Orthodox Tsar, and shocked but silent if they heard of time-serving prelates. Nor were men lacking to guide and uphold them. In the eighteenth century Tikhon Zadonsky is an instance of the devout hard-working and conscientious bishop by no means rare in post-Petrine Russia.[1] He stayed at his episcopal post although yearning for the life of secluded devotion for which he had to wait so many years. Some reflection of this man's personality is to be seen in the portrayal of Zossima in Dostoyevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*. In the monasteries were to be found men conspicuous for their sanctity and well qualified to give advice and spiritual help to the many who sought them out. Zossima is not alone in Russian literature and the counterparts of these men in real life, such as St. Serafim of Sarov, Ambrosius of the Monastery of Optina, and many less well-known men of the kind, stand in the true line of descent from Nil Sorsky, in their spirituality and unworldliness and their essentially Russian love of freedom.

797 The vitality of the Russian Church during the period after Peter and especially in the nineteenth century found expression in widespread missionary activity (see below, p. 162). If the expansion of the Church took place together with the expansion of the Empire, if the missionary bishop worked hand in hand with the secular official and imposed Russian religion and Russian rule at the same time, who is to say which was the dominating motive? At any rate it cannot be said that the Russian Church was blind or indifferent to the spiritual needs of its pagan fellow subjects of the Tsar. But if the State was 659 benevolently interested in the Church, it was determined to 793 control it, and the position of outstanding men like Platon under Katharine II and Paul, and Philaret under Alexander I

[1] Gorodetsky: *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought*, pp. 99 ff.

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was a difficult one, so long as they held high office. Each of these men was a thinker and theologian of distinction whose writings are regarded as having high authority in the Orthodox Church. Philaret in particular was the author of the celebrated *Confession* which bears his name and the translator into Russian of the Acts of the Synod of Jerusalem, with its important variations from the original (see p. 89). He was interested also in projects for educational and financial reform. But the autocratic action of the sovereign and the paralysing effect of the régime of the Holy Synod with its Procurator made it clear that the State must find more pliable material to fill the highest offices in the Church. Both Platon and Philaret were dismissed to their own dioceses and retired in official disgrace, although each of them continued to exercise great influence through his writing and preaching.

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In the summer of 1917, between the March and October Revolutions, the All-Russian Church Council met in Moscow. Its members were both clerical and lay and representative of all classes within the Russian Church. It embarked upon the planning of a wide programme of administrative reform, it swept away Peter's Holy Governing Synod, and restored the Patriarchate of Moscow. Tikhon, Metropolitan of Moscow, whose name was soon to become well-known throughout the world, was appointed by lot from among three elected candidates, to occupy the Patriarchal Throne.

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After the triumph of the Bolsheviks and the establishment of the Soviet Government, the world was startled to witness the attempt of a modern Government to suppress religion.[1] No doubt the close association of the Russian Church with the hated Tsarist régime of which it had on occasion shown itself the willing agent, helped to exacerbate the hostility with which the men who had overthrown the Tsar regarded the Church. But it is important to note that their hostility was not directed to this or that bad feature of any particular manifestation of religion, but against religion as such, and, if some of their spokesmen are to be believed, against "good" religion even

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[1] For a balanced and judicious examination of the whole struggle, see P. B. Anderson: *People's Church and State in Modern Russia*. S.C.M. Press, 1944.

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more than "bad". They adopted with enthusiasm the philosophy of Karl Marx and his interpretation of history, and were sincerely convinced that the welfare of mankind necessitated the "liquidation" of religion. No effort was spared and much skill and ingenuity were employed to achieve this end. But though great suffering was caused to individual men and women, and the external organization of the Russian Church was for a time unable to function, and although large numbers of people were induced to abandon at least the outward profession of their faith, yet the lapse of time made it clear that the religion of Russia was not to be eliminated either by physical repression or by argument and propaganda, and that the secular authorities would have to come to terms with it.

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The process of finding a *modus vivendi* was greatly facilitated in consequence of the Second German War. When Hitler invaded Russia, the Russian Church unhesitatingly embraced its share in the sufferings of the whole people, gave its blessing to the armies which defended Russian soil and called for national solidarity under the leadership of the Soviet Government in the protection of the Fatherland. In turn the Government decided that it no longer had anything to fear from the Church and was glad to enlist its help in the conduct of the great struggle.

How far, if at all, the new relation of Church and State has been purchased by modification and adjustments of the Church's ideals and standards, time will show. The public utterances of Soviet churchmen today have nothing but thanks and congratulations to offer the secular authority. The Church, they say, is free to live its spiritual life and, what is more, always has been since the October Revolution. The outsider who reads this may be pardoned a suspicion that the lady doth protest too much and that the heroic spiritual power which held its own unbowed before the onslaughts of a foe, has to some extent succumbed to the seductive blandishments of a friend. Yet such a judgment may after all turn out to be unfounded and unfair. If the Russian Church has indeed found a way, with its spiritual integrity unimpaired, to co-operate with an atheist secular authority, not only can it do much if it will to contribute to the sorely needed understanding between Russia

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and the West, but the fruit it has produced in so much tension 659
and suffering may be such as other parts of the Christian Church may be glad to garner in time of need.

Christianity in Russia has had a very different history from Christianity in Western countries. For long it lived its life in isolation from the West. Its clergy knew no Greek or Latin and the discussions of the Schoolmen passed them by. It had no share in Luther's Reformation or the Counter Reformation and only indirectly felt their effects. It has had, and still has, its own problem of the relation of Church and State and its own ways of dealing with the education and training of its flock. If in modern times it has relied too much upon the external support of the State, it has nevertheless known that its real strength lay in the people's natural sense of religion and the reality of spiritual things.

It is reported that an anti-religious agitator in haranguing 781
a Russian crowd called upon God, if there were one, to strike him dead. When nothing happened he inferred to his hearers that there was no God because He had not killed him. "No," said the crowd, "He hasn't, but we will." And they did. The story, if true, illustrates also the "dionysian" element in the Russian temperament, which is so liable to sweep them into violent action and constitutes one pole in that striking dualism which runs through Russian character.

But there is better evidence of the religious spirit of the Russians in their feeling for God in nature, their sense of beauty as a link with the divine, their admiration, and in spite of all, their practice of the virtues of charity and humility. The ordinary Russian feels that he can hardly be less than charitable and forgiving in view of the shortcomings of all men before God. In spite of his own liability to outbreaks of violence, the idea of administering capital or indeed even corporal punishment in cold blood, sends a chill of revulsion through him.

There is indeed a strand in Russian religion which administers a shock of surprise to the modern Western who derives his impressions of Russia from newspaper accounts of the activities of the Russian State. Long before the Little Poor Man of Assisi changed clothes with the leper and gave his special

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781 inspiration to the religious life of the West, the deaths of the princes Boris and Gleb had made an indelible impression upon the religious thought of Russia. In the interpretation put upon their fate by the Russian Church they became the type of voluntary acceptance of suffering. This aspect of their religion which works so powerfully beneath the surface in the thought of Russians, and leads them to look upon suffering, and especially suffering which is voluntarily accepted, not merely with compassion but with veneration, is not to be dismissed as no more than a manifestation of the melancholy inherent in the Slav temperament. It has its reinforcement, if not its foundation, in the Russian stress upon the "kenotic" Christ, the Christ who emptied Himself of His glory and accepted humiliation and suffering to the culminating point of voluntary death. It is this that makes the Russian regard human suffering and humility, not only suffering for Christ but the mere fact of following Christ in His experience of it, with a sort of admiration and reverence.

It is closely associated with the aesthetic approach to religion and with the sense of man's kinship with the natural world. It makes itself felt in the Russian's scale of values in the sphere of law and of ethics and indeed in his general view of life.

As Fedotov points out, of all the iconographic representations of the Virgin and Child which the Russians took over from the Byzantine Church, the type which they call "umilenie" became easily the favourite. It does not so much claim awe before the majestic dignity of the Mother of God, as express that complex emotional reaction of the human heart to innocence and beauty and pain, for which English has no single word.

The "kenoticism" of Russian religion is but one aspect of it, by its very nature it does not claim attention through any violent expression of itself in the world of affairs. But it is an aspect which must not be overlooked.

792 In Russia, as in the rest of the Orthodox world,[1] the monastic life has always exercised an immense influence. The life of a good monk is regarded as the Christian life *par excel-*

[1] See Chapter X.

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lence and his cloister the place where in this world of sin one may meet with God. The great monasteries of Russia, and pre-eminently the Lavra of St. Sergius near Moscow, have been focal points where national aspirations have been gathered up and presented before the mercy of God. Thither multitudes of men and women have flocked with their individual troubles of a burdened conscience or an anxious mind or perhaps simply a hungry body.

The monk may not be a priest, indeed in most cases he is not, but it is to him that the devout will turn for guidance and direction in spiritual matters and to him they unburden their souls. The starets is a characteristic and significant figure in Russian religion. His name means 'elder"; he is old in spiritual experience, and distinguished by his piety and gift for guiding other souls. A new member of the monastic community is entrusted to the care of a starets, who trains and teaches him, and devout lay folk living in the world will choose their starets, and resort to him as to a father confessor and director.[1]

[1] For a picture of a typical starets see the writer's translation of *The Way of a Pilgrim*. London, 1931. Another is Father Zossima in Dostoyevsky's novel: *The Brothers Karamazov*.

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PART II

CHAPTER VIII

ORTHODOX WORSHIP

346 THE churches in which the Orthodox worship are prevailingly of what is known roughly as the Byzantine type. They are built on the ground plan of a Greek cross, one in which all the four limbs are of equal length. This is squared off by the containing walls beyond which the arms of the cross do not project. The crossing is covered by a dome and the four little squares left in the corners of the big square are often covered by domes also. The domes are raised upon drums, sometimes relatively high ones, which gives a characteristic and decorative appearance to the outside of the building, but with its funnel-like effect perhaps not so successful when seen from within. The square may be prolonged to the east where it ends in three apses covered by half domes, and to the west in a narthex which may be large enough to rival the main church in its proportions. This simple plan lends itself to much variety and elaboration and highly decorative effects are often produced by the multiplication of domes and cupolas and by the use of colour and pattern on the exterior walls.

There are ancient churches of the basilican form still used by Orthodox worshippers, such as the superb Church of the Holy Nativity at Bethlehem, which is said to be the oldest Christian church still in use and is erected over the traditional site of the birth of Christ. It was built by Helena, the mother of Constantine in 326, but restored and enlarged by Justinian in the sixth century.

The Russians took over the Byzantine style of church building, and added characteristic touches of their own, such

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as the curious onion-shaped cupola so often seen on Russian churches. 346

Some Orthodox churches are built of ornamental stone, and colour and patterns are introduced in the exterior walls by the use of brick and stone in conjunction. This may be seen particularly in many mediaeval Serbian churches, and in Rumania the churches are often adorned with outside paintings.

But the supreme achievement of Orthodox architecture, if not of all ecclesiastical building, is the Church of the Holy Wisdom, St. Sophia at Constantinople, which the Emperor Justinian began in the year 532 and which was consecrated five years later. The architect achieved the feat of placing a dome less than hemispherical, and with a diameter of 107 feet, upon a square. Later the rim of the dome was raised and pierced by forty windows, the effect produced by the whole being of astonishing lightness and beauty.

In the interior of an Orthodox church there are ordinarily no seats for the congregation; the normal attitude of the Orthodox at worship is standing. Their services are long compared with Western rites, but the congregation stands throughout, including the sermon should there be one. The choir also stands, in a group with their choirmaster. They are usually out of sight and they wear no distinctive robes. The singing, which is often of great beauty, especially among the Russians, is entirely unaccompanied, no instrumental music being allowed in Orthodox worship. [796]

But perhaps the most striking feature of the interior of an Orthodox church to Western eyes is the great screen, called the *iconostas*.[1] It stretches across the width of the church, completely shutting off the east-end and hiding the altar from view. It must not be confused with the chancel screen of Western Christendom. Its situation is technically quite different—it occupies the position of the Communion rails in a Western church, and separates not the whole chancel, but the sanctuary, from the rest of the church. An interesting difference in terminology may be noted here. In the Orthodox East, the altar

[1] *Ikonostás* is the Russian and most convenient form of the word. The Greek is *eikonostásion*. The form "ikonostasis", often seen in English, is neither Russian nor Greek.

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346 is the name not of a thing but of a place, i.e., that part of the church in which the altar—in the Western sense—stands. The Eastern name for the altar is the throne. Thus in Orthodox parlance the throne stands in the altar.

Some sort of barrier, fencing off the altar from the rest of the church, dates from very early days, and as time went on it took the form of a row of columns joined by a continuous base and an entablature. The spaces between the columns were filled in with icons, hence the name iconostas, the stand for the icons. It may be constructed of wood or brick or stone or even in rare cases of precious metal. But be it simple or elaborately rich, whether it is in a cathedral or a village church, it will be upon the iconostas that the builders will lavish their resources. It is pierced by three doors, double doors in the centre which when opened disclose the altar and the apse beyond, and single doors at each side. The one to the north opens into what is known as the Chapel of the Prothesis, and the one to the south into the vestry. The iconostas normally reaches from wall to wall, but it is of varying height. It may reach from floor to roof. The development of the iconostas into the great timber erection stretching to the full height of the church is thought to be of Russian origin, the earliest examples of such iconostases are indeed found in and around Novgorod and belong to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The iconostas is covered with icons, not haphazard but arranged in rough conformity with a general scheme. Thus upon the Royal doors are painted the four Evangelists and the Annunciation, and above them the Last Supper. To the south of the doors is the Icon of Our Lord and next to it the icon of the Patron Saint of that particular church. On the other side of that Royal door is an icon of Our Lady. The centre of the first tier of icons above the doors is occupied by the *Deesis*,[1] a triple icon showing Our Lord enthroned, with Our Lady on His right and St. John the Baptist on His left. This is, so to speak, the heart of the iconostas, the whole assembly of icons being built round it with the faces of the figures turned towards it. It is flanked on either side by the Archangels Gabriel and Michael and the twelve Apostles. The tier next above shows

[1] Prayer.

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icons of Feasts of the Church, often of the Twelve Great Festivals of Orthodoxy.[1] In the fourth tier are Old Testament Prophets including King David and King Solomon. Above this may be another row depicting the Patriarchs and perhaps still another filled with Cherubim and Seraphim. The scheme is not rigidly adhered to in detail, but the whole represents all creation, representatives of the Old and the New Covenants grouped in praise and intercession around the Deesis. 346

To the Orthodox worshipper the iconostas symbolizes the meeting place of heaven and earth: it marks the distinction and at the same time the union, of the world of divine truth and beauty represented by the sanctuary, and this imperfect world of human life symbolized by the rest of the church. As he stands in worship he contemplates this representation of all creation united in a symphony of praise and adoration. And the great doors in the centre of the iconostas mark the place where his worship reaches its climax in the solemn act of Communion. But the whole interior of the church is adorned with images in fresco or mosaic of saints and heroes of the Orthodox Faith. The triumph over iconoclasm was to lead in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to an outburst of elaborate iconography which characterized what used to be known as the "*Second Golden Age*" of Byzantine art and which made the walls of their churches a picture book in which the Orthodox found a perpetual reminder of their creed. On the walls of the narthex and the nave are depicted the great festivals of the Church, and series of ascetics, confessors, martyrs, doctors and prelates. In the half dome over the apse of the sanctuary is the Theotókos—the God-bearer seated with her Child in her arms, while high up in the great dome this whole iconographic proclamation of belief is crowned by the image of Christ, the rainbow-throned Almighty surrounded by cherubim and seraphim. [781]

Within this building the principal act of worship is the Liturgy, the name which the Orthodox give to the service 796

[1] These are (not counting Easter, which is in a class by itself): Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, Transfiguration, Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and the following feasts of Our Lady: Nativity, Purification, the Annunciation, Presentation in the Temple, and the Falling Asleep.

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which elsewhere in Christendom is called the Mass, or the Eucharist, or the Communion Serivce, or the Lord's Supper. There are three Liturgies in use among the Orthodox. The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is by far the most frequently used and is the normal service. The Liturgy of St. Basil is used on the first five Sundays in Lent, on the Thursday and Saturday before Easter, on Christmas Day and Epiphany if they fall on a Sunday or Monday, otherwise on their eve; and on St. Basil's Day (January 1st).

There is very little difference between the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil; the former is a somewhat shortened form of the latter, the same general structure being maintained.

There is a traditional feeling among the Orthodox that the joyousness of the Liturgy in its complete form is not altogether suitable to the penitential season of Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays. On Wednesdays and Fridays during that season and on the first three days of Holy Week, therefore, the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified is substituted for the ordinary Liturgy. It consists of Vespers and part of the usual Liturgy, the significant omission being the act of Consecration. Those who make their communions at the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified do so from the Sacred Elements consecrated on the previous Sunday and reserved for the purpose. This explains the name "pre-sanctified".

The Liturgies are in use in a number of different languages. Among the Greek-speaking peoples the Liturgy is said in Greek; in Russia and among the Slavs of the Balkans—in old Slavonic, and in the several appropriate places the Liturgy will be heard in Georgian, Arabic, Rumanian, Esthonian, Lettish, various Finnish and Tartar dialects, Japanese, Chinese, and even German and English (among Orthodox colonists in North America). The Russian Church has spread the Christian religion to the north and across Siberia to the Far East—and everywhere it has provided for worship in the language of the people.[1]

The form of Christian worship has changed but little in the conservative East as the centuries have passed, and the

[1] See Bolshakoff: *The Foreign Missions of the Russian Orthodox Church* London, 1943.

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Liturgy is today practically the same as it was in the sixth century. 796

The part of the rite called the Prothesis, i.e., the Preparation of the Bread and Wine, has been transferred from the middle of the service to the beginning, where it now forms a complicated and elaborately symbolic introduction to the service. The congregation is not usually present at this first part of the Liturgy, the laity for the most part come in when the Liturgy of the Catechumens[1] begins. The division between the Liturgy of the Catechumens and the Liturgy of the Faithful is still preserved. The Catechumens are prayed for and then dismissed with the cry of the Deacon, "Let all catechumens depart", although it is many centuries since this had any practical significance. The Deacon still calls "The Doors, the Doors" that they may be guarded before the recitation of the Creed and the entrance upon the most solemn part of the rite.

After a few attendances at the Orthodox Liturgy those who are accustomed to the Roman Catholic or Church of England rites will soon learn to recognize the same general structure of the service in East and West alike, though the framework is filled out at much greater length in the East.

The outstanding feature of the Liturgy of the Catechumens is the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, preceded by the Little Entrance.[2] They are embodied in a setting of Psalms, Canticles and Litanies, the last being recited by the Deacon as he stands outside the Royal doors and facing East.

In the Liturgy of the Faithful we note the familiar sequence of Offertory, Creed (in that order in the East), *Sursum Corda* ("Lift up your hearts"—"We lift them up unto the Lord"), *Sanctus* ("Holy, Holy, Holy") and Consecration. But in addition to the large number of variable parts of the service in Orthodox worship and all the rich embellishment of Canticle and Anthem, there is also a difference in relative external

[1] Those undergoing instruction preparatory to Baptism. Beside being the name of the whole rite, the word Liturgy is also applied to each of two divisions of it known as the Liturgy of the Catechumens and the Liturgy of the Faithful.

[2] i.e., the entry of the clergy from the Chapel of the Prothesis, with the Book of the Gospels. It is "little" as compared with the "Great Entrance" later in the Service.

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796 emphasis, in dramatic stress. Thus in the West everything plainly leads up to the Consecration as the climax of the rite not only in its inner meaning but in its outward aspect. In the Orthodox Liturgy, however, the Consecration might even escape the notice of one who was not accustomed to follow the rite or attentive to note it. The Consecration is, of course, actually its climax in East and West alike, but in the East no special outward signs of it are visible to the congregation, the Royal doors which shut off the Sanctuary being closed.

On the other hand the Great Entrance is easily the most conspicuous part of the whole service. It corresponds to the offertory in the West, i.e., the bringing of the bread and wine to be offered at the altar. In the West this is the simplest of actions[1] and involves no more than moving the bread and wine a few feet from a small table called the Credence, to the Altar. In the East it is the occasion of a solemn procession in which all the clergy present and their attendants pass out through the northern door of the iconostas, along the front of it, and after a pause for biddings to prayer, in again through the Royal doors. All this is done with pomp and circumstance, the choir meanwhile singing the Cherubic hymn.

The deportment of the worshippers is to be noted. They take little audible part in the service—there are no hymns in the Western sense—but they often join in the Lord's Prayer aloud and sometimes in the Creed. They cross themselves [782] frequently (making the sign from right to left) and kneel or even prostrate themselves as devotion moves them. There is much freedom and spontaneity of action. Men, women and children are all gathered together in the nave, occupying any particular part in it which takes their fancy. They move about from one place to another if they are so disposed and go up to salute an icon or place a lighted candle whenever they are moved to do so. It is quite unlike an English congregation, in which all do the same thing at the same time. The Orthodox habit is more free and easy. But at the same time it is less so, for the Orthodox stands to worship, and this not simply in the sense of not sitting or not kneeling. It is more like standing

[1] But compare the Offertory as performed in Westminster Abbey and some other Anglican churches.

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to attention. If he is well brought up in this respect the Orthodox worshipper will stand erect with his feet together, his hands by his side, with head up and eyes looking straight before him to the east end of the church. His bodily posture expresses, and perhaps contributes to, the active share he is taking in what is going on. Ideally he is rendering praise and glory to God for all that He is and does, and at the same time he is presenting himself before God and submitting himself to the divine scrutiny. 796

At the time of Communion, the celebrant and other officiating clergy make their communion in both kinds, separately, as in the West. The priest and deacon then come out through the Royal doors and stand just outside them. The priest holds the chalice, into which the consecrated breads have been put. Lay communicants then approach and are given their communion standing, in both kinds, but administered together by means of a spoon placed between the communicant's lips. He then wipes his lips on a silk napkin which hangs over the deacon's arm, takes a sip of water and a small piece of bread (not, of course, consecrated) from a table standing near and returns to the body of the church. 796 778

The words of administration are "The servant of God, N——, receives the precious and holy Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, unto remission of sins and unto everlasting life", (to children "unto everlasting life" only).

At the end of the service all present go up to the Royal gates and in turn kiss a cross held out to them by the priest: and small pieces of bread which have been blessed are distributed and eaten.

The Orthodox rite is, generally speaking, a good deal longer than the Western, though not so much so as appears from the printed page. For at certain times the priest's part and the deacon's are going on simultaneously—the deacon being outside the iconostas and leading the devotions of the people in a Litany, while the priest is saying the prayers allotted to him within the Sanctuary. Still, Orthodox services are sometimes of great length, the Russians in particular having long been notorious in this respect, though modern times have brought some concessions to human frailty. "God grant us His special 796

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aid to get through the whole of this present week. As for the Muscovites their feet must surely be of iron"—was the pathetic lament of the Archdeacon of Aleppo who was in Moscow for Holy Week and Easter in the year 1656. He complained bitterly of services which lasted from "early dawn" until "the eleventh hour".[1]

The Orthodox Liturgy has been frequently described.[2] The Daily Offices of the Orthodox Church, however, i.e., its regular liturgical services other than the Liturgy, are perhaps not so familiar, and the structure and shape of the service are not so easy to grasp. Even with a translation before him the reader is daunted by a bewildering variety of rubrics and subtitles of portions of the service. Certain details strike him at once as curious. The *Magnificat* is a morning canticle, for instance, and the *Te Deum* does not appear at all in the regular sequence of liturgical services. The *Gloria in excelsis* is said at Mattins and at Compline, and the Nicene Creed at the midnight service and Compline. There is also a richness, variety and flexibility about the Orthodox offices in the highest degree contrasted with the sober regularity of our own.

Theoretically the daily offices—Vespers, Compline, the midnight service, Mattins, Prime, Terce, Sext and None—are spread out over the twenty-four hours to form one unbroken offering of prayer and praise. In practice, however, they are, at least in parish churches, grouped together. The recitation of None, Vespers and Compline constitutes the evening service; the midnight service, Mattins and Prime are said together as the morning service, while Terce and Sext are combined with the Liturgy at some convenient hour, perhaps about ten o'clock in the morning. This grouping of the offices may vary somewhat on Sundays and the great festivals, when the all-night vigil service, consisting of Vespers, Mattins and Prime, is recited at about six o'clock on the evening before. In monasteries where everything is sung in full, and slowly, this service

[1] *The Travels of Macarius*, p. 46.

[2] For the text see: *Brightman Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896.

The Russian novelist Gogol wrote a mystical commentary on the Liturgy which has been translated into English: *Meditations on the Divine Liturgy*, London, 1926.

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may last literally all night, but as used in parish churches it takes about two hours. 796

In common with the rest of Christendom the Orthodox Church uses the Psalter and lections from the rest of Holy Scripture in the structure of its services. But the characteristic feature of Orthodoxy in this regard is its inclusion of a very large element of religious poetry. Something more will be said about this later on.

Two of the many books required by the officiant are known as the "Apostle" and the "Gospel". The four Gospels are included in the latter, while the former contains the Acts of the Apostles as well as the Epistles. The Epistle and Gospel of the day are read at the Liturgy according to a fixed order, and the Gospel is read at Mattins also. In addition to the normal division into chapters and verses the books are also portioned out into sections and the order in which these sections are to be used is given at the end of the books. For each day in each week of the year, beginning at Easter, the proper section is shown, and there are special lections provided for the greater festivals and for the Occasional Offices.

The Psalter is used in three ways. First, each of the offices has its own fixed psalms to be recited daily. In addition to this the whole Psalter is divided into twenty sections called *Kathismata*, and each *Kathisma* again into three *Staseis*. The *Gloria* is said at the end of each *Stasis*, not at the end of each psalm. Thus arranged the Psalter is used at Mattins and Vespers, in addition to their fixed psalms. In Lent all twenty *Kathismata* are read through twice in each week. From Maundy Thursday till Low Sunday they are omitted altogether. But during the rest of the year two *Kathismata* are said at Mattins and one at Vespers and thus the recitation of the Psalter is more or less completed in one week. The third manner in which the Psalter is used is by the incorporation into the service of detached verses from the psalms, singly or in groups. For example, two verses (hardly ever consecutive) of a psalm are said before the Epistle in the Liturgy, and repeated in the offices. They are called the *prokeimenon* of the day.

Such then roughly is the use of the psalms and lessons. The actual prayers in the narrower sense of the word, which

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are used in the office, are many of them very beautiful. They are often long and couched in poetic phraseology, quite different in form from the concise and regular Western Collect. Frequently they are said silently by the priest while the choir are singing their part. Thus while the reader reads the six psalms at Mattins, the priest recites the twelve morning prayers, the first three within the Altar (i.e., in Western phraseology, the Sanctuary), and the remainder outside the iconostas, facing the Royal doors. The same is true of the Seven Prayers of Light at Vespers. The following, which is said at all the hours, may be given as an example:

> "O thou who at all times and seasons in heaven and earth art worshipped and glorified, Christ our God, long-suffering, pitiful and all-compassionate, who lovest the righteous and pitiest sinners, who callest all to salvation through the gospel of thy coming kingdom, do thou, O Lord, receive our prayers at this time, and guide our lives in thy statutes. Sanctify our souls, cleanse our bodies, correct our thoughts, purify our hearts, and deliver us from all affliction, evil and pain. Defend us by thy holy angels, that, being guarded and guided by their ranks, we may come to the unity of the faith and the knowledge of thine unapproachable glory, who art blessed to ages of ages. Amen."

But the bulk of the Orthodox services consist of ecclesiastical poetry. It has been computed that poetry comprises 80 per cent of the vast contents of the service books, and it is made up for the most part of short hymns. The word "hymn" is not here used in the modern and Western sense with its implication of metre and perhaps rhyme. They are rhythmical compositions in poetical language—hymns in the sense that the *Gloria in excelsis* may be so called. A general name which covers a large number of them is *troparion* (Slavonic: *tropar*), and the Orthodox services are festooned with them, strung together with *Glorias* and broken verses from the psalms like pearls on a string. The number of different sorts of *troparia* is large and the total of all sorts must run into many thousands. The deacon Romanus, who lived about A.D. 500, is credited with the

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composition of over a thousand *kontakia*. A *kontakion* is one of those short "hymns" summing up the life of a saint or giving the gist of the occasion for which it is used. This is the *kontakion* of Easter Day: 796

> "Thou, O Immortal, thou didst descend into the tomb, yet didst thou overthrow the might of Hades, O Christ our God; and thou didst arise as Victor, saying to the Ointment-bearers—Hail! Thou didst give peace to thine Apostles, who dost cause them that are fallen to arise."

A *Theotókion* is a hymn about or addressed to Our Lady:

> "Formed wert thou to be the dwelling of light, pure and most holy Mother and Virgin, who didst give birth to Christ the King of all and the Enlightener of them that sit in darkness: whence with faith we bless thee."

A *Stavro-theotókion* is the same, but contains also a reference to the Cross:

> "Standing by the Cross of thy Son and the Son of God, and beholding his long-suffering, with tears, pure Mother, thou saidst, Woe is me! Why sufferest thou thus unjustly, my Son, Word of God, for the race of men?"

These must suffice as illustrations of the three or four dozen different varieties of *troparia*. Many of them are of great beauty. A few have been translated, put into modern dress, and become favourites in our hymn books. Thus the original of "Hail, gladdening Light" is the *troparion* which occupies in the Orthodox Vespers the position which *Magnificat* holds in the West.

> "Joyful Light of the holy glory of the Father, Immortal, Heavenly, Holy, Blessed O Jesu Christ; we, having come to the setting of the sun and beholding the evening light, hymn God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. It is meet at all times that thou shouldst be hymned with auspicious voices, Son of God, Giver of Life: wherefore the world glorifieth thee."

It has been sung at Vespers at least since the time of St. Basil.

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796 who ascribes it to the martyr Athenogenes, about A.D. 175. "The day is past and over", "Stars of the morning", "The Day of Resurrection", "Come, ye faithful, raise the strain", "Fierce raged the tempest", and others are all examples of modern renderings of Orthodox *troparia*.

The *troparia* have been likened to pearls on a string. One might also think of them as pieces of mosaic fitted together into an intricate pattern which can itself be picked up as a whole and placed here or there as required. Such is that very important element in Orthodox worship known as a *Kanon*, some rough and generalized description of which is necessary in even this brief survey. There are *kanons* of the great festivals, most Saints' days have their *kanons*, and some have more than one, and there are *kanons* in some of the Occasional Offices. One of the best known composers of *kanons* is St. John Damascene, another is Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople in the fifth century, and many *kanons* are of great antiquity. Their structure is as follows: three, four, five or more *troparia* (the number varies) form an *ode*, and nine *odes* make a *kanon*. But in addition to their own subject-matter the *odes* are supposed to conform to, or contain some allusion to, certain scriptural prototypes.
These are:—

(1) The Song of Israel (Exod. xv, 1–21).
(2) The Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii, 1–44).
(3) The Song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii, 1–11).
(4) The Prayer of Habakkuk (iii, 1–19).
(5) The Prayer of Isaiah (xxvi, 9–21).
(6) The Prayer of Jonah (ii, 2–10).
(7) The Prayer of the Three Children (from the Apocryphal addition to the third chapter of the Book of Daniel).
(8) The *Benedicite*.
(9) The *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*.

These scriptural *odes* are taken as covering the whole field of religious emotional experience, and whatever be the occasion for which the *kanon* is written, its *odes* are skilfully constructed to carry the mind back to the corresponding scriptural *ode*. Further, each *ode* begins with a verse called a *heirmos*, setting

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the rhythmic scheme for the following verses, and ends with a *theotokion* (see above). Various other sorts of *troparia* are inserted at fixed places as the *kanon* progresses, and after *Ode* 6 there may be a whole group of them, beginning with a *kontakion*; and even a litany and a lection.

The *Ectine* or Litany is another element which enters freely into the composition of Orthodox services. There are four forms of Litany used both in the Liturgy and the offices: the Great Litany, the Little Litany, the Increased Litany (so called from its triple response) and the Petitioning Litany. To these may be added the Litany of the Catechumens which belongs to the Liturgy alone, and the Litany of the Faithful Departed which is said on occasion at the Liturgy, and in the Office of the Dead. The Litanies are said by the deacon standing before the Royal gates. He holds the end of his stole in his right hand and crosses himself with it before he bows at the end of each petition. The Litany ends with an "exclamation" by the priest, which is the concluding phrases of the prayer which he has been saying secretly during the singing of the Litany. As an example the Petitioning Litany is here given (from King's translation of Vespers):

Deacon: Let us compleat our evening supplication to the Lord.
Choir: Lord, have mercy upon us.
Deacon: Protect us, save us, be merciful unto us, and preserve us by thy grace, O God.
Choir: Lord, have mercy upon us.
Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord that we may finish this evening in holiness, peace, and innocence.
Choir: Grant this, O Lord.
Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord for the angel of peace, the faithful guide and keeper of our souls and bodies.
Choir: Grant this, O Lord.
Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord for pardon and remission of our sins and offences.
Choir: Grant this, O Lord.
Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord for all things good and profitable for our souls and for the peace of the world.
Choir: Grant this, O Lord.

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Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord that we may end the rest of our days in peace and repentance.

Choir: Grant this, O Lord.

Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord that the last period of our lives may be suitable to our Christian profession, without pain and confusion of face, that we may give a good answer at the dreadful tribunal of Christ.

Choir: Grant this, O Lord.

Deacon: In remembrance of our most holy; most pure, most blessed and glorious Lady, the Mother of God, and ever-virgin Mary, with all Saints, we commend ourselves and each other, and our whole life to Christ our God.

Choir: To thee, O Lord.

Exclamation

Priest: For thou art the blessed God, the Lover of mankind, and to thee, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, we offer our praise, now and for ever, even unto ages of ages.

Choir: Amen.

The *Trisagion* has its place at the beginning of the Daily Offices and of many other services also. In its extended form it runs as follows:

O Holy God, O Holy Mighty, O Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us (*thrice*).

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, both now and for ever, even unto ages of ages. Amen.

O Most Holy Trinity, have mercy upon us; O Lord, purify us from our sins, and forgive us our transgressions, O Lord: O Holy, look down upon us, and heal our infirmities for thy Name's sake.

Lord, have mercy upon us (*thrice*), and this is followed by the *Gloria* again, and the Lord's Prayer.[1]

One sound will be heard echoing insistently throughout

[1] For further details about the Daily Offices and a description of the Occasional Offices of the Orthodox Church, reference may be made to the writer's article in *Liturgy and Worship* (S.P.C.K., 1932), upon which most of the foregoing is based.

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Orthodox worship, and that is the praise of the Mother of God. The poetic language of the "hymns", the discursiveness of the phraseology and the repetitions alike lend themselves to the expressing of a devotion which seems, at times, to have no bounds. The *Theotókos*, the God-bearer in her purity, her humility and the glory of her destiny is a theme of which Orthodox worship never tires. Thought and language are ransacked to add to the profusion of epithets and titles of honour which are showered upon her to stress the faith of the Orthodox in the basic truth of Christianity, the Incarnation of the Son of God. It reaches its climax in the Akathist Hymn[1] which is sung either in part or wholly once a week during the first five weeks of Lent. It is the most celebrated poetic achievement of the Byzantine Church and was traditionally attributed to the Patriarch Sergius, who was said to have composed it in thanksgiving for the miraculous deliverance of the City in A.D. 626 (see p. 41) by the protective action of Our Lady. The attribution may not be able to bear the searchlight of historical criticism, but that matters little. The Akathist hymn still expresses at its highest that disinterested and exuberant praise of her who gave human birth to the child Who was God, which from early times has been woven into the very texture of Orthodox worship.

[1] An English translation was published by the St. Dominic Press in 1934.

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CHAPTER IX

THE ICONS

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ALLUSION has been made more than once in this book to the icons; but such is their importance in Orthodox piety that it may be well to devote a short chapter to them.

An icon is a picture of a sacred subject painted upon a panel of wood of varying size. The surface is prepared with a mixture of powdered alabaster and glue beneath which linen is sometimes stretched, and the colours laid on with the yolk of egg as a medium.[1] The finished panel was in many cases furnished later on with a covering of metal, precious or base, which completely hides the painting, except the flesh parts, to reveal which holes were cut in the metal. The rest of the picture, or at least its main lines, are reproduced in the metal cover by *répoussée*. Further embellishment may be added, in the form of haloes and different kinds of pendants. The icon may be adorned with precious stones, some famous examples being encrusted with a wealth of them.

It has been generally accepted that the icon is derived from the funerary portraits of the dead which were placed upon mummies in Egypt.[2] Perhaps by way of usage in connection with the martyrs, and devotion to their shrines, the use of icons spread in time throughout the Orthodox world and became a characteristic feature of Orthodox piety.

The painting of icons was a work of religion as well as a work of art, the painter preparing himself for his task by prayer and other spiritual exercises. In modern times the provision of vast numbers of cheap icons may have degener-

[1] For details in the technique of icon-painting see Minns-Kondakov: *The Russian Icon*, Oxford, 1927.

[2] See, however, A. Frolow: *Revue des Études Byzantines*, Tome VI, 1948, p. 125.

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ated into a mere trade, but ideally, and to a large extent in actual fact, the production of them has been and still is the pious activity of monks. The monasteries were the great workshops in which icons were produced, and although icons are nearly always anonymous, the known painters of these highly venerated objects were themselves greatly revered.

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The subjects depicted on the icon are many and various. It may be a single figure; of Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist (winged, as the Precursor), or some other saint. It may be a group of figures, a picture of a scriptural or ecclesiastical incident, or the representation of an abstruse theological idea. Miracles, Martyrdoms, Councils of the Church, are drawn by the icon-painter's brush. An icon may even represent the veneration of another icon by some eminent prelate.

The icon-painter did not profess, with possibly some very rare exceptions, to be making a portrait, though the general aspect of a saint will be the same on every icon of him. Nor, in the great days of icon-painting, was realistic truth to nature conceived as an aim. The painter did not produce the illusion of depth, perspective was often reversed, and the niceties of anatomical knowledge ignored. Realism came in with the decadence of the art of icon-painting.

The men who made the icons in the great days of Byzantium and at the zenith of Russian icon-painting in fifteenth-century Novgorod were doing two things. They were decorating a flat surface and they were seeking to convey in line and colour an aspect of divine truth. At their best they achieved both those purposes supremely well.

They painted within the framework of rules about the way that this or that person should be represented, which belonged to the very core of the tradition of icon-painting. Such rules, often concerned with a surprising degree of detail, were embodied in manuals of instruction which circulated among the workshops.

Hence the immediate impression that the numberless icons of any particular subject are "all alike". But it is possible to exaggerate this similarity and to over-rate the influence of the manuals. The great examples of icon-painting reveal

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the fact that the rules left room for the expression of individual inspiration and the exercise of creative power, as the painter set about his task of adorning a given surface with a vision of divine truth.

As the icons vary in their subject matter, so they vary also in their artistic merit. Some are supreme works of art, many are of great beauty, superb in their composition, rhythm of line and glowing colour. Many others have little aesthetic value, and the icon may even degenerate into a cheap oleograph stuck on a piece of wood.

But the veneration in which they are held is independent of these considerations. Some measure of it may be found in the ubiquity of icons in an Orthodox country. They are not only in churches, but also in public buildings of all kinds, in private houses and shops. There is a recognized position for the icon in a room, and the visitor will salute it on entering, just as he greets his host. Schools, regiments, clubs and the like will adopt their own icons. The devout will carry an icon with them when they travel, and have it before them when they say their prayers. Well-to-do people may accumulate their family icons from generation to generation. The first thing the Orthodox worshipper does on entering his church is to salute the icons, or, at least, such of them as may claim his particular devotion. He bows before them, crosses himself, says a prayer, kisses the icon, and perhaps sets a lighted candle before it in the stand provided for the purpose. He then moves away to wherever he wishes to stand for the service if there is one, or to leave the church and go about his business.

Plainly we are here in a realm which readily lends itself to capture by popular religion. Popular religion, whatever the field in which it expresses itself, the use of the Bible, the singing of subjective and emotional hymns, the veneration of icons, or anything else, may easily use the thing it has captured, in a way which others call superstition, and which may indeed be such.

But before the Westerner draws hasty general conclusions about the Orthodox practice before the icons, he should reflect that the Orthodox approaches the icon with premises in his mind which he himself probably does not share.

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It is not a simple matter for a Westerner to grasp what the icon means to the Orthodox and the part it plays in his religious life. Perhaps it can be fully understood only from within Orthodoxy as part of Orthodox experience. But certain distinctions can be drawn. All Christians presumably agree that a picture of a sacred person or event has value and legitimate use as a means of teaching. But the icon is more than that. It is more also than a picture of a loved person, by looking upon which memory is refreshed and devotion stimulated. Neither of these parallels would account for the degree of veneration which is paid to the icons. It is the same veneration as the Orthodox pay to the Book of the Gospels and the Cross. On the other hand it is a lower degree of veneration than that which is given to the consecrated elements of the Eucharist. In the latter case worship is rendered to Christ Himself actually present. In an icon of Christ, He is not conceived as present in the same way as that. Yet there is a link between the actual material icon, and the person it represents. In the devout contemplation of an icon one is brought in some sense into the presence of the original of which it is a painting. The link is in the Orthodox view analogous to the connection between a sacred relic and the saint from which the relic is derived. With this difference, that the connection between the relic and the saint, assuming it to exist in fact, might be called a natural link, whereas the connection between the icon and its original is created by the Church. It is established by the action of blessing the icon. An icon is not, so to speak, fully an icon until it has been blessed. Then it becomes a link between the human and the divine, through it the other world comes into touch with the worshipper.

Standing before it with the right disposition of heart and mind, one is really in touch with, in the presence of, the subject which the icon represents. "According to Orthodox belief an icon is a place of the Gracious Presence. It is the place of an *appearance* of Christ, of the Virgin, of the saints, of all those represented by the icon, and hence it serves as a place for prayer to them." "By the blessing of the icon of Christ, a mystical meeting of the faithful and Christ is made possible."[1]

[1] S. Bulgakov: *The Orthodox Church*, p. 162 f., London, 1935.

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778 781 No wonder then that the icons are so highly revered, that famous icons are carried in procession through the streets, or brought by the clergy to the bedside of the sick.

778 789 So potent is the link between the icon and its prototype that many icons are regarded as "wonder-working icons" In fact the wonder-working icon is the icon *par excellence*. The belief that such icons are endowed with miraculous power has given rise to numberless legends.[1] They may tell of an icon's being the means of curing sickness and other ills which flesh is heir to, of bringing material good fortune to the devout believer, of securing the icon's own safety when menaced by danger, of rewarding its veneration and even resenting and punishing insult, physical injury and neglect, but mercifully restoring the sinner after his repentance. Not all of this is official Orthodox teaching: much of it belongs to the sphere of popular religion, where it may go to fantastic lengths.[2]

Presumably the orthodox interpretation of such happenings is that at the intercession of the saint depicted on the icon, God grants the request of the petitioner who prayed before it. In the popular mind such an explanation may readily slide into the conception that the saint is the benefactor because this particular picture of him was venerated, and that again may easily slip into the feeling that it is the actual icon itself which has worked the miracle or conferred the blessing.

There exist a relatively large number of pictures of the Blessed Virgin which tradition attributes to St. Luke, and these are treated with deep reverence. But a place of their own in the heart of the Orthodox believer belongs to the "Icons not made with Hands". These are icons the originals of which are believed to have come into existence without human agency. Such are the Vernicle, the legend of which is well known in the West also; and an image of Christ imprinted upon a cloth sent to Abgar, King of Edessa, by Christ himself and subsequently brought to Constantinople. This is the most ancient of the "Icons not made with Hands". But there are others, and they, and the copies made of them (though some are said

[1] See R. M. Dawkins for many such connected with the icons of Athos, in *The Monks of Athos*, London, 1936.

[2] Charles Diehl in *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. IV, p. 6.

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to be impossible to copy, or even to photograph) are regarded with the deepest veneration.[1] 778

The canonical authority upon which the veneration of icons rests is the decree of the second council of Nicaea which is the seventh Ecumenical Council (see p. 54). The doctrinal basis is found in the fact of the Incarnation. God cannot be represented in His eternal being.[2] But God became man and took a body of material flesh. Because of this a picture may lawfully be made of Him. Further, in assuming a human body He used matter as the vehicle of spirit, rescued it from corruption and consecrated it to a share in His redemptive purpose. What is true of Christ's material body, is true of other forms of matter such as the material elements in the sacraments, and, in some measure, of the icons. The icons are, therefore, worthy of veneration, though in theory the degree of veneration is strictly limited. 789

[1] R. M. Dawkins has a chapter on "Icons not made with Hands"—in his *Monks of Athos*, Chapter 18.

[2] Yet icons exist which depict the Holy Trinity as two throned Figures side by side, with the Dove above them.

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CHAPTER X

ORTHODOX MONASTICISM

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MONASTICISM is an immensely important institution in the life of the Orthodox Church. The impulse to flee the world, to escape from the evil in it and avoid its temptations and to save one's soul by withdrawal into a life of prayer and contemplation, has operated upon men and women from almost the earliest Christian centuries. Already in the third century St. Paul of Thebes and St. Anthony retired into the Egyptian desert to live solitary lives as hermits, and many followed their examples.

The attention is caught by the spectacular austerities of these desert hermits. Their ruthless and ferocious handling of the flesh often took forms which were gruesome and fantastic to the borders of the incredible. Yet it would be scant justice to those men to focus attention upon this aspect of their achievement only. Anthony was the friend of Athanasius, and men like Athanasius were not unaware of the claims of the world of human beings upon the Christian believer. Yet the hermits were regarded with immense veneration and men flocked to sit at their feet and even to imitate their manner of life. It was not the mere maceration of the body, nor only the fear of the world and a selfish desire to save their own souls, which drew them there. In spite of the extreme and manifold negations, the fundamental aspiration was positive. The first dynamic outburst of enthusiasm which led people to sell their possessions and lay the money at the Apostles' feet, flared up again in this violent gesture of throwing away everything for the sake of God. The significant thing about these desert saints was not this or that physical achievement in the sphere of fasting and self mortification, but their complete abandon, their wild enthusiasm for God.

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Men were awed indeed by the hermit's austerities, but they took note of the fact that the almost inhuman means he chose for his approach to God was answered by something human and lovable in him after all. They saw him as one who in the silence of the desert solitude, famished and sleepless, had looked upon things eternal, and so learned to be humble, while his harshness to himself had its counterpart in his gentleness to other men. 792 785

At the beginning of the next century a development took place when St. Anthony during the latter part of his life appears as the head and centre of a group of such solitaries. They were distinct from simple hermits, for they lived as a colony, but there was at this stage no Rule and no formal Vows. Each practised the life of a monk in the way that seemed best to him: he received some guidance from the head of the group, but he was not bound to obey him. A large and increasing number of monks lived this sort of life in the Egyptian desert from the fourth century onwards. But at the same time a further development was taking place, and about the year 320 St. Pachomius founded the first monastery in the true sense of the word, in which the brethren lived a life in common. These monks were subject to a Rule which controlled every aspect of their lives, and owed obedience to their superior. Even in Pachomius' lifetime there existed nine such communities for men and two for women. 792

The movement increased rapidly and soon there were very large numbers of monks in Egypt, while the eager drive to embrace the monastic life extended northward into Palestine. Here too, fostered by the growing veneration for the Holy Places, many monasteries were founded in the Judaean desert. St. Sabbas was a famous Palestinian monk who himself founded a number of religious houses of the type known as "laura", i.e., consisting of a number of hermits living in separate cells, but under the direction of an abbot. Further north still, in Syria and Mesopotamia the monastic life was developed upon lines which were characterized by extreme austerities outstripping even those of the Egyptian desert. It was in Syria that the pillar-saints first made their appearance, the most famous of them being St. Simeon Stylites who spent thirty years of his life on the top of a pillar, the height of which he gradually

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increased from six feet to sixty. He never descended; his disciples supplied him with the necessities of life by means of a ladder, and his influence upon all classes of society was widespread and very great.[1]

But most of these centres were soon to find themselves cut off from the Orthodox world by the doctrinal controversies in which the Patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch were involved, and by the invasion of the Arabs. It was through Cappadocia that the stream of development in Orthodox monasticism flowed from its source in Pachomius, and we reach a definite turning point in the story when the impressive figure of St. Basil, later to be Bishop of Caesarea in Pontus, enters upon the scene. He was born in 329 and died in A.D. 379, an aristocrat by birth, a man of brilliant intellectual gifts and of immense prestige. In his own country the monastic life already existed and he was strongly drawn to it. About the year 357 he made a tour of Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Mesopotamia, to visit the great ascetics and study their manner of life.

He found, therefore, the three types just described, the Solitary or Eremite, the Antonian or Semi-eremite, and the Pachomian or Cœnobitic, and it was the last which appealed to him most powerfully, and which in a modified form he adopted. His adaptations were chiefly concerned with an increased emphasis upon the sense of community. "St. Basil established a common roof, a common table, and common prayer always."[2] He also kept the numbers of monks in each monastery smaller than was customary in Egypt. With the weight of his personal ascendancy and of his many writings on the subject behind it, the Basilian form of monastic life became prevalent in the Orthodox world.

But the Eremite and the Semi-eremite did not disappear; they have continued to exist to the present day. In fact it is characteristic of Orthodox monasticism that it may combine all three forms of the monastic life. This practice was established as early as the end of the fifth century in Palestine and was introduced into Mount Athos by a certain St. Athanasius in the

[1] See the life of a pillar saint in Baynes and Dawes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, Oxford, 1948.
[2] *Camb. Med. Hist.*, I, p. 528.

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middle of the tenth. The general method has been to allow monks to adopt the life of solitude or semi-solitude only if they felt so called, after long experience and training in the common life.

It was not until the last quarter of the fourth century, in the reign of Theodosius the Great, that the monastic life established itself on a permanent footing in Constantinople itself. But after that time it developed rapidly and a century and a half later, in the capital city and Chalcedon, which was just across the water, together there were over a hundred religious houses.[1] Councils of the Church, and notably Chalcedon in 451, found it expedient to issue regulations to control the lives of the monks, defining their duties and placing them under the supervision of the bishop.

By the time of Justinian, the civil power has taken cognizance of the monastic life and the later legislation of that Emperor deals with it in considerable detail. In his *Novels*, the ecclesiastical regulations which dealt with monasticism are confirmed by the law of the State.

The rules laid down by Justinian, based as they were upon the System of St Basil were wise and beneficial, and well calculated to stimulate the best in the monastic way of life as well as to safeguard it against obvious dangers. Both Church and State remained content with them in the main for a long time to come. Under them monasticism flourished exceedingly, and more and more religious houses were founded, both for men and for women.

As monasteries multiplied and increased in size throughout the Empire, the need for a more complex organization with differentiation of function within the community became apparent and even imperative. Few men can be found able to take sole responsibility for all the details of every aspect of the life of a religious community, and the reforms introduced by St. Theodore of the monastery of Studius in the ninth century brought much relief to the lot of an abbot. St. Theodore, writer, administrator and a fighter, left his mark upon Orthodox monasticism in more ways than one. He retired from the world at an early age and joined a community of which his uncle, St. Plato, was the superior on a family estate on Mount Olympus. In due course he succeeded his uncle as superior

[1] Baynes and Moss, *Byzantium*, p. 145.

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and later returned, with his monks, to Constantinople, the city of his birth and upbringing. Here he established his community in the derelict buildings of a monastery which had been founded by one named Studius some four centuries earlier. This was to become the celebrated Studite Monastery, from which St. Theodore takes his title and which played so important a part in the ecclesiastical politics of Constantinople.

While keeping the central control in the hands of the abbot, St. Theodore divided the task of running the monastery among a number of functionaries each of whom had his clearly defined duties and rendered an account of his department periodically to the abbot. St. Theodore assembled his monks three times a week for instruction and exhortation and established a system of discipline within the community. Under his rule the monastery of Studius prospered to such an extent that before long there were no less than a thousand monks within its walls.

Monasticism has exercised an immense influence in Orthodoxy; and behind the monks were the people. For in popular estimation the monastic life was the highest expression of Christian discipleship. The veneration which in days of persecution was paid to the martyr was, in a sense, transferred to the spiritual athlete who for the salvation of his soul and the attainment of communion with God devoted himself to prayer and contemplation, and not merely forsook the pleasures of the world, but surrendered everything that could be surrendered while keeping life in the body.

The forms of public worship in the Orthodox Church were compiled by and for the monks. There is no concession in the form of a simplified version for popular use by the laity. The bishops are invariably chosen from the ranks of the monks.

The reputation for sanctity ascribed to the monk as such, and frequently deservedly, led men and women of all classes of society to resort to them for spiritual guidance and to seek their advice and help in the problems and difficulties which confronted them. Not only the learned and cultured among them, but at times the grim Stylite also have made their influence felt in the councils of emperors and magistrates.

In times of crisis whole bodies of monks would rise in the

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defence of Orthodoxy as they knew it, and even impose their will by force or the threat of it. Such was the unedifying spectacle at the "Robber-Synod" of Ephesus, and the Bishop of Alexandria in the hey-dey of his power could always count upon such support. On the other hand the corporate influence exerted by the monastic order is to be seen in a much more favourable light when the monks took the lead in the defence of the images under Theodore of the monastery of Studius in the iconoclastic controversy. They suffered for their fearless insistence upon their principles, both in respect of the images themselves, and in regard to the intrusion of the Emperor into the sphere of spiritual discipline.

The ideals of the monastic life were lofty, but human nature remains weak and fallible. It is not to be expected that those ideals would always be reached, nor even the struggle to reach them always be maintained. It would seem to be the experience of monastic life in general that it is subject to periods in which the monks tend to get lax in the practice of their ascetic ideals. Such occasions give rise sometimes to reform and the bracing effects of a return to the stringency of earlier standards, and sometimes to a modification of rule in recognition of human frailty. It was in one such period that a new form of the monastic life established itself on Mount Athos in the fifteenth century. It is known as *Idiorrhythmism*, a word which means roughly "living in one's own way". Idiorrhythmic monks claim, and have succeeded in establishing, the right to hold private property. In such monasteries there is no abbot, control is exercised by a Council of monks, the head of which is elected yearly. Each monk receives a certain amount of food and a small sum of money from the monastery, and he earns by his own work whatever he wants or needs in addition. Thus while the rule of celibacy and the rule of obedience are maintained, the rule of poverty is virtually abrogated.

Nearly half the monasteries of Mount Athos are Idiorrhythmic and this modified form of the common life has spread elsewhere in the Orthodox world.

In the fourteenth century a peculiar aspect of Orthodox monasticism came to the forefront, became the subject of lively controversy for a decade, and finally received official

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approval. This was *hesychasm*. The word means quietude and alludes to the state of interior quiet which the contemplative sought to attain. There was a time in the sixth century when hesychast simply meant monk, but later the name was restricted to the contemplative solitary and the hermit, the type of monk which the regulations drawn up by St. Basil, the Emperor Justinian, and others, had tended to discourage, although without forbidding it.

Hesychasm was not new in the fourteenth century. It was a tradition which claimed descent through Simeon the New Theologian, a great visionary and mystic who died in 1022, he belonged to the monastery of Studius, and his writings had much influence upon Orthodox monasticism. Its great champion Gregory who took the habit on Mount Sinai in 1330, and later went to Mount Athos, appealed also to St. John of the Ladder, a sixth-century mystic, and other writers on the ascetic life. Indeed from the earliest days there had been men who aspired to the joys of mystical contemplation and wrote of the methods by which these were to be attained, with theories of the mystical light and a system of partly physical methods of inducing it.

> "When thou art alone in thy cell, shut thy door, and seat thyself in a corner; raise thy mind above all things vain and transitory; recline thy beard and chin on thy breast; turn thine eyes and thy thought towards the middle of thy belly, the region of the navel and search the place of the heart, the seat of the soul. At first all will be dark and comfortless, but if thou persevere day and night, thou wilt feel an ineffable joy; and no sooner has the soul discovered the place of the heart than it is involved in a mystic and ethereal light."

So Gibbon cites[1] an eleventh century Athonite abbot.

Here the desire of Orthodox monastic practice to see and to feel comes to a head. For the reward of such contemplation was held by the hesychasts to be the very substance of God Himself, the uncreated light revealed on Mount Tabor at the Transfiguration.

[1] *Decline and Fall*, Chapter 63.

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A highly cultivated monk named Barlaam who had lived at the Court of Avignon but was now back in Constantinople, and who paid a visit to Athos, denounced such a doctrine as scandalous and heretical; for it implied in his view two substances in the Godhead, one visible and the other invisible.

But the theology, if not the cruder practice of hesychasm, found an able defender in St. Gregory Palamas who later became Archbishop of Thessalonika. Hesychasm spread and found a second home in Bulgaria. The controversy raged for some years, more than one Council considered the subject, and the hesychasts won in the end. In the civil war between John Cantacuzenus and John Palaeologus the support of the popular and venerated monks of Athos was of importance. And the surprising end was that the unchanging East, with all its pride of intact tradition and its horror of innovation, formally accepted the new doctrine of the uncreated light of Mount Tabor at a Council held in Constantinople in 1351. Hesychasm has held the place it thus secured in Orthodox monasticism. It was at Mount Athos that the Russian Nil Sorsky learned its doctrine, and incorporated the best of it into his own thought, whence it flowed into the stream of Russian monastic life.

Some centres of Orthodox monasticism claim special attention.

The Monastery of St. Katharine on Mount Sinai ranks as one of the autocephalous Churches of the Orthodox Communion and its Abbot has the title of Archbishop. Near the rocky summit of this "God-trodden" mountain, sacred to Islam and to the Jews as well as to Christians, whither, according to legend, angels carried the body of St. Katharine of Alexandria after her martyrdom, Justinian built in 550 the famous monastery which stands today much as his builders left it. The Emperor endowed the foundation generously and since his day many benefactors have bestowed liberal gifts upon it, so that, exempt as it has been from taxation under all political régimes, the monastery grew very wealthy. It possesses a library which is rich in manuscripts, and it was there that in 1844 Tischendorf made his famous discovery of the Codex Sinaiaticus, the fourth century manuscript of the New Testament now in the British Museum, which

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purchased it from the Russian Government for £100,000. In early days the Monastery of Mount Sinai was under the jurisdiction sometimes of Jerusalem and sometimes of Alexandria. A synod of 1782, however, formally recognized its complete independence, although the Archbishop is always consecrated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. He lives in Cairo. The monastery has a number of daughter-houses here and there in the world of Orthodoxy. One of them flourished for two hundred years in the Island of Crete and produced some famous men, among them Cyril Lucar. The Archbishop of Sinai has no lay flock, and apart from its sacred association and interesting history the fact that the small body of monks under his jurisdiction constitutes an independent Church on the same footing in that respect as, for example, the immense Church of Russia with its many million adherents, gives it a unique interest.

But Orthodoxy has innumerable monasteries and even the briefest account cannot omit mention of the ancient religious houses of Judaea and Cyprus or of the romantic monasteries of which Curzon wrote, some of which, as at Metéora, are perched on the top of cliffs so inaccessible that the visitor is drawn up by a rope.

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Russia has its famous monastery of the Holy Trinity near Moscow with its fortified walls which has played an important part in Russian history. It was here that Dmitry of the Don took counsel with St. Sergius before sallying forth to his great fight with the Tartars, and here was the rallying centre of Russian patriotism under Minin the butcher and Pozharsky the Prince, when the Poles had taken Moscow at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Further south is the ancient fourfold monastery of Kiev with its catacombs, which is probably the place of origin of the basis of the chronicle "of Nestor", now usually known as the Primary Chronicle, the earliest source for the beginnings of Russian history.

There is the great monastery of Pochaev in Volhynia; of Valaam on an island in Lake Ladoga; and away in the far north on another island in the White Sea, is Solovetsky which has the distinction of having been bombarded by an English ship during the Crimean War. The cannon balls are still to be seen there.

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These there are, and many more, some of which have, in their day, been outposts of civilization and centres of missionary activity, and within whose walls century after century individual men have led lives of asceticism, hard work and prayer.

But the heart of Orthodox monasticism and indeed the devotional heart of Orthodoxy as a whole is Mount Athos, and this may be described in somewhat greater detail as representing Orthodox monasticism *par excellence*.

On the northern shores of the Aegean Sea the Thracian Chersonesus stretches out three fingers which point southwards. The eastern of these three is the one which Xerxes cut through in 483 B.C. in order to bring his fleet to Athens without having to risk the stormy passage round it. At its tip this rocky finger of land rises to a peak of 6,000 feet. This is Mount Athos, the Holy Mountain of Orthodoxy. Athos has its place both in classical mythology and in Christian legend, but its history as a centre of Christian monasticism does not begin before the ninth century. There were then, and perhaps earlier, hermits living there: they may have come as refugees during the iconoclast controversy. The monks of Athos were recognized by an imperial charter of 875. But the organization of monastic life on the mountain was due to a certain St. Athanasius who died in A.D. 1000, after establishing, with the help of the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, the first, and still the chief, of the Athonite monasteries, the Lavra.

Mount Athos enjoyed the favour of succeeding Emperors of Byzantium and prospered exceedingly in spite of attacks by pirates and Latins and other foes from outside. More and more monasteries were built. As early as 1094 Athos was declared independent of the neighbouring bishoprics of Ierosos and Salonika, and it became a sort of monastic republic. Of the twenty sovereign monasteries which have survived to the present day nineteen had been established by the middle of the fourteenth century. The twentieth (*Stavronikéta*) was founded two hundred years later, and is the only one of them, therefore, which is not an imperial foundation. At the present time they are all under the direct jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch and so belong to the class of monastery known as

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Stavropegion, from the ceremonial of placing upon the altar a cross (stavros) sent by the Patriarch when such churches are consecrated. Apart from one Serb, one Bulgarian and the huge Russian establishment of St. Panteleimon, all the monasteries are Greek. Eleven of them are coenobitic and the other nine idiorrhythmic. Among them the twenty monasteries own all the land of the Athonite peninsula, upon which, as is well known, no female creature is allowed to set foot.[1] Some concession seems to be made in favour of hens.

By no means all the monks of the mountain live, however, within the sovereign monasteries. There are a number of other forms of the monastic life to be found there. There are twelve recognized *Sketai*, one of them is Georgian and another Rumanian. A *skétê* is a group of small houses with a church and dependant upon a monastery. In theory it is a much smaller unit though in one or two cases it has outgrown the parent house. A cell is a still smaller unit than a *skétê*, and is inhabited by two or three monks who support themselves from the soil and pay rent to the monastery for it; while the hermit lives in a tiny "kathisma" and the extreme ascetic in some inaccessible retreat known as a "hesychasterion".

Under the constitution which dates from 1783 and was revised in 1924, the affairs of the whole community of Mount Athos are managed by a legislative body which consists of one representative elected yearly from each of the twenty sovereign monasteries. They meet in the village of Karyes which has been the seat of government since the tenth century. There is also an executive committee of four, chosen annually, one from each of a group of four monasteries taken in turn. Since there are five such groups, each monastery is represented on the executive every five years. The members of the executive are not members of the legislative body, but the president of the one is also the chairman of the other.

On the whole the monks have fared well enough in their relations with secular rulers, at least until modern times. When the Turks captured Salonika in 1430 and secured control of

[1] For the probable reason of this regulation, which was first promulgated by St. Plato (uncle of St. Theodore of the Studium, who adopted it) in his monastery at Saccoudion, see Baynes and Moss, *Byzantium*, p. 149.

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Athos they respected the privileges of the monks in return for a substantial tribute. Athos suffered severely when the Turks occupied it during the Greek War of Independence; and still more in 1861 when Prince Cuza confiscated the vast estates in Rumania which pious benefactors in the past had bestowed upon the monasteries. Some indemnity was offered but the monks regarded the whole transaction as purely illegal, and refused it. The loss to them was an income of £120,000 a year, which meant the severe impoverishment of fourteen of the richest monasteries. These were Greek, and one effect was to tilt the balance in favour of the Russians in the perennial rivalry and friction which has existed between Russians and Greeks in the history of the Holy Mountain. But the turn of the Russians was to come, and the Russian Revolution has left the Russian monks on Athos almost entirely destitute.

The Greek census of 1928 gave the total number of monks on Athos as 4,858, rather less than half of whom reside within the walls of the monasteries. The monasteries are all fortified, and grouped among the luxuriant foliage they provide a picture of great beauty. The typical monastery surrounds a courtyard in the centre of which is the church and at one end the refectory. A fountain stands between them. The surrounding walls enclose on the ground floor store rooms and offices, and the monks' living quarters in the two or three stories above. The walls are castellated and may have projecting wooden galleries. In one corner is the keep, now generally converted into a library. The monastic libraries are rich in manuscripts and other documents which, even after the losses incurred during the Greek War of Independence, and by fire and neglect, are of great value to the political, ecclesiastical and social historian, and Athos is a store house of treasures of Byzantine art.

The monks spend their time for the most part in religious exercises. Otherwise they occupy themselves with agriculture, fishing and handicrafts.

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The ideal of the Orthodox monk is to glorify God and to save his own soul by a life of prayer and mortification. They all follow with greater or less strictness the system of St. Basil. There is nothing to correspond with the variety of Orders and

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Congregations which have developed in the West. The Orthodox monks do not fail in the duty of showing charity to the poor, and hospitality to the traveller. Benevolent institutions, such as schools and hospitals, may be attached to a monastery, in the sense that they are supported by funds provided by it, but not in the sense that the monks themselves give personal service in them. The fulfilment of an apostolate to the world is no part of the primary purpose of the Orthodox in embracing the monastic life. An exception is provided by many of the monks of mediaeval Russia. Here too it may be true that their first object in pushing their settlements ever further into the remote and barbarous districts to the north and east, was to escape from the world and secure that solitude in which the contemplative life can thrive. But it is to their honour that when so placed they were not deaf to the call of the world around them. These Russian monastic settlements were lights shining in the darkness and became civilizing and evangelizing agencies of incalculable worth among the peoples of the steppes and the tundras.

Nor must the intellectual and artistic activities of the religious houses of Orthodoxy be overlooked. The work of their copyists has saved the contents of many an ancient manuscript from being lost to posterity. Religious literature has been enriched by the original writings of Orthodox monks on theology, mysticism, prayer and the ascetic life, and they compiled many lives of the saints.

The religious poetry which figures so prominently in Orthodox forms of worship is largely the work of monks. Much of it is of great beauty and some few instances have been translated and established themselves in the hymn books of the West.[1]

Side by side with this is the work of the painter monks who created a whole world of beauty and spirituality of their own in the production of icons and the frescoing of the walls of churches, while the delicate labours of the miniaturist and illuminator of manuscripts have made something precious for the rest of the world.

[1] See Chapter VIII.

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CHAPTER XI

ORTHODOXY AND THE PEOPLE

THERE is evidence that in Russia the year 1948 was marked 771
by widespread religious revival. It is striking and even startling. It tells of the people flocking back to their Church; of very great numbers crowding the churches of Moscow to make their communions during Lent; of physically exhausted priests snatching a few hours' sleep without leaving church, so many were the people who came to seek their ministrations.

Even if such reports exaggerated the facts and were only partly true, they draw attention once more to the ineradicably religious nature of the Russians. They suggest that it is to the temper of the Russian folk as a whole that the West must look for the prospect of peace and mutual understanding, and inspire the hope that in the long run the character of the Russian people will make itself felt and say its say.

In dealing with Orthodoxy we are dealing with a different 100
civilization from our own. It is, if we adopt Toynbee's classification, Byzantine whilst ours is Western, and although both are derived from the Greco-Roman civilization which preceded them, the two have their own characteristic and sometimes divergent views of life. It behoves us then to try to understand the Orthodox view of life, and what especially concerns us here is the mainspring of that view of life—for its mainspring is religion, even if that should manifest itself in negative form, as recently in Russia.

Leaving on one side then the official body of doctrine and 781
the questions which confront the hierarchy in their relations with the State and with those who lie outside the confines of Orthodoxy, what does religion mean when it means anything, to the people of the Orthodox Church, to the man behind

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781 the machine, to the worker in the fields, to the housewife and the mother who teaches her children the Orthodox faith?

All generalizations are perilous and break down somewhere. There are marked differences between Greek and Slav, and again within the Slavs themselves. For instance, the Southern Slavs have perhaps never been the enthusiastic churchgoers that their cousins the Russians have been.

If we ask in what manner a man is conscious of his religion we shall get different answers. In some religions he is conscious of it in terms of fear. The Western man or woman is probably aware of it primarily in terms of duty, of the claims it makes upon him in respect of conduct. I am talking about its primary impact and his immediate response, if he makes any. Doubtless many other things follow.

But one might perhaps risk the assertion that the Orthodox are conscious of their religion primarily in terms of the reality of the unseen world and the permeation of this world by the other. Orthodoxy is meeting, the meeting of two worlds, the contact of the material and the spiritual and even the penetration of the material by the spiritual.

When the Greek stands in Church, this is what he is aware of and here he finds it symbolized. The space where he stands, before the Iconostas, is this world, behind the Iconostas, is the other world. There they meet and there, as he makes his communion, they meet again not in symbol but in fact, in his own person. The icon which he salutes in reverence, he looks not at, but through, for it is (among other things) a window opening upon the spiritual world.

All this is because God Himself came from the heavenly world and entered the earthly, and what is more, stayed in it. The faith, the doctrinal statements to which all alike, both clergy and laity, adhere so passionately, are but the safeguarding shrine of this commanding truth and all that it implies.

781 This explains the central position which Easter occupies
796 in the spiritual life of Orthodoxy. The Great Service takes place at midnight and it has been frequently described. It is preceded by a procession outside the Church, which represents a fruitless search for the body of Christ. Then follow the joyful announcement "Christ is Risen", and the Easter Liturgy

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to which succeed domestic rejoicings which may last most of the night. For Christ has plunged into the abysses of this world and deeper still, to return with the new life of restorative power which shall claim not only the hearts of men but the whole cosmos for light and truth. Fedotov[1] draws attention to the figure of Cosmos in Greek icons which represent the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The Apostles are grouped around Our Lady in the upper room and the flickering tongues of fire play upon the head of each, and there is another figure in the picture who also shares in the out-pouring of the Spirit. It is "King Cosmos", a crowned and bearded man who is apparently coming up from below, out of the earth.

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But it is expressed and preserved in other more homely and intimate ways, and the Church's touch upon Nature is repeated as the year unfolds. New mown hay, just as it is with the flowers that fell with it, is brought in armfuls and strewn on the floor of the church at Whitsuntide, for Pentecost was one of the first of Harvest Festivals. On the Feast of the Transfiguration which means much for Orthodoxy, grapes are blessed and distributed. "As the water is changed by Nature into the blood of the grape," a Serb said to me, "so by a higher power the blood of the grape is changed into the Blood of Christ." Once more that world penetrates this to transfigure and enrich it.

A ceremony to which enthusiastic crowds always flock, and which may be seen in any Orthodox land from the Jordan to the Neva, is the Blessing of the Waters at the Epiphany. It commemorates the Baptism of Christ, but as it has spread from Palestine into the rest of the Orthodox world, so it has widened its significance to include the touch of the other world upon the waters which give life and fruitfulness to the earth. And a charming ceremony it is, best seen perhaps in the cold countries where at that season of the year the rivers are frozen. There great blocks of ice are cut out of the surface, and from them an altar is built, the cross upon which is also fashioned from ice. The vested clergy and their attendants are grouped around and with them the crowds of worshippers and sightseers.

[1] Fedotov: *The Russian Religious Mind*, Harvard, 1946, p. 369.

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781 The waters are blessed by dipping the cross into them with the
796 appropriate prayers. At the Jordan, multitudes of the excited people plunge into the newly blessed river, and even in cold climates there are hardy enthusiasts who will leap through the hole in the ice.[1]

781 All this and much more is the happy side of the realization that the unseen world of light and life enters into this other dark gross world of sin and suffering. But there is another aspect of it which finds expression in what is a characteristic cry of Orthodoxy—"*Lord have mercy.*"

Toynbee has written[2] that one element in Russia's inheritance from Byzantium is the conviction that Byzantium, and then Russia is always right. In matters of State policy, both secular and ecclesiastical, this may well be so. But there is a sense in which the Orthodox has the conviction that he is always wrong. Not only is he aware of his failures and shortcomings in his relations with his fellows, but he expresses it. A Russian in saying "good-bye" to a friend may use a word which equally well means "forgive". If he is a devout person, he may seek his acquaintances and ask their forgiveness, not necessarily with any specific wrongdoing in his mind, on solemn occasions, as, for instance, when he intends to make his communion. A vivid sense of man's need of the divine compassion of forgiveness is woven into the very fabric of Orthodox religion. The words "Lord have mercy" are constantly on the lips of the Orthodox and they are repeated, over and over again in the course of worship.

781 The scene may be in a cathedral church on September 14,
796 the Festival of the Exaltation of the Cross. A platform has been erected in the centre of the church, and upon this a group of men stand. They hold in their hands a huge and resplendent cross. Very slowly, by almost imperceptible degrees they raise it, holding it in a vertical position, and lifting it higher and higher, until they can reach no further. The cross remains for a moment, poised at its highest elevation, above the heads of the bearers, above the watching eyes of the

[1] In Greece a cross is thrown into the sea with a ribbon attached by which it is retrieved. In town churches the ceremony of blessing the water may take place at the font.

[2] *Civilization on Trial*, p. 164 ff., Oxford, 1948.

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vast multitude of worshippers who throng the church on all sides. Then with the same slow deliberation it is gradually lowered again to the ground. During this action a choir is singing, and many of the congregation whispering—"Lord have mercy"—just that one phrase over and over again, beginning softly on a very low note and rising in pitch and increasing in volume until the cross is at its maximum height, when the whole building reverberates with the reiterated appeal which slowly dies away again as the cross descends. Then the whole action is repeated to the same accompaniment, and more than once. The number of repetitions must run into hundreds. To many Western minds they will doubtless appear "vain repetitions". But the look on the faces of the worshippers will perhaps give pause to the expression of any such sentiment. The dramatic action expresses something very deeply implanted in the religious consciousness of the Orthodox, the feeling of human unworthiness and its need of the divine compassion, the sense of being imprisoned in the dark and crude elements of this world and the appeal for light and liberation.

Closely allied to it is the awareness of a positive value in suffering and humility, even of humiliation. One meets many members of the Orthodox Church whom political events and recent decades have reduced from riches to poverty or from a reasonable degree of material comfort to almost none at all. But very rarely indeed is there any sign of bitterness and resentment in their reaction. The vivid awareness of the other world does much to soften the asperities of this, and that unseen world is peopled by those who have suffered, it is ruled by the Christ Who humbled Himself.

Another scene may illustrate this, the ceremony of the Feet-washing on Maundy Thursday—which again will pack the church to the doors and beyond. A large dais has been erected in the centre and on it are twelve seats in two rows facing each other. Upon each seat is a bishop fully vested. At a certain point in the service, the chief bishop present, who has been conducting it, lays aside his episcopal vestments, girds himself with a towel and takes a basin and water. He ascends the dais and goes to each of the seated bishops in turn,

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781 kneels in front of him, removes his foot-gear first from one
796 foot, then from the other, and washes and dries his feet. He replaces the socks and shoes and passes on to the next. When he comes to the one who represents St. Peter, the latter makes the protest recorded in St. John's Gospel and his reluctance has to be overborne before his feet are washed. Finally the officiant resumes his vestments and the main service continues its course. How long does all this take? It does not matter, no one minds or even notices how long. It is all done in absolute silence. All that is audible is the breathing of one's immediate neighbours among the tense crowd of worshippers.

781 Here too is something particularly real to the Orthodox spirit which is an echo of individual experience, or at least of individual aspiration constantly known. Humiliation may even be sought after from religious motives, and exceptionally this may take oddly extreme forms. The bizarre and well-nigh incredible figure whom the Russians call "Yurodivi", which may be translated the "Fool for Christ's sake"[1] could only be found within the Eastern Orthodox world. He may be really deficient mentally, and as such, in the Russian view, under the special protection of God. He may also be the man who in pursuit of humility and in praise of it deliberately assumed a character of foolishness, and courted the jeers of those he met, inviting their mockery as he roamed from village to village—a fantastic figure, but one who has his meed of reverence too, for the grace that he seeks is loved.

771 The Orthodox has more to remind him of the unseen world than those who dwell in lands in which religion assumes forms that are more austere. Though for centuries under Turkish rule he was deprived of such outward signs of religion, so that at times he was wont to build his church half buried in the ground to aid concealment, yet with the return of freedom he set up his shrines at street corners and along the wayside. Icons are not confined to the churches, they are to be found in the houses, in every room of a devout household. The living-room will have an icon in a position stereotyped by custom, and a visitor will salute it on entering as he greets his host. Especially in Russia of pre-revolution days, icons were

[1] See 1 Corinthians iv, 10.

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to be seen everywhere, at the railway stations, in the shops, in prisons and barracks and all sorts of public buildings. 771

A further reminder is provided by events in the yearly round marked by the Church Kalendar. This has perhaps a more intimate touch upon the lives of Orthodox people, so many of whom are peasants for whom the festivals of the Church are closely associated with the recurrent seasons in Nature and with agricultural work. 771 796

The Orthodox Kalendar is in its framework the same as the Western. That is to say it is built up around the Great Festivals which are common to the whole of Christendom, Easter being the chief of all. But there is no Trinity Sunday, the first Sunday after Whitsuntide is used by the Orthodox for the commemoration of All Saints. Thereafter the Sundays are counted after Whit Sunday. In the course of the year many of the Sundays are given names, e.g., the first Sunday after Easter is known as the Sunday of St. Thomas, and in general the names are derived from the Gospel appointed for the day. The first Sunday in Lent is Orthodox Sunday (see p. 54) when blessings are invoked upon the champions of Orthodoxy and anathemas upon its foes. There is no season of Advent. 796

Every day is marked as the commemoration of a sa[illegible] and sometimes of more than one. Here differences will b[illegible] found in various parts of the Orthodox world owing to the introduction of the names of local saints, and the differences from the West are remarkable. The Orthodox Kalendar contains the names of most of the Old Testament Prophets and Patriarchs and almost none of the Western saints find a place in it. If it is compared with the English Kalendar it will be found that practically none of the minor saints belong to both Kalendars. An outstanding exception is St. George on April 23, who is highly venerated in the East as the Great Martyr.

The times of fasting prescribed by the Orthodox Church are more frequent than in any part of the West. In addition to Lent, which begins in the East on the Monday after Quinquagesima, and is known as the Great Lent, another fasting period is the first fortnight of August, another is the six weeks before Christmas, and there is still another of varying length 785 796

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785 between the octave of Whit Sunday and June 29, the festival of St. Peter and Paul.

796 Even outside these periods there are many days upon which the Orthodox faithful are expected to use only abstinence food, including, with a few exceptions, all Wednesdays and Fridays.

786 Furthermore, fasting itself is a much more rigorous affair among the Orthodox than it is in the West. It involves abstinence from any food of animal origin including fish, milk, eggs and butter. Indeed, the strict observer is left with little but bread, fruit and vegetables.

The extent to which this formidable programme is actually carried out is difficult to estimate. Doubtless like other observances of religion it has less hold upon people than it had, and town dwellers sit more lightly to it than the peasantry. Nevertheless, the Orthodox probably fulfil their obligation in this respect to an extent which would surprise the easy-going Westerner. Many of the devout are strict about it, and those who practise their religion at all will observe at least the first and last few days of the prescribed periods of fasting.

To the Orthodox, religion is very much concerned with this world as well as with the next, and fasting is of importance not only as a discipline of the human will. It expresses also the impact of the spiritual upon the material, the control of the world which is seen, by the power of the unseen world. It plays its part in causing the material to serve spiritual ends, and thus the human will shares in the process of rescuing and restoring the fallen world of Nature.

793 The clergy are a visible link between the two worlds. The parish priest with his flowing cassock and unshorn hair stands apart. He is and is seen to be distinct from other men. He is a reminder of the unseen spiritual world in which both he and his flock are living even while they live in the day-to-day world of material things, and his ministrations apply the power of the spirit to daily life.

Yet if he stands apart, he does not stand aloof. The parochial clergy throughout the Orthodox East are required to be married men. But they must marry before they are ordained. Once they are ordained marriage is forbidden them.

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Very frequently they marry the daughters of other priests, and thus clerical families tend to form a fairly well defined section of the community with its own traditions and general outlook. But in the country districts at any rate, and that is to say in the vast majority of cases, they live a life which is close to that of their parishioners. It is a simple life; they cultivate their own piece of land, and are not regarded as belonging to gentry. The question naturally arises, what happens if a parish priest is left a widower? Being a parish priest, he must have a wife, being ordained, he is precluded from marrying. In strict theory there is nothing for it but for him to give up his parish and retire into a monastery. But the theory is not unduly pressed, and he may even be allowed to have a female relation to look after his children. The bishops, on the other hand, are always chosen from among the monks, and they, of course, must remain unmarried. The married cleric can reach no higher dignity than that of Arch-priest. So that at the outset of his career the neophyte must make up his mind whether he will take a wife and settle down to parish work—or whether he will take the monastic vows and keep open the possibility of being made a bishop later on. Transition from one class to another is not common, but there are cases of widowed priests entering a monastery and subsequently being raised to episcopal rank.

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The deacon is as familiar to the people as the priest, for the diaconate is not regarded in the East as a mere step towards the priesthood and expected to last only about a year. So far from being simply a sort of incomplete priest, the Greek or Russian deacon may remain in deacon's orders all his life, and he very frequently does. He has a well-defined status with its own specific function. The deacon has his own assigned part in the Liturgy, notably the chanting of the Litanies and the singing of the Gospel; one of his qualifications is the possession of a good voice. "Father Deacon" shares in the respect and affection which are commonly given to the parish priest. Should it unhappily be the case that the priest or deacon is not all that he ought to be and even notoriously otherwise, the people will not on that account stop going to Church. If you have a good priest, so much the better, thank God that it

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793 is as it should be. If you have a bad one, that is much to be deplored. But a priest of some sort you must have, for otherwise there are no worship and no sacraments, and these are just where, most conspicuously, the other world breaks through.

771 As the Church, with its succession of festivals and fasts keeps touch with the yearly cycle of Nature, so it shepherds the individual human life from the cradle to the grave. The rites that attend his birth and his death stress the link between the two worlds, and the fact that man lives in both at the same

851 time. Even his baptism is not the first occasion on which a child of Orthodox parents will be brought into contact with the Church of which he is to become a member. On the day following the birth the priest comes to say prayers over the mother and child, and again a week later when the child is given his name. On the fortieth day from its birth the mother brings the child to Church, when prayers are said for the child, and if baptism has meanwhile been administered the priest carries the child through the church and (in the case of a male child) into the Sanctuary, reciting the *Nunc Dimittis*. But unless the child has been baptized at home, which is not infrequently the case, the latter ceremony will follow baptism. And the prayers of the eighth day are now combined with those of the first day. The rite of baptism is preceded by exorcism and a short catechism of renunciation of Satan and acceptance of Christ, which concludes with the recitation of the Nicene Creed.

The administration of the Sacrament itself begins with a Litany said by the deacon while the priest prays secretly for himself and for the one about to be baptized. This is followed by a long prayer said aloud, in the course of which the water is blessed in words which at times recall the phraseology of the Anglican rite; e.g.,

> "Grant that the person to be baptized therein may be thoroughly renewed, that he may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of him that made him; that being planted in the likeness of his death by baptism, he may be partaker of his resurrection."

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Olive oil is then blessed, the surface of the water signed with it, and the child is anointed. With his fingers dipped in the oil, the priest signs the child on the brow, saying

> "The servant of God, *N.*, is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Unto the healing of soul and body" (here the sign is made on the breast and back). "Unto hearing the faith" (on the ears). "Thy hands have made me and fashioned me" (on the palms). "That he may walk in the way of Thy commandments" (on the feet).

The child is then baptized with threefold immersion and the words, "The Servant of God, *N.*, is baptized in the Name of the Father, Amen. And of the Son, Amen. And of the Holy Ghost, Amen."

The Baptism ended, Chrism, which corresponds with the Western Confirmation, follows immediately. It begins with an ascription of praise and thanksgiving for the baptismal gift, merging into a prayer for "the seal of the gift of thy holy, and almighty, and adorable Spirit." The child is then anointed[1] in the sign of the cross on the brow, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands and feet; and at each anointing the priest says, "The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen."

A triple circuit of the font is then made with lighted tapers by the clergy and the sponsors carrying the child, the circle thus made symbolizes unbroken and eternal union with Christ. Thereafter the child is entitled, even as an infant, to receive Communion. Startling as this may be to Western minds, he may, in fact, be brought to church for this purpose once or twice a year from his baptism onwards. It emphasizes what is sometimes called the "given-ness" of the Christian religion. As the infant is capable of receiving the Grace of God in baptism, though he is totally unaware of what is happening,

[1] Not with simple olive oil again, but with chrism, which contains a large number of ingredients and is prepared with elaborate ceremonial by the chief bishop during Holy Week once every few years as required. The consecration of this chrism was from the thirteenth or fourteenth century onwards claimed by the Ecumenical Patriarch as his sole right. In modern times the claim has been contested and some of the Orthodox Churches consecrate the chrism for their own use.

851 so he may be considered able to receive the divine gifts in Communion. His dawning consciousness is trained to accept the privilege of meeting the other world as it there breaks through into this. When he is seven years old he is expected to make his first Confession, as he learns another side to the matter—his own unworthiness and responsibilities.

755 Nor does the care of the Church for the individual cease with his physical death, though it is much concentrated upon that moment. In cases of grave sickness (though not only *in articulo mortis*) or in view of some special risk of death, the devout Orthodox may be the recipient of the Sacrament of Holy Unction, and be anointed, with prayers for his recovery or safety. The long service is abbreviated in practice.

764 When a death occurs the house will be visited, even on three successive days by the priest and the prescribed service said in the presence of the body. The actual funeral service in Church is penetrated by the sense of the pathos of this life and of hope in the life to come. It contains passages of incomparable beauty, such as the first of the *ideomela* of St. John Damascene:

> "What delight of life continueth unmixed with sorrow? What glory on earth remaineth unalterable? All things are more fleeting than a shadow, all things are more illusive than dreams; one moment, and all these things are succeeded by Death. But in the light of Thy countenance, and in the sweetness of Thy beauty, do Thou, O Christ, in mercy, give rest to *him* whom Thou hast chosen, forasmuch as Thou art the lover of mankind.[1]

765 And the Church's pastoral care for the devout believer reaches out to him beyond the grave. There are ceremonies 775 prescribed for the eighth and the fortieth day after death as well as for the anniversary. For according to popular belief the soul does not bid a final farewell to this world until forty days after death, the interval having been spent in visiting the scenes of its earthly life, and even Mt. Athos and Jerusalem.

[1] See a translation of the Burial Service published by Douglas Pepler, Ditchling, 1922, and with the above quotation *cf.* No. 360 in *The English Hymnal.*

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Food and drink for the departed play their part in the rites for the dead, especially the grains of wheat which are now taken to symbolize the resurrection. But in the religious life of the people, Christianity has often had to come to terms with tough survivals among old pagan customs which it more or less disguises, particularly in the picturesque domestic ceremonies which often follow the more orthodox proceedings in Church. This is true not only of the rites which accompany death, but of many other observances also in the course of the year. They may not stand the test of rigid Orthodox belief, and the parish priest, who is perhaps better educated than the members of his flock, may frown upon them, but at least they have a humble part to play in reminding the peasant of the reality of the unseen world and that he is but a pilgrim in this.

Pilgrimage too in the literal sense figures prominently in the religion of the people. The desire to go on pilgrimage is felt by every faithful Orthodox believer. It may be only to the neighbouring monastery or the shrine of a local saint. It may be much further afield, and happy is he who realizes the ideal of every devout pilgrim, and journeys to the Holy Land. But whether the goal be near or far, the pilgrim goes to confess his sins, to say his prayers and to eat, drink and be merry at some place where the unseen world has markedly broken through and made it holy.

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CHAPTER XII

ORTHODOXY IN THE MODERN WORLD

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THE modern expansion of Orthodoxy begins with the romantic story of the Russian conquest of Siberia which was begun by Yermak in the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1582). The Russian, as Berdyaev often notes, is essentially a pilgrim and a wanderer, and when he wanders abroad he takes his Church with him. Thus, Orthodoxy has spread north-eastward, right across Siberia and even into Japan, where one of the most striking foreign missions in the history of Christendom led to the establishment of a Japanese Orthodox Church. Its Metropolitan claimed 40,000 adherents in 1931, and all its clergy were Japanese. The Orthodox communities on the mainland of north-east Asia have grown greatly both in size and in importance since the Russian Revolution in 1917 drove many refugees and settlers into that part of the world. The vast diocese of Harbin includes adherents of various races, but they are mainly Russians. Nor did the movement stop at the confines of Asia.

By way of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, Orthodoxy was introduced into the American Continent at the end of the eighteenth century. The Russians were thus the first to bring Orthodoxy to the New World, but since then members of other Orthodox nations—Greeks, Albanians, Rumanians, Serbs and others—have joined in the flood of immigration from the Old World, and the Orthodox Church has travelled to America, journeying from east to west as well as from west to east. A Russian diocese was founded in South America in 1934. Before the second world war there were eleven Russian dioceses on the American Continent and four Greek. The Orthodox bishops in the United States in a letter to President Roosevelt

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claimed to speak as representing six million people.[1] It is a significant fact that Athenagoras, the Greek Archbishop of America was in 1948 elected to the Ecumenical Throne of Constantinople. There is a Greek Orthodox diocese also in Australia, its archbishop resides in Sydney. Orthodox who live in South Africa too belong to a Greek diocese with its archbishop at Johannesburg. It is one of the seven dioceses of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, whereas the Australian diocese belongs to Constantinople.

Nor must the Russian *diaspora* which followed the Revolution be forgotten. It led to the formation or the enlargement of colonies of Russian Orthodox in many cities of Central and Western Europe with the establishment of diocesan life outside Russia whose relation to the Mother Church in Moscow still remains unsettled.

Thus Orthodoxy is a world-wide phenomenon. Its significance cannot be fairly assessed only in terms of its homelands in the east of Europe. There, of course, the enormous majority of its adherents live, and there is the traditional centre of its prestige. But in considering on the one hand the impact of the modern world upon Orthodoxy and on the other hand any message that Orthodoxy may have for the post-war world, those scattered communities of Orthodox over the world cannot be left out of account.

The parallel with the Anglican Communion can hardly escape notice. That too, like the Orthodox, is made up of a number of independent self-governing Churches, each managing its own affairs, but all in communion with each other and finding their centre of unity in Canterbury as the Orthodox find theirs in Constantinople.

Thus Orthodoxy has come increasingly into contact with "the West", and members of other Christian Confessions have opportunities of becoming aware of it and of studying it by personal observation. Such opportunities are, indeed, much limited, but nevertheless Orthodoxy is no longer a remote phenomenon known to the West only through the medium of travellers' reports or the learned writings of experts.

[1] Bolshakoff: *Foreign Missions*, who gives many statistics about Russian Orthodox abroad.

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Orthodoxy is in touch with the Ecumenical Movement, and its representatives have taken part in the conferences and assemblies which that movement convenes. Modern Russia, and especially modern Greece, have produced a number of able and erudite theological scholars fully competent to place Orthodoxy in the setting of the modern world. It is characteristic of Orthodoxy that many of its greatest theologians are laymen. For in the Orthodox Church, theological learning is not regarded as a clerical preserve. It is part of that task of guarding and preserving the Faith which is conceived as the function of the whole Church, of the *laos*, the people of God.

But Orthodoxy has been cautious, and to some extent suspicious in its contact with other Confessions. Its readiness to come into closer touch with them has ebbed and flowed. For instance, in 1925 almost the whole Orthodox world was represented at the Nicene Commemoration in London. But in 1948 the Orthodox assembled at Moscow to celebrate the five-hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the independence of the Russian Church, all, with the exception of the representatives of Constantinople and Greece, subscribed to pronouncements which, as well as expressing the traditional Orthodox hostility to the Vatican, were unfavourable both to the recognition of Anglican Orders and to the Ecumenical Movement. They declined to take any part in the meeting of the World Conference of Churches at Amsterdam in that year.

Whether this attitude was to any extent due to political causes and adopted under Russian pressure as consonant with the general cleavage at the time between Russia and the West, is a question which different people will answer with different guesses. But what is beyond question is Orthodox uneasiness at the possibility that the Ecumenical Movement might move towards an attempt to set up a sort of inter-confessional super-church, which seeks unity through a process of dilution, and accepts as its faith the lowest common denominator of the respective beliefs of those who compose it. In actual fact, Amsterdam itself made it clear that nothing of the kind was contemplated. But the uneasiness exists in the Orthodox mind; and it not only fears that unity may be sought in what

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they regard as the wrong way, but frankly suspects the motives which inspire the Ecumenical Movement. 795

In any case, it is well enough known that when the West enters into relation with Orthodoxy it must expect to meet with a conservative attitude. The Orthodox are of course conservative. But theirs is not a conservatism which is rigid and passive, with eyes only for the past and with ears which are deaf to the voices of the modern world. It is not a mummy swathed in the bands of tradition. Theirs is a conservatism which can shew itself surprisingly flexible at times, and it is an active sense of guardianship. Its stress is upon truth rather than upon authority.

For the Orthodox Church conceives itself as the whole Church, and to it is committed the deposit of faith, the truth of the divine revelation, which is one and the same in the first century or the tenth or the twentieth, which is susceptible of explanation, but not of change. The conservatism of Orthodoxy is due to the fear lest this trust should not be fulfilled, lest any generation of Orthodox should hand on to the next less than, or something other than it received. This inherent quality has been emphasized and strengthened by the history of the Orthodox peoples. For all of them have at one time or other, and some for long periods, been subject politically to an alien, hostile and non-Christian despotism when their religious life was their only corporate life, and their Christian faith the symbol of all their hope.

This conception of its life as custodianship, this stress upon truth rather than upon authority is perhaps what saves the relations of Orthodoxy with other Confessions from being a mere demand for submission. There is a wide difference between one bishop's saying "all Christians must submit to my jurisdiction", and the Orthodox "if you hold the same faith as we, you are indeed one with us". "The Faith" is primary, everything else is secondary, and it is of the first importance to grasp this Orthodox point of view. "The first mark of the Church is that all her teachers and pastors agree with each other in everything." This startling assertion was made by Metrophanes Kritopoulos in his *Confession*, which is one of the Symbolic Books of Orthodoxy.

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The Faith of the Church is now what it always has been. Dogma is not a fossilized deposit from the minds of the past. It is a living experience of the whole body of the faithful. If you hold the Church's faith and live the Church's life, then you belong to the Church. That is where the stress lies in Orthodoxy. It follows that the great offence against the life of the Church is innovation on the part of any of its members—or group of its members. The idea that since A is true and B is true, and since by the process of logical deduction in human reasoning C follows, therefore C can be erected into a new dogma, is an idea they will not accept. This is the root of their doctrinal quarrel with the Vatican and the distinguishing tenets of Roman Catholicism.

The motive of the Orthodox in entering into discussions with other Christian bodies is perfectly clear. It is two-fold. First to explain their own position, and secondly to ascertain whether those with whom they are conferring do actually hold "the Faith". It is never with the idea of arriving at an amalgam or a mutual adjustment, a working compromise, or an agreed minimum or anything of that kind.

Meanwhile it will be found that they can treat those outside the visible boundaries of Orthodoxy with a surprising degree of accommodation. For in a sense there is no sharply defined edge to Orthodoxy. It is not primarily an institution but a life. It admits of degrees. It may exist to a greater or less extent, or in embryonic form, beyond the limits of the external Orthodox world. The Orthodox hold that the Church (i.e., they themselves) has the power to give an "economic" recognition, under certain conditions, to the sacramental acts of another body of Christians. It is on the strength of this that ministration by Anglican priests to the Orthodox laity and *vice versa* have occurred in different parts of the world. A striking catalogue of such cases could be compiled. On the same ground the Church of Constantinople and some others of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches have recognized Anglican Orders as possessing "the same validity as those of the Roman, Old Catholic, and Armenian Churches possess"; that is to say, not absolutely and in principle, but so far as the Orthodox can judge pending the assurance of identity of faith.

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The collapse of humanism and the breakdown of liberalism under the impact of the great wars which have characterized the twentieth century have left a frightening blank in men's minds, and in this state of affairs Orthodoxy has its word to say. 795

The Greek's own name for their Church is "Orthodox"—they claim to hold unaltered and unimpaired the true doctrine taught and handed on by the Apostles. No less significant is the name by which the Slav members of the same Communion designate it. They call it "Pravoslavny"—the "right-praising" or "right-worshipping" Church. To the Orthodox religion is primarily—though not, of course, solely—belief expressed in worship. Their worship is dogmatic, the truths of their Faith are repeated in it again and again, it re-echoes with glad assertion of what God has done and revealed of Himself in the Christian Gospel, in the experience of the Church, in the livesof the saints. 795 781

At the same time it is all couched in the language of poetry and the Service is always sung. The "aesthetic approach" to religion is often spoken of as characteristic of Orthodoxy. There is a legend which was held to explain how Russia came to adopt the religion of Constantinople. Envoys were sent in various directions to investigate different forms of Christianity. Those who had been sent to Constantinople came back and reported on the worship they had witnessed in Justinian's superb Church of the Holy Wisdom. Never had they seen anything like the beauty of it. "We felt we were in heaven rather than on earth," they said. Their description of all this beauty carried the day. "That is the religion for us," cried the Russians.

The truth of this story is in its symbolism. There is in Orthodoxy a real recognition that beauty is one of the links which bind the earth to its Creator. There is much beauty in Orthodox worship, in its buildings, its vestments, its appointments, its music and the quiet unhurried dignity of its movement. Time is of no account in its symbolic representation of the drama of the Life and Death of Christ, and of little account in the actual passing of the moments as anthem and repeated litany unroll themselves. All this is not to say that the outward expressions of Orthodox worship are always more beautiful than those to be found in the West. That would be to reduce the matter largely to a question of individual taste. And,

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indeed, ugliness is to be found in Orthodox churches, as it is elsewhere, though perhaps not quite so often; ugliness as blatant as that polished alabaster and those brazen whatnots which make us wince in many a Victorian church.

But the phrase "aesthetic approach" must not be taken in too narrow a sense. The "aesthetic approach" of Orthodoxy is not only *through* beauty but also *in* beauty, and it involves the reception *of* beauty. It is the sense of the beauty of the unseen world, which is reflected in this world, which dominates it. The Orthodox feeling for religion is a vital awareness of the Resurrection of Christ as a source of salving, reinvigorating power which is to rescue and transform the whole Cosmos. Its goal is the rescue of all creation from corruption, the transfiguration of the Cosmos, the restoration of its original beauty, as well as of its pristine goodness. Thus the icon, for instance, is not only a human attempt to achieve beauty and offer it in the service of God. It is much more a scrap of the material world which has been rescued from corruption and made a vehicle by which the unseen world comes into touch with men and in which the divine beauty dwells.

Thus in the flux and confusion of the modern world where men are groping for new certainties amid the ruins of bygone stabilities, Orthodoxy proclaims a definite body of beliefs anchored in historical facts, and expresses that belief in worship. It is, therefore, conscious of a mission to the world. It is aware of its Orthodox life as a cleansing, restoring and transfiguring agency in a world which "lies in evil".

It may with justice be said that for long periods that sense of mission has lain dormant. Or at least that owing largely to the political environment in which the Orthodox Church was set and to which its hierarchy has too often been submissive, the sense of mission has failed to find active expression. But it was never dead, and from time to time it awakes and demands new outlets and new methods of presenting Orthodoxy to the world as new circumstances arise and the conscience of the Church is quickened to meet them.

A notable example is the Zoe Movement in Greece which was founded in 1907 and came into public notice with the appearance of its periodical *Zoe* a few years later. The move-

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ment originated in a brotherhood, the members of which took no permanent vows and had no rigid rule. But they lived in common; the majority of them were laymen, and they were trained theologians. They were an unofficial independent body and as such had to meet some opposition at first. Their purpose was first to live the Orthodox life themselves, and then to bring it home to the masses of the people in Greece. The members of the Zoe Brotherhood were teachers, they fostered the revival of preaching and set up a press for the printing of cheap books of religious instruction and devotion. (Not so very long before this, according to the former Archbishop of Corinth, nine-tenths of the Greek parochial clergy were incapable of writing their own names.)[1] They laid great stress upon Confession, and they organized Sunday schools. Their efforts met with much success and the response of the people was visible and striking.

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A rather different illustration of the recuperative strength of Orthodoxy is afforded by the action of the Russian Church in the period between the two revolutions of 1917. In August and September of that year, in spite of the condition of civil disorder, the Council of the Russian Church met in Moscow and set itself vigorously to the task of reform. The former Holy Synod abolished itself, and the Patriarchate was restored. The Church turned to the reorganization of its own government in view of the changes which had taken place in civic life. An extensive programme of work was undertaken by the Council in its 170 sittings, and the fact that much of it was rendered ineffective by subsequent developments in the relations of Church and State should not be allowed to disguise the inherent vigour and the faith in Orthodoxy which the Council revealed.[1]

The remarkable cohesive strength in the Orthodox Communion is a fact to be noted. Since the time of the breakaway of the Monophysites described in Chapter II, the Orthodox world has remained one united family of Churches, in spite of temporary estrangements and quarrels. They are held together by no monarchical system of government, but,

[1] See *The Christian East*, July, 1937, and December, 1937.

[1] See an account of this period by a Russian writer in the Sixth Report of *The Anglican and Eastern Churches Association*, 1921.

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795 781 according to their own account, by community of faith and love. In this respect their life is in striking contrast with the fissiparous tendencies displayed by the West. The Orthodox Church includes men of different races and languages, they are frankly national in outlook, they worship in the language of the people, not in a common and liturgical tongue. There are marked divergencies of temperament, especially between Greek and Slav which run like an undercurrent beneath the surface of their history and threaten disruption, as much now as ever. Yet in spite of all this the Orthodox Communion holds together and retains its identity. The case of Bulgaria serves but to underline the fact. For the schism which occurred in 1871 between Constantinople and the Bulgarian Church, precisely on the grounds of what the former regarded as the excessive nationalism of the latter, has now at length been healed, and Bulgaria is once more restored to the full communion of Orthodoxy. This unity in diversity which maintains itself in the face of so many factors which might make for disintegration, and which owes its existence to no coercive principle but to bonds which are intangible and belong to the moral and spiritual sphere, is an impressive fact of which a disordered world may well take note.

795 659 If the life of the Orthodox Church in past centuries has been conspicuously defensive, a rôle of guardianship of its faith and a willingness to suffer in its defence, the twentieth century has revealed the fact that such a life has not ceased to be the vocation of Orthodoxy. The geographical situation of the Orthodox peoples in Eastern Europe places them in a peculiarly exposed position in the conflict which atheistic Communism wages with all forms of religion. This conflict is something new in the modern world. The Christian creed and way of life have been rejected before by individual people or small groups. Alternative creeds have been proposed and accepted, more or less in the seclusion of the study. But the twentieth century has seen the proclamation of rival creeds to the Christian in the market place, publicly, with explicit claims to be superior, supported by argument and backed perhaps by force. Communism, with its definite philosophy of history and its altruistic appeal on behalf of the downtrodden

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and oppressed, has made vast numbers of converts at the expense of Christianity.

This is not the place to discuss the compatibility of Communism with Christianity in theory. It has claims to be regarded as in itself a religion, inasmuch as it has its own philosophy of life which is totalitarian in character, and an equipment of fundamental ideas which claims the allegiance of the whole personality and seeks to control every aspect of life. It insists upon rigid and impeccable orthodoxy in its party members; it has its heresy hunts in the form of purges, its sacred texts and its official interpretation of them. Like Christianity itself, it has its Golden Age in the future, not in the past, but for the Communist the Golden Age will be reached within the confines of this world and within historical time.

Communism has secured political power in the countries of Eastern Europe and here it finds itself face to face with Orthodoxy. If in Yugoslavia the interesting fact has come to light that politically Communism can assume a form which deviates in some respects from the Soviet pattern, yet its attitude to religion remains that of Communism elsewhere when in power. The crux of the conflict lies in the fact that Christianity also claims the whole man, body, soul and spirit, and neither can in theory tolerate the existence of another *total* allegiance. The clash is emphasized by the fact that Communism regards this other allegiance as an aberration of the human mind, and the idea of the spiritual principle in man as an illusion.

So far as words are concerned freedom of religion is guaranteed under Communist rule, but the Communist has his own meaning for the word freedom, as he has for many other words, and in practice Orthodoxy, in common with other forms of religion, faces attack.

It is subject on the one hand to a stream of propaganda of which perhaps the most potent aspect is the explicit assumption that religion is due simply to lack of education. On the other hand it suffers from insidious attempts to undermine the position of religious leaders and to discredit them in public opinion. This may culminate in a trial, the pattern of which has become familiar and may include the uncanny and macabre "confession" of the accused.

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Meanwhile, pending the disappearance of religion under the influence of enlightened education, Communism is prepared to use it as a tool. Like art, literature, history and science, religion also is to be pressed or cajoled whenever possible into the service of the Communist *Weltanschauung*. The case of Bulgaria may suffice as an instance. In June, 1948, a letter was sent from the Department for Religious Affairs in the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry to the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the head of which, the Exarch Stepan, with the Synod behind him, had attracted the attention of the Government by his wise but firm attitude in defence of the rights of the Church and the claims of religion. The letter contained the following sentences:

> "The representatives of the Church must not criticize the people's rising of 9th September, 1944, and the subsequent change of government."
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> "The nationalization of private industry and the mines must have the approval and daily support of the hierarchy of the Church."
>
> "The representatives of the Church must stress, in their daily work, their respect for the State and their acknowledgment that the State stands above the Church, and that the Church fulfils the laws of the People's Republic and the State's discipline."
>
> "It is further required that the Church should make certain changes in the educational system of her institutes where—the government claims—subjects are taught which contradict the scientific knowledge of the evolution of nature and society and which are opposed to the democratic and progressive spirit."
>
> "It is desirable that the Church use the pulpit, the Church press and private talks for the education of the faithful in love for the state leaders of Bulgaria and Soviet Russia and to ask that their portraits be placed in public places and private homes."

There was, moreover, a significant note that the reply to this letter should be signed individually by each member of the Synod.

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The solid front of the Synod disintegrated under pressure brought to bear upon its individual members, and Stepan found himself obliged to resign.

The general picture must not be drawn too much in sheer black and white. There is a Communism which is not the sworn foe of religion; and even when it is, it is well to recall Berdyaev's frequent warning that even the fight against God may be a form of affirming God if it is a protest against unworthy conceptions of God which have allowed cruelty and injustice to prevail in human life.[1]

But so far as the Orthodox Church in the Communist State is concerned, we may remember that Orthodoxy has tried conclusions with the secular power before. In the interests of political unity the Byzantine Emperors often tried to force it to come to terms with heresy, as later they endeavoured to impose upon it union with Rome upon Rome's conditions in order to save the State. There was everything to be said for the Emperor's attitude from the worldly point of view and much perhaps from the spiritual point of view also. But Orthodoxy refused to compromise. Henri Grégoire assures us that it is no paradox to represent the religious history of Byzantium as a conflict between the Church and the State, from which the Church emerged unquestionably the victor.[2]

Orthodoxy lived for centuries under the harsh Government of the Turk. But with the coming of political emancipation, it is found to have retained its faith intact, its identity unimpaired and its unity preserved. It has known how to bend before the storm and, unbroken, to abide its time. Doubtless it has had its sinners, its time-servers even in high places. But the two-fold cry of Orthodoxy "Lord have mercy" and "Glory be to Thee O Lord", has rung out above them all, and still rings out. The host of its saints and prelates and of common folk held fast to their faith in the power of the Resurrection to transform the whole world, and they have seen and see in Orthodoxy the authentic faith of Christ, for which many of them have been prepared to die.

[1] See the Report of the Lambeth Conference, 1948, Part II, p. 20 ff., London, 1948.

[2] Baynes and Moss: *Byzantium*, p. 130.

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113, 797 Historical Russia RA 2

[For information pertaining to the introduction of Christianity into Russia see 10: French, E 16 Slavic Peoples, Category 116, pp. 64-66.]

113, 797 Historical Bulgaria EE3

[For information pertaining to the introduction of Christianity into Bulgaria see 10: French, E 16 Slavic Peoples, Category 116, pp. 61-63.]

113, 797 Historical Czechoslovakia EB 2

[For information pertaining to the introduction of Christianity into Czechoslovakia see 10: French, E 16 Slavic Peoples, Category 116, pp. 59-60.]

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I

p. 1

The Primitive Slavs

121 The object of this study is to provide a fairly detailed account of the Slavs from their first appearance in history to their emergence in modern times as a group of nations akin in race and language, but diversified by the cultural and political influences to which they have been exposed.

[161] Numerically the Slavs are the largest linguistic group in
131 Europe, including some two hundred million people. Located
175* in the eastern section of the European Continent, they were long remote from the civilization which grew up on the northern shore of the Mediterranean, and thus were late in assuming an active political role. In early medieval times their lack of organization made them an easy prey to nations of higher material culture and more intense political aspirations; consequently the hostility between German and Slav is a historical factor of long standing. The geographical situation of the Slavs not only set them as a natural bulwark against nomadic invaders from Asia, but also exposed them to Asiatic cultural influences and to the infusion of alien blood. Their very numbers and their remote habitations retarded their cultural advance, as did also the domination of the unenlightened mass by an intelligent minority touched in varying degree by foreign
186 civilizations. Hence the absence of any pervasive tradition of
175* native culture has repeatedly prevented the development of

114 details, --recognized in 1822 nine living languages and nine nations (Russian, Illyrian or Serb, Croat, Slovene, Korutanian (2), Slovak,

2. Korutanians, a name given by certain ethnographers to the Slavs of Carniola (In Latin Carantania). Translator.

Czech, Lusatian, Polish); Safarik (3) in his Slavic Ethnography in 1842,

3. About Safarik, see the notice in the Journal des Savants (March-April 1910) Translator.

six languages with thirteen dialects (Russian, Bulgarian, Illyrian, Lekho-Polish, Czech, Lusatian); J. Sreznev ii (4) in 1843, nine

4. A Russian philologist of the 19th century. Translator.

languages: Great Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Koroutanian Polish, Lusatian, Czech, Slovak; August Schleicher in 1865, eight languages: Polish, Lusatian, Czech, Great Russian, Ukrainian Slovene, Serbian, Bulgarian; Fr. Miklosich, nine languages (Slovene, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Ukrainian, /6/ Great Russian, Czech, Polish, Upper Lusatian, Lower Lusatian); Dm. Florinskii in 1907, nine languages (Russian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Czech-Moravian, Slovak, Lusatian, Kashubian); V. Jagic in 1898, eight languages (Polish, Lusatian, Czech, Great Russian, Ukrainian, Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian). But, if today we were to follow certain publicists and the numerous separatist tendencies, the number of Slavic languages would mount up to between eleven and fourteen without counting those which are dead.

000 § 2. --We do not intend to become involved in these controversies, which are most frequently inspired by reasons unconnected
● 128 with science. But, since it is essential to establish a frame of reference, a general plan, at the outset of an ethnographic study we are going to proceed in accordance with the following one, without attemping to find fault with others. Here is the order in which we are going to study the Slavic ethnography:

1. The Russian group, in which one is today strongly inclined to distinguish two nations: the Great Russians and the Little Russians (South Russians, Ukrainians, Rousines or Ruthenians).

2. The Polish group in its entirety, one should mention here the Kashubs, whom certain people consider as Poles, while others, as the last remnants of Baltic Slavs who have disappeared.

3. The group of Lusatian Sorbs, divided into two /7/ quite distinct branches: the Upper Lusatians and the Lower Lusatians.

4. The Czech group which forms a compact unit in Bohemia and Moravia, but from which the Slovaks of Hungary are detaching themselves

S.P. 128 more and more, especially from a political viewpoint.

5. The Slovene group which is not troubled with separatist tendencies.

6. The Serbo-Croat group within which the political divisions and the shades of culture--noticeably in religious matters--are so sharply defined that one must today recognize them as two nations: Serbs and Croats.

7. The very homogeneous Bulgar group. The only point of disagreement is in the matter of the Slavs of Macedonia. Certain people assign them to the Bulgars, others to the Serbs; yet others pretend to recognize here a special nationality, the Macedonian nationality.

In pursuing this study, we shall remain faithful to this framework of seven basic groups. We shall see at the proper time and place to what extent the tendencies of those who wish to break off from these still other independent groups may be justified.

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/8/ No page numbered eight.

I

THE RUSSIANS

H.R. S.P. 174 S 3. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.--In the eastern region which was formed by the division of the primitive people into three groups, developed there the great Russian people which is divided today.

What were the beginnings of this people during the pre-Christian era and the first centuries after the birth of Christ? We know practically nothing about this. It is true that we know of certain names cited by Ptolemy, which apparently refer to them, but there is nothing upon which we may rely. (1) In the fourth century of the Christian era

1. These questions have been studied by the author in a vast work in Czech entitled Slav Antiquities, which also deserves to be tranlated into French. Translator

there appear vague references to a great people called the Antes, a name which denotes the southern Russian tribes between the lower Danube and the Don, but this name later disappears. The information which the Arabs furnish about the Russians of the tenth century is no less enigmatic. It is only with Constantin /10/ Porphyrogenitos and,

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p. 1

The Primitive Slavs

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[161] Numerically the Slavs are the largest linguistic group in
p 131 Europe, including some two hundred million people. Located
175* in the eastern section of the European Continent, they were long remote from the civilization which grew up on the northern shore of the Mediterranean, and thus were late in assuming an active political role. In early medieval times their lack of organization made them an easy prey to nations of higher material culture and more intense political aspirations; consequently the hostility between German and Slav is a historical factor of long standing. The geographical situation of the Slavs not only set them as a natural bulwark against nomadic invaders from Asia, but also exposed them to Asiatic cultural influences and to the infusion of alien blood. Their very numbers and their remote habitations retarded their cultural advance, as did also the domination of the unenlightened mass by an intelligent minority touched in varying degree by foreign
186 civilizations. Hence the absence of any pervasive tradition of
175* native culture has repeatedly prevented the development of

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186 175* ethnic or national self-consciousness and restricted the capacity of Slavic peoples either for self-government or for a resolute national effort in the critical moments of their evolution. Even those Slavs who live closest to the centers of European civilization and who shared its progress for centuries have often been debarred by economic and political factors from the enjoyment of a full national life, and those more distant from these centers have emerged from the Middle Ages only during the last 250 years. In the light of these facts, it is not surprising that the Slavs have often seemed an enigma to the Western world.

101 197 131 By virtue of their geographical distribution, the modern Slavs fall naturally into three distinct groups: Eastern, Western, and Southern. Of these, the Eastern is the most numerous. It embraces the Russians, who comprise two-thirds of the Slavic complex, and subdivide linguistically into three sections: first and most important, the so-called Great Russians, inhabiting the central and northern districts of European Russia; second, the White Russians (and here "White" has no political connotation whatever, but means light-haired) who occupy the area which borders on the northern part of the former eastern frontier of Poland, and, while centering in the neighborhood of Minsk, also run over into former Polish territory as far as Grodno, Bialystok, and Brest-Litovsk; and third, the so-called Little Russians (otherwise known as Ukrainians or Ruthenians), who inhabit the black-earth prairies or steppes north of the Black Sea from the western frontier to the Kuban and Don rivers. The Ukrainians, as present-day newspaper readers know only too well, also inhabit not only Volhynia and Eastern Galicia as far west as Przemysl, but also the extreme eastern tip of the former republic of Czechoslovakia, known as Subcarpathian Russia (now Soviet territory), and likewise make up a considerable part of the population of Bukovina (now also Soviet), an area which formerly belonged to Romania and which lies just south of the former Polish-Romanian frontier.

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It was to this district, centering about the city of Czernowitz, 101
that many Polish officials and soldiers withdrew to escape Ger- 131
man and Russian pursuit when Poland was invaded in 1939. 197

The Western Slavic group includes the Poles, the Czechs (or Bohemians) and Moravians, the Slovaks, and two Slavic islands in German territory: the Kashubs, who live on the [161] Baltic coast northwest of Danzig, probably not over two hundred thousand in number, and a considerably smaller number of Sorbs, or Wends, who inhabit Lausitz, or Lusatia, a small area on the upper Spree river northeast of Dresden.

The Southern Slavs are cut off from their northern kindred by the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Romanians, but comprise the Slovenes in the extreme northern part of Yugoslavia; the Serbs and the Croatians, who differ from one [195] another only in slight variations of dialect and by the fact that [212] the Serbs belong to the Greek Orthodox church and use the Cyrillic Script (similar to the Russian), while the Croatians are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; and the Bulgarians who, though possessing a Slavic national language, represent a complex fusion of racial and linguistic stocks.

In view of the numerous and violent migratory movements 174
which took place in northern Europe both before the Christian 167
era and during the first few centuries after it began, the Slavs are hardly likely to have occupied their present extensive territory during their whole recorded history. On the contrary, their migrations cover a range almost as vast as those of their Germanic neighbors, and the location of their primitive habitat constitutes a problem which has long engaged students of Slavic history and linguistics.

The earliest native tradition dealing with Slavic origins is 101
contained in the so-called Russian *Primary Chronicle,* a com- 174
pilation completely extant only in two fourteenth-century 113
texts, but which reproduce with considerable accuracy a work composed by a monk of Kiev about the end of the eleventh century. Here we read:

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the Scythians, but as distinct from them, a tribe known as the Neuri, who lived between the upper Dniester and the middle Dnieper rivers, and certain related Slavic place names indicate that they extended to the basins of the western Bug and the Vistula. This tribe is therefore generally regarded as Slavic, and on this basis it may be held with some certainty that the proto-Slavs as early as the fifth century B.C., and thus long before their dispersion, inhabited an area at least as far to the east as modern Kiev. 174 114

To the west it is not possible to place the proto-Slavic boundary beyond the Vistula, since all ancient historians mention this river as the eastern boundary of Germanic settlement. A further indication of this western Slavic frontier is the fact that the vocabulary of the proto-Slavs lacked a word for the beechtree, which grows west of a line roughly connecting Königsberg and Odessa, so that the Slavs were forced to borrow this name from their early Germanic neighbors. There is no good archaeological evidence to indicate that the proto-Slavs ever extended as far as the Elbe, though their medieval descendants reached it. Neither did they touch the Baltic, for the area north of the string of lakes and marshes which separates modern East Prussia from Polish territory was inhabited at the beginning of the Christian era by Baltic tribes akin to the present-day Lithuanians, who likewise occupied the basins of the Memel and the Dvina between the Slavs and the Gulf of Riga. Before the Christian era, the proto-Slavs were also separated from the Black Sea by a succession of Iranian tribes who occupied the southern steppe or prairie country, but they must have touched the navigable portions of the Russian rivers west of the Crimea, since Old Slavonic borrowed the Greek word for boat. 174

The habitat of the primitive Slavs before their dispersion was thus an irregular oblong area northeast of the Carpathians. extending eastward from the basin of the middle Vistula to the course of the Dnieper north and south of Kiev, bounded on the 174 131

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174 north by the rivers Narev and Pripet, and along its southern
131 edge touching the headwaters of the Prut, the Dniester, and the Bug, which are all rivers flowing into the Black Sea.

101 The very origin of the names "Wend" and "Slav" is problematic. The term "Wend" has sometimes been regarded as connected with the Danish *vand,* the modern equivalent of Old Norse "vatn" (water), so that the Wends would derive this appellation from being water dwellers or lake dwellers. Though there are traces of Slavic lake dwellers, the difficulty here is that the name, being found in Pliny and Tacitus, is far older than any Slavic contacts with the Danes as such. For geographical reasons also, the earliest Slavic contacts must have been not with North Germanic, but with East Germanic tribes who (if we may judge by the Gothic vocabulary) used for water the terms "wato," without a nasal, or (in the case of a river or any body of water) "ahwa," akin to the familiar Latin "aqua." Efforts to correlate the name "Wends" with a Germanic word "wenden," to wander, so that it might signify "the wanderers," collide with the objection that both early East and West Germanic cognates of this verb simply mean "to turn," with no implication of wandering at all. Any connection with the Gothic word "winja" (pasturage) is to be rejected because
[231] of the absent dental (d), though there is abundant evidence to
[24] prove that the primitive Slavs were relatively skilful agriculturists and cattleraisers. Similarly, it is hardly possible to justify a connection between the name "Wend" and the Indo-European base **uen,* meaning "to strive, to wish, to love," even through such a derivative as Old Norse "vinr," friend. The Slavic etymologies proposed are even more uncertain, so that, for lack of anything better, the most reasonable supposition is that "Wend" is related to the early Celtic base "uindo," which means "white." It would thus appear that this was the appellation applied by the dark-haired Celts in the Danube basin to their blond neighbors behind the Carpathians, and this interpretation is the more appealing since there are pure Slavic tribal names of which the definition "white" or "blond" is a com-

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186* 728 nations, the better they understand each other; witness the Poles and the Bulgarians, the Czechs and the Yugoslavs. But to say that living side by side no more ensures agreement among nations than it does among individuals is to state a commonplace.

[578] Yet the reshuffling of the map did, nevertheless, satisfy the essential aspirations of the Slavs. It gave Yugoslavia her unity, Czechoslovakia her independence, Poland her liberty. But some irredentism still remained. Bulgaria claimed Macedonia (although she had lost it before the war). The Yugoslavs regretted that the Slovenes of Istria and Carinthia had remained outside the frontiers of their State, Poland remained in dispute with Russia on her Eastern Marches, and with Czechoslovakia in the Teschen Basin. The Ukraine question was assuming a fresh form and acuteness. Even after the recasting of Eastern Europe, there still remained seeds of discord between the Slavonic nations.

• 131 175 Much more; looked at as a whole, the new map seemed to be based on an age-long law which shuts the Slavs off from the sea. It was because it was cut off from all the seas that the original Slavia remained as unknown to the Ancients as Central Africa was to the Europeans of fifty years ago. One after the other the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Goths, the Huns, the Avars, the Khazars, the Tartars, all barred them from the Black Sea. It was not until the eighteenth century that the Russians became effective masters of the northern shore of this sea. Similarly with the Baltic, where Scandinavian, Finnish, and Baltic peoples settled; until the Second World War, Leningrad was a Slavonic breach in Finnish territory. As for the White Sea, it was inaccessible to the Russians before the sixteenth century. The Finns, and perhaps the Lapps, had got in before them.

728 131 175 Now the 1919–1920 treaties took the Baltic territories and Finland from Russia. They refused Danzig to Poland, Fiume and Trieste to Yugoslavia. Following the coasts of the Baltic, from the borders of Esthonia to the Free Port of Danzig there was no real Slavonic port, even though the hinterland might be entirely populated with Slavs. On the Adriatic, the Dalmatian coast offered nothing but indifferent outlets, backed by steep slopes—and yet the hinterland was wholly Slavonic. The Aegean had no Slavonic outlet. The Slavs were allowed no possibility of becoming maritime powers, capable of rivalling the Germanic,

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Anglo-Saxon, or Latin nations. The treaties of the earlier war had thus sanctioned a traditional exclusiveness in this respect. 728 131 175

On the other hand, Slavism scored a point—the only one—in an acquisition of territory. This was achieved by the clauses which allocated to the Czechs Sub-Carpathian Russia—an ethnical mosaic, with predominant Russian or Ukrainian elements, which was to form an autonomous unit within the framework of the Czechoslovak Republic. This allocation, demanded by the Ruthenians of America, was decided upon chiefly because the signatories to the treaties considered the Prague government as the best mentor they could give to a dangerously backward Slavonic population. Indeed, Czechoslovakia was, within a few years, to improve Sub-Carpathia, that Cinderella of the Slavonic world; at the cost of heavy budgetary sacrifices, she turned this territory entrusted to her into a real 'Civilisation Front'. [186]

As is well known, at the Peace Conference the Czechoslovaks intervened—another gesture of pure Slavonic inspiration—to try to secure for the Serbs of Lusatia the benefit of the protection accorded to minorities. These Lusatians are the remnant of a powerful tribe who people a corner of Saxony and Brandenburg, with its centre at Bautzen. Theirs was for long the *terra incognita* of the Slavonic world; they were discovered by the learned circles of Czechoslovakia and Poland in the nineteenth century. [563]

The return of Poland to an independent life, and the Sovietisation of the Russian State, modified the nature of the relations between the two peoples. Immediately after the earlier war and the Treaty of Riga, one could not say that these relations had been clarified. It is certain that the Government of Moscow was then pursuing a Eurasiatic policy, which drew it away from European affairs. But no one could imagine that this disinterestedness would last very long. In Moscow they still, as under the Tsars, spoke of the 'Jesuitism' and the 'Jagellonism' of the Poles; in Warsaw, they talked about the hegemonic appetite of Russia, and her propaganda. 'Atheism' and 'Marxism' had replaced 'Orthodoxy' and 'Panslavism' as passwords. 648 829

The Polish-Sovietic War of 1920 complicated inter-Slav relations. The Poles bitterly reproached the Czechs with having refused 648 578

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175* homes after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. In Silesia, how-
798 ever, the persecutions incident to the counter-reformation caused the migration into Poland of some 200,000 Germans, who were responsible for the creation of the textile industry in western Poland. In eastern Poland as well, the German element played a prominent role. In 1648, for instance, when the Cossack Hetman Bogdan Chmelnitski, aided by the Crimean Tartars, threatened eastern Galicia, the German inhabitants of Lemberg paid one third of the ransom by which the city was saved, and German officers and soldiery fought on the Polish side in all the battles of the period.

175* Sweden came out of the Thirty Years' War greatly strength-
131 ened by the momentary possession of the mouths of the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser, and its king, Charles X, thinking to gain the support of the Elector of Brandenburg for further conquests at Poland's expense, recognized him in 1656 as Duke of Prussia, thereby bringing East Prussia under the sovereignty of Brandenburg. Then, by the Treaty of Wehlau, the next year, the Poles surrendered their claims to East Prussia, thereby assuring the rising Prussian state of the undisputed possession of this area until the Seven Years' War, though it was returned to Prussia after the death of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia in 1762. Silesia was regained by Prussia the next year, the Vistula valley south of Danzig fell to the German share by the first partition of Poland in 1772, and the Posen area followed by the second partition of 1793. Such, then, in its broadest outlines, is the process by which the political frontier between Germany and Poland was determined prior to 1914.

177 Until the nineteenth century there was little racial hostility
175* between German and Slav. The German expansion eastward
648 during the Middle Ages had been dictated by religious and economic motives, and the conflicts in which Poland, as an independent state, was involved with its neighbors before the partitions were the result of dynastic ambitions and jealousies rather than of any collision of national ideologies. The practical services rendered to the development of agriculture, trade,

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So the signature, on February 10, of the peace treaty which (except in Dobrudja) maintained the territorial *status quo* of 1919, was made under protest—on the part of the Government, which, in an official note, expressed its hope of a revision of the 'unjust clauses' of the treaty; on the part of the Homeland Front, which invited the population to 'roll up its sleeves' and work to surmount the difficulties inherent in the application of the treaty; on the part of the Opposition parties, which, while they considered the treaty contrary to the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and to the terms of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, yet blamed the Government for not having been willing to apply sincerely the Moscow agreements, nor to follow the advice of the 'democratic Great Powers'. 728 175

* * *

Poland's fundamental problem in 1946 was the reorganisation and repopulation of the western territories taken from Germany and incorporated by Poland in conformity with the decision of the Potsdam Conference of August 2, 1945, and with the Polish-Sovietic treaty of the following August 17. 'Our western frontiers', said Wladislaw Gomulka, Vice-President of the Council, 'are essential to the maintenance of peace in Europe. Any one who opposes us in this respect threatens our most vital interests, and must be considered as our enemy'.

Three million Poles repatriated from Russia were to be settled in the western territories, where they would be joined by a million and a half Poles from the interior, taken from the overpopulated districts, and a million and a half repatriated exiles. Out of four million Germans liable to deportation, 2,400,000 had already been settled in the Russian-occupied zone of Germany, and one million and a quarter in the British zone. So that the total movements of population affected more than seven million individuals.

Within her new frontiers Poland included 195,000 sq. miles instead of 242,875 sq. miles that she covered before the war; her population had fallen from 35,000,000 inhabitants to 23,620,000. She no longer had on her soil any national minorities; Germans, Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians and Lithuanians were to be repatriated, where this had not already been done. As for the Jews, their number dropped from three and a half million to 86,000. Poland, which had six neighbours before the 131 175 [162]

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•131 war, now had only three—Russia, Germany, and Czechoslovakia.
175 One aspect of her new position which represented an innovation was her transformation into a great maritime nation, thanks to the three ports, Stettin, Gdynia, and Danzig, and to her 312 miles of coast-line. Nevertheless, her destiny would henceforth be more closely bound to that of Central Europe, while remaining subordinate to the *entente* with Moscow.

666 The western frontiers were approved by the plebiscite of June 30, which covered not only the frontier-ratification, but also the abolition of the Senate and the economic organisation of the [471] State (Agrarian reform and nationalisation of key industries). [423] The first ballot gave 10,534,697 in favour and 995,584 against; the second gave 7,844,522 in favour and 3,686,029 against; the third, 8,896,106 in favour and 2,634,446 against.

578 This popular referendum did not have the tranquillising 648 effects that had seemingly been expected. Poland continued to 661 be a prey to 'terrorist' agitation, the repression of which, in 175 turn, gave rise to scenes of violence and to exactions. While dissociating himself from the extremists, the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, M. Mikolajczyk, himself protested against the way in which the referendum had been carried out (except in Cracow, where the 'Noes' had been in the majority). So the British Government reserved its opinion on the legitimacy which this poll conferred on the régime, and awaited the general elections before giving legal recognition to the new state of affairs. And the whole of 1946 was taken up with exchanges of subacid notes between London and Washington on the one side and Warsaw on the other. The Anglo-Americans denounced the persecution to which the Opposition was subjected, and considered that the Polish Government was failing in the undertaking given in execution of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, to guarantee the liberty of elections. But the Russians interpreted quite differently both the scope of these agreements and the meaning of the word 'liberty'. And so the most obvious result of the diplomatic offensive on the part of England and the United States was to intensify Polish-Sovietic solidarity.

648 The formation, in June, of a National Unity Government 175 under the Presidency of M. Osubka Morawski seemed, for the [642] time being, to dissipate the apprehensions of the Anglo-Americans, although the dissident Polish Government in London

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Then there is the 'Balkan fact', with all that it implies of suspicion and particularities. It is commonly explained by the geographic configuration of the Peninsula, furrowed by valleys which have no inter-communication. No doubt the physical relief tends to perpetuate the clan spirit throughout all the various changes of sovereignty. But the ethnical variety does not give an exhaustive image of the Balkan mentality. Nor does the long practice of the *Divide ut imperes* principle, which was the Alpha and Omega of the Habsburg policy in the Balkans. These States, before becoming the successors to Austria-Hungary, were the heirs of Byzantium, and we may wonder whether the passion-charged atmosphere, the complex of distrust and turbulence which characterise them, are not a survival of Byzantine influence, in opposition to that Roman continuity and that tendency to universalism whose determining effects on Western civilisation have been analysed by Fustel de Coulanges, Dopsch and Pirenne.

* * *

An event of incalculable significance for the Slavonic world occurred about the year 1933: the reappearance of Moscow on the European diplomatic stage—coinciding, if not tallying, with the rehabilitation by the Soviets of national values in Russian history.

In its critical years, the Bolshevist régime had relegated the racial idea to the status of romantic nonsense. 'Slavophilia', frowned upon as it was by the last Tsarist governments, still had about it an odour of reactionary and religious mysticism which would have been sufficient to keep it on the black-list, even had the idea of ethnical solidarity found a place in Marxist terminology. On the other hand, the policy of nationalities pursued by the U.S.S.R. had breathed new life into hitherto inorganic or unrecognised ethnical groups. In the time of the Tsars, who would have dreamed that Russia comprised no less than fifty nationalities or ethnical groups? It would have been ill-timed to give these people the impression that there existed in the U.S.S.R. a privileged race, whose traditions or ambitions dominated the life of the country, relegating the allogeneous republics to the condition of satellites. Decentralisation diluted Russian Slavism, and the plurality of tongues favoured by the Socialist Revolution deprived it of its trump card.

S.P. T.R. 101 177 Among the Belorussians dialectical shadings and local names of tribes can also be found; for example, the Polianes in the district of Slonim, the Siekals or Sakals in that of /47/ Wolkowysk. Among the Great Russians, despite the immense size of the space occupied by them, intercourse has always remained easy because of the evenness of the ground; no considerable differences in speech nor types, as pronounced as among the Ukrainians, have established themselves. However, there are to be found among them also local names due most frequently to differences in dialect. Thus, in the guberniya of Voronezh one finds the Iaguny, the Kaguny*, the Tsukany*, the Shchekuni*, the Talagai*; in the government of Kursk, the Saiany. In the government of Kaluga, the inhabitants of the western section of the district of Mosal'sk and of the districts of Bryansk and of Trubchevsk (guberniya of Orel) call themselves Polieshi*, and the inhabitants of the eastern section of the district of Mosal'sk, the Polianes. The inhabitants of the north bank of the Desna are called the Zadesentsy (Transdesniens) by the Ukrainians. Likewise, many names are used which are derived from those of cities, Muscovites, Novgorodians, etc.).

S.P. T.R. 141 S 9.--This differentiation of types is partly confirmed by the anthropological method. The Ukrainians of the south, indeed, set themselves off from the Belorussians and the Great Russians, not only by their manner of wearing their hair and their beard, but even by their bodily structure. Thus, we find in the south more brachycephalics, with darker coloring and taller stature than among /48/ the Great Russians and the Belorussians. But, on the other hand, these groups themselves are of far from perfect uniformity. Quite the contrary. What is known up to the present in the matter of the physical study of the Russian types shows rather outstanding variations among local groups, variations which are greater than, for example, the average difference between the Great Russian, the Ukrainian, and the Belorussian groups.

In general, if we refer to the anthropological signs gathered by A. Ivanovsky, here is what we can ascertain:

Among the Russians, the average height is about 1.65 meters. Among the Great Russians, 51% are found to be shorter, and 49% taller than this; among the Belorussians, 36% shorter, 64% taller; among the Ukrainians, 47% shorter, 53% taller.

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S.P. T.R. 142

chestnut, and 2% dark). Among the Great Russians, the following proportions are found: 37%, 41%, 22%; among the Ukrainians, 30%, 42%, 28%. Thus the Ukrainians have a greater leaning towards the darker type; but there are considerable differences within the group; for example, the proportions in Volhynia, according to Kozhukov are, 42%, 29%, 29%.

/49/ Among the Great Russians, the lightest in coloring are those of Tver and of Yaroslavl', the darkest, those of the eastern guberniyas. From the point of view of the cephalic index, there are found among the Great Russians 9% dolichocephalic, 19% mesocephalic, and 72% brachycephalic. The corresponding percentages found among the Ukrainians are: 12%, 16%, 72%. Among the Belorussians there percentages are: 13%, 23%, 64%. There are further important variations. Thus the Ukrainians of the north are mainly brachycephalic; but a very considerable portion of dolichocephalics is to be found at Voronezh, at Poltava, in Volhynia.

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No section of Russia furnishes so many dolichocephalics and mesocephalics as the Volhynia, peopled by Ukrainians (31% and 34%).

S.P. T.R. 144

In the same way the Gorals of the Carpathians present a type very distinct from that of the inhabitants of the plain. But here are the same phenomena which we observe among their neighbors the Poles. A contributing factor to the confusion of types is, among the Great Russians, cross-breeding with the Finns of the Volga; and among the Ukrainians, cross-breeding with the Turko-Tatar peoples.

S.P. T.R. 181

S 10.--All of these groups, large and small, differ from one another. But no difference is more pronounced than that between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. The distinctions between the diverse tribes in the large groups /50/ are really only secondary. They are variations in dialect, in costume, in their manner of living. The difference between the Great Russians and the Belorussians is not more considerable than this, or at least appears not to be; the philologists are in agreement in stating that the Belorussians are a division of the Great Russians, or at least a very closely related branch.

Between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians the difference is greater. It exists not only in their speech, but in their physical and moral constitution, their character, temperament, popular songs,

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the mountain), Lakhi, Mazuri, Lasowci, etc...

The ethnographers also distinguish the Poles by regions: Kalisz, Piotrkow, Radom, Kielce, Lublin, Sandomierz, Cracovie (it is the latter which has the most beautiful native costumes).

/86/ All of these groups, despite their differences, have the sense of belonging to a single nation, especially since the Russian and German oppression has stirred up among them the idea of nationality and of union. Only the Mazuri of Prussia, whom their Lutheran religion separates from the Catholic mass, lean towards the Germans. They speak Polish, but they feel themselves to be Prussians and have realized the hopes of the Berlin statesmen, especially the ministers Studt and Arnim. A German publicist, Tetzner, has said of them (1): "The Evangelical Mazuri is Prussian in body and soul and keeps completely about from the Catholic Pole."

1. Tetzner, Slaven in Deutschland, p. 133. Recently a Mazurian review printed in Gothic characters, but written in Polish, stated its sympathies for France. (Translator)

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I shall add here some notes relative to the anthropology of the Polish type.

The type of the gorals or mountaineers is markedly different from that of the inhabitants of the plain. The Gorals are of a medium height (1.681 meters), generally of a light or mixed complexion. (Talko Hryncewicz considers the light type to be the primitive Polish type). The greater part of them are brachycephalic (between 80.5 and 82.3%). As one moves away from the Carpathians and goes toward the north, the brachycephalic type gives way to the dolichocephalic.

The brachycephalics in Galicia represent 83%, in the department of Lublin /87/ 78% among the nobles, and 59% among the peasants; in the Sandomierz area 77%; at Plock, among the nobles 78%, 54% among peasants; at Lomza 68% to 63%; at Warsaw 57%.

The Goral, therefore, represents a special type among the Poles, as among their neighbors the Russians. In general, the complexion is fairer among the Poles of Galicia than among those of Warsaw.

But the proportions are entirely different in the east. The purest

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type is the Galician; the types of Lomza and of Lublin are very mixed. On the other hand, anthropological research has verified an interesting phenomenon, which is that the Polish nobility differ greatly from the rural type; they include more brachycephalics, are taller in height, less frequently have light-colored eyes. This seems in part to confirm the theory which assigns to them a special origin.

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According to Talko Hryncewicz, the Polish prototype is the mountaineer of the Carpathians.

The further that one withdraws from this region, the more the type changes and indicates admixtures. According to the latest researches of A. Ivanovskii, the Poles from a physical point of view demonstrate much affinity with, and resemblance to, the Great Russians. This fact is of interest in relation to the question of the affinity of the Great and of the Little Russians (Ukrainians).

S.P. P. 101 144

/88/ S 15.---The oddest of the Polish groups is that composed of the Kashubs and the Slowiency of the Leba. Many ethnographers (A. Hilferding, Zubaty, Ramult and Beaudouin de Courtenay) separate them from the Poles and associate them with the Slavs of Pomerania. Their Polish origin is advocated by I. Karlowicz, Bruckner, Krynski, etc... Lorentz saw in the Slowiency a branch independent from both the Kashubs and the Poles.

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We have described in a very general way the territory occupied by the Kashubs. According to the studies of Ramult and Nadmorski, it extends along the left bank of the lower Vistula. It is bounded by a line which runs from Kamien (Kamin) through Czluchowo* (Schlochau*) Ferstnowo* (Forstenau*) toward Starzyn* (Starsen*) and from there by Bytow (Butow), Lemborg* to the lake of Zarnow*. Along the river the boundary runs towards Danzig (Gdansk) and from there straight through Skarszewy (Schoeneck), Leg, towards Kamien.

From this central nucleus a small compact island is detached, which is located on the shores of Lake Lebo at the mouth of the Leba and of the Lupa.

Along with the name Kashubs, the origin of which is unknown, one finds toward the east special names: Karwaci, Pomarency,

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tendency, which replaced the once purely theoretical unity of the two groups by two units, akin no doubt, but independent of one another, which assigned to the Slovaks a special place in the sequence of Slav peoples.

ooo The history, the internal differentiation, the political life had sufficiently prepared the ground /133/ for these events. Have they taken place in a way favorable to the future of the Slovaks? It is difficult and premature to solve this question today. We have only to recognize and to respect the individuality of the Slovaks and to hope that they may remain faithful to the feeling of solidarity and of moral unity of their group with the Czech nation.

S.P. C. 141

From a physical viewpoint, according to the latest research, the characteristic traits of the Czechs are that they are of medium height (169.2 centimeters for the men, 157.3 centimeters for the women) and very well proportioned; a rather large cranial capacity; with a rather round skull (index 83.3); an oval face of average proportions; the hair is brown or dark blond; the eyes usually light in color.

The brachycephalics are in the majority; among 100 skulls, are found 1% subdolichocephalic, 13.5% mesocephalic, 56.5% subbrachycephalic and 29% brachy--and ultra-brachycephalic. Up to the present it has been impossible to demonstrate differences by localities

S.P. C. 142

Statistics drawn up in 1880 showed that among 100 children, 38.17% had blue eyes, 30.86% grey eyes, 30.70% brown eyes; 44.04% blond hair and 55.75% brown or black hair. The light type (blue eyes and blond hair) is represented in Bohemia by 18.3%, in Moravia by 15.9%; the dark type (brown eyes, brown or black hair) /134/ by 23.4% in Bohemia, and 23.6% in Moravia. Moreover, the crossing of types darkens the complexions, as may be verified by the statistics prepared for the ethnographic exhibition of 1895. (1) This indicates among the adults 75% with dark hair.

1. About this exhibition, which I had the good fortune to visit, see my volume Russes et Slaves (2d series, Paris, Hachette, 1896, p. 340 ff.) Mr. Niederle was one of the principal organizers of this exhibition. Translator.

ooo The outcome of all of this is that the Czech type does not

and the other Slavs than between the Serbs and the Croats. The two groups coincide in the matter of the zadruga (communal holding of rural property), and in matters where considerable differences are to be noted, for example in the arrangement of houses, the boundary line of difference does not coincide with the Serbo-Croat frontier. The Roman type with a single hearth predominates in Montenegro, while in Dalmatia, in Hercegovina, and in the other areas the High German type with two hearths predominates.

According to Weissbach, the Serbo-Croats present the following characteristics: tall stature, strong preponderance of the dark type, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, strongly brachycephalic and of an extremely large cranial capacity. The cephalic index is an average of 84 (85.7 among the Bosnians and the Croats of today). The cranial capacity is 1,524. There are 93.5% brachycephalics and 6% mesocephalics Weissbach concluded that the Serbs and Croats should be considered as forming one and the same people. Recently Mr. Zupanic declared that physical differences exist between the two national groups; but it is uncertain, at the present stage of the science, whether his statement can be justified. From the language point of view, the south Slav group in the west splits up as follows: the Čakavci (1) being identified with /175/ the Croats, the Stokavci with the Serbs, and the Kajkavci with the Slovenes. Miklosic still distinguishes a Serbian tongue and a Croatian tongue. But it is proven today that this distinction has no basis.

1. These groups are thus named on the basis of the manner in which they say or pronounce the relative pronoun. /rather, pronominal word ca, sto, kaj, meaning "what". Editor./

Nevertheless, we should point out some dialectical shadings which are not in accordance with the political distinctions. Alongside the two great dialects of Stokavci and Čakavci, there are other transitional dialects: the Kaikavski of the west, toward the Slovenes, the dialect of Prizren or of Timok, otherwise called "Old Serb", and the Svrljiski dialect to the east toward the Bulgars. Several eminent philologists, notably Belic, relate the Kaikavstina to the Slovene tongue. According to the recent studies of Mr. Resetar, the Kaikav territory is separated from the other two by a line which starts from Turnovac, on the Drava, reaches Virovitica, runs around Bjelovar, goes to Trnovitica, Jasenovac on the Sava, follows the Sava as far as Belaj, then runs to Trzic, Plaski, Brlog, Nin (Nona) and Zadar (Zara).

1 [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Analyst]

Bulgaria E-1 Contemporary ethnologies E-8

B-101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz are to be found also in Bessarabia, in the district of Benderj, where they are concentrated in the outskirts of Komrat. Mochov estimates their number at 70,000; but in the official statistics they are considered to be Bulgars. According to Zanetov the Bulgarian Slavs of Bessarabia should be called Tukani.

S.P. B. ●M1 [197] /211/ From an anthropological viewpoint, the best documented specialist, Mr. Vatev distinguishes a certain number of groups in the Bulgar nation. But up to the present these groups have not coincided with the linguistic groups. What is certain is that the east differs from the west, noticeably from the region of Sofia and of Macedonia, and that the south offers characteristic traits.

Basing himself upon the measurements of 320,000 school children 36,000 soldiers and 1,330 skulls, he arrived at the following conclusions regarding the Bulgarian type:

This type is of medium height: 1.665 millimeters for the men, 1,567 millimeters for the women; dark complexion predominates (50 % against 5% light blond; the remainder mixed). But it must be noted that the dark complexion predominates in the east, while in the west and in Macedonia, which formerly was the center of the Balkan Slavs, the dark type is still rare. The Bulgars have a regular nose, high eye sockets, and an erect head. As to the shape, there are 77% mesocephalics (index 75-80). The average index among the soldiers is 79.65 (in Macedonia 79.45) and among the skulls 77.97.

The dolichocephalic types are found especially in the south, the brachycephalic in the west; in the south of Macedonia the average index exceeds 85.

S.P. C.M. 101 648 S 39. The Slavs of Macedonia.---As we have already mentioned, the Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia are claimed /212/ by both the Serbs and the Bulgars.

Let us note at the outset that it is not well known where Macedoni and Old Serbia begin and end. Thus, the Bulgars attach to Macedonia the regions of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Koumanovo; on the other hand, the Serbs attach Skoplje and Tetovo to Old Serbia; some of them lay claim even to Prilep, Bitolia, Ochrida, and Veles; all of these claims, of course, have a political objective.

Macedonia and Old Serbia represent the country bounded, roughly

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

174 *Sclaveni* and *Antae*," and adds elsewhere, "Though deriving
114 from one stem, they have now adopted three names, that is, Venethi, Antes, and Sclaveni." The "Ravenna Cosmographer," an anonymous geographic work not later than the seventh century, mentions the *Sclavini* as living in Scythia, which is here a generic term for northeastern Europe, while the ninth-century Latin text known as the "Anonymous Bavarus," with the full title "Description of the cities and regions on the north bank of the Danube," speaks of the *Zeruiani* (the name is obviously related to the modern terms *Serb* and *Sorb*), "which is so great a realm that from it, as their tradition relates, all the tribes of the Slavs are sprung and trace their origin."

Such of these sources as belong to the sixth century or later obviously reflect a period when the Slavic dispersion had already begun, but they are interesting as early datable appearances of the name *Slav* and as a sound basis for identifying Wends and Slavs as the same people.

174 Linguistic evidence also impels us to place the Slavs north
197 of the Carpathians before their dispersion. Old Slavonic not only shows traces of contacts with Thracian, Iranian, and Germanic, but is also closely related to Lithuanian and exerted some influence on the early Finnish vocabulary. The only area where such extensive relations could have developed must necessarily have been north and east of the Carpathian chain.

174 It is likewise true that such anthropological evidence as we
141 have identifies the proto-Slavs rather with the northern long-headed race than with the primitive Central European brachycephalics, though even at the epoch of Slavic unity the cephalic index was by no means uniform, and with the lapse of time the stronger shortheaded brunette type came to dominate among the Slavs, as it does indeed today.

174 The topological nomenclature of the Carpathian range is,
114 moreover, not Slavic, thus indicating that the early Slavs lived beyond these mountains and the forests which clothed them. Furthermore, Herodotus mentions as adjacent and subject to

000 author was named Kubalski.
Henri Martin and others were guilty in the matter of the pretended Turanianism of the Russians. In pointing out these fantasies or these errors I naturally have made some enemies among those who believe that it is to their advantage to exploit them. But truth must be served above all else.

It is to serve once again the cause of truth--and at the same time the interests of our country--that I have undertaken this translation. In it will be found in a flawless and rigorously scientific style everything which concerns the distribution of the Slavic nations, the statistics, the demography, the anthropology of this poorly known group. It is to be hoped that this work may become the breviary of our professors, of our publicists, of our politicians. We have been led astray sufficiently in the matter of the Slavic peoples; the time has come for us to form a just and exact idea of them.

LOUIS LEGER.

/1/

THE SLAV RACE

INTRODUCTION

114 Editor's Note: Names which did not occur in the English reference books available to me, occur in a form transliterated from Russian and are marked with an asterisk.

101 S1.--The first Slavs appeared only recently in Central Europe, where little by little they came to be distinguished from the other Indo-European peoples because of the difference in their language and partially because of the differences in their civilization. From the outset they differed among themselves from the point of view of their physical characteristics; they presented diverse types as to the shape of the skull and the skull and the color of hair and eyes. In the regions in which the primitive Slavs evidently have dwelt since the most remote times, we encounter from the prehistoric period differing types of skulls and different colorations.

142 At the moment of their entrance upon the historic scene, a portion of the Slavs are represented to us as men with light-colored eyes and blond or red hair, others with dark hair; the vestiges of hair found in tombs confirm these two types.

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Among the Belorussians dialectical shadings and local names of tribes can also be found; for example, the Polianes in the district of Slonim, the Siekals or Sakals in that of /47/ Wolkowysk. Among the Great Russians, despite the immense size of the space occupied by them, intercourse has always remained easy because of the evenness of the ground; no considerable differences in speech nor types, as pronounced as among the Ukrainians, have established themselves. However, there are to be found among them also local names due most frequently to differences in dialect. Thus, in the guberniya of Voronezh one finds the Iaguny, the Kaguny*, the Tsukany*, the Shchekuni*, the Talagai*; in the government of Kursk, the Saiany. In the government of Kaluga, the inhabitants of the western section of the district of Mosal'sk and of the districts of Bryansk and of Trubchevsk (guberniya of Orel) call themselves Polieshi*, and the inhabitants of the eastern section of the district of Mosal'sk, the Polianes. The inhabitants of the north bank of the Desna are called the Zadesentsy (Transdesniens) by the Ukrainians. Likewise, many names are used which are derived from those of cities, Muscovites, Novgorodians, etc.).

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S.P. T.R. 172

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S.P. T.R. 144

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S.P. C. 175 182

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S.R. C. 184 142 The outcome of all this is that the Czech type does not actually form a unique type. This circumstance is still more striking if one considers the diffusion of certain characteristics, for example, complexion. Thus the light type (blue eyes and blond hair) is found in the center of Bohemia and Moravia only in a ratio of 14%; in the mountainous sections it reaches from 20 to 25%, and in certain frontier regions where the Germans are in the majority in the northeast, it exceeds 30%. In contrast, we find in these regions 20 to 25% of the dark type; the proportion exceeds more than 25% in the mountainous regions of the Podripsko and of the Podbrdsko; but on the Czecho-Moravian plateau in certain neighborhoods it reaches only between 11 and 15%.

/135/ VI

THE SLOVENES

S.R. Sl. 101 174 S 25. Historical Introduction.--The Slovenes represent the southwestern fraction of the southern Slavs. They are the last remains of a formerly powerful group which occupied at the beginning of the Middle Ages the regions included between the bend of the Danube and the Adriatic pathway and which penetrated deeply into the Alpine regions. (1)

1. Sclaueni, Stlaueni, Sklavenoi, Sthlauenoi of the ancient texts. The word Slovene (in the language of the country Slovenec, Slovenka, in German--Slowenen) has become popular since the period of national renaissance. The Germans frequently use the designations Winden, Windisch, which may be found in many of the topographic names.

It is not known at what period the Slavs appeared for the first time in these regions. The indications, unfortunately extremely uncertain, seem to point to their having crossed the Danube at about the beginning of the Christian era, and to have appeared in the regions of Lake Balaton (Plattensee) and of the Sava. But substantial historical and archeological evidence is lacking.

/136/ One hears it affirmed constantly that the Slavs are the original races in the region of the Alps; these are vain statements. In these countries before the Christian era there lived the Ligurians, the Illyrian, Rhaetian, and Gallic tribes and some survivors of non-Aryan tribes.

Sl. S.R. 101 What is certain is that, from the end of the sixth century, this

S.P. T.R. 101 197 Galicians, L'vovians and others, derived from the name of the locality which they inhabit. The principal element are the Gorals (mountaineers, from the word gora, mountain) of the Carpathians, who are also called Verkhovintsi (from verkh, summit). Four principal tribes are distinguished among these Russians: in the west, the Lemki, on the two slopes of the Beskid mountains, especially in the districts of Sandets, Jaslo and Sanok; the Boiki, neighbors of the former, to the west of the San; the Tukholtsi, farther to the south, from the district of Sambor to the district of Stanislavov; and still further in the mountains, in the district of Kolomyja, of Stanislavov, in Bukovina, and in the Hungarian county of Marmaros, the Hutsuli (Huculi) are met with, who call themselves Christians, Rusniaks, or Russian people.

S.P. T.R. R. 101 197 Among the Russian population of the Bukovina, three types may be distinguished: the Podolians or Polianes, the Hutsuli and the Lipovani. The latter are religious heretics who left Russia in the eighteenth century.

S.P. T.R. R. [144] The Hutsuli are a very peculiar and interesting tribe, an enigma of Slavic ethnology. /46/ They have given rise to all sorts of hypotheses. Ivan Vagilevitch links them with the Turkish Ouzes, Koshkov to the Thracians or to the Scythians; more recently Volkov looked for their origins in the Caucasus. Some accept a strong intrusion of foreign elements into the primitive Slavic element, while others consider them to be Slavs of pure blood. They are remarkable for their fine stature, for the antiquity and the richness of their customs, for their artistic sense, for their picturesque costume, but also for their lack of intellectual culture which places them in the lowest rank among the Slavs. It is estimated that 93% of them are still illiterate. The name Hutsuli is probably of Rumanian origin (goc, plus the Rumanian article ul). The names Boiki and Lemki are surnames given by their neighbors because of their use of the words lem and boi. Vagilevitch has seen in the Lemki--without good reason, however,--the remains of vanished Celts. In 1890 Shukhevych estimated their number at 60,000. (1)

S.P. T.R. R. [212]

S.P. T.R. R. [144]

1. A. Sobolevsky found the names Hutsuli and Boiki again in the Gulatsi and the Butsi of the guberniya of Kiyev (district of Tcherkassk). And he used this connection to support his theory on the arrival of Carpathian Russians at Kiyev after the Tatar invasion.

S.P. T.R. 142 chestnut, and 2% dark). Among the Great Russians, the following proportions are found: 37%, 41%, 22%; among the Ukrainians, 30%, 42%, 28%. Thus the Ukrainians have a greater leaning towards the darker type; but there are considerable differences within the group; for example, the proportions in Volhynia, according to Kozhukov are, 42%, 29%, 29%.

/49/ Among the Great Russians, the lightest in coloring are those of Tver and of Yaroslavl', the darkest, those of the eastern guberniyas. S.P. T.R. 141 From the point of view of the cephalic index, there are found among the Great Russians 9% dolichocephalic, 19% mesocephalic, and 72% brachycephalic. The corresponding percentages found among the Ukrainians are: 12%, 16%, 72%. Among the Belorussians there percentages are: 13%, 23%, 64%. There are further important variations. Thus the Ukrainians of the north are mainly brachycephalic; but a very considerable portion of dolichocephalics is to be found at Voronezh, at Poltava, in Volhynia.

No section of Russia furnishes so many dolichocephalics and mesocephalics as the Volhynia, peopled by Ukrainians (31% and 34%).

S.P. T.R. 144 In the same way the Gorals of the Carpathians present a type very distinct from that of the inhabitants of the plain. But here are the same phenomena which we observe among their neighbors the Poles. A contributing factor to the confusion of types is, among the Great Russians, cross-breeding with the Finns of the Volga; and among the Ukrainians, cross-breeding with the Turko-Tatar peoples.

S.P. T.R. 181 S 10.--All of these groups, large and small, differ from one another. But no difference is more pronounced than that between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. The distinctions between the diverse tribes in the large groups /50/ are really only secondary. They are variations in dialect, in costume, in their manner of living. The difference between the Great Russians and the Belorussians is not more considerable than this, or at least appears not to be; the philologists are in agreement in stating that the Belorussians are a division of the Great Russians, or at least a very closely related branch.

Between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians the difference is greater. It exists not only in their speech, but in their physical and moral constitution, their character, temperament, popular songs,

S.P. T.R. 814 829

and led to the following conclusion: Of the two nationalities only one, that of the Ukrainians, is purely Slav; the peoples who live to the north and to the east of the Dvina and the Dnepr are not Slavs, but Finns, Tatars, or Turani more or less affected by Slavic influences, whose entire organization, and whose absolutist government in particular, are Asiatic in origin and character.

This conclusion, which the inventors of the theory of the two nationalities had scarcely suspected, found favorable soil, in particular among the Polish victims of the ill-omened revolution of 1863. And it was through their emigration that the doctrine of the two Russias, the one Slavic, the other Turanian, was propagated. Among the propagators of this doctrine, let us mention only the /56/ names of Dushinskii and of his wife Severina Duchinska, of Buszczynski and of the French historian Henri Martin. (1)

1. Several times I have had the opportunity of expressing myself on these theories and on the misuse which Dushinskii and his disciples claim has been made of them. See especially La Revue des Cours letteraires (year 1868) and my Souvenirs d'um Slavophile (pp. 20-25, Paris, Hachette, 1905). Translator.

This theory did not find as favorable soil among the Ukrainians; but it has been accepted in various ways, and it explains to us the epithet, Khazars, (2) which is sometimes given to the Great Russians;

S.P. T.R. [186]

2. The Khazars, formerly Kozares, a Scythian people according to the Russian Chronicle said to be by Nestor. See my translation of this chronicle (page 325). Translator.

this epithet apparently came from completely inaccurate ideas as to the origin of the Great Russians. The anthropologists have treated the question in a more scientific manner by indicating the considerable differences which exist between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. The Ukrainians are for the most part brachycephalic and of dark complexion, while the Great Russians are generally of light complexion; at the same time it is demonstrated that dark brachycephalic type is the pure Slavic type (Volkov, Taylor). But this theory, although it has a certain amount of data in its favor, cannot be considered as proven. There is another one, which considers the Belorussian and Great Russian type as the true type of the Slavs; and this theory has in its favor at least as many arguments to /57/ make it worthy of belief. And the differences that arise within each of the two groups

S.P. T.R. 144 829

S.P. T.R. 144 829 are frequently greater than those which exist between them. (1)

1. Furthermore, I am quite willing to admit the existence of two pre-European types in various localities within primitive Slavia. In the period when these two types were pure, there were not yet any Slavs in Europe. When the Slavs appeared, the two types had already crossed with each other; one of them predominated in a certain region the other, in another region. But the original one remained predominant; new arguments are constantly supporting this theory. (Note of the author).

S.P. T.R. 668 These, then, are the conditions in, and the influences under which, the conflict burst forth, the result of which we see today. The intellectuals of the Ukraine flatly declare that they make up a distinct Slavic nation: and for this "Ukrainian" nation they demand all of the natural rights which may insure its preservation and development. For them the exercise of these rights should not be confined to securing schools in which the teaching is conducted in Ukrainian, or to the free expansion of their literature, but should extend to the recognition of their political autonomy. The moderate and practical patriots, bearing in mind the existing conditions, are content to demand autonomy within the Empire. The radicals are naturally more exigrent. They think that the present organization of the Russian State will not last. They count upon a dismemberment, they dream of the creation of an independent Ukraine, organized upon democratic and socialistic principles.

000 /58/ Should I venture to express frankly my opinion upon this conflict and upon the probable outcome of these tendencies? I am among those who believe it natural and equitable that the Russian government should satisfy the legitimate demands of the Ukrainians. But I do not hesitate in declaring that, despite the differences which have been exaggerated, there are so many common features in the history, the tradition, the faith, the language, and the culture of the two peoples--not to mention their common origin--that, to a distant and impartial observer, they are only two segments of a single and unique Russian people.

From the Slavic point of view, and even from the Russian point of view, we hope that this unity may be preserved in relation to outsiders and as far as possible in the political, literary, and linguistic life, while at the same time the needs and political demands of the two parties may be respected. We wish this at least in the field of fine literature. Until the close of the eighteenth century the language was a common one and the greatest writers of the nineteenth century have brought honor to the two groups.

1 [Great Russian - Ukrainian conflict, cf. cat. 116, pp. 35-39 - Analyst]

S.P. P. 141 type is the Galician; the types of Lomza and of Lublin are very mixed. On the other hand, anthropological research has verified an interesting phenomenon, which is that the Polish nobility differ greatly from the rural type; they include more brachycephalics, are taller in height, less frequently have light-colored eyes. This seems in part to confirm the theory which assigns to them a special origin.

S.P. P. 144 According to Talko Hryncewicz, the Polish prototype is the mountaineer of the Carpathians.

The further that one withdraws from this region, the more the type changes and indicates admixtures. According to the latest researches of A. Ivanovskii, the Poles from a physical point of view demonstrate much affinity with, and resemblance to, the Great Russians. This fact is of interest in relation to the question of the affinity of the Great and of the Little Russians (Ukrainians).

S.P. P. 101 144 /88/ S 15.---The oddest of the Polish groups is that composed of the Kashubs and the Slowiency of the Leba. Many ethnographers (A. Hilferding, Zubaty, Ramult and Beaudouin de Courtenay) separate them from the Poles and associate them with the Slavs of Pomerania. Their Polish origin is advocated by I. Karlowicz, Bruckner, Krynski, etc... Lorentz saw in the Slowiency a branch independent from both the Kashubs and the Poles.

P S.P. 101 We have described in a very general way the territory occupied by the Kashubs. According to the studies of Ramult and Nadmorski, it extends along the left bank of the lower Vistula. It is bounded by a line which runs from Kamien (Kamin) through Czluchowo* (Schlochau*) Ferstnowo* (Forstenau*) toward Starzyn* (Starsen*) and from there by Bytow (Butow), Lemborg* to the lake of Zarnow*. Along the river the boundary runs towards Danzig (Gdansk) and from there straight through Skarszewy (Schoeneck), Leg, towards Kamien.

From this central nucleus a small compact island is detached, which is located on the shores of Lake Lebo at the mouth of the Leba and of the Lupa.

Along with the name Kashubs, the origin of which is unknown, one finds toward the east special names: Karwaci, Pomarency,

S.P. C. 161

minor government employees to force them to declare their customary language to be German rather than Czech. Thus, if one wants to know the real size of the nation one always needs to rectify the official figures. In 1900 the Austrian statistics enumerated 5,955,397 Czechs (of whom 3,930,093 were in Bohemia, 1,727,270 in Moravia, 146,265 in Silesia, 132,968 in Lower Austria, including Vienna with 102,712. But M. A. Stepanek estimates the number of Czechs and Slovaks in this city at 385,000).

In 1890, the official census enumerated in Vienna 5.3% Czechs, and in 1900, 6.9%.

We may then figure as follows:

Official statistics of 1900	5,955,397
In the German Empire (approximate number) .	115,000
Slovaks in Hungary	2,019,641
Czechs in Hungary	50,000
Czechs and Slovaks in America (a guess). . . .	800,000
In Russia	55,000
In the rest of Europe	20,000
	9,015,038

On the basis of probable estimates, the number of Czechs may be increased by 200,000 or 300,000 for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and for Vienna, by 200,000 to 300,000; the number of Slovaks in Hungary by 150,000 or 200,000; but, on the other hand, one must deduct the Poles and Russians counted in the census as Slovaks. It may be estimated that there are several hundred thousand more in America, say about a million total for the Czechs and Slovaks combined. Thus, we obtain for the two groups a total of 10 million to 9,500,000 (even when deducting 100,000 Poles and Russians wrongly considered as Slovaks), say for the Czechs seven million and for the Slovaks of Hungary many more than two million (about 2,600,000). I should add that the Czechs in their area, --with the exceptions which I have noted--are generally of pure race and that, on the contrary, the Slovaks frequently have a Magyar admixture. The most Slovak county is that of Orava (97%), then that of Trecin (92.7%), that of Liptov (92.5%), and that of Zvolen (89.3%).

S.P. C. [144]

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Among the Czechs of Transleithania are found 1,056 women for each 1,000 men. We have no reliable data for the Slovaks. But,

S.P. C. 166 161 What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing population to the profit of the German sections. (In Moravia it is completely the contrary). In 1890 33.46% of the Czechs in Bohemia were living in German areas; in 1900 there were already 34.61% of them. During this ten year period the birth rate in the German sections was 8.1% for the Germans, and only 4.8% among the Czechs of the Czech sections. These phenomena are explained by the importance of German industry which attracts the Czechs into the German areas.

S.P. C. 48 177 Already the Germans--at least /125/ the sensible ones--recognize that it is impossible to Germanize the Czechs. The chauvinists alone still dared to hope for it, especially those who consider Bohemia as a lock which one can burst asunder in order to open to the German race an access to the Adriatic. But they are fooling themselves, as are those who believe that the Poles of the Kindom of Prussia can be denationalized.

S.P. C. 101 The situation of the Slovaks in Hungary is not nearly so good; they are deprived of all political rights and, following the example of what is happening in Prussia, they are being threatened with expropriation. Nevertheless, they continue to stand against the Magyars within their ancient boundaries, they give way only very slightly within these boundaries, and, were it not for the Magyarization which is being energetically imposed upon the nation, especially upon the upper classes, and for a rather considerable emigration, the people would be able to hold their own, all the more since they are constantly assimilating Polish and Russian elements in the north and east of their territory.

ooo When in 1900 I drew up my ethnographic map for the Slovaks, the Russians protested against the figures which the statistics showed to their detriment. It has been demonstrated that the progress of the Slovaks had not been as rapid as I had thought, but it exists nevertheless. All of eastern Slovakia is nothing but Russia which has been Slovakized, and this assimilation is continuing.

S.P. C. 178 /126/ S 24. Differentiation.--The primitive differentiation of the tribes has left no important trace among the Czechs. All of the shades [144] of difference have been leveled off by time and those which relate to the physical aspects, to the languages, to costume in these latter days, have almost entirely disappeared.

S.R. C. 184 142 The outcome of all this is that the Czech type does not actually form a unique type. This circumstance is still more striking if one considers the diffusion of certain characteristics, for example, complexion. Thus the light type (blue eyes and blond hair) is found in the center of Bohemia and Moravia only in a ratio of 14%; in the mountainous sections it reaches from 20 to 25%, and in certain frontier regions where the Germans are in the majority in the northeast, it exceeds 30%. In contrast, we find in these regions 20 to 25% of the dark type; the proportion exceeds more than 25% in the mountainous regions of the Podripsko and of the Podbrdsko; but on the Czecho-Moravian plateau in certain neighborhoods it reaches only between 11 and 15%.

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VI

THE SLOVENES

S.R. Sl. 101 174 S 25. Historical Introduction.--The Slovenes represent the southwestern fraction of the southern Slavs. They are the last remains of a formerly powerful group which occupied at the beginning of the Middle Ages the regions included between the bend of the Danube and the Adriatic pathway and which penetrated deeply into the Alpine regions. (1)

1. Sclaueni, Stlaueni, Sklavenoi, Sthlauenoi of the ancient texts. The word Slovene (in the language of the country Slovenec, Slovenka, in German--Slowenen) has become popular since the period of national renaissance. The Germans frequently use the designations Winden, Windisch, which may be found in many of the topographic names.

It is not known at what period the Slavs appeared for the first time in these regions. The indications, unfortunately extremely uncertain, seem to point to their having crossed the Danube at about the beginning of the Christian era, and to have appeared in the regions of Lake Balaton (Plattensee) and of the Sava. But substantial historical and archeological evidence is lacking.

/136/ One hears it affirmed constantly that the Slavs are the original races in the region of the Alps; these are vain statements. In these countries before the Christian era there lived the Ligurians, the Illyrian, Rhaetian, and Gallic tribes and some survivors of non-Aryan tribes.

Sl. S.R. 101 What is certain is that, from the end of the sixth century, this

2. A Pole, despite his French name, Mr. Beaudoin de Courtenay today lives in St. Petersburg. Translator.

Friul, in the neighborhood of Udine. They[1] are crossed with /146/ Serbo-Croatian blood and perhaps with another, which explains why their language is divided into four dialects. These Slavs of the Friul are settled in eight purely Slovenian communes of the district of San Pietro, in three communes and several mixed localities of the districts of Taranto, Cividale, Gemona and in the purely Slavic commune of Resia (district of Moggio--German, Reschenscheideeck). Beaudoin de Courtenay estimates that the Slavs of the districts of Gemona and of Tarcento are Serbo-Croats, those of Stara Gora and of Cividale are Slovenes; according to him the inhabitants of the district of San Pietro are Slovenes crossed with Croats and Resians, the product of the mixture of a non-Aryan people with the primitive Slavs.

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VII

THE CROATS AND THE SERBS

S 29. Historical Introduction.--The Croats and the Serbs belong like the Slovenes and the Bulgars to the south Slav or Yugo-Slav family (1). They formed at the outset a single group, which

1. Yugo means south. Translator.

history has divided into two sections, into two nations, the Serbs and the Croats. Both of these two nations, even though they are conscious of their kinship, lay claim to an autonomous life.

Even formerly there existed distinctions between the various sections of the future Serb unit and the future Croat unit. But these distinctions were not deep ones. They consisted of dialectic shades of difference, the organization into different tribes, distinct political outlooks, etc.

At the beginning we find ourselves in the presence of an aggregat of tribes belonging to a single group, belonging to a single linguistic type with very slight differences; this group left its early homeland in the region of the /148/ Carpathians, moved towards the Danube, then the Dra the Sava and the Balkan peninsula. The various tribes settled over a considerable extent of territory, without geographic unity; they were separated by the mountains; they communicated with each other with

[1] [i.e. Resians in the Friul -- Analyst]

S.P. Cr. Sb. 75 162

in 12. During the first years which followed the Austrian occupation, emigration was quite considerable; it still continues, but it is slowing down. The official figures for 1906 give 590,900 Mohammedans, 760,000 Orthodox, and 360,000 Catholics. Mr. Florinskii figures for the entire Balkans 820,000 Mohammedan Serbs.

In Dalmatia in 1900 there were 96,279 Orthodox, 496,778 Catholics which gives 16.2% and 83.6%. The other Austrian areas are Catholics (Istria 99.6%, the seacoast 98.5%). In Croatia and in Slavonia there are 1,721,416 Catholics, and 516,518 Orthodox, that is 71.2% and 25.5%. The total figures for the censuses of Budapest and Zagreb are not completely in accord, but the proportion remains the same. In Montenegro, according to Vrbanic, there are 87.5% Orthodox, 3.1% Catholics, and 9.3% Mohammedans whom Vrbanic considers as Slavs.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 212

From the viewpoint of education /173/ the Serbo-Croats are very much behind. Throughout Austrian territory the number of illiterates reaches 74.14%, in Croatia 54.4% and even 56%, if one is to believe the Hungarian statistics. It is especially Dalmatia which is backward. In 1900, 64.8% of the men and 86.6% of the women did not know how to read or write. Teaching is also greatly neglected in Istria and still more in the Balkan countries about which we do not have any documentation except in the Serbian statistics. There are in Serbia only 21.3% literate (55% in the towns and 15% in the villages).

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162

With regard to occupations, the Serbs and the Croats are primarily an agricultural people. In Istria and in Dalmatia there are 86.9% farmers (industry 4.6%, commerce 3.8%, public services 4.7%). In Bosnia-Hercegovina 88.34%. In the Kingdom of Serbia 85.23% of the population devote themselves to agriculture and to raising cattle.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 578

S 32. Internal Differentiation.--The Serbs and the Croats do not differ greatly either from the physical viewpoint, or from that of linguistics or in the manner of living. Differences have been created solely by the political situation, by religion, and by literature. There are, however, certain shades of differences and certain special groups which we mentioned a short time ago.*

S.P. Cr. Sb. 144

From the anthropological viewpoint there is, a far as we know at present, a much greater /174/ difference between the Serbo-Croats and the other Slavs than between the Serbs and the Croats.

* [cf. cat. 116, pp. 92-95, pp. 105-106, p. 107--Analyst]

S.P. M. 101 finds the Hercegovinians who came from Hercegovina; then to /179/ the northeast the Brda (1) and between the sea and the lake of Skadar (Scutari) the Crna Gora (Black Mountain), so-called, with the Krajna. In Montenegrin Hercegovina there are seven tribes: Grahovo, the Banjani, Opushna, Rudina, Nikticke Rudine, Nikticka Zupa, Piva, Drobnjaci, Saranci. In the region of Brda there live seven tribes which are, beginning from the west: (2) the Bjelopavlici, the Piperi, the Bratonozici, the Kuteki, the Vasojevici, the Moracani, the Rovcani. In ancient Montenegro four nahias are distinguished, each of which is divided into tribes: the nahia of Katun (Cetiniani, or people of Cetinie, Njeguchi, Zeknici, Couce, Kcevo, Ozrinici, Bielice, Komani, Zasarcani, Pjeshivtsi, Lukovo), the nahia Ljeshanska (Zecani), the nahia of Rieka (Cekliniani, Liubotinjani); the nahia of Crmnitsa contains a whole series of little tribes called "brotherhoods." In an area which was previously Serbian there are settled today Albanian and Serbian Mohammedans whose principal tribes are those of the Mrkojevici and of the Mikulici, close to Antivari (Bar).

1. This word in Serbian means "mountains." Translator.

S.P. M. [144] 2. According to Hassert and Kovacevic, the Kuci are of the Albanian race, according to Erdelianovic, of the Serbian race. A certain number of them, the Drekanovici, present a strong mixture of Albanian blood. Erdelianovic considers certain among them (the Boukimirs) as Slavisized Romans.

S.P. M. [563]

According to Zanetov, there is still another special tribe, that /180/ of Siren, on the upper reaches of the Lim and of the Bosnian Bistrica.

000 We have attempted to show the respective situations of the Croats and the Serbs, the difference in their political development despite their close kinship, the divergent tendencies, which, as a result of their historic traditions, they both follow with a view to assuring their future.

S.P. 578 Cr. 186 Up to the present, numerous conflicts have occurred between these two groups,[1] and one would be mistaken in believing that the relative calm which prevails today is a guarantee of tolerance and peace. Leaving aside the double ideal of a great Croatia and a great Serbia, an contradictory ideal if there ever was one, we run into an entire series of delicate questions, of conflicts which are constantly aggravated. They are met with in Croatia-Slavonia, in Dalmatia

[1] [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Analyst]

S.P. B. 175

the period when the seat of the Tsar and of the Patriarch was at Ochrida (1), felt themselves to be even more Bulgarian the further

1. Today in Macedonia. Translator.

they were removed from the ancient homeland of the nation; they retained this more or less strong sense of solidarity, on the one side against the Serbs whose empire confined them to their region, on the other side against the Osmanli Turks. In 1393 the Turks captured Trnovo; in 1396 after the victory of Nicopolis they achieved the conquest of Bulgaria. The country remained enslaved until the years 1876-1878 when the intervention of Russia gave her back her freedom and independence. The area between the Danube and the Stara Planina (Balkan Mountains) was the first to be freed; in 1885 a peaceful revolution annexed the Bulgarian Rumelia to her, as far as Mount Dospat, to the course of the Arda, the Sakar Planina (Sakar Balkan Mountains) and the Gulf of Burgas. The section of the Bulgars who form a compact group in Macedonia /186/ have vainly been waiting up to the present for their deliverance and for the end of a situation which, despite the efforts of the Powers, still remains a very painful one.

SP [144]

Such is the political history of the Bulgar people. The development of the nation has furthermore been hindered by perpetual troubles, by disturbances, by the displacements of ethnic groups. When the Greeks again took possession of their ancient domain the Slav colonies of the south had to return north, the Slavs of Greece were completely assimilated during the course of the Middle Ages. But the most serious catastrophe was the Turkish invasion.

S.P. B. 175 167

When the Turks penetrated into the peninsula, under the reign of Murad I, they settled in the region of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and of Zagora; in the reign of Bajazet I they settled between Plovdiv and the Balkans and then remained in the basin of the Marica, especially in its lower areas, until the nineteenth century. This would follow from the information furnished in 1819 by Pope Constantine and from the nomenclature of the area which is essentially Turkish (names of villages, fields, streams, woods, pastures, hills, etc.). Of 52 villages of the district of Shirpan only two have non-Turkic names, and only three in the district of Seimen (now Marica). Another center of Turkish colonization was the eastern portion of northern Bulgaria, especially the Dobrudja, which became a desert in the fifteenth /187/ century.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

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tion that Hitlerite Germany adopted this discrimination as a creed. We have seen whither this folly led. A less dangerous, but more general, illusion leads historians to falsify the time-perspectives of the events they record by giving to the words 'national conscience' a racial import which is, more often than not, simply a gross anachronism. The most one can concede is that 'race' intervened as a disturbing element in international life at a time when the latter had, to all appearances, lost its homogeneity and its original authentication marks. The case of the Slavs is, in this respect, irrefutably eloquent. If we accept what the learned Genevan anthropologist, Professor Eugène Pittard,[2] has written, we lack precise information, and even clarity, regarding the original populations of the Slav countries; the data are too scanty for us to write their history on an anthropological basis and to establish definite relationships. Great Russians, White Russians and Little Russians present rather widely differing morphological characteristics. Neither does the Polish nation constitute a pure race. The Czechs of Bohemia and those of Moravia cannot be placed on the same level as the Russians and the Poles; on the other hand, Lusatians, Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks *do* seem to be the offshoots of one single ethnical stock. According to M. Pittard, the Slovenes would appear to be only Slavicised; a large proportion of them can be attached to the Adriatic or Dinaric race. The Croats and the Serbs used to form one single group; many of them must belong to this same Dinaric race: they are, again, Slavicised people, anthropologically far removed from the Slavs of the North, that is to say, of the districts today considered as the most specifically Slavonic. The same can probably be said of the Bosnians and the Montenegrins. The Bulgars do not represent a pure race, and different origins are attributed to them: Thracian, Tartar, and others; they too are Slavicised. In short, and without forgetting the reserves with which M. Pittard surrounds conclusions which he is very careful not to put forward as final—the Slavs of the South are probably not related to the Slavs of the North, and the identity of race of the former is apparently itself unconfirmed. Comparing this picture with the emotive manifestations of Slavonic solidarity which

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[2] *Les Races et l'Histoire*, in the collection "L'Evolution de l'Humanité," pp. 273 *sqq.*

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Europe has witnessed during the past century, one is tempted to wonder whether the modern nations are not groups of human beings, mainly united by a common illusion as to their origins and an identical aversion to their neighbours. 563 829 144•

But history is often only a distortion of the legend concerning the lives of nations. It matters comparatively little if scholars criticise and refute theories which human societies, wittingly or otherwise, have turned into living realities. Up to the sixteenth century the French believed in their Trojan origin, and even today they place an exaggerated faith in their 'Latinity'. 000

Consequently, as far as the Slavonic community is concerned, we will keep to the idea of it which is held by its component nations, without discussing its basis. Now it is evident that the feeling of this community, existing in embryo in former centuries, has gone on intensifying during the past hundred years, and to-day constitutes a fundamental factor in European life.

* * *

'The first nation to impose its virile will on the invaders, and decree the destruction of the enemy, was a Slavonic nation', said the German novelist, Heinrich Mann, in a letter he addressed to the Association of Soviet Authors, in May, 1942. It was, indeed, the Russian armies which, at the cost of never-to-be-forgotten steadfastness and unheard-of sacrifices, annihilated the most formidable military organisation the world has ever seen.

This victory represents more than the physical balance-sheet of a trial of strength, the settlement of an account, outstanding for a thousand years, between two nations. Regarded from the angle of European destinies, it is an event of quite different magnitude. It is the prelude to a reintegration of the Slavonic world, hitherto split up among the powers and interests which speculated on its division. For a century, the Western Chancelleries used and abused the word 'Panslavism'. We shall see, later, what to think of this word, which is unknown in the Russian language. But it was nothing more than a diplomatic slogan, a scarecrow utilised by the Habsburg monarchy in times of crisis, with a view to mobilising the West against Tsarist diplomacy. It is only today that we can speak of a Slav 186* 829 648

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was ready to hand when needed for the evangelization of Russia.

The Vikings, who were the terror of north-west Europe, made their way south-eastwards also, along the waterways which connect the Baltic with the Black Sea. Here they found a Slav population which about the middle of the ninth century was organizing itself in political centres such as Novgorod in the north and Kiev in the south. The Scandinavian warrior merchants passing from the Volkhov to the Dnieper, established themselves whether as protectors or conquerors as masters of these communities, and if *Russ* is indeed a Scandinavian word the process which took place in Bulgaria was repeated, and the ruling minority gave its name to the Slav people which absorbed them. These "Russians" soon found their way across the Black Sea to the Great City, Byzantium, known to them as Tsargrad. In 860 their fleet appeared beneath its walls but was dispersed by a tempest. The part of Sergius in 626 was on this occasion played by the Patriarch Photius, who inspired the defenders with courage and energy.

The early contacts of the Russians with Constantinople are shrouded in a good deal of obscurity, but certain events connected with their conversion stand out as historical. The Patriarch Ignatius sent an archbishop into the country and he made a number of conversions. Igor, Prince of Kiev, made an unsuccessful attack upon Constantinople in 941, and a treaty which he made with the Byzantine Emperor a few years later reveals the fact that there were then Christians at Kiev and that they had a cathedral dedicated to St. Elias. Whether this community was the direct descendant of the converts made by Ignatius, or derived its Christianity from elsewhere is unknown. Igor's widow, Olga, who was later canonized, was definitely a Christian. She visited Constantinople and may have been baptized either there or at Kiev, and at one time seems to have adopted the policy of Boris of Bulgaria and to have played East and West against each other in her ecclesiastical relations. In response to her request, a mission was actually sent from Germany by the Emperor Otto, but it was half-hearted, and returned without accomplishing anything. Neither Olga's son Svyatoslav nor her grandson were Christians,

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Congresses and Assemblies of the time, void of ideas, and absurd'.[1] 186 668

The poet and precursor of the Russian Slavophile current had been the Muscovite, Alexis Khomyakov, who was born in 1804, and died of cholera in 1860. Although a man of very wide and varied general culture (he invented a gun, and a new type of shell), he was deeply attached to national and religious traditions. Moving in literary and philosophical circles, which looked to the West for their standards, he felt a frenzied need for reaction. To the cosmopolitanism of ideas and to the philosophy of Schelling, with whom his contemporaries were infatuated, he opposed a new system, based on the obligation, for any nation wishing to attain its full development, to preserve its original atmosphere of faith, manners, and traditions. Thus, while the Czechs, the Croats, the Slovenes, had at first perceived in Slavism an instrument of joint solidarity and of liberation, Russia began by regarding it as a rampart against the intrusion of Western thought. 186* 156• 829

The fundamental idea of the so-called Slavophile school was this: the West was in full decay; it was up to Russia to keep herself free of all contaminations, in order to play the regenerating role assigned to her by Providence. In the history of the universe, it was the destiny of each nation to realise one aspect of human genius and to carry this realisation to its point of perfection. Ancient Greece expressed plastic beauty, Rome's mission was to realise the conception of the State, and of Law. The Christian peoples of Western Europe had developed Rationalism and its applications to actual life by giving special prominence to individualist doctrines; witness Luther's doctrine, English political Liberalism, French equalitarianism. 186* 812

The late-comers in history, Russia and the other Slavonic peoples, still had a decisive role to play in the evolution of humanity—to define the social value of love and brotherhood. The Slavonic race would find, in its mentality and institutions, the necessary conditions for fulfilling this mission. All it had to do was to foster and develop its original characteristics.

That was the psychological and providential aspect of the Slavophile thesis, in which we find unconscious reminiscences of

[1] *Confession*, p. 105 *sqq.*

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helplessness; Benes capitulated before Gottwald's ultimatum. It was the end of the Putsch which Hubert Ripka later described as a 'prefabricated revolution'. On March 9[1] Jean Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote a personal letter to Stalin, in which he denounced the intervention of Zorine, the Soviet Ambassador, in the events of February: 'When a time of mortal danger for the country, and for all Slavs, comes, you will have in Prague nothing but a Government hated by the country, despised by the *élite*, and relying entirely on the bayonets of its police organisations'. The next day Masaryk committed suicide: contradictory versions of his death were circulated, although the above-mentioned letter had made clear his intention of ending his life.

668 642 175 [56] • [86]

Thus the inspirer of two Czech liberations, heir to the thought of Thomas Masaryk, disappeared in shameful oblivion; the commentaries in the Communist press, in which he was later accused of having betrayed the interests of the country, lead us to wonder whether his inglorious end did not save him from an even more tragic fate. Posterity will pronounce a mixed judgment on his political achievement. His tomb might fittingly have been engraved with this epitaph, taken from one of his books (*Whither the Slavs?*): 'The existence and the prosperity of all the Slav States is inseparably bound up with a régime of true democracy, that is to say, a régime in which the elementary principles of individual liberty, liberty of conviction, liberty of religion, liberty of political expression and liberty of public opinion, are guaranteed and fully respected'.

186*

As for Benes, whose authority was henceforth without scope, on June 7, 'for health reasons', he resigned his presidential office, which he had held since June 19, 1946, in a message by which he invited his fellow-citizens 'to encourage liberty and consciously enjoy it'. He died a few months later, on September 3, 1948.

175 [643]

The events of February were to be mentioned at the United Nations Security Council, with a view to appointing a commission of inquiry—which was opposed by a Soviet veto (May 24).

On March 9, 1948, was voted the Constitution which made Czechoslovakia a 'democratic peoples' republic'. It instituted a Single House system, and proclaimed the equality of Czechs and Slovaks: the republic was to be a bi-national State. Unlike

642 175 563

1 [1948 - Analyst]

7; Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* Quite different was the development of the Eastern civilization.
829 Orthodoxy preserved the purity of Christian faith and teaching, which is established and confirmed by ecumenic councils. The Orthodox theology is the true Christian theology because it is based not on reason but on the revelation of the superior truth. The Russian state originated not by violence and conquest but by a voluntary invitation of the rulers by the people. Russia did not know feudalism, the Russian land never belonged to a feudal aristocracy but to the community, and the Russian people never knew inequality. The tsar was bound to the people by a union of love, and the *Veche* (Popular Assembly) expressed the will of the people. Providentialism and national exclusiveness were at the base of this doctrine.

It would be impossible within the frames of this article to enter into all details of this system, but what was particularly characteristic in the teachings of Khomyakov and the Aksakovs was their conception of freedom which needed no guarantees. They considered treaties, contracts, agreements—in other words any legally established guarantee—evil. In their opinion the Russian people were repelled by juridical norms, and the Russian laws represented an inner truth. They did not care for any external usefulness or formalism. "All classes and groups of the population are penetrated by one spirit, by one faith, by the same opinions, by similar ideas, and by the same need or desire for common happiness." (Constantine Aksakov). Another trait was the
[156] complete reduction of the role of the individual which appears in their conception of the Russian land community. The agricultural character of the Russian civilization brought the Russian people to an humble subordination, which, by the way, the Slavophils praised enormously. That choral, primitive, and purely Christian character of the old Russian civilization was what they wanted to preserve. Connected with this was the argument of Russian simplicity. The same Constantine Aksakov stresses the fact that neither did Russian history have any theatrical episode nor did the Russian people like beautiful poses. "Nothing dis-

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life; it is a reflex *sui generis*, an intangible factor; it changes 186*
weight and direction according to whether it is studied in one country or in another, on the level of official life or on that of the populace. So that the rather scornful judgement of the Czech statesmen seems to us to be inspired by a too exclusively historical interpretation of the facts. To find a solution to the controversy 186*
which opposed the Yugoslavs and the Czechs, it is sufficient to 648
recall their own relations. From 1919 to 1939 these relations were, for confidence and cordiality, unequalled between any two Latin or Germanic peoples. Naturally, they benefited by memories still present in all minds. No man, more than Masaryk, had contributed by his person to the formation of the generations which supplied their *cadres* to the emancipated nationalities. His courageous attitude during the trial of Friedjung—the author of the false documents on which the leaders of the Serbo-Croat Party had been charged with high treason—had won for him the gratitude of all Yugoslavs. During the crisis over the annexation of Bosnia, martial law had been proclaimed in Prague because the town rang with cries of 'Long live Serbia!' At the time of the Albanian crisis of 1912–1913, the 28th and 102nd Infantry, two entirely Czech regiments, on their way to the frontier, had been greeted in all the stations with cries of '*Slava Srbum!*' (Long live the Serbs). In the First World War, the Czech soldiers and officers of the Army of Occupation in Serbia had treated the inhabitants with all possible consideration.

But, once we have admitted this, we shall not wrong either the [157] •
Czechs or the Yugoslavs if we affirm that they have very few traits of character, even very few sentimental affinities, in common. The Czech is hard-working, positive, a deliberator, economical. The Serb is a fatalist, emotive, spontaneous, lavish. Resistance to oppression—the common denominator of their history—has been expressed by very different reactions, masked among the Czechs, explosive among the Serbs. So that it is difficult not to put to the credit of Slav solidarity—that solidarity judged by Czech statesmen politically inoperative or out-of-date—the close relations between two countries connected neither by geography nor by tradition nor by psychology. It will be said that they have the same enemies, which is sufficient reason for an understanding. Arguing on these lines, the relations between

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part of the Quay d'Orsay. How great was his surprise at not hearing, during his audience, any reference to the Franco-Soviet pact! On the point of taking leave of Laval, he ventured to congratulate the latter on the results of his journey to Moscow. Laval cut in: 'Don't talk of it! I wish I could cut off the hand that signed the pact. Take great care you don't do the same!' 186* 648 829

* * *

But, still more than the Western policy of the Soviets, it was their work of 're-nationalisation' which impressed the Slavonic world. The brilliance with which the commemoration of the death of Pushkin was celebrated, in 1937, was the first manifestation of this 'Russian drive' abroad. No poet was more 'national' than Pushkin, despite his African blood. He re-created three centuries of Russian life in a profusion of dazzling images. He rendered, more expressively than any writer, the escapist fever of the men of his time and the nostalgic tonalities of the steppes of his country. Great Russian Literature begins with him, and one of his compatriots wrote: 'In Pushkin lies our whole patrimony'. The *Izvestia* declared that it was only with Sovietisation that the masses of the people got to know the true figure of the poet and the meaning of his work. This paper heaped scorn alike on the 'vulgar sociologists' who made of him a wild revolutionary, and the 'ignoramuses' who found nothing useful for Socialist culture in his poetry. And the Government had his works translated into all the languages of the Union. 186* 538

The extent of this homage was a prelude to a general policy of rehabilitation of Russian values. In the first Bolshevist ideology, Russia was represented as the nonchalant and sublunary being typified by Oblomov, the dressing-gowned hero of a celebrated novel by Gontcharov. Oblomov is a sort of Russian 'Triplepatte',* incapable of taking any decision, and established in the lazy, useless life of a country proprietor. We may say in passing that this picture of the Russian people is not a very true one: it confuses the 'moon-struck' state with inertia. Left to themselves, these people do sometimes lack application, or steadfastness, but if well directed, they are capable of prodigies of energy. For having dared to evoke this classical type, and the mentality to which it has given its name, 'oblomovtchina', Bukharin was accused of having borrowed 'a poisoned arrow [157]

* 'Triplepatte' is the hero of a comedy of the same name, by Tristan Bernard and André Godfernaux. (Trans. note.)

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countries and bring peace and liberty to men'. In the following September the Slav delegates to the Washington Congress of anti-Fascist Students passed a resolution calling upon their Anglo-American comrades to bring pressure to bear on their Governments with a view to opening a second European Front. In April, 1943, the Central Committee of the Congress of Slavs in America, sitting at Chicago, declared that if efforts were not made to crush Germany quickly, 'there will be nothing left to liberate but cemeteries'. They organised a 'Panslav Day' for June 22, and demanded the re-establishment of free circulation for Slav newspapers in Brazil.

Needless to add, there were reactionary or dissident movements, and certain Slav groups maintained contacts with the pro-Axis Governments, or pursued an anti-Soviet policy.

Their case was raised at the Congress of Slavs in America, which was held in Pittsburg on January 24, 1944, and was attended by seventy-five delegates from New York, Buffalo, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Saint-Louis, and even from Canada. This Congress studied reports on the activities of a hundred local committees during the year 1943. The chief subject for discussion was the attitude of the Committee of Americans of Polish Origin, of which Colonel Matuszewsky was the head, and of their newspaper, *Nowy Swiat,* which was unanimously censured. Then the Congress applauded a resolution approving Roosevelt's war policy as well as the Teheran, Moscow, and Cairo agreements. A second meeting was held in Pittsburg on September 23 and 24. Like the previous one, its chief object was to create a 'Slavonic electoral front' in favour of Roosevelt's candidature, to speed up the American war effort,[8] and to combat the action of the Matuszewsky Committee, a Polish breach in Slav solidarity. (The Congress of Americans of Polish Origin held in Buffalo in the preceding month had included this action on its agenda.)

* * *

A few months earlier, the Poles in America had been deeply moved by a strange episode, the journey of Father Stanislas Orlemanski to Moscow. This unassuming priest, of Polish

[8] The sale of bonds for the Fourth American War Loan by the Slav Committee of New York served to build, among other things, a bomber, 'The New York Slav', and a chaser, 'Spirit of Stalingrad'.

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648 origin, was in charge of a little Massachusetts church, the Holy
793 Rosary, in the diocese of Springfield. Was he first sounded, and
• 159 then invited to Moscow, as he himself was to allege, or did he improvise a mission? The facility with which he moved about in Russia, at a time when travelling was subject to severe restrictions, argues in favour of the former hypothesis. He was absent from April 17 to May 11, 1944, the object of his journey being, according to him, 'to see what he could do for the Catholic Church in Poland, Ukraine, and White Russia'. On his return he declared that he had twice been received by Stalin, and had obtained from him assurances, both verbal and written, in favour of religious liberty on Soviet territory. 'Future events will prove', he said, 'that Marshal Stalin nourishes very friendly sentiments towards the Roman Catholic Church. He wants a really democratic, independent Poland, capable of defending herself against any fresh aggression. The religion of the Polish people will be that of our ancestors; he will not tolerate any change. All he asks in return is a Poland animated with fraternal feelings towards the U.S.S.R.'.

Four hours after Father Orlemanski's return home, his bishop imposed the penalties provided for cases of unauthorised absence; he was forbidden to say Mass. After an attempted protest to the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, he submitted and solemnly promised never again to meddle with matters outside his priestly functions, upon which the bishop raised the interdict pronounced against him.

648 But his journey nevertheless aroused tremendous interest.
793 The Soviet Radio called it a 'great international event', and the
159 press published Orlemanski's declarations in full. As there are
208 very few Catholics in Russia proper, the assurances given by Stalin referred especially to the liberated territories of the Ukraine and of Eastern Poland. The Tass Agency, emphasising the reality of these assurances, accused (though in moderate terms) the Hierarchy of the United States of having, in this matter, adopted a not very favourable attitude towards the Soviets. Whilst the *Christian Science Monitor* expressed satisfaction at the Orlemanski mission, and did not doubt that the Vatican would take advantage of the conciliatory attitude of the Soviets, the *Chicago Sun* placed its trust in the Catholic clergy's common sense to reject 'the poisoned advice of the agitators',

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seeking to encourage the Church in her traditional opposition to the Soviets. But the *Post Dispatch* regretted that the Kremlin should have chosen such an unimportant person as Orlemanski for such a demonstration. The *Louisville Courier* deplored the censure passed on this priest by his bishop; no doubt the latter tolerated disparagement of the Soviet Union, but not efforts to understand it.

The truth seems to be that Father Orlemanski's initiative, whether concerted with Moscow or not, aroused in Slavonic circles reactions calculated to handicap the Government and prejudice Roosevelt's electoral campaign. While the Slavonic Committee of America approved this initiative, the *émigré* Poles threatened to launch a campaign which would have brought Washington and Moscow into opposition. It happened that Orlemanski's superiors were of Irish origin—which, obviously, did not predispose them to regard his journey with a favourable eye. In any case, the episcopal decision and the priest's submission cut short any attempts at propaganda, thus rendering a very opportune service to the Government, but postponing or compromising the perspective of a possible easing of the situation, if not of a *rapprochement* between Poland and the Soviets, and between the Soviets and the Vatican.

In Latin America the headquarters of the permanent Slav Committee were at Montevideo, where, in April, 1943, three hundred and ninety-four Slav delegates assembled at a Congress which established the Union of Slav Nationals (they were estimated at two millions), to organise the struggle against pro-Hitlerian activities.

* * *

This sketch of the recovery of the Slavs in the Old World and the New brings out two features: the gravitation of all the Slavonic nations round the Muscovite colossus, and the repugnance of a sector of Polish opinion to this method of regrouping.

As was to be anticipated, German propaganda affected to see in this the execution of a plan tending to 'Bolshevise' Europe, and even America. Germany again launched her old commonplaces about the inferiority of the Slavs. A Radio-Paris broadcast (February 21, 1943) assured listeners 'that about one-quarter of the American population is composed of Slavonic elements, of

114 Son of a distinguished Hellenist, whose early death was a loss to science and education, Mr. Lubor Niederle was born at Klatovy in 1865. At a very early age he became interested in anthropological studies. As this branch of /iii/ science was in no wise represented at the University of Prague, he went to study it at Munich and at Paris. After having visited the principal museums of the Occident, he went to Russia and from 1893 on he devoted himself particularly to Slavic ethnography, archaeology, and anthropology. He assisted in the foundation of a review entitled Le Peuple tchèque which began to appear in 1891, and which is at present directed by his eminent colleague Mr. Zíbrt. Mr. Niederle was one of the organizers of the Czechoslovakian ethnographical exposition which was held at Prague in 1895. I had the good fortune to visit this very interesting exposition, an account of which may be found in one of my books. (1)

1. Russes et Slaves (Volume III, p. 340-357, Librairie Hachette, 1896) On the Ethnographic Museum, see Chapter II of Prague.

The collections gathered together for this exposition became the foundation for an ethnographic museum of which Mr. Niederle was the first curator and which, after being temporarily sheltered in the home of a generous Maecenas, Count Sylva Taroucca, found /iv/ permanent asylum in a villa previously occupied by the Kinsky family.

In 1890, Mr. Niederle was named professor of ethnology and prehistory at the Czech University. No one was better qualified than he to occupy this chair.

In the year 1889 he began to publish certain anthropological essays in the Czech language. In 1894 he brought out in the same language a volume on Prehistoric Man, Especially in the Slavic Countries, which has been translated into Russian and into Polish. Then he undertook a vast work designed to replace Safarik's Slavic Antiquities and bearing the same ti . Two volumes of this work were published between 1902 and 1910. In addition, Mr. Niederle devoted a considerable number of monographs to the Slovaks. Finally, he summarized his total research on the Slavic peoples in the volume which we are here presenting in translation. This volume is merely the expansion of an article which appearing a short while ago in the Czech Encyclopedia published at Prague by the Otto Publishing Company.

II.

161 Before the nineteenth century scarcely any serious attention was paid to statistics dealing with the Slavic peoples. In 1826, Šafařík

•161 (1) in his History of the language and the literature of the Slavic peoples

1. See note on page iii.

attempted to take a census of the race. He arrived at a total of 55,270,000 persons. However, it was rather poorly documented on a number of questions. In Russia it confused the Ukrainians with the Great Russians, and estimated the Ruthenians, as they were then called, at only about three million. He scarcely hinted at the existence of the Bulgars. Here are the estimates which he gave:

Russians	32,000,000
Ukrainians	3,000,000
Bulgars	600,000
Serbs in Turkey	800,000
" in Hungary	350,000
Bosnians	350,000
Montenegrans	60,000
Slavonians	253,000
Dalmatians	380,000
Croats	730,000
Slovenes	800,000
Czechs	3,700,000
Poles	10,000,000
Sorbs of Lusatia	200,000

In his Slavic Ethnography published in 1842, he arrived at a total of 78 million.

In 1868 I[2] presented, in my work upon Cyril and Methodius and the Conversion of the Slavs to Christianity, the following figures, which I have on the research of Safarik and on that which the Russian historian Pypin had summarized in the first /vi/ edition of his History of the Slavic Literatures:

Great Russians	34,000,000
Ukrainians	12,000,000
Belorussians	4,000,000
Southern Slavs	11,400,000
(among whom are 5 million Bulgars)	
Czechoslovaks	8,000,000
Poles	10,000,000
Sorbs of Lusatia	150,000

Since that time I have had an occasion to return to this question in a work published in connection with a book by a Russian scholar, that of the late Budilovich on (1) The expansion of the Slavic Languages.

1. See le Monde slave (Second edition, Hachette, 1897).

2 [Louis Leger, Fr. translator of the original Czech ...]

S.P. 161

I established the fact that a Russian geographer, Mr. Zarianko, had arrived at a total of 101,724,000 for the year 1891, while the statistics set forth by Mr. Schrader in his Atlas gave only 97 million.

In 1905 Mr. Niederle resumed the inquiry for an article intended for the Czech Encyclopedia and arrived at a total of 138,500,000 persons.

About the same time a Russian scholar, a distinguished student of the Slavs, professor in the University of Kiyev, Mr. Florinskii, studied for his part, the statistics of the Slavic peoples and made public /vii/ the results of his research in a volume published at Kiyev in 1907 under the title The Slavic Race. Here are his figures:

Great Russians	65,000,000
Ukrainians	31,000,000
Belorussians	7,000,000
Bulgars	5,400,000
Serbo-Croats	9,000,000
Czechs	6,641,000
Slovaks	2,600,000
Poles	20,000,000
Kashubs	355,000
Sorbs of Lusatia	150,000

on a round total figure of 148 million.

Mr. Florinskii estimates that, the annual excess of births over deaths being 1.7%, the race increases each year by 2,500,000 individuals. With this coefficient the increase should then present a grand total of 186 million for the year 1915, and of 200 million for the year 1920.

8. 5. S.P. 101

Among the problems which Mr. Florinskii had to solve, one of the most delicate was that of Macedonian ethnography. The struggle, of which Macedonia has been the scene for more than a quarter of a century, between the Serbs and the Bulgars, has greatly embarrassed certain Russian publicists desirous of alienating neither of these contending parties.

In a map published in 1889, the Russian geographer Mr. Zarianko, in accordance with all the precedents, assigned Macedonia to the /viii/ Bulgars. Appalled by the protests of the Serbs, who were seeking in Macedonia compensation for the loss of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Mr. Zarianko in a later edition had the idea of giving to Macedonia a special coloring, meaning by that, as he said, a country whose nationality had not yet been studied. Since then the ethnographers have had the

S.P. T.R. 162 the region of the Caucasus, the guberniya of the Kuban numbers 90.6%, and that of Stavropal 92% Russians.

S.P. T.R. 161 Density of the Population. -- If we exclude Poland, where the density is the greatest (75 inhabitants per square kilometer), the Russian population is expecially concentrated in the Black Earth region (58 inhabitants) and in the Ukraine beyond the Dnepr. The center of the Empire numbers only 43; Byelorussia and the Baltic Provinces, from 26 to 25; New Russia, 24; the region of the Volga, 17; the Ural, 12; and the northern regions, 1 inhabitant per square kilometer.

In the Middle Ages, the center of Russia, otherwise referred to as the Muscovite region, exceeded all of the others in density of population; but this region experienced very little growth before the year 1861. At that time, the emancipation of the serfs created completely new conditions. In the north, the density of population has remained static during the last two centuries. On the contrary, the regions of the south underwent very rapid changes.

/32/ Until the period of Peter the Great, these regions were hardly populated at all because of the perpetual warfare. The guberniya of Smolensk suffered for a very long time from the wars between Russians and Poles. It was from the time of Peter the Great, and especially from that of Catherine, that the population increased rapidly. Thus it increased tenfold in the guberniyas of Kazan and of Azov, while in the region of the Arctic Ocean or of the lakes, it only doubled or trebled. All of this is connected with the historical development and with the progress of colonization.

In accordance with the estimates of 1905, there were (1), 7.7 inhabitants per square verst in the entire Empire, in European Russia, 24.9; in Poland, 95.1; in Siberia, 0.6. The most densely inhabited section is the guberniya of Piotrkow in Poland (153 inhabitants), and the least thickly settled, the government of Yakutsk (0.1 per verst).

1. The verst equals 1.067 meters.

S.P. T.R. 162 Among the Russian-speaking inhabitants, Russia numbers 1.37% nobles and officials, 0.62% ecclesiastics, 0.39% bourgeois, 0.20% merchants; there are 7.38% city dwellers, 86.22% peasants, and 3.35% Cossacks. Among the Great Russians it is estimated that there are 70.35% who are farmers; among the Ukrainians 86.46%, and among

S.P. T.R. 162 0.04% divorced women.

S.P. T.R 162 795 In the matter of religion, here are the principal figures for the Russian Empire:

Orthodox	95.48%
Old Believers	2.59%
Catholics and Armenians	1.78%
Protestants	0.5 %
Jews	0.8 %
Mohammedans	0.01%

In Russia, the concepts of Russia and of Orthodoxy are practically identical (except for the area of Kholm /35/ and for Byelorussia). In Austria and in Hungary, the Russians are for the greater part uniates (that is to say, united to the Church of Rome while preserving their own liturgical language and the custom of the marriage of their priests); only about 8% belong to the Eastern Church.

In the Kingdom of Poland, there were enumerated in 1897 78.8% Catholics, 4.4% Protestants, 14% Jews, and only 6.57% Orthodox (4.2% according to the census of 1906).

In the western guberniyas of the Empire, Chubinskii numbered even in 1870, 290,000 Ukrainian Catholics (in the guberniyas of Lublin and Siedliszcze) and he declared that, although they belonged to the Roman Church, they called themselves Russians.

Recently, in the Russian district of Kholm, a certain number of individuals considered to be Orthodox, following the edict concerning religious liberty (17 April 1905), declared themselves to be Caltholics. Frantsev estimates at 300,000 the number of conversions during the last three years. Thus the number of Ukrainian Catholics has considerably increased. On the other hand, there are some Catholic Byelorussians in Kurland, in the guberniyas of Vitebsk, Pskov, Suwalki, and Grodno, and in western Galicia there are many localities where a portion of the population is Catholic though claiming Russian as their mother tongue. Professor Floriinsky /36/ recently estimated the number of Russian Catholics at a million and a half.

S.P. T.R. 161 Movement of the Population. --The annual marriage rate, which especially permits an appreciation of the vitality of the nation, is higher in Russia than anywhere else. It is 9 per 1,000; the number of births is about 48 per 1,000 (3.4 % of which are

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(illegitimate children). The death rate is 34 per 1,000. This is indeed a large number, but the number of births greatly surpasses it. The annual population increase is 1.5%, being about 2 million souls. The proportion is not the same in all the regions. Those in which the increase is the most considerable are New Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. Those in which it is the least are the Baltic region and the earea about Moscow. In European Russia--excluding Finland, Poland, and the Caucasus--the annual increase has been figured at 1.41%. In 1900, it rose as high as 1.83%.

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Emigration and immigration are for Russia phenomena of no importance. What is much more important is the movement of the population within the Empire. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a strong centrifugal movement towards the south and east was to be observed. Very large masses, especially from southern Russia, /37/ were moving constantly towards New Russia, the regions beyond the Volga, the southern Ural, Siberia, Turkestan, etc. The emigration of Great Russians towards the south is of special interest from the viewpoint of the Ukrainian problem.

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Emigration to overseas countries has been carried on mainly through German ports. It is particularly directed towards America. To the present it has been of very slight importance, if one considers the immense size of the nation. However, it has been increasing constantly. From 1893 to 1902, it was at the rate of 30,000 persons per year during the first five year period, and of 45,000 per year during the last five years; in 1903, it exceeded 72,000 persons. The greatest number of them migrated to North America (94.3% in 1903). The others went to Argentina (the Parana), to Africa (beginning in 1903) and to Canada.

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The education of the people is still only slightly developed. If one excludes Poland and Finland, there are to be found only about 22.9% literate (32.6% men and 13.7% women). In Poland, the proportion is 30.5% (34.2% for men, 26.8% for women). More than 30% are found in the Finnish guberniyas, and especially in those which have large cities, Esthonia (79%), Livonia (77.5%), Kurland (70.9%), St. Petersburg (55.1%), Moscow (40.2%), Kovno (41.9%), Warsaw (39.1%), Suwalki (37.4%), Yaroslavl' (36.2%), /38/ Plock (33.5%), the Black Sea guberniya (31.2%), Siedlec (30%), Piotrków (30.9%). In 24 guberniyas the figure is less than 20% and even less than 15% in several others (those of Penza and of Pskov).

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Russia is separated from the Byelorussian area by a belt of intermediate dialects which /40/ runs across Opotchka and Velikye Luki in the guberniya of Pskov, passes through the guberniyas of Tver, Smolensk, and Chernigov; the southern portion of the guberniya of Tver, practically all of the guberniya of Smolensk, and the northern portion of the guberniya of Chernigov, bounded by the line of Rzhev, Briansk, Novgorod Seversk, and Chernigov, are purely or primarily Belorussian.

At Novgorod Seversk is located the junction, the point of contact where the Great Russian and Belorussian dialects meet the Ukrainian.

The Ukrainians and the Belorussians are separated by a line which runs from the Narev through Proujany, Luninets, to the Pripet River, and then follows this stream, except in the Mozyr area inhabited by the Belorussians, to the junction point which we just mentioned.

It is rather difficult to determine with precision the boundary between the Ukraine and Great Russia. It runs, roughly speaking, from Krolovets, crossing the southwestern portions of the guberniyas of Chernigov and Kursk in the direction of the city of Soudja; passing through Oboian and Stary-Oskol, it goes towards Korotoyak on the Don, runs along the Don, and then turns towards the Donets. The northern portion of the territory of the Don is inhabited by Great Russians, the southern portion is mixed. In the eastern part of the guberniya of Khar'kov there is a Great Russian island.

The Caucasus region is extremely variegated; the /41/ Great Russians occupy the territory of the Cossacks of the Terek and the basin of the Volga; they also colonized the greater part of Siberia where other nationalities may also be found. Besides, Great Russian colonies are scattered throughout the Ukraine; in turn, colonies of Ukrainians are to be found in the guberniyas of Saratov, Samara, Astrakhan, Vologda and beyond the Ural.

The Great Russians are advancing particularly in the direction of Khar'kov. This city belonged to the Ukrainians at the beginning of the nineteenth century; today it numbers 58% Great Russians and 25% Ukrainians.

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S 7.--It is extremely difficult to estimate the strength of the three groups, considering the manner in which the censuses have previously been made in the Russian Empire. According to the census of 1897, 55,667,469 inhabitants stated that they spoke Great Russian (but in what geographic areas?), 5,885,547 Belorussian, and 22,380,551

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Ukrainian. If we take into account the annual increase of 1.5% during the four following years, we will then obtain the following figures for the close of the year 1900:

Great Russians	(approx.)	59,000,000
Belorussians	(approx.)	6,200,000
Ukrainians	(approx.)	23,700,000

To the latter, one must add almost all the Russians /42/ of Austria-Hungary, that is 3,805,023 (leaving out the 40,000 Jews who state that they are Ukrainians), and 500,000 who live in foreign countries. We will then have for the close of the year 1900 a total of 28 million. But the Ukrainian statisticians declare that this figure is too low and estimate that it should be much larger. Thus, very recently, for the year 1905, Mr. Nechuj-Levitskyj figures--for the entire world--37,206,000 Ukrainians, 31,174,000 of whom are in European Russia. We cannot accept these figures, but will admit of a total of 30 million.

Gnatiuk, at the end of the last century, estimated 30 million; Hrushevskyj, in 1906, 34 million; Karsky, for 1903, conceded about 8 and a half million Belorussians.

S 8.--The dialectal and ethnographic differentiation is not confined to these three principal groups. Within each of them there are to be found smaller groups which bear historic names or popular nicknames.

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These differences appear especially among the Ukrainians, where not only do the philologists find new dialects, but where history and the people themselves mark out a whole series of names, where certain peoples (as for example the Gorals of the Carpathians) have so unusual a physiognomy that one asks oneself if they do not have a peculiar origin, perhaps non-Slavic.

Chubinskii, in his extremely valuable collection /43/ of ethnography, recognizes three types among the Ukrainians of southern Russia: the Polesian, the Ukrainian, the Podolo-Galician.

The first, that of the Poliechouks (Polexiani of the ancient chronicles), inhabitants of the Polesie (1), in the southern portion of the

1. Polesie, the region which skirts the forest. Tr.

districts of Kiyev, of Radomysl, in the Volhynia from the northeast to the river Goryn', in a portion of the gubernyas of Siedlec and of Grodno which make up the Podlasie.

S.P. T.R. 101 197 Galicians, L'vovians and others, derived from the name of the locality which they inhabit. The principal element are the Gorals (mountaineers, from the word gora, mountain) of the Carpathians, who are also called Verkhovintsi (from verkh, summit). Four principal tribes are distinguished among these Russians: in the west, the Lemki, on the two slopes of the Beskid mountains, especially in the districts of Sandets, Jaslo and Sanok; the Boiki, neighbors of the former, to the west of the San; the Tukholtsi, farther to the south, from the district of Sambor to the district of Stanislavov; and still further in the mountains, in the district of Kolomyja, of Stanislavov, in Bukovina, and in the Hungarian county of Marmaros, the Hutsuli (Huculi) are met with, who call themselves Christians, Rusniaks, or Russian people.

S.P. T.R. R. 101 197 Among the Russian population of the Bukovina, three types may be distinguished: the Podolians or Polianes, the Hutsuli and the Lipovani. The latter are religious heretics who left Russia in the eighteenth century.

S.P. T.R. R. [144] The Hutsuli are a very peculiar and interesting tribe, an enigma of Slavic ethnology. /46/ They have given rise to all sorts of hypotheses. Ivan Vagilevitch links them with the Turkish Ouzes, Koshkov to the Thracians or to the Scythians; more recently Volkov looked for their origins in the Caucasus. Some accept a strong intrusion of foreign elements into the primitive Slavic element, while others consider them to be Slavs of pure blood. They are remarkable for their fine stature, for the antiquity and the richness of their customs, for their artistic sense, for their picturesque costume, but also for their lack of intellectual culture which places them in the lowest rank among the Slavs. It is estimated that 93% of them are still illiterate. The name Hutsuli is probably of Rumanian origin (goc, plus the Rumanian article ul). The names Boiki and Lemki are surnames given by their neighbors because of their use of the words lem and boi. Vagilevitch has seen in the Lemki--without good reason, however,--the remains of vanished Celts. In 1890 Shukhevych estimated their number at 60,000. (1)

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1. A. Sobolevsky found the names Hutsuli and Boiki again in the Gulatsi and the Butsi of the guberniya of Kiyev (district of Tcherkassk). And he used this connection to support his theory on the arrival of Carpathian Russians at Kiyev after the Tatar invasion.

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5,820 Poles; they reported 26,795 of them in 1900, and at the latest elections for the Parliament of Berlin, the Polish candidate Chocszewski obtained 27,000 votes.

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Outside of Europe, Poles have gone especially to the United States (particularly to Chicago, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York) and also to South America, particularly to Brazil (States of Parana, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande Do Sul, Sao Paulo), to Paraguay and to Argentina. In Brazil there are more than eighty colonies (80,000 souls). Parana is already called "New Poland."

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S 13. Statistics.--Just as it is impossible to define exactly the frontiers of the Polish nation, so the number of Poles cannot be determined with complete accuracy. Figures issued by national authorities differ considerably.

For the Kingdom of Poland itself Jean Bloch guesses at a population of a million and a quarter in the fourteenth century. For Bathory's century (16th) he estimates 3,058,000 Poles.

In 1882, Sulimierskii figured 12 million. E. Czynski in 1887, and A. Fircks in 1893 estimated 13 million. L. Straszewicz in 1900 figured from 18 to 19 million and in 1902 V. Czerkawski gave 21,111,347. But I do not consider his statistics as absolutely accurate and here are my estimates.

In the Russian Empire there were according to the census of 1897, 7,931,307 Poles, which is 8.3% of the total population. If we add to this figure the annual increase which, according to Kowalewski, is in the neighborhood of 1.5% per year, which would be 118,970 persons, we obtain for the end of the year 1900:

For the Russian Empire (with Asia), about	8,400,000
For Austria	4,259,150
For Germany (including the Mazuri and the Kashub)	3,450,200 (1)
For the rest of Europe (according to Czerkawski), about	55,000
For America (according to Czerkawski).	1,500,000
	17,664,350 (2)

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1. This number is approximate. The census of 1900 gave the following: 3,086,489 Poles, 142,069 Mazuri, 100,213 Kashub, or a total of 3,328,751. But it is necessary to add to this figure at least two-thirds of those who declare themselves to be bilingual (German and Polish, Mazuri or Kashub), which would be 121,450 out of 182,184.

2. Polish statistics of Czynski, of which the last edition appeared at the same time as the study of Mr. Niederle, gives a total of 20 million. Mr. Niederle accepts this figure.

The estimates of the number of Poles in America are extremely uncertain. Siemiradski and Valjavac figure more than a million and a half in North America and in 1900 the review Praca Polska ("Polish Labor") of Milwaukee estimated the number of Poles in America at three million. German statistics, on the other hand, /78/ have been unfair to the Poles. Thus, Ramult, in 1899 counted the Kashub in each locality and arrived at a total of 200,000 (the same as Tetzner). But, the official statistics of 1900 recognize only 100,000 of them. On the other hand, how many Polish-Slovaks should we estimate there? Karlowicz estimates them at 120,000; Czambel figures them at only 40,000. On the other hand, if we deduct, as it is proper to do, the Galician Jews who state that their language is Polish, but who are not Poles (there are estimated to be 621,636 in Galicia), we arrive at a total of 17 and one-half million, which today appears to be the most likely figure. If one follows Mr. Czynski, this figure may be increased to 20 million.

It is very difficult to make out statistics for the Polish nation, from other point of view, because it is divided among three states whose statistics are not always arranged on the basis of nationalities.

This observation applies especially to Russia where the largest segment of Poles is to be found--almost half of them. We have already made some comments upon this matter in the chapter devoted to Russia.[1] The most important figure is the coefficient of the annual population growth, 1.5%. In Germany, in the Polish territory, we find 1.4%. But what has diminished the rate of growth is on the one hand emigration and on the other hand denationalization.

With reference to the Poles of Galicia, /79/ we have more

[1] [Cf. Section on statistics pp 22-29, E16 Slavic Peoples 1: Niederle, category 116 — Analyst]

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accessible date. The population increase for the entire province of Galicia between 1890 and 1900 was 16.7%. Of this number, according to Austrian statistics, the Poles furnished 14.52%, which would be an annual growth of 1.45%. (In this figure 15% Jews are included). The Russians contributed only 8.71%. In comparing these figures with previous ones we note the steady progress of the Poles. In 1851, 11.45% were estemated already in Cisleithania; in 1880, 14.86%; in 1890, 15.84%; in 1900, 16.59%. In Galicia, where the Poles are the masters of the country, their numbers increased by 14% in fifty years.

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In the matter of longevity, the rate is the same among the Poles as among the Galician Russians. The number of young people is above the average (30.4% being less than twenty years of age); the number of old people is very low; only 12% have passed fifty years of age.

The number of married persons is 32.3%. Among the Poles of Russia there have been enumerated 60.6% of unmarried men and 55.9% of unmarried women, 37% men and 36.3 % women married, 2.24% widowers and 7.64% widows, 0.05% men divorced, and 0.08% women divorced.

In the matter of the proportion of sexes, there are among the Poles of Galicia 1,049 women for every 1,000 men; in Russian Poland, the proportion is inverted, only 989 women. But it is evident that all of the soldiers were enumerated. /80/ The relationship of the two sexes, moreover, is a balanced one, save in the government of Lomza, where only 925 women were found for each 1,000 men.

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In the matter of religion, Catholicism is the characteristic religion of the Poles, as Orthodoxy is that of the Russians. There are no more Orthodox Poles, one might say, since the religious toleration was proclaimed in 1905. Old statistics, for example those of Lebedkine about 1860, stated that according to official documents there were 40,000 Orthodox Poles (uniates). There are also very few Poles who belong to the Evangelical church. They are to be found especially in Silesia and in the northern part of Prussia. On the other hand, the Mazuri of Prussia belong to the Evangelical church (96% in 1906), and this circumstance explains to us why they allow themselves to be easily Germanized. The Catholicism of the Poles is one of their strongest weapons against Germanization. In Austria only 83.14% Catholics

S.P. P. 101 Lyczacy, Kociewiacy, Borowiace, Krajniacy, and, on Lake Lebo, those of Kabaci, Lesacy, Belocy. But the most curious is that of Slowiency which /89/ evidently goes back to ancient times and which is found as early as 1586.

S.P. P. 161 The Kashubs are few in number. According to the official statistics of 1900 there were 100,213 of them.

According to earlier statistics of Ramult, there were 174,831 in their own territory, with a total of 200,000 in Europe and 130,000 in America (the United States, Canada, Brazil). As for religion, the majority are Catholics. Only 6% of the Slowiency are considered to be Protestant. S.P. P. 162

000 Although the Kashubs are very few in number, there is no reason to despair of their prospects, for, on the one hand they live in an isolated region near the sea, and on the other hand they are constantly in close contact with the Polish element, who assist them in maintaining their position.

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/90/ /There is no page numbered 90./

/91/ IV

THE SORBS OF LUSATIA

S.P. 101 S 16. Historical Introduction.--Of the powerful nation of Slavs who lived for centuries on the middle and lower Elbe, there now exist only an insignificant remnant, composed of the Slavs of the two Lusatias; it is the Slavic group which is the closest to the Czechs from the geographic and linguistic viewpoint.

In former times the Polabian Slavs (or those of the Elbe /Laba/) were settled in the basins of the Oder, of the Saale, and of the Elbe. We are able, with some reservations, however, to follow their trail as far as the first century of the Christian era. But those who accept the Slavic character of the cinerary tombs in Lusatia and Silesia, are able to go back at least as far as 1000 B.C. This is merely a matter of an archeological hypothesis; but it appears much more accurate to attribute the type of tombs found between the Vistula and the Elbe to the Slavs rather than to the Germans. S.P. [172]

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177 there; about 1700 they were in great measure Germanized; the last Slav group was that of the Dravani (Drawaina) in the district of Luchow which even today is called Wendland, country of the Wends.

172A The Slavic language disappeared between 1750 and 1766. It was in 1751 that mass was celebrated in Slavic for the last time.[1]

161 In the years 1890-1900 the newspapers reported, according to A. Parczewski, that the census /94/ of 1890 had found 570 Slavs-Wends still in this region. But it was an error. The official census had indeed found in the Luchow area 570 Wends, but they spoke only German.

197 The Slavic tongue in this region has been dead for more than a century, as Mr. Muka reported without hesitation.[1] He was sent out as an investigator by the Academy of Sciences of Cracow.

000 However, the Slavic character is still found in great measure in the type and in the manner of life of the inhabitants of the Wendland.

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175 Originally the Sorbs of this region[2] occupied in a compact mass all of the country situated between the Saale, the Verra*, the Fulda, the upper Havel, and the Spree. They extended as far as Frankfort on the Oder, on the Lower Bobra, the Hvizda (Queis). The group included the so-called Sorbs between the Saale and the Elbe (1) then the Lusatians

1. These Sorbs are designated in Latin texts of the Middle Ages by the name Sorabes. (Translator)

on the middle Saale, and the Milczani on the upper Elster, the upper Spree and the Neisse. From the eleventh century on, the Germans began to penetrate into these regions; but they only came there in large numbers beginning with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At this period the Sorb national group began to diminish to the west of the Elbe; it finally succumbed as a result of the Thirty Years War. The situation was better in /95/ Upper and Lower Lusatia, united under the Bohemian crown. Unfortunately, in 1635 the Treaty of Prague ceded
175 the territory to the House of Saxony. The Sorbian national group
668 commenced to decline, especially in Lower Lusatia. Its decadence was not arrested until the nineteenth century by the literary renaissance which restored some energy to this small people.

Thanks to the efforts of a few patriots, the national conscience

2 [Wendland -- Analyst] 1 [Among the Polabian Slavs - Analyst]

was reawakened, literature revived, the Slavic tongue was introduced into the primary schools and the Germans of Saxony granted to their Sorbian fellow-citizens a tolerable modus vivendi. How long will this state of affairs endure? It is difficult to foretell.

Germanization is making great progress especially in Lower Lusatia, subjected to Prussians.

S 17. Boundary of the National Group.---In 1886 Muka established on his ethnographic map, the best which exists up until the present, this boundary by a line which began to the south of Lubja (Lobau), passed between Rychbach (Reichenbach) and Wosporg (Weissenbach*), ran to Nizka (Niesky*), Reczice* (Rietschen*), went toward Muzakow* (Muskau*) on the Neisse, then following the Neisse reached Barsc (Forst), ran to Gresna* (Griessen*), to Barklawa* (Baerenklau*), to the west of Gubna (Guben*). The line then went straight to the west by Luboraz* (Lieberose*), Mochow*, Waldow*, Bocklin* (Burglehne*) then toward the south through Lubnjow* (Lubbenau*), /96/ through Wotrowce* (Bischofs (Bischofsdof*), Kalama* (Kalan*), Rudna* (Reuden*) and Bukowina; then towards the southwest the boundary ran around Komorow* (Senftenber*), Rolana* (Ruhland*) on the Elster, went through Nadzicow* towards Kamence*, Elstra, Biskupci* (Bischofswerda*), where it turned sharply to the east towards Velecin* (Wilthen*) on the Lubia*. Such was the outer boundary of the region in which the majority of the people spoke Sorbian; there was in this region an absolutely Sorbian territory in the neighborhood of Chotebuz* (Cottbus*) and of Grodk*. There were also numerous German islands.

On the map drawn up in 1902 by A. Czerny, the territory had diminished and the Germans had gained ground. Today the northern part of Lower Lusatia is separated from the southern part only by a straight line between Grodk* and Chotebuz* on the two banks of the Spree. However, Tetzner in his book wrongly indicates Lower Lusatia as forming only an island.

S 18. Statistics.--The figures in effect confirm that the number of Lusatians is diminishing. At about 1880-1884, Muka, travelling from village to village, had set the total number of Sorbs at 175,966. He counted 72,000 in Lower Lusatia and 103,000 in Upper Lusatia. The official statistics for 1900 numbered only 93,032 Sorbs, speaking only Sorbian. If one adds about 23,000 bilinguals speaking both Sorbian and

•161 German, one arrives at the figure of 116,810 individuals, and, if this figure is corrected according to the estimates of Parczewski, of Swjela*, and of Muka, about 156,000 persons are obtained, a lamentable total for a people surrounded and penetrated from all sides by the German flood. What favors Germanization is the extent to which the Sorbs [177] are economically dependent upon the Germans: the military service, preaching in German, the absence of an intellectual class, their complete isolation. The Sorbs who resist most energetically are those of Upper Lusatia, whose intellectual center is at Bautzen (Budysin). In Saxony, of 297 communes called Wends (1), according to the census

1. The Sorbs of Lusatia are called Wends in German.

of 1900, there are in all 225 with a Slav majority, and only 7 entirely Slav.

167 We have no other data on the Lusatians or on their emigration. It appears that there are colonies in America (especially in Texas--Serbin (a town), which recalls the name of the nation, Giddingswenden (probably the town of Giddings), West (perhaps the town of West Point) Yewa (not located), Warda (a town), Burleson (a county) whose inhabitants left Europe towards the middle of the last century, and who still preserve the national tradition. There are also some in Australia (at Angerspark, at Adelaide near Melbourne). They are of more recent origin.

715 The great majority of the Sorbs are Lutherans; there are 15,000
162 Catholics, who live for the most part in the neighborhood of Budysin (Bautzen).

197 /98/ S 19. Differentiation.--Even though they are only a small
182 nation, the Sorbs are not unified from the linguistic point of view. The difference between the idioms of Upper and Lower Lusatia is so great that the common people have great difficulty in understanding one another and many linguists have recognized two distinct languages. There are in fact two literary languages founded upon the two dialects which are farthest apart (that of Kottbus and that of Bautzen) and two literatures. This duality creates a grave danger, the much more so as the two fractions are divided from a political viewpoint. Kottbus belongs to Prussia and Bautzen to Saxony. Aside from the language, the
101 two Lusatian groups differ from many viewpoints in matters of domestic
182 life and costume. According to Muka, the boundary between the two

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Zamky, then touches Galanta, Bratislava, and returns to Devinska Nova Ves. (2)

2. As we have done previously, we have omitted here a certain number of localities which the reader would not find on the general maps.

In the interior of the Slovak country there are German islands in the counties of Nitra and of Turocz*, Bars*, Gemer*, and Spis (near Kezmarck and Gelnica). There are also Russian islands, Polish islands, and Magyar islands--especially between Vrable and Nitra on the north and at Abauj to the west of Kosice.

/116/ On the other hand, there are numerous Slovak islands in central and South Hungary, particularly in the counties of Esztergom (Gran) and of Budapest. These island--notably those of Kerepes* and of Pilis--are the remains of the former Slovak population. They are to be found further to the south in the counties of Bekes, of Backa (Hung: Bacska), and of Torontal*. The islands of Keresztur* and of Kocava* have been claimed by the Russian Gnatiuk for his nationality. But the Czech philologists (Pastrnek, Polivka), the Russian Sobolevskii and the Slovak Czambel have demonstrated that their inhabitants were originally from the counties of Zemplen and Sarys*.

In Slavonia, Stara Pazova is a Slovak colony; likewise in Srem (Hung: Szerem) there are Slovak colonies at Ilok, Sid and Zemun. In the Croat county of Virovitica, Punitovici* is in great part inhabited by Czechs and Slovaks.

An Evangelical Slovak colony has lately been established in Bulgaria, at Mitropolie, near Plevna.

Moreover, the largest Slovak city is Budapest where 25,000 have officially been counted, though there may actually be twice as many. There are 50,000 of them at Vienna. In recent times they have in great numbers emigrated to North America.

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S 23. Statistics.--The official censuses /117/ in the German sections of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Vienna--as for the Slovaks in Hungary--have generally been conducted to the detriment of the Czech nationals. Generally an unfair pressure is exerted upon the

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minor government employees to force them to declare their customary language to be German rather than Czech. Thus, if one wants to know the real size of the nation one always needs to rectify the official figures. In 1900 the Austrian statistics enumerated 5,955,397 Czechs (of whom 3,930,093 were in Bohemia, 1,727,270 in Moravia, 146,265 in Silesia, 132,968 in Lower Austria, including Vienna with 102,712. But M. A. Stepanek estimates the number of Czechs and Slovaks in this city at 385,000).

In 1890, the official census enumerated in Vienna 5.3% Czechs, and in 1900, 6.9%.

We may then figure as follows:

Official statistics of 1900	5,955,397
In the German Empire (approximate number) .	115,000
Slovaks in Hungary	2,019,641
Czechs in Hungary	50,000
Czechs and Slovaks in America (a guess). . . .	800,000
In Russia	55,000
In the rest of Europe	20,000
	9,015,038

On the basis of probable estimates, the number of Czechs may be increased by 200,000 or 300,000 for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and for Vienna, by 200,000 to 300,000; the number of Slovaks in Hungary by 150,000 or 200,000; but, on the other hand, one must deduct the Poles and Russians counted in the census as Slovaks. It may be estimated that there are several hundred thousand more in America, say about a million total for the Czechs and Slovaks combined. Thus, we obtain for the two groups a total of 10 million to 9,500,000 (even when deducting 100,000 Poles and Russians wrongly considered as Slovaks), say for the Czechs seven million and for the Slovaks of Hungary many more than two million (about 2,600,000). I should add that the Czechs in their area, --with the exceptions which I have noted--are generally of pure race and that, on the contrary, the Slovaks frequently have a Magyar admixture. The most Slovak county is that of Orava (97%), then that of Trecin (92.7%), that of Liptov (92.5%), and that of Zvolen (89.3%).

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Among the Czechs of Transleithania are found 1,056 women for each 1,000 men. We have no reliable data for the Slovaks. But,

S.P. C. 167 of immigration of Germans among the Czechs is practically insignificant. On the contrary, in these ten last years 70,000 to 90,000 Slavs have left Bohemia. Formerly it was above all emigration to America which S.P. C. 167 weakened the Czechs. Today this movement has slowed down, but 161 it is rather considerable among the Slovaks and it suffices to explain to us the very minor increase of the population group which in 1851 constituted 13% of the total population of Transleithania, in 1886, 12%, in 1890, 11%, and in 1900 only 10.5%. In these last thirty years, according to Stodola, there have emigrated from the 12 Slovak counties 307,000 persons--especially into America. Now, from 1850 to 1900, the total increase of the Magyars was 80%; these figures include, it is true, 25% other nationalities more or less Magyarized, which would make 1.6% a year; the increase /122/ of Slovaks has been only 0.66% a year.

S.P. C. 212 From the point of view of popular education and the restricted number of illiterates, the Czech national group holds the first rank among the Slav peoples. The Czechs are even superior to the Germans of Austria; for, according to the official statistics, there are in Bohemia 93.77% who know how to read and write, 91.84% among the Germans, 68.53% among the Slovenes, 47.52% among the Poles, and 21.87% among the Russians and Ruthenians.

In Hungary, in the purely Slovak counties, the number of illiterates is 32%; in the counties of the center where there are mixtures of Magyars and Russians, it is 42%.

S.P. C. 162 In the matter of professions, 43.1% of the Czechs devote themselves to agriculture, 36.5% to industry, 9.3% to commerce and the transportation business, 11.1% to public services. From the industrial viewpoint, only the Germans surpass the Czechs by two percentage points (38.5%); from the point of view of agriculture, the Czechs come after the Poles (65%), the Slovenes (75%), the Serbo-Croats 89%, and the Russians of Galicia (63%).

S.P. C. 745 162 In the matter of religion, the Czechs are for the most part Catholics (96.15%). It is figured that there are 2.4% Protestants. Among the Slovaks of Hungary the proportions are no longer the same There are figured to be 70.2% /123/ Catholics, 5% uniates, 23% Protestants of the Augsburg confession.

1: Niederle--78 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples F16
czechoslovakia EB1

S.P. c. 543 162 In Bohemia 50,000 Jews declared themselves to be Czechs, and in Moravia 6,792; 40,521 in Bohemia and 34,261 in Moravia declared that they were Germans. Hungary actually possesses one-tenth of the Jews of the entire world, and they are increasing more rapidly than the other national groups (14.8%). Almost all of them claim that they are Magyars.

S.P. c. 177 668 In studying the history and the ethnography of the Czecho-Slovaks, one sees that the Czechs began by losing much more territory than they gained. But this unfortunate situation has ceased; the national consciousness has developed; the spirit of an entire people has set up a solid barrier against the Germanic invasion. Certain losses are still inevitable, but they can be retrieved. The most threatened section is made up of the frontier of northern Moravia where the Germans today are concentrating their strength. They wish to unite their compact masses with the islands of Lanskroun, Zabreh, Olomouc and to cut Bohemia from Moravia. It is here that the Czech nation should especially think of acting and defending itself.

S.P. c. 161 Moreover, the increase of the Czechs with respect to that of the Germans is good. During the last ten years the Czechs have increased by 8.49% and the Germans only by 1.96%.

/124/ In the German region the Czechs have increased by 0.1% and in the Czech region the Germans gave decreased by 0.5%. The least favored region from a Czech viewpoint is that of Moravska Ostrava (Mochrisch Ostrau), where the Czechs are greatly decreasing.

000 It is important to reinforce the Czech element upon the frontier, to raise Czech capital in opposition to German money, to set up Czech schools as opposed to German schools, and, in order to stand against all assaults, to strengthen the national consciousness. It is necessary to build up the Czech element from an economic and physical viewpoint, to improve the general well-being, to increase the means of exchanging ideas.

In brief, the progress of the Germans upon the frontier has been so insignificant for the past century, that it will still be hundreds of years before it becomes a cause of concern.

What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing

S.P. C. 146 161 What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing population to the profit of the German sections. (In Moravia it is completely the contrary). In 1890 33.46% of the Czechs in Bohemia were living in German areas; in 1900 there were already 34.61% of them. During this ten year period the birth rate in the German sections was 8.1% for the Germans, and only 4.8% among the Czechs of the Czech sections. These phenomena are explained by the importance of German industry which attracts the Czechs into the German areas.

S.P. C. 148 177 Already the Germans--at least /125/ the sensible ones--recognize that it is impossible to Germanize the Czechs. The chauvinists alone still dared to hope for it, especially those who consider Bohemia as a lock which one can burst asunder in order to open to the German race an access to the Adriatic. But they are fooling themselves, as are those who believe that the Poles of the Kindom of Prussia can be denationalized.

S.P. C. 101 The situation of the Slovaks in Hungary is not nearly so good; they are deprived of all political rights and, following the example of what is happening in Prussia, they are being threatened with expropriation. Nevertheless, they continue to stand against the Magyars within their ancient boundaries, they give way only very slightly within these boundaries, and, were it not for the Magyarization which is being energetically imposed upon the nation, especially upon the upper classes, and for a rather considerable emigration, the people would be able to hold their own, all the more since they are constantly assimilating Polish and Russian elements in the north and east of their territory.

ooo When in 1900 I drew up my ethnographic map for the Slovaks, the Russians protested against the figures which the statistics showed to their detriment. It has been demonstrated that the progress of the Slovaks had not been as rapid as I had thought, but it exists nevertheless. All of eastern Slovakia is nothing but Russia which has been Slovakized, and this assimilation is continuing.

S.P. C. 178 [144] /126/ S 24. Differentiation.--The primitive differentiation of the tribes has left no important trace among the Czechs. All of the shades of difference have been leveled off by time and those which relate to the physical aspects, to the languages, to costume in these latter days, have almost entirely disappeared.

S.P. Sl. 101 162 particularly to the north and to the east, numerous German islands; we have already mentioned the German group at Kocevje (Gottschee), which includes a considerable number of localities.

S.P. Sl. 162 177 Furthermore, the northern frontier, and also that which touches Hungary, are gravely threatened. In Carinthia and in Styria the Germans have taken over the official functions and the schools, and; thanks to their efforts, the number of Slovenes is diminishing considerably In Carinthia 101,050 Slovenes were reported in 1890; in 1900 the figure was reduced to 90,495 and it is to be feared that the coming generation will be completely Germanized. In Styria, in 1850, 643,194 Germans were enumerated as compared with 363,750 Slovenes; in 1900 there were 902,343 Germans against 409,521 Slovenes. Thus in a half-century the number of Germans had increased by 40.5% and that of the Slovenes only 12.5%. These figures, as we shall explain farther along, are not completely reliable. However, it is impossible to deny a serious decrease in the number of Slovenes in all the areas in which they live. [1] Refer above in Section 23 to the table of the birth rate of Slav peoples which shows 6.1% for the Slovenes in 1880, 5.23% in 1890, and only 4.65% for the year 1900.

The most threatened frontier is that of /142/ Carinthia and Styria between Arvez* and Radgona (German; Radkersburg) where the Slovenes are withdrawing constantly on the south side and are maintaining themselves only in the mountains. In Hungary they are being rapidly Magyarized, notably in the county of Zelezna (Vas). Furthermore, even in Carnolia, they are increasing very slightly, as will be indicated later.

S.P. Sl. 161 S 27. Statistics.--Along with the Sorbs of Lusatia, the Slovenes constitute the smallest Slavic people and also the most threatened one. They are strangled between the Germans, the Italians, and the Magyars, furthermore, their birth rate is almost insignificant.

In Austria the following figures were counted:

In 1880	1,140,504
In 1890	1,176,672
In 1900	1,192,780

In Hungary, in 1890, there were counted 94,992 (including

[1] [cf. E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, Category 11C, pp. 75-76, foot note 1 — Analyst]

S.P. 51. 161 20,987 for Croatia and Slavonia). In 1900 the statistics omitted them. Between 1890 and 1900 the total increase for all of Austria was 9.4%, while that for the Slovenes was only 1.37%.

The following is the general total of Slovenes for the year 1900:

In Austria	1,199,786
In Italy	35,000
In Hungary and Croatia	102,000
In America	100,000
Other countries	20,000
	1,456,786

/143/ Trsteniak, who lowers the total for Hungary, numbered them at 1,416,580; Klima, at 1,444,364. The figures which we give probably require some corrections for Cisleithania.

Thus, in Carinthia, the specialists count 40,000 more of them than the official statistics. For Trieste and the surrounding area the statistics for 1900 give only 16% Slovenes against 77% Italians. But, at the time of the 1907 elections the Slovene candidates received more votes than the Italians. One of them was even elected. We may venture then to estimate the number of Slovenes at a million and a half.

S.P. 51. 182 Even though they may be few in number, the Slovenes do not have to fear the loss of their nationality, for they have an entire province to themselves, Carniola; this was sufficient to enable them to succeed in reinforcing their sense of nationality and to develop a public educational system. Their political situation is very important for the Slav race; it is they who prevent the Germans from linking the Adriatic with the North Sea. (1)

1. I have already expressed these ideas in 1868 in an article published by La Revue moderne and reprinted in my volume Le Monde slave (2d ed., p. 43, Hachetter, 1897) Translator.

S.P. 51. 212 In the matter of education, the Slovenes in Austria are ahead of the Poles, the Russians, the Serbo-Croats. They have only 23.9% S.P. 51. 162 illiterates. The ratio of the two sexes is 1,032 women for each 1,000 men (1,098 in Carnolia). From the point of view of age it is figured /144/ that they have only 45.8% below twenty years of age; but in contrast 18.9% are above fifty years of age; the proportion of married persons is 32.2, which is below normal.

000 In the matter of thebirth rate, during these latter years it has

000 give, for example, for the year 1905, a total of 35,000.

S.P. Sb. 167

The number of Serb emigrants is not so large. They settle especially in the cities of North America. There have also been, for the past thirty years, colonists in New Zealand and in the Auckland Islands.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162

It is very difficult to determine the boundary between the Serbs and the Croats. In Hungary, as we have already said, it begins at Stara, on the Drava. But the official statistics of Croatia and Slavonia do not distinguish between Serbs and Croats. It is the same in Cisleithania and we do not have the required information. One may, to a certain degree, take advantage of the statistics showing religious adherence and of the new map of Dr. Vasa Ruvarac. But this map gives only the division by districts and besides, as we /163/ have previously mentioned, religion itself is not an absolute indication.

S.P. Sb. 161

S 31. Statistics.---It is very difficult, if not impossible, to give statistics about the Croats and Serbs, either all together, or taken separately. For the Turkish area we have no certain census and we are reduced to the guesses of individual Serbs or Bulgars, who, pursuing the tendencies which statisticians adopt, differ from one another to an unusual degree. (1) For Istria, the seacoast, Dalmatia,

1. In 1889, the Serb S. Gropcevic figured that in Old Serbia and in Macedonia there were 2,048,000 Serbs and 57,600 Bulgars. In 1900, the Bulgar Kancov figured 700 Serbs and 1,180,000 Bulgars.

Bosnia and Hercegovina, we do not have a distinction made between Serbs and Croats. Such distinction is found only in the Hungarian statistics. On the other hand, as will be seen further on, we assign to the Bulgars the population of Macedonia, properly speaking, south of Sofia. The following gives the approximate numbers of Serbs and of Croats in 1900:

Austria	711,382
Croatia and Slavonia	2,101,580
Hungary, approx.	700,000
Rieka (Fiume)	13,929
Bosnia-Hercegovinia (according to /164/ the census of 1905), approx.	1,650,000
Montenegro, approx.	350,000

1: Niederle--103 E-5 1911 EK Slavic Peoples E16
Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
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Kingdom of Serbia	2,298,551
Old Serbia and Macedonia, approx. . . .	300,000
Vilayet of Skadar (Scutari) and Albania, approx.	100,000
Italy	5,000
Russia	3,000
America and other countries.	300,000
Total	8,533,442

We should add one detail. In Hungary, the official statistics enumerated, in 1900, 2,730,749 Serbo-Croats; but the Sokci, Bunievci and Krasovani (1) Catholics were counted separately. They were

1. These names will be explained further on.

carried with other nationalities under the heading: various languages. We can, with the Serbian almanac of the Matica of Novi Sad for 1903, figure on 108,267 of them and add this number to the Serbo-Croats. Professor Cintula* arrived at a similar evaluation (between 105,000 and 110,000).

In Bosnia and Hercegovina, an official census was held in 1895, in Montenegro, at the end of the year 1896; by taking into account the annual increase, one may arrive at approximate results. I have been unable to secure official results for Montenegro. I have written several times, but my letters have remained without reply.

For Old Serbia and Macedonia, it is now impossible /165/ to give an exact total. I have accepted that of 300,000, basing this upon the latest information which we have upon the Serbs (including the Mohammedan Serbs) in the region of Novi Pazar, Kosovo Pole, Metohija and the bishopric of Skoplje. A Serbian almanac raises this figure to a million. The evaluation of Hilmi Pasha (1905), who estimated in Macedonia 600,000 Serbs and 170,000 Bulgars among the entire mass of population, is evidently erroneous.

For the vilayet of Skadar (Scutari), Bianchi figured, twenty years ago, 70,000 Serbs.

In the matter of the distribution of the Serbs and the Croats, the Hungarian statistics for 1900 placed in Hungary 188,552 Croats, 434,641 Serbs; in Croatia-Slavonia, 1,478,000 Croats, and 610,909

S.P. Cr. Sb. 161

Serbs, or a total of 1,667,377 Croats and 1,045,550 Serbs, while leaving out the Sokci, the Bunievci and the Krasovani, which the Serbian almanac, of which we have spoken above, assigned to the Serbs. The same almanac assigned to the Serbs the Catholics of Bosnia-Hercegovina (334,000). It also found 100,000 Serbs in Austrian Dalmatia.

According to these Serbian statistics, there are in Europe a maximum of 2,300,000 Croats. But the Croats figure otherwise, and in assigning to themselves the Bosnian, Bunievci, and Krasovani Catholics, they arrive at a total of 2,700,000 for Europe. Since statistics in Croatia and /166/ in Cisleithania make no distinction between the two nationalities, it is impossible to make any positive statement.

The Academician Jagic (1) secured from the patriarchate of Karlovci official data from which he concluded that the number of Orthodox Serbs of Hungary and Croatia is 1,149,314. This total comes within about 100,000 of being what the Hungarian statistics have indicated.

1. Formerly professor at the University of Vienna, corresponding member of the Academie des Inscriptions. For his works see the Journal des Lavants for 1908.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 163

The increase of the Serbs and the Croats in Hungary, as far as we may judge from the statistics, is taking place in a very unequal manner. It is in Istria that the Croats have the lowest birth rate; they are withdrawing before the Italians. (2) In 1851, they made up 57.36% of the population; in 1906, this figure fell to 42.58%. In contrast, the Croats of Dalmatia, who were numbered at 378,676 in 1851, had increased to a total of 562,000 in 1900. They represented 96.1% of the total population a half-century ago. Today they represent 96.6%.

2. One must never forget that the official censuses are made up to the benefit of the Italians and consequently are unfavorable to the Croats.

For the decade ending in1890, the increase in Istria was 8.64%; in Dalmatia, 12.58%. If we consider only the national group, we find the Serbo-Croats of Austria /167/ an increase of 10.3% in ten years, or 1.03% per year. This is, after the Poles, the highest rate in the Empire. In Croatia and in Slavonia, the gross increase was 1.04%;

S.P. Sl. 75 162

According to Turkish statistics, in the plain of Kosovo, that is to say in the kazas of Pristina, Vucitrn and Mitrovia, there are 80,000 Mohammedans and 22,000 Orthodox; according to private Serbian statistics there are only 1,956 Serb homes with 14,000 persons. Kancov in 1901 counted at Novi Pazar, Kosovo, and Metokhia, 250,000 Albanians, 100,000 Serbs, and 90,000 Bosnians /169/ who spoke Serbian, while being Mohammedans and enemies of the Serbs.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 161

In the matter of population density, the areas occupied by the Croats and the Serbs are particularly well divided. In Montenegro, it is figured that there are 18 persons per square kilometer, in Bosnia-Hercegovina 30.7, in Dalmatia 46, in Serbia 51.6, in Croatia-Slavonia 56.8, in Istria 69, at Gorica 80, on the seacoast 95. The ratio between the two sexes is particularly interesting. In comparison with other Austrian areas the masculine sex is much more numerous; but the proportions vary according to the areas. Thus for each 1,000 men there are in Dalmatia 976 women, in Istria 933, at Gorica 970, along the seacoast 973, in Serbia 945.6, in Bosnia 893.4, in Montenegro, 882. On the average, throughout the Austrian territory, for every 1,000 men there are 974 women. In Croatia-Slavonia the number is 988, and if we count only the men--leaving out the army--the figure rises to 1,011. Vrbanic gives for 1,000 men 963 women, and he explains the reasons for this ratio. Many more males than females are born here, and during the early part of life there are fewer who die than in the rest of Europe. During the first year the number of deaths is 8.3% for Bulgaria, 21.2% for Croatia, 16.3% for Serbia.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162

Vrbanic gathered in 1896 very interesting data /170/ on the birth rate of the southern Slavs, notably the Serbo-Croats. It is true that they are based upon anterior facts, but they are still of interest.

He finds 40% of the people married among the Serbo-Croats. Serbia especially presents unusual figures.

According to the statistics of 1900 there are only 25.4% unmarried and 67.7 married; 36% of the men and 57% of the women are married before the age of twenty years. Among the Serbo-Croats of Austria, the unmarried are estimated at 58.6% and married persons only at 35.4%. In Croatia-Slavonia, in 1900, above the age of fifteen, 30% of the men were unmarried, and 22.7 of the women, and 63.7% and 64.5% were married. In Serbia, the number of births is 44.45

000

S.P. B. 101 167

In Asia Minor, the Bulgar colonies are found principally in the outskirts of Bruss (now Bursa), a portion in a whole group of communes about the little city of Mikhailich (now Karacabey), another portion, around Kodjebunar*, Suiout*, Kobash, Toibelen*, Novo Selo*, Mandra*, Khaladjebair*, and Kilik*. There are also a few communes, occupied especially by shepherds, on the seashore and about Kyzdervent*, not far from Scutari (Skadar). Kantchov* counts here about twenty Bulgarian communes.

In recent times American statistics also attest to the presence of Bulgar immigrants; but they are mixed with the Serbs in such a way that it is difficult to arrive at correct totals. There should be about 50,000. Valjavec estimates them at 4,000, but this total is obviously too low.

S.P. B. 161

S 37. Statistics.--In view of the fact that the exact number /200/ of Slavs in Turkey proper is not known, it is very difficult to give absolutely exact statistics for the Bulgars. One can only make guesses and, for the balance, refer to the official statistics of the realm which unfortunately are very brief:

At the end of the year 1900 the total strength of the Bulgars should be broken up as follows:

Bulgaria proper (according to the census of 31 December 1900)	2,885,379
Turkish Rumelia, Albania, Constantinople, Asia Minor	600,000
Macedonia (according to Kanchov)	1,200,000
Rumania with the Dobrudja	180,000
Other countries	50,000
Total	4,915,379

In Bulgaria there were, according to the latest statistics, 2,684,735 Bulgars and 20,664 Pomaks; let us not forget that the Bulgarian statistics combine mother tongue and national group. In Rumania, the official statistics do not recognize the native Bulgars; they consider them to be Rumanians and list separately only 7,810 Bulgars as foreign subjects. As we have mentioned above, Weigand estimates the natives at 50,000; Kanchov figures the number of Bulgars in the Dobrudja at 40,000, Ishirkov at 30,000. In Hungary there were

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in 1900 about 12,000 (according to V. Cintula). In 1891 the statistics numbered them at /201/ 23,000; but it confused other Slavs with the Bulgars, for example the Serbs of Krasso.

In America, Valjavec figured on 4,000 Bulgars, but obviously this is too few, for in the most recent statistics the Bulgars are always placed with the Serbs. We have seen that in Russia statistics for 1897 enumerated 172,659.

It is in Turkey that estimates are most difficult. For Macedonia I have followed the figures of Kanchov, in regard to his opinion upon the Macedonian problem.

Cvijic has estimated the number of Slavs in the vilayets of Kosovo, of Salonica, and of Bitolj to be 1,300,000 (450,000; 500,000; 340,000). Brankov and Skopalski have figured on 1,172,000 Bulgars; in Turkish Rumelia I have counted the Pomaks among the Bulgars. In the vilayet of Adrianople, Mach estimated the number of Bulgars at 370,000 of the Orthodox religion and 115,000 of the Mohammedan religion.

S.P. B. 161 795

According to a census conducted by Hilmi Pasha and reported by M. Rene Pinon (of which the results are far from being exact), there were in the vilayet of Kosovo 164,476 Patriarchists, 184,912 Exarchists (1), 420,388 Mohammedans; in the vilayet of Bitolj, 309,759 Greek

1. Spiritual subjects of the Bulgarian Exarch of Constantinople, otherwise Bulgars.

Patriarchists, /202/ 11,301 Rumanians, 8,461 Serbs, 178,527 Exarchists, 509,307 Mohammedans; in the vilayet of Salonica, 311,982 Greek Patriarchists, 24,377 Rumanians, 244,723 Exarchists, 531,431 Mohammedans. For these three vilayets, Monsieur Pinon, accepting the old statistics of certain districts, gave a total of 3,267,265 souls, of whom 1,795,359 were Mohammedans and only about 600,000 Bulgarian Exarchists. He counted 850,000 Greek, Rumanian, and Serbian Patriarchists; but of this number the Serbs make up only a very insignificant total.

S.P. B. 161

Other statistical data, for well known reasons, can be applied only to the Bulgars of the Kingdom. This is the only country which provides statistical data. We shall study them here on the basis of the work of Urbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

000 work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

S.P. B. 163 [162] He[1] presents the following results:

Among the Bulgars the number of men is 1,000 for every 965 women; the males show an excess of births of 54.2%; the ratio between single persons to married persons is for men, 53%; for women 41.9% (4.4% widowers). The birth rate is 36.36 per 1,000; it is below that of the Serbs; on the contrary, the death rate is less than among these, only 18. (compare the figures given above in Section 31). In Bulgaria S.P. B. [165] very few infants die during the first year. They have the lowest infant mortality of any among the South-Slavs /203/ (8.3% only, against 15.4% in Dalmatia, 16.3% in Serbia, 21.2% in Croatia). As a result of this peculiarity, the coefficient of the excess of births over deaths is, if Jirecek is to be believed, as favorable as in Serbia, it represents 1.83. For the years 1881-1887, Sarafov found an increase of 1.85 (during this period there were born 100 boys for 89.7 girls); for the period 1890-1900, the coefficient was, it seems, slightly less. More recently, Iurkevich suggested the figure of 1.5 for the north of Bulgaria and of 1.2 for the south.

S.P. B. 161 According to Popov, the population density is 38.8 inhabitants per square kilometer.

S.P. B. 795 From the religious viewpoint the Bulgars belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. They have a church of their own whose head, called The Exarch, lives at Orta-koi (now Ivailovgrad) near Constantinople. Along with the Orthodox majority, one finds two dissident groups. The first of these is the Catholic Bulgars, or Paulitians (Pavlikiani). They speak the eastern dialect and live in the districts of Nikopol, of Svishtov, in seven villages in the outskirts of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There is also a Catholic community at Berdavski Geran, near Byala Slatina, and another, that of Gostilia, near Oryakhovo (district of Vratsa). All of them originated in the region of Plovdiv or Philippopolis, which was formerly their center. They formerly composed a whole series of communities between Plovdiv and /204/ Nikopol. It is from these that there came the colonies of Bulgars who settled in Hungary (Vinga, Besenov), and who are Catholics.

S.P. B. 795 101 Another rather sizeable section is composed of the Bulgars who, under Turkish domination, embraced Islam. They are called Pomaks.

1 [i.e. Vrbanic. cf. cat. 116, p. 125 -- Analyst]

For these reasons I have, as may be seen above, and on the map which accompanies this book, assigned the Slavs of Macedonia to the Bulgars, while recognizing that there are in Old Serbia a majority of families who claim to belong to the Serbian nation.

S.P. C.M. 181

3). Moreover, it is certain that this question of deciding whether Macedonia is Serbian or Bulgarian cannot be resolved by secondary linguistic and ethnographic indications, /216/ for example the custom of celebrating the festival called Slava (1), but by other

1. A annual festival during which the word slava "glory" is frequently repeated, which gives it its name. Translator.

factors, such as historical tradition, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, political ideas and tendencies. But, even from this viewpoint, Macedonia is not tranquil; it is the scene of incessant agitation. Such agitation is carried on by means of political propaganda, by money, through the school, and through the church by both Bulgar and Serb. At the point to which all of these efforts are concentrated they may make of the least conscientious individual a Serb or a Bulgar, despite the dealect which he speaks. All of these factors continue to operate and they will not stop while Macedonia and Old Serbia are outside of the direct control of either Serbia or Bulgaria. The State which may be the first to occupy the region for a long period will be the first one to give it a character.

Today Macedonia is Bulgarian; but it is still a question of power and of the future, a question whether it will always remain Bulgarian, or will be Serbianized in part. The natural solution would be for Old Serbia to be assigned to the Serbs and Macedonia to the Bulgars. The relations of these two peoples would then be placed in order and their national development assured. But will such a political and national solution be arrived at for the Macedonian problem? It seems very doubtful.

/217/

SUMMARY

Total Figures for the Slavs.

S.P. 161

S 40.---For the year 1900 I have estimated the total figure for the Slavs at 137 or 138 million. After having revised my estimates in 1908, I arrived at a figure of 139 million, the details of which are

S.P. 161

as follows:

Russians	approx.	94,000,000
Poles	"	20,000,000
Sorbs of Lusatia.	"	150,000
Czechs and Slovaks.	"	9,800,000
Slovenes	"	1,500,000
Serbo-Croats.	"	8,550,000
Bulgars	"	5,000,000
Total	1900.	139,000,000

This total is only an estimated figure, for, as has been seen for each nation individually, one can very rarely give an absolute guarantee for the number of Slavs subjects, especially in the Balkan peninsula, and also in Germany and in Austro-Hungary. The figures for the colonists settled outside of Europe is entirely a matter of conjecture.

/218/ As an matter of comparison, I recall that Langhans in 1900 figured the total number of Germans in the entire world to be 85 million, in 1904, Henoch, 82 million (of whom 69,663,000 were in Europe, 11,600,000 in America), a total lower than that of the Russians alone. Professor Florinskii of Kyev, at the close of the year 1906, arrived at a total of 148,521,000. If we take my figures as a base, and add to them a yearly increase of 1.4%, we shall obtain for the year 1910 a total of 158 to 159 million.

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4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

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p. 1

The Primitive Slavs

121 The object of this study is to provide a fairly detailed account of the Slavs from their first appearance in history to their emergence in modern times as a group of nations akin in race and language, but diversified by the cultural and political influences to which they have been exposed.

[161] Numerically the Slavs are the largest linguistic group in
131 Europe, including some two hundred million people. Located
175* in the eastern section of the European Continent, they were long remote from the civilization which grew up on the northern shore of the Mediterranean, and thus were late in assuming an active political role. In early medieval times their lack of organization made them an easy prey to nations of higher material culture and more intense political aspirations; consequently the hostility between German and Slav is a historical factor of long standing. The geographical situation of the Slavs not only set them as a natural bulwark against nomadic invaders from Asia, but also exposed them to Asiatic cultural influences and to the infusion of alien blood. Their very numbers and their remote habitations retarded their cultural advance, as did also the domination of the unenlightened mass by an intelligent minority touched in varying degree by foreign
186 civilizations. Hence the absence of any pervasive tradition of
175* native culture has repeatedly prevented the development of

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

It was to this district, centering about the city of Czernowitz, that many Polish officials and soldiers withdrew to escape German and Russian pursuit when Poland was invaded in 1939.

The Western Slavic group includes the Poles, the Czechs (or Bohemians) and Moravians, the Slovaks, and two Slavic islands in German territory: the Kashubs, who live on the Baltic coast northwest of Danzig, probably not over two hundred thousand in number, and a considerably smaller number of Sorbs, or Wends, who inhabit Lausitz, or Lusatia, a small area on the upper Spree river northeast of Dresden.

The Southern Slavs are cut off from their northern kindred by the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Romanians, but comprise the Slovenes in the extreme northern part of Yugoslavia; the Serbs and the Croatians, who differ from one another only in slight variations of dialect and by the fact that the Serbs belong to the Greek Orthodox church and use the Cyrillic Script (similar to the Russian), while the Croatians are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; and the Bulgarians who, though possessing a Slavic national language, represent a complex fusion of racial and linguistic stocks.

In view of the numerous and violent migratory movements which took place in northern Europe both before the Christian era and during the first few centuries after it began, the Slavs are hardly likely to have occupied their present extensive territory during their whole recorded history. On the contrary, their migrations cover a range almost as vast as those of their Germanic neighbors, and the location of their primitive habitat constitutes a problem which has long engaged students of Slavic history and linguistics.

The earliest native tradition dealing with Slavic origins is contained in the so-called Russian *Primary Chronicle,* a compilation completely extant only in two fourteenth-century texts, but which reproduce with considerable accuracy a work composed by a monk of Kiev about the end of the eleventh century. Here we read:

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Chapter One

SLAVISM MENACES THE WEST

178 THE collapse of Germany inaugurated a revolutionary era in Europe. In the political domain, it was the prelude to transfers of strength whose full consequences cannot yet be gauged, although we can say definitely that it is the Slavs—and primarily the Russians—who will benefit by them.

[162] In this connection, the war has simply hastened a process to which a relentless impulse had already been given by the demographic rhythm of modern Europe. To-day, out of every three Europeans, one is a Slav. In three-quarters of a century from now, with the differing birth-rates in Western and in Eastern Europe, we shall find this ratio reversed.

563 On the eve of the war, our continent had 454,400,000 [161] inhabitants. The Slavs numbered 145,072,000, distributed as follows: Poland, 27,181,000; Czechoslovakia, 13,611,000; Yugoslavia, 12,017,000; Bulgaria (a Slavicised rather than a Slav country), 6,080,000; Great Russia, 55,548,000; Little Russia, 27,664,000; White Russia, 4,204,000.[1] It should be mentioned, in passing, that Russia, which common opinion (by metonymy) considers as the 'Slav country' *par excellence*, is on the contrary the only one which, within its State frontiers, includes at least an equal proportion of inhabitants of other races. For this reason it is also, whatever its political structure, the country where the national problem is at least easily reducible to a concept of ethnical homogeneity. It is as well not to forget this.

As far as any biological factor can do so, this prospect of demographic superiority in Europe gives stability and solidity to the political advantages which the Slavonic world may derive from the collapse of its age-long enemy—Germanism.

563 We shall use the term 'Slavonic world' or 'Slavonic com-
829 munity', rather than 'Slavonic race'. It was at the time when science was abandoning its convictions regarding race-discrimina-

[161] [1] Between 1930 and 1939 the population of Russia rose from 158 to 192 million, i.e. an annual increase of 3,700,000 persons—which constitutes a world record.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

648 175 Needless to say, the masses of the populace saw in these absurdities nothing but a blind submission to Germany. In August, 1944, the Germans physically occupied the country. The Government was reorganised; Stephen Tiso, President of the Bratislava Court of Appeal, replaced Tuka as President of the Council. His first act was to have recourse to the Germans to put an end to the increasingly threatening activity of the Partisans. On September 13 a National Council was formed which sent a message of fidelity to Benes. The latter replied, 'The Czechs and the Slovaks will give the State a new form, based on absolute equality of rights and on a spirit of democracy and fraternity'.

* * *

186 175 Croatia presents, from the historical point of view, a quite different personality. She prides herself on having safeguarded her juridical individuality through a thousand years, under régimes of personal union and under the rule of foreign sovereigns. The clique which, thanks to the collapse of the Yugoslav State, took the power into their own hands and proclaimed the independence of the country on April 10, 1941, was composed of revolutionaries, most of them *émigrés*, grouped since 1929 in the *Oustachi* (insurgent) organisations, by Ante Pavelich, who revived the Croatian Law Party dissolved in 1918, and was the instigator (with Italian and Magyar accomplices) of the crime which led to the death of King Alexander and of Louis Barthou.

The new 'Independent State of Croatia' (a term calculated to imply that the Croatian State had existed without independence) was represented by the crown of King Zvonimir, who died in 1089—a feature borrowed from the constitutional *mystique* of Hungary, which personifies in the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen the union of people and monarchy.[4]

The ideology of the new régime was reduced to negative elements—a struggle against Orthodoxy, Liberalism, Democracy, Freemasonry, Judaism, and Bolshevism, hitherto combined, according to the official propaganda, 'under the false geographical label of Yugoslavism'. It thus claimed to renew the tradition

161 [4] The new Kingdom of Croatia had a population of 7,080,000 inhabitants, as follows: Croatia, 5,000,000, Serbs, 1,500,000, Hungarians, 70,000, and Slovenes, 37,000. It covered an area of 71,958 square miles.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 162 'How many do we number? In Poland, there is only one single nation, the Polish nation, if we ignore the artificially "inspired" separation of the Kachoube branch, and the Hitler-invented "nation" of the Gourals; in Bulgaria, one single nation also, the Bulgarian; in Czechoslovakia two, the Czechs and the Slovaks. In U.S.S.R. three, Russians, Ukrainians and White Russians; in Yugoslavia five, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins and Macedonians. There exists, too, a Lusatian nation. In all, thirteen Slavonic nations'.

186* •161 And the *Zycie Slowanskie* (Slav Life) attempted a numerical estimate of this force:—

'The events of the Second World War have, of necessity, brought about displacements on such a large scale that an estimate based both on the pre-war census and on the theory of probability is liable to prove quite inaccurate. However, simply as a rough guide, we may work on the following table:—

1.	Russians	100,000,000
2.	Ukrainians	41,000,000
3.	Poles	25,000,000
4.	White Russians	10,000,000
5.	Czechs	8,000,000
6.	Bulgars	6,000,000
7.	Serbs	5,500,000
8.	Croats	4,000,000
9.	Slovaks	3,000,000
10.	Slovenes	1,500,000
11.	Macedonians	750,000
12.	Montenegrins	400,000
13.	Lusatians	200,000

In all about 205 millions'.

186* 648 During this period the anthology of Slav solidarity was enriched with a number of striking official speeches, broadcast declarations, and editorials. Inter-Slav relations were organised on the basis of mutual aid pacts, such as those of March 19, 1946, between Belgrade and Warsaw, of the following May 10 between Belgrade and Prague (completed by both economic and cultural agreements) and that of March 7, 1947, between Prague and Warsaw.

ccc Solidarity between Slavs in Europe and those in America—

000 especially by the inhabitants of Great Russia.

S.P. T.R. 101 162 /20/ S 4. Territory and Frontiers of the National Group.

It may be seen from this sketch of the development of the Russian nation--especially from the intensive colonization of the later years--that it is impossible to bound the Russian realm by a continuous line. For the Russian population in Asia and in Europe does not appear as a compact mass, but as an aggregate, more or less homogeneous, of groups of colonists, sometimes indeed completely isolated, in the midst of allogenic populations. The Russians are established in a compact mass in eastern Europe, the greater part within the Russian Empire, and a small fraction within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But only the western and southern frontiers of this mass are well defined; to the east and to the north the frontier juts out and forms population islands along the navigable rivers in the midst of native elements, Finnish or Turko-Tatar. The following is the precise boundary of the territory inhabited in a compact fashion--save for a few allogenic islands--by the Russian people, beginning from the mouth of the Neva which on the west abuts the Finnish national territory. (1)

1. I shall not enter upon all of the topographic details because they are of no interest, and besides the authors are not always in agreement concerning them.

From Petersburg the frontier first runs along the Gulf of Finland to the mouth of the Narova; it follows that river, stretches along Lake Peipus and the lake of Pskov towards Izborsk, descends /21/ towards Loutsyn (Ludza) as far as Dvinsk (Daugavpils). It turns around to the west of Volna, crosses the Niemen north of Grodno, reaches Bielostok (Bialystok), Surai on the Narew, Bielsk, Drohiczyn on the Bug, stretches into the Russian area of Kholm (Chelm)--according to the studies of Frantsev--and follows the Biala, Parczew, Krasnystaw line towards Tomaszow. Then it enters Galicia by skirting Tamograd, reaches the San River above Jaroslaw, runs toward Sanok, and in the Carpathians reaches Piwniczna on the Hungarian frontier. (1)

1. Certain names which the reader would not find on French maps have been omitted in this enumeration. Translator.

At Piwniczna the border extends slightly towards the west, makes a few detours, penetrates into the counties of Spis and Sarys (Saros in Hungarian), and follows the Poprad as far as Spisska Sobota.

According to the latest studies of Czambel and of Tomashivskii, (2) the results of which present only very slight differences, the Russian

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2. The difference between the frontier of Czambel and that of Tomashivskii consists in the fact that Tomashivskii includes as Russian a few additional communes in the counties of Spis and Sarys.

boundary in Hungary begins at Lipnik, not far from the mouth of the Dunajec, crosses at Kaminka to the outskirts of Stara Lubovna (O Luble, in Magyar), and Iakoubiani (Iakobpol), towards Hodermark* and Stelbach*, Kisgeber*, Iatkiotsi*, (Zseltek). Then it makes a great semi-circle towards the north, reaches Bardejov, descends towards the south along the Topla as far as Petkovtsi (Petkocz*), crosses /22/ the Ondavka to Valkov (Valko), Beresliv (Breszlo*), Porauba (Orosz poruba*) (1)

1. In this Magyar word Orosz means Russian. We have omitted here a few localities without interest. Translator.

Hliviscze, Komouch, as far as Uzhorod (Ungvar). There it touches the Magyars. The boundary skirts their territory as far as the city of Visso on the river of the same name. But the Ukrainians are in the minority here. From there the boundary follows the right bank of the Vasir* as far as Bukovina, then it crosses the Suczava River, leaves to the Russians the upper reaches of the Seret, crosses Kaminka, Negotin. The city of Sereth and runs along the frontier up to the place where the Prut comes out of Bukovina. Here, the cities of Czernowitz and of Seret are German. On the other hand, Russian islands are found in Galicia, particularly between Lutcza and Korczyn to the south of Rzeszow, near Rymanow, near Dynow, in the outskirts of Jaroslaw, in the basin of the Wysloka, and in Hungary around Spiess and Krempach. Let us also mention the large island in Bukovina between the Seret and the Suczava*.

Beyond the Austrian frontier the Prut is usually considered to form the boundary between the Russians and the Rumanians. But at the northern point of Bessarabia, between the Prut and the Dnestr, there is a Russian region, notably in the district of Khotin, in what is called the Bessarabian Bukovina. Outside of this region /23/ the Russians are scattered and strongly exposed to Rumanization.

According to Nestorovskii, the boundary of Russian nationality in Bessarabia passes through Balamoutovka, Rjavinets, Grozintsi, Sankoutsi*, Reugatch*, Dinouci*, Doljok*, Bielovtsi*, Gijdev*, Kichlo-Salievo*, Kichlo-Zamjievo*, Bielavintsi*, Titskany* and Fitesti*. In the districts of Sorok* and of Bielets* the Russian colonies are already very widely scattered; but they have penetrated as far as the southern

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section of the guberniya. Estimates are not in agreement. Chubinskii in 1872 figured that in all of Bessarabia there were 100,000 Ukrainians. Nestorovskii in 1905 guessed at 250,000. The latest statistics have figured that the Russians comprised 27.8 % of the total population, or 540,000 (of whom 380,000 were Ukrainians).

Beyond the Dnestr, to the east, it is not easy to trace the boundary exactly. Retailed maps are lacking. The ethnographical maps which I have used extend the Russian domain as far as the Black Sea. But to the south of the line of Yampol, Balta, Olviopol (now Pervomaisk), Elizavetgrad (now Kirovograd), Slavyanoserbsk, and Novocherkassk, this domain is pervaded by so many islands of foreigners (Germans, Bulgars, Rumanians, Tatars, Greeks, Jews, Armenians) that the Russians in the south cannot be considered as forming a compact population. It would be impossible to delimit their territory exactly until after the most minute ethnographic examination. To date we do not have a sufficiently detailed study. According to /24/ Derzhavin the latest statistics have enumerated in the guberniya of Kherson 57 linguistic groups, in Bessarabia, 41, and in the guberniya of Tavrida, 39. The dominant element, nevertheless, is Ukrainian.

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We reach the same conclusions for the provinces beyond the Dnepr, the Don, and the Volga. There are also many non-Russian elements and exact data and good ethnographic maps are lacking. On Russian maps--which are usually on a small scale--the Russian domain comprises the area between the Dnepr and the Don and stops at the Kuban (the Crimea being Tatar). In general the border begins on the shores of the Black Sea, at the town of Gagri below the Caucasus, crosses the mountains, curves around Pyatigorsk and Stavropol, draws near the left bank of the Don (there are 33.7 % Russians in the province of Terek), then skirts the Steppes of the Kirghiz and of the Kalmyk, and comes to the lower Volga, to the shores of the Caspian Sea and of the Terek. All along the Volga, from its mouth upwards, are situated numerous Russian towns and villages, cut off from each other by German, Finnish, and Tatar areas.

The Russian domain of the Volga cannot be delimited by a line; it is full of islands of allogenes which often interect one another These allogenic groups occupy a territory which extends approximately from the spot where the Volga bends towards the south from Saratov through Serdobsk, Morshansk and Murom to Nizhnii Novgorod (now Gor'kiy). To the north of the Volga the Russian population is compact;

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it extends to the lower reaches of the Onega and of the Ladoga, and further north there are numerous Russian colonies on the shores of the rivers and of the lakes; they are scattered in the midst of the allogenic populations.

Outside of this territory briefly outlined above, the Russians can be found in groups in certain cities of the Kingdom of Poland, in the interior of Hungary and of Slavonia and in Bulgaria in the colony of Tataritsa*, near Siliste (probably Silistria). They have been established there since the beginning of the eighteen century. At that period the Ataman Nekrasov, a devout Christian, came and settled in this region with his companions. They were called the Nekrasovtsi. As a result of pressure from the Rumanian authorities, the Russians settled in the Dobroudja began to emigrate to Bulgaria. However, in the delta of the Danube there still exist several Russian colonies. They are those of St. Georghe, of Letea, of Svistovka*, of Periprava*, and of Karaorman in the outskirts of Sulina. Another considerable Russian group is found at Tulcea[1] (5,621 Russians, 4,372 Rumanians, 4,018 Bulgars).

In Asia, the Russians mainly occupy Siberia. Their villages and their towns are located on the navigable waterways and along the new line of the Trans-Siberian Railway. From a statistical viewpoint Siberia is almost entirely Russian;/26/ but in reality it contains immense area which are uninhabited or occupied by the natives. As to the various regions, western Siberia (the region of the Ob and the Irtysh) is almost entirely Russian. The Russian population is concentrated in the south, on the upper Ob, the Irtysh and its tributaries.

Central Siberia (the basins of the Yenisey and of the Angara) contains fewer Russians. They are especially concentrated in the southern provinces, in the neighborhood of Minousinsk, of Krasnoyarsk, and of Irkutsk. The Lena or Yakut part of Siberia contains only 11% Russians. On the other hand, the province of the Amur, the seacoast, and the Russian section of Skhalin are Russian. It is estimated that in the guberniyas of Tobolsk and Tomsk there are 91% Russians; in the Yenisey guberniya and province of the Amur, 86.5%; in the Irkutsk guberniya, 73.6%; in Transbaikalia, 66.2%; along the seacoast 50.9%; on Sakhalin, 65.2%. In the guberniya of Yakutsk, in the north of Siberia, the population is mainly composed of Yakuts; Russians make up only 11% of it and live only in the towns. In central Asia their number is not considerable; 8.9% of the total.

[1] [In Dobroudja -- Analyst]

S.P. T.R. 101 160 population (25.7% in the towns and 6.6% in the country districts). The Russians are especially concentrated in the north: 33% in the province of Akmolinsk, 25% in that of the Ural, from 7.7% to 10% /27/ in the provinces of Semipalatinsk, Semirech'ye (or Dzhety-Su), Transcaspian, and Turgai; only 3% in that of Syr-Day'ya, 1.6% in that of Samarkand, and 0.6% in that of Fergana.

So far the Steppe of the Kirghiz contains no Russians.

Turkestan numbers 8.9% of them scattered in the large cities and in about one hundred fifty small towns located in the most fertile oases. The southernmost colony is that of Aleksivskoe, 125 kilometers from Herat.

Outside of European and Asiatic Russia, there are a great many Russian emigrants in the large cities of Europe, especially in the colonies of religious heretics in America, in Alaska, in Canada, particularly in the neighborhood of Yorktown, (1) as well as Ukrainians, especially

1. In 1899 and 1900 about 7,500 Russian Doukhobors settled near Yorktown, Saskatchewan, Canada. --Editor.

in Brazil and in the Argentine Republic (province of Parana).

The Russians, furthermore, are very numerous in the principal cities of California, and of the States of Washington and Oregon.

Some Russian colonies of Cossacks have also been established in Asia Minor, in the neighborhood of Nicaea and of Sinope.

S.P. T.R. 162 S 5. Statistics. -- The territory of the Russian Empire, according to the census of 28 January 1897, contained a total of 83,933,567 Russians, that is to say 66.8% of the population. If we consider that, following Pokrovsky, the population /28/ increases each year by 1.5%, which means 1,250,000 Russians, the increase in the last four years would have amounted to at least 5 million. Therefore, we may venture to estimate for the year 1900 a total of 89 million Russians. If we add to this the Russians of Austria and of Hungary, in accordance with the census of 1900, we obtain the following totals:

In Russia and in Asia	89,000,000
In Austria	3,375,576
In Hungary	429,447
Total for 1900	92,805,023

But this total does not correspond with the facts. In the first place, the Hungarian census reduces the number of Russians. They are

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numbered en masse among the Slovaks or among the Magyars. Therefore it is necessary to increase this total, in accordance with the estimates of the Russians of Hungary themselves, by at least 150,000 individuals. Then one must take into account the Russians who live in various colonies and in the large cities of Europe to the number of at least 150,000, and, on the other hand, those settled overseas, which certainly would add up to more than a million. Russian statistics have figured that from 1890 to 1903 there were 700,000 emigrants to America, Africa and Australia. On the other hand, they have included 40,000 Jews in Galicia who stated that their customary language was Russian. From all indications, the number of Russians at the end of the last century may be evaluated at 94 million.

/29/ /For chart on page 29, see the following page of this manuscript./
/30/ The Russians attained this very large total very rapidly. We do not possess very old data on nationality, but we may base our statement upon the very rapid growth of the population of the Empire. The first census which dates from 1724, gives 14 million souls. Thus in the space of two hundred seventy-six years, to the year 1900, the population increased almost tenfold. In 1796, it was 36 million; in 1851, 69 million. In a half-century it had doubled. Moreover, the population increases much more rapidly in the cities than in the country districts. The ratio of increase between cities and country districts is 51 to 8.

We do not always have completely exact information relating to the various nationalities, especially with respect to the Russians. If we accept the fact of the overwhelming preponderance of the Russians, the figures which concern them frequently have only an approximate value. Throughout the Empire they make up two thirds of the entire population. The highest proportion is to be found in western Siberia (91% and 80.9% for all of Siberia). In European Russia, they represent 80.05%. The principal nucleus of their nation is the region located between the Dnepr, Chudskoye Ozero (Lake Chud'), and the Volga. There they constitute 90% of the total population. In five guberniyas they are below this figure (Saint-Petersburg, 82.5%; Saratov, 83.1%; Penza, 83.1%; Tavrida, 70.9%; Simbirsk, 68.2%). /31/ Twenty-two guberniyas exceed 90%. The guberniyas which are most Russian are those of Vladimir (99.8%), of Kursk, of Kaluga, of Kostroma, of Yaroslavl', of Tula, of Voronezh, of Ryazan', of Orel (more than 99%), of Khar'kov and of Smolensk (more than 98%). That of Moscow numbers 97%. In

1: Niederle--24 E-5 1911 f/6 Slavic Peoples f/6
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The Nationalities of Russia

Regions	Russians	Poles	Turko-Tatars	Finns	Jews	Lithuanians	Germans	Kartvellens	Mountaineers	Armenians	Mongols	Various
European Russia	80.%	1.2%	4.9%	3.6%	4.0%	3.0%	1.4%	--	--	0.1%	0.2%	1.6%
Russian Poland	6.7%	71.8%	0.1%	0.1%	13.5%	13.5%	3.3%	--	--	---	--	0.2%
Finland	0.2%	--	--	86.7%	--	--	13.0%	--	--	--	--	0.1%
Total	71.5%	7.5%	4.4%	5.4%	4.7%	2.9%	2.0%	--	--	--	0.2%	1.4%
Caucasus	34.%	0.3%	20.2%	0.1%	0.4%	0.1%	0.6%	14.5%	11.7%	12.%	0.2%	5.9%
Siberia	81.%	0.5%	8.3%	1.1%	0.5%	0.2%	0.1%	--	--	--	6.2%	2.1%
Central Asia	8.9%	0.1%	85.5%	0.2%	0.1%	--	0.1%	--	--	0.1%	0.2%	4.8%
Total	37.3%	0.3%	39.4%	0.4%	0.4%	0.1%	0.3%	5.9%	4.8%	4%	1.7%	4.5%
Grand Total	65.5%	6.2%	10.6%	4.5%	3.9%	2.4%	1.6%	1.1%	0.9%	0.9%	0.4%	2%

S.P. T.R. 162 the region of the Caucasus, the guberniya of the Kuban numbers 90.6%, and that of Stavropal 92% Russians.

S.P. T.R. 161 Density of the Population. -- If we exclude Poland, where the density is the greatest (75 inhabitants per square kilometer), the Russian population is expecially concentrated in the Black Earth region (58 inhabitants) and in the Ukraine beyond the Dnepr. The center of the Empire numbers only 43; Byelorussia and the Baltic Provinces, from 26 to 25; New Russia, 24; the region of the Volga, 17; the Ural, 12; and the northern regions, 1 inhabitant per square kilometer.

In the Middle Ages, the center of Russia, otherwise referred to as the Muscovite region, exceeded all of the others in density of population; but this region experienced very little growth before the year 1861. At that time, the emancipation of the serfs created completely new conditions. In the north, the density of population has remained static during the last two centuries. On the contrary, the regions of the south underwent very rapid changes.

/32/ Until the period of Peter the Great, these regions were hardly populated at all because of the perpetual warfare. The guberniya of Smolensk suffered for a very long time from the wars between Russians and Poles. It was from the time of Peter the Great, and especially from that of Catherine, that the population increased rapidly. Thus it increased tenfold in the guberniyas of Kazan and of Azov, while in the region of the Arctic Ocean or of the lakes, it only doubled or trebled. All of this is connected with the historical development and with the progress of colonization.

In accordance with the estimates of 1905, there were (1), 7.7 inhabitants per square verst in the entire Empire, in European Russia, 24.9; in Poland, 95.1; in Siberia, 0.6. The most densely inhabited section is the guberniya of Piotrkow in Poland (153 inhabitants), and the least thickly settled, the government of Yakutsk (0.1 per verst).

1. The verst equals 1.067 meters.

S.P. T.R. 162 Among the Russian-speaking inhabitants, Russia numbers 1.37% nobles and officials, 0.62% ecclesiastics, 0.39% bourgeois, 0.20% merchants; there are 7.38% city dwellers, 86.22% peasants, and 3.35% Cossacks. Among the Great Russians it is estimated that there are 70.35% who are farmers; among the Ukrainians 86.46%, and among

the Belorussians 89.93%.

Among the Russians of Austria, it is figured that there are /sic/ 93.3% /33/ farmers, 25% factory-workers, 1.7% tradesmen, (1) and 2.5% officials.

1. In eastern Galicia trade is for the most part in the hands of the Israelites. Translator.

The greater part of the Russian people live in the country, in villages which on the average number 200 souls. In the areas of the Volga and the Ural, the figure is less than 150 souls; in the Ukraine, the New Russia, and the central Black Earth district, from 400 to 300 souls. In the forest regions, for example in that of Moscow or in the northern part of the Ural, the figure does not exceed 160 souls; in Belorussia and in Lithuania, they are estimated to number from 50 to 100 souls, and in the Baltic Provinces, and 20 souls. In the fertile areas there are large and wealthy villages; in the forest regions, the people prefer the tiny hamlets, the oases of cultivation in the midst of deserts. There, where the villages are the smallest, one finds the largest number of inhabitants per dwelling, for example from 11 to 13 in the Baltic regions, compared with 6.6 in Russia as a whole.

From the standpoint of the sexes, the census of 1907 gives among the Russians 100 men for every 103.4 women. But this proportion varies greatly according to the regions. In general the figures for the country districts are very different from those for the towns: for instance the ratio of women to men in the country is 106.1, while that in the cities is only 85.9; this is /34/ a result of the migration of the men who go to the cities to find work. The differences between reions are very pronounced; of the 50 guberniyas in European Russia, there are 13, mostly, in the south which count a majority of men, 3 where there is a balance of the sexes, and 34, where women are predominant. This pertains especially to central Russia. The guberniya of Yaroslavl'--whose men migrate most frequently, especially to become peddlers--numbers as many as 132 women for every 100 men. In Moscow, there are only 75.5; in Petersburg, 82.6; in Odessa, 86.3.

In Galicia, 99.2 women are found for every 100 men; in Hungary, in the county of Marmaros, 101.1 women. In Russia, 55.9% of the men were unmarried, compared with 52.1% of the women; 40.28% of the men were married, compared with 39.42% of the women; 3.68% widowers, against 8.38% widows; 0.03% divorced men, compared with

S.P. T.R. 162 0.04% divorced women.

S.P. T.R 162 795 In the matter of religion, here are the principal figures for the Russian Empire:

Orthodox	95.48%
Old Believers	2.59%
Catholics and Armenians	1.78%
Protestants	0.5 %
Jews	0.8 %
Mohammedans	0.01%

In Russia, the concepts of Russia and of Orthodoxy are practically identical (except for the area of Kholm /35/ and for Byelorussia). In Austria and in Hungary, the Russians are for the greater part uniates (that is to say, united to the Church of Rome while preserving their own liturgical language and the custom of the marriage of their priests); only about 8% belong to the Eastern Church.

In the Kingdom of Poland, there were enumerated in 1897 78.8% Catholics, 4.4% Protestants, 14% Jews, and only 6.57% Orthodox (4.2% according to the census of 1906).

In the western guberniyas of the Empire, Chubinskii numbered even in 1870, 290,000 Ukrainian Catholics (in the guberniyas of Lublin and Siedliszcze) and he declared that, although they belonged to the Roman Church, they called themselves Russians.

Recently, in the Russian district of Kholm, a certain number of individuals considered to be Orthodox, following the edict concerning religious liberty (17 April 1905), declared themselves to be Caltholics. Frantsev estimates at 300,000 the number of conversions during the last three years. Thus the number of Ukrainian Catholics has considerably increased. On the other hand, there are some Catholic Byelorussians in Kurland, in the guberniyas of Vitebsk, Pskov, Suwalki, and Grodno, and in western Galicia there are many localities where a portion of the population is Catholic though claiming Russian as their mother tongue. Professor Floriinsky /36/ recently estimated the number of Russian Catholics at a million and a half.

S.P. T.R. 161 Movement of the Population. --The annual marriage rate, which especially permits an appreciation of the vitality of the nation, is higher in Russia than anywhere else. It is 9 per 1,000; the number of births is about 48 per 1,000 (3.4% of which are

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Zubrohlav* and of Bobrova*, in that of Trencin at Cerna and at Skalita*. There also are Polish colonies in the region of Liptov and in the Slovak region of Zemplin*. In the Spis area, the Slovak Czambel has counted 51 Polish communes with 30,000 persons. Kazimir Krotoski raises this number to 50,000.

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Such is the compact whole of the Polish nation.

In the Kingdom of Poland the Poles form 71.85% of the total population. They are most numerous on the left bank of the Vistula: 73.5% in the guberniya of Warsaw, 84% in that of Kalisz, 87% in that of Kielce, 77% in that of Lomza, 72% in that of Piotrkow, 83% in that of Radom, and 81% in that of Plock, 66% in that of Siedlce, 63% in that of Lublin and 23% in that of Suwalki.

Besides this we find Poles in small groups in almost all of European Russia: 10% in the guberniya of Grodno, 8.2% in that of Vilna, 6.2% in the Volhynia, 9% in that of Kowno. There are sizeable colonies in the large cities, /75/ in Moscow, Petersburg, Kiyev. On the island of Sakhalin, a place of deportation, there are 5% of them.

They are numerous in eastern Galicia. There is in this entire province only one purely Russian district (that of Kossow) where there are less that 5% Poles, while there are 23 purely Polish districts. It is especially in the large Russian cities that the Poles are distributed. The cities which have the largest Polish population are in the Russian section of Galicia: L'vov (Lemberg) with 120,000 Poles, or 76% of the total, against 15,000 Russians, Bobrka, Ukrainian, Búbrka), Muszyna, Sanok, Lesko, Sambor, Przemysl, Rava Russkaya, Belz, Zholkva, Gorodok, Cieszanov, Stry, Kalush, Stanislav, Kolomyya, Temopol, Gusyatin, Buchach, Sokal, Terebovlya, etc., etc. On the other hand, certain cities have a German majority, composed in fact of Israelites (Biala, Szczerzec, Dolina, Bolekhuv, Nadvornaya, Kossow*, Kuty, Zablotow, Brody).

Outside of Poland and of Russia there are important Polish colonies in Vienna (4,364), Berlin (26,000), Dresden, Bucharest, Paris. In Germany new Polish colonies are at present in the process of formation in Westphalia and in the country of the Rhine; at Mulheim in the Ruhr at Ruhrort, at Essen, at Dortmund, at Bochum, at Hattingen, and especially at Gelsenkirchen. These are colonies of workmen. They are continuously increasing in size. In 1890 statistics showed in these /76/ localities

1: Niederle--50 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples F16
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5,820 Poles; they reported 26,795 of them in 1900, and at the latest elections for the Parliament of Berlin, the Polish candidate Chocszewski obtained 27,000 votes.

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Outside of Europe, Poles have gone especially to the United States (particularly to Chicago, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York) and also to South America, particularly to Brazil (States of Parana, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande Do Sul, Sao Paulo), to Paraguay and to Argentina In Brazil there are more than eighty colonies (80,000 souls). Parana is already called "New Poland."

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S 13. Statistics.--Just as it is impossible to define exactly the frontiers of the Polish nation, so the number of Poles cannot be determined with complete accuracy. Figures issued by national authorities differ considerably.

For the Kingdom of Poland itself Jean Bloch guesses at a population of a million and a quarter in the fourteenth century. For Bathory's century (16th) he estimates 3,058,000 Poles.

In 1882, Sulimierskii figured 12 million. E. Czynski in 1887, and A. Fircks in 1893 estimated 13 million. L. Straszewicz in 1900 figured from 18 to 19 million and in 1902 V. Czerkawski gave 21,111,347. But I do not consider his statistics as absolutely accurate and here are my estimates.

In the Russian Empire there were according to the census of 1897, 7,931,307 Poles, which is 8.3% of the total population. If we add to this figure the annual increase which, according to Kowalewski, is in the neighborhood of 1.5% per year, which would be 118,970 persons, we obtain for the end of the year 1900:

For the Russian Empire (with Asia), about	8,400,000
For Austria	4,259,150
For Germany (including the Mazuri and the Kashub)	3,450,200 (1)
For the rest of Europe (according to Czerkawski), about	55,000
For America (according to Czerkawski).	1,500,000
	17,664,350 (2)

S.P. P. 161 accessible date. The population increase for the entire province of Galicia between 1890 and 1900 was 16.7%. Of this number, according to Austrian statistics, the Poles furnished 14.52%, which would be an annual growth of 1.45%. (In this figure 15% Jews are included). The Russians contributed only 8.71%. In comparing these figures with previous ones we note the steady progress of the Poles. In 1851, 11.45% were estemated already in Cisleithania; in 1880, 14.86%; in 1890, 15.84%; in 1900, 16.59%. In Galicia, where the Poles are the masters of the country, their numbers increased by 14% in fifty years.

S.P. P. 162 In the matter of longevity, the rate is the same among the Poles as among the Galician Russians. The number of young people is above the average (30.4% being less than twenty years of age); the number of old people is very low; only 12% have passed fifty years of age.

The number of married persons is 32.3%. Among the Poles of Russia there have been enumerated 60.6% of unmarried men and 55.9% of unmarried women, 37% men and 36.3 % women married, 2.24% widowers and 7.64% widows, 0.05% men divorced, and 0.08% women divorced.

In the matter of the proportion of sexes, there are among the Poles of Galicia 1,049 women for every 1,000 men; in Russian Poland, the proportion is inverted, only 989 women. But it is evident that all of the soldiers were enumerated. /80/ The relationship of the two sexes, moreover, is a balanced one, save in the government of Lomza, where only 925 women were found for each 1,000 men.

S.P. P. 795 162 In the matter of religion, Catholicism is the characteristic religion of the Poles, as Orthodoxy is that of the Russians. There are no more Orthodox Poles, one might say, since the religious toleration was proclaimed in 1905. Old statistics, for example those of Lebedkine about 1860, stated that according to official documents there were 40,000 Orthodox Poles (uniates). There are also very few Poles who belong to the Evangelical church. They are to be found especially in Silesia and in the northern part of Prussia. On the other hand, the Mazuri of Prussia belong to the Evangelical church (96% in 1906), and this circumstance explains to us why they allow themselves to be easily Germanized. The Catholicism of the Poles is one of their strongest weapons against Germanization. In Austria only 83.14% Catholics

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are reported. This is explained by the fact that among those individuals who declared themselves to be Poles there were 14.7% Jews. There are 1.8% Protestants. Therefore, one may consider Catholic to be synonymous with Pole.

In Russian Poland the proportion is as follows: 78.8% Catholics; 4.7% Protestants; 14.05% Jews; and 6.57% Orthodox, or "old believers" of the Orthodox Church.

The Catholics here are concentrated on the /81/ left bank of the Vistula, where they are estimated at 70 to 80%. The gubernyas of Siedlec and of Lublin are the only ones in the kingdom where as few as 66 to 62% Catholics are to be found, if one believes the census of 1897. After the edict of religious tolerance of 17 April 1905 the proportions changed noticeably (see above in S 5), but we have no strictly precise data.

With respect to the Poles of Russia, here are the latest statistical results:

Orthodox and "old believers"	0.63%
Roman Catholics	98.26%
Protestants	0.51%
Jews	0.59%
Mohammedans	0.01%

Polish is, therefore, synonymous with Catholic. But it must be noted that among the Catholics there has recently developed a sect called Mariavites to which in 1906, 59,000 persons belonged. It is in the Russian section that the Polish population provides the largest contingent in the cities and large towns, 22.1%. Among these are found 1.9% nobles and officials, 0.8% clergy, 0.14% of honorary burgeois and of merchants, 23.5% bourgeois, 72.98% farmers. Among the Poles of Austria there are 65.6% laborers, 14.8% factory workers, 11.2% tradesmen, and 8.4% officials.

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From the point of view of public education the Poles still have far to go, not only in Russia and in Prussia, where the government has placed numerous obstacles in the way of the development of the schools, but also where they have for a long time enjoyed complete liberty, namely in Galicia. In this province statistics still report 40.8% illiterate. Furthermore it must be recognized that the Poles in Russia (notably the

1: Niederle--58 E-5 1911 E/1 Slavic Peoples E/6
Poland E/1

S.P. P. 101 Lyczacy, Kociewiacy, Borowiace, Krajniacy, and, on Lake Lebo, those of Kabaci, Lesacy, Belocy. But the most curious is that of Slowiency which /89/ evidently goes back to ancient times and which is found as early as 1586.

S.P. P. 161 The Kashubs are few in number. According to the official statistics of 1900 there were 100,213 of them.

According to earlier statistics of Ramult, there were 174,831 in their own territory, with a total of 200,000 in Europe and 130,000 in America (the United States, Canada, Brazil). As for religion, the majority are Catholics. Only 6% of the Slowiency are considered to be Protestant.

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000 Although the Kashubs are very few in number, there is no reason to despair of their prospects, for, on the one hand they live in an isolated region near the sea, and on the other hand they are constantly in close contact with the Polish element, who assist them in maintaining their position.

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/90/ /There is no page numbered 90./

/91/ IV

THE SORBS OF LUSATIA

S.P. 101 S 16. Historical Introduction.--Of the powerful nation of Slavs who lived for centuries on the middle and lower Elbe, there now exist only an insignificant remnant, composed of the Slavs of the two Lusatias; it is the Slavic group which is the closest to the Czechs from the geographic and linguistic viewpoint.

In former times the Polabian Slavs (or those of the Elbe /Laba/) were settled in the basins of the Oder, of the Saale, and of the Elbe. We are able, with some reservations, however, to follow their trail as far as the first century of the Christian era. But those who accept the Slavic character of the cinerary tombs in Lusatia and Silesia, are able to go back at least as far as 1000 B.C. This is merely a matter of an archeological hypothesis; but it appears much more accurate to attribute the type of tombs found between the Vistula and the Elbe to the Slavs rather than to the Germans.

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175 was reawakened, literature revived, the Slavic tongue was introduced into the primary schools and the Germans of Saxony granted to their Sorbian fellow-citizens a tolerable modus vivendi. How long will this state of affairs endure? It is difficult to foretell.

177 Germanization is making great progress especially in Lower Lusatia, subjected to Prussians.

101 162 S 17. Boundary of the National Group.---In 1886 Muka established on his ethnographic map, the best which exists up until the present, this boundary by a line which began to the south of Lubja (Lobau), passed between Rychbach (Reichenbach) and Wosporg (Weissenbach*), ran to Nizka (Niesky*), Reczice* (Rietschen*), went toward Muzakow* (Muskau*) on the Neisse, then following the Neisse reached Barsc (Forst), ran to Gresna* (Griessen*), to Barklawa* (Baerenklau*), to the west of Gubna (Guben*). The line then went straight to the west by Luboraz* (Lieberose*), Mochow*, Waldow*, Bocklin* (Burglehne*) then toward the south through Lubnjow* (Lubbenau*), /96/ through Wotrowce* (Bischofsdof*), Kalama* (Kalau*), Rudna* (Reuden*) and Bukowina; then towards the southwest the boundary ran around Komorow* (Senftenber*), Rolana* (Ruhland*) on the Elster, went through Nadzicow* towards Kamence*, Elstra*, Biskupci* (Bischofswerda*), where it turned sharply to the east towards Velecin* (Wilthen*) on the Lubia*. Such was the outer boundary of the region in which the majority of the people spoke Sorbian; there was in this region an absolutely Sorbian territory in the neighborhood of Chotebuz* (Cottbus*) and of Grodk*. There were also numerous German islands.

On the map drawn up in 1902 by A. Czerny, the territory had diminished and the Germans had gained ground. Today the northern part of Lower Lusatia is separated from the southern part only by a straight line between Grodk* and Chotebuz* on the two banks of the Spree. However, Tetzner in his book wrongly indicates Lower Lusatia as forming only an island.

161 S 18. Statistics.--The figures in effect confirm that the number of Lusatians is diminishing. At about 1880-1884, Muka, travelling from village to village, had set the total number of Sorbs at 175,966. He counted 72,000 in Lower Lusatia and 103,000 in Upper Lusatia. The official statistics for 1900 numbered only 93,032 Sorbs, speaking only Sorbian. If one adds about 23,000 bilinguals speaking both Sorbian and

161 German, one arrives at the figure of 116,810 individuals, and, if this figure is corrected according to the estimates of Parczewski, of Swjela*, and of Muka, about 156,000 persons are obtained, a lamentable total for a people surrounded and penetrated from all sides by the German flood. What favors Germanization is the extent to which the Sorbs [177] are economically dependent upon the Germans: the military service, preaching in German, the absence of an intellectual class, their complete isolation. The Sorbs who resist most energetically are those of Upper Lusatia, whose intellectual center is at Bautzen (Budysin). In Saxony, of 297 communes called Wends (1), according to the census

1. The Sorbs of Lusatia are called Wends in German.

of 1900, there are in all 225 with a Slav majority, and only 7 entirely Slav.

167 We have no other data on the Lusatians or on their emigration. It appears that there are colonies in America (especially in Texas--Serbin (a town), which recalls the name of the nation, Giddingswenden (probably the town of Giddings), West (perhaps the town of West Point) Yewa (not located), Warda (a town), Burleson (a county) whose inhabitants left Europe towards the middle of the last century, and who still preserve the national tradition. There are also some in Australia (at Angerspark, at Adelaide near Melbourne). They are of more recent origin.

715 The great majority of the Sorbs are Lutherans; there are 15,000
162 Catholics, who live for the most part in the neighborhood of Budysin (Bautzen).

197 /98/ S 19. Differentiation.--Even though they are only a small
182 nation, the Sorbs are not unified from the linguistic point of view. The difference between the idioms of Upper and Lower Lusatia is so great that the common people have great difficulty in understanding one another and many linguists have recognized two distinct languages. There are in fact two literary languages founded upon the two dialects which are farthest apart (that of Kottbus and that of Bautzen) and two literatures. This duality creates a grave danger, the much more so as the two fractions are divided from a political viewpoint. Kottbus belongs to Prussia and Bautzen to Saxony. Aside from the language, the
101 two Lusatian groups differ from many viewpoints in matters of domestic
182 life and costume. According to Muka, the boundary between the two

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minor government employees to force them to declare their customary language to be German rather than Czech. Thus, if one wants to know the real size of the nation one always needs to rectify the official figures. In 1900 the Austrian statistics enumerated 5,955,397 Czechs (of whom 3,930,093 were in Bohemia, 1,727,270 in Moravia, 146,265 in Silesia, 132,968 in Lower Austria, including Vienna with 102,712. But M. A. Stepanek estimates the number of Czechs and Slovaks in this city at 385,000).

In 1890, the official census enumerated in Vienna 5.3% Czechs, and in 1900, 6.9%.

We may then figure as follows:

Official statistics of 1900	5,955,397
In the German Empire (approximate number) .	115,000
Slovaks in Hungary	2,019,641
Czechs in Hungary	50,000
Czechs and Slovaks in America (a guess). . . .	800,000
In Russia	55,000
In the rest of Europe	20,000
	9,015,038

On the basis of probable estimates, the number of Czechs may be increased by 200,000 or 300,000 for Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and for Vienna, by 200,000 to 300,000; the number of Slovaks in Hungary by 150,000 or 200,000; but, on the other hand, one must deduct the Poles and Russians counted in the census as Slovaks. It may be estimated that there are several hundred thousand more in America, say about a million total for the Czechs and Slovaks combined. Thus, we obtain for the two groups a total of 10 million to 9,500,000 (even when deducting 100,000 Poles and Russians wrongly considered as Slovaks), say for the Czechs seven million and for the Slovaks of Hungary many more than two million (about 2,600,000). I should add that the Czechs in their area,--with the exceptions which I have noted--are generally of pure race and that, on the contrary, the Slovaks frequently have a Magyar admixture. The most Slovak county is that of Orava (97%), then that of Trecin (92.7%), that of Liptov (92.5%), and that of Zvolen (89.3%).

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Among the Czechs of Transleithania are found 1,056 women for each 1,000 men. We have no reliable data for the Slovaks. But,

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judging from the Hungarian statistics, the number of women also exceeds that of the men; for example, in the eleven counties of the west and of the center the proportion is 1,060 women per 1,000 men, for the civil population (1,050 women per 1,000 men when the army /119/ is included); in the east counties the proportion is 1,097 women per 1,000 men.

In the matter of longevity, if in recent times the Czechs, in comparison with the other Slavs of Cisleithania, have the fewest children, in contrast they attain the oldest age.

The number of individuals of twenty years of age is below the average (45.7%), but that of the old people is above the average (15.6% above fifty years of age).

Married persons represent 36.5%, which is a rather high figure. Only the Russians or Ruthenians have a higher percentage in Austria. In the purely Czech areas the mortality from 1881 to 1890 was 9.58%, from 1891 to 1900, 9.9% (among the Germans, 6.64% and 9.67%), giving a yearly average of 0.97%, which is below the average of the other nationalities. For the years 1890 to 1900 the absolute increase among the Czechs was only 8.28% for 1890-1900; for Austria, 9.4%.

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Therefore, the legend as to the low birth rate of the Czechs must be considered as incorrect if it is compared with that of their neighbors the Germans which from 1890 to 1900 was 36.3 for each 100 inhabitants. The Czech birthrate has decreased in relation to that of the Germans and, besides, it was never very much greater. On the other hand, among the Germans the infant death rate /120/ and the number of natural children is greater. (1)

1. Let us point out here that in Cisleithania, if the figures for 1851 are compared with those for 1900, the Slavs are increasing and the Germans are decreasing. Here is the table which has been drawn up by Mr. Zivansky and which indicates this increase. However, it must be accepted with certain reservations:

Years	1851	1857	1880	1890	1900	
Czechs	22.74	24.39	23.77	23.32	23.23	%
Poles	11.45	11.77	14.86	15.84	16.57	%
Russians	13.84	12.64	12.80	13.23	13.19	%
Slovenes	6.10	6.01	5.23	5.01	4.56	%

S.P. C. 167 of immigration of Germans among the Czechs is practically insignificant. On the contrary, in these ten last years 70,000 to 90,000 Slavs have left Bohemia. Formerly it was above all emigration to America which S.P. 167 161 weakened the Czechs. Today this movement has slowed down, but it is rather considerable among the Slovaks and it suffices to explain to us the very minor increase of the population group which in 1851 constituted 13% of the total population of Transleithania, in 1886, 12%, in 1890, 11%, and in 1900 only 10.5%. In these last thirty years, according to Stodola, there have emigrated from the 12 Slovak counties 307,000 persons--especially into America. Now, from 1850 to 1900, the total increase of the Magyars was 80%; these figures include, it is true, 25% other nationalities more or less Magyarized, which would make 1.6% a year; the increase /122/ of Slovaks has been only 0.66% a year.

S.P. C. 212 From the point of view of popular education and the restricted number of illiterates, the Czech national group holds the first rank among the Slav peoples. The Czechs are even superior to the Germans of Austria; for, according to the official statistics, there are in Bohemia 93.77% who know how to read and write, 91.84% among the Germans, 68.53% among the Slovenes, 47.52% among the Poles, and 21.87% among the Russians and Ruthenians.

In Hungary, in the purely Slovak counties, the number of illiterates is 32%; in the counties of the center where there are mixtures of Magyars and Russians, it is 42%.

S.P. C. 162 In the matter of professions, 43.1% of the Czechs devote themselves to agriculture, 36.5% to industry, 9.3% to commerce and the transportation business, 11.1% to public services. From the industrial viewpoint, only the Germans surpass the Czechs by two percentage points (38.5%); from the point of view of agriculture, the Czechs come after the Poles (65%), the Slovenes (75%), the Serbo-Croats 89%, and the Russians of Galicia (63%).

S.P. C. 75 162 In the matter of religion, the Czechs are for the most part Catholics (96.15%). It is figured that there are 2.4% Protestants. Among the Slovaks of Hungary the proportions are no longer the same There are figured to be 70.2% /123/ Catholics, 5% uniates, 23% Protestants of the Augsburg confession.

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czechoslovakia EB1

S.P. c. 163 162 In Bohemia 50,000 Jews declared themselves to be Czechs, and in Moravia 6,792; 40,521 in Bohemia and 34,261 in Moravia declared that they were Germans. Hungary actually possesses one-tenth of the Jews of the entire world, and they are increasing more rapidly than the other national groups (14.8%). Almost all of them claim that they are Magyars.

S.P. c. 177 668 In studying the history and the ethnography of the Czecho-Slovaks, one sees that the Czechs began by losing much more territory than they gained. But this unfortunate situation has ceased; the national consciousness has developed; the spirit of an entire people has set up a solid barrier against the Germanic invasion. Certain losses are still inevitable, but they can be retrieved. The most threatened section is made up of the frontier of northern Moravia where the Germans today are concentrating their strength. They wish to unite their compact masses with the islands of Lanskroun, Zabreh, Olomouc and to cut Bohemia from Moravia. It is here that the Czech nation should especially think of acting and defending itself.

S.P. c. 161 Moreover, the increase of the Czechs with respect to that of the Germans is good. During the last ten years the Czechs have increased by 8.49% and the Germans only by 1.96%.

/124/ In the German region the Czechs have increased by 0.1% and in the Czech region the Germans gave decreased by 0.5%. The least favored region from a Czech viewpoint is that of Moravska Ostrava (Mochrisch Ostrau), where the Czechs are greatly decreasing.

000 It is important to reinforce the Czech element upon the frontier, to raise Czech capital in opposition to German money, to set up Czech schools as opposed to German schools, and, in order to stand against all assaults, to strengthen the national consciousness. It is necessary to build up the Czech element from an economic and physical viewpoint, to improve the general well-being, to increase the means of exchanging ideas.

In brief, the progress of the Germans upon the frontier has been so insignificant for the past century, that it will still be hundreds of years before it becomes a cause of concern.

What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing

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Leaving the sea near Trieste, the boundary of the Slovene national group runs to Divina (Duino), Montefalcone, Gradiska, Kormin* (Cormons*), then it goes into Italy, includes the area to the east of Cedad*, Tarcenta*, Resia and comes back to the frontier of the Austrian State at Kanin*, then it runs to Potabl* (Pontafel*, in Italian, Pontebba*), Saint-Hermagoras, Dobracz* and Villach (Slovenian; Beljak) which is for the greater part German. It crosses the Drava, passes near Lake Vrbsky (Worthersee), near Kostanje (Kostenberg), Blatograd (Moosburg), Karnsky Grad (Kamberg), then it runs to Krka (Gurk), goes towards Djekse (Diex), Kerczanie (Grentschach), Grebin* (Griffen), /140/ Ruda* (Ruden*), Led* (Lis*), Labod* (Lavamund), Pernice* (Pernitzen*), St-Iemej*, St-Pancrace*, and Arfels*, which is German.

Fifty years ago the outskirts of this town were still Slovenian. Today they are Germanized. The right bank of the Mura from Svecane to Radgona (Radkersbourg) is also Germanized. At Radgona the boundary crosses over the Drava and goes past Potrna, Zenkova and Gorica (Hung: Kerrce) towards Hungary. There it follows the frontier as far as Serdica (Szerghaza in Magyar), goes to Saint-Gothard (Hungarianian, Szentgotthard) which is German, and reaches the Raab (Hungarian, Raba). Then it turns south, crosses Bergelin, Salovce, Krizevce (in Magyar, Tot Keresztur), Berkevce, Falkovce (Urdomb), Ladomir, Bukovnice (Bakonak), Velika Palina, crosses the Mura at Gornia Bistrica, leaves on the right some Croatian localities and then follows the political frontier of Croatia, of Styria, and of Carnolia. There the line descends to the south towards Istria, and again reaches the seacoast.

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Certain philologists attach to the Slovenes the inhabitants of the Croatian counties of Varazdin and of Zagreb (German; Agram). In the census of 1900 in which the Slovenes were still counted, 17,342 of them were reported, especially in the zupaniates or counties of Varazdin and of Zagreb (Agram). But they were scattered in the midst of the Croat population.

There is still a Slovenian island in Hungary in the county of Somogy, in the borough of Tarany, /141/ where in 1900 there were enumerated 1,597 Slovenes against 764 Magyars. Certain small islands are to be found in the interior of Istria. On the contrary, there are,

S.P. Sl. 101 162 particularly to the north and to the east, numerous German islands; we have already mentioned the German group at Kocevje (Gottschee), which includes a considerable number of localities.

S.P. Sl. 162 177 Furthermore, the northern frontier, and also that which touches Hungary, are gravely threatened. In Carinthia and in Styria the Germans have taken over the official functions and the schools, and, thanks to their efforts, the number of Slovenes is diminishing considerably In Carinthia 101,050 Slovenes were reported in 1890; in 1900 the figure was reduced to 90,495 and it is to be feared that the coming generation will be completely Germanized. In Styria, in 1850, 643,194 Germans were enumerated as compared with 363,750 Slovenes; in 1900 there were 902,343 Germans against 409,521 Slovenes. Thus in a half-century the number of Germans had increased by 40.5% and that of the Slovenes only 12.5%. These figures, as we shall explain farther along, are not completely reliable. However, it is impossible to deny a serious decrease in the number of Slovenes in all the areas in which they live. Refer above in Section 23 to the table of the birth rate of Slav peoples which shows 6.1% for the Slovenes in 1880, 5.23% in 1890, and only 4.65% for the year 1900.

The most threatened frontier is that of /142/ Carinthia and Styria between Arvez* and Radgona (German; Radkersburg) where the Slovenes are withdrawing constantly on the south side and are maintaining themselves only in the mountains. In Hungary they are being rapidly Magyarized, notably in the county of Zelezna (Vas). Furthermore, even in Carnolia, they are increasing very slightly, as will be indicated later.

S.P. Sl. 161 S 27. Statistics.--Along with the Sorbs of Lusatia, the Slovenes constitute the smallest Slavic people and also the most threatened one. They are strangled between the Germans, the Italians, and the Magyars, furthermore, their birth rate is almost insignificant.

In Austria the following figures were counted:

In 1880	1,140,504
In 1890	1,176,672
In 1900	1,192,780

In Hungary, in 1890, there were counted 94,992 (including

* [cf. E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, Category 116, pp. 75-76, foot note 1 — Analyse]

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20,987 for Croatia and Slavonia). In 1900 the statistics omitted them. Between 1890 and 1900 the total increase for all of Austria was 9.4%, while that for the Slovenes was only 1.37%.

The following is the general total of Slovenes for the year 1900:

In Austria	1,199,786
In Italy	35,000
In Hungary and Croatia	102,000
In America	100,000
Other countries	20,000
	1,456,786

/143/ Trsteniak, who lowers the total for Hungary, numbered them at 1,416,580; Klima, at 1,444,364. The figures which we give probably require some corrections for Cisleithania.

Thus, in Carinthia, the specialists count 40,000 more of them than the official statistics. For Trieste and the surrounding area the statistics for 1900 give only 16% Slovenes against 77% Italians. But, at the time of the 1907 elections the Slovene candidates received more votes than the Italians. One of them was even elected. We may venture then to estimate the number of Slovenes at a million and a half.

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Even though they may be few in number, the Slovenes do not have to fear the loss of their nationality, for they have an entire province to themselves, Carniola; this was sufficient to enable them to succeed in reinforcing their sense of nationality and to develop a public educational system. Their political situation is very important for the Slav race; it is they who prevent the Germans from linking the Adriatic with the North Sea. (1)

1. I have already expressed these ideas in 1868 in an article published by La Revue moderne and reprinted in my volume Le Monde slave (2d ed., p. 43, Hachetter, 1897) Translator.

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In the matter of education, the Slovenes in Austria are ahead of the Poles, the Russians, the Serbo-Croats. They have only 23.9% illiterates. The ratio of the two sexes is 1,032 women for each 1,000 men (1,098 in Carnolia). From the point of view of age it is figured /144/ that they have only 45.8% below twenty years of age; but in contrast 18.9% are above fifty years of age; the proportion of married persons is 32.2, which is below normal.

000 In the matter of thebirth rate, during these latter years it has

S.P. Sl. 163 181 167 In the matter of the birth rate, during these latter years it has been very low in Carniola: between 1890 and 1900, 1.84%; the birth-rate for Austria taken all together is 9.44%. Between 1880 and 1890 the coefficient was 9.44%. For all of the Slovenes taken together the coefficient is only 1.37%.

Therefore, the development of the nation appears to be arrested. This phenomenon is due in part to denationalization, in part to emigration, and in part to inexact census figures.

S.P. Sl. 162 [7%] From the religious viewpoint the Slovenes are almost entirely Catholics (99.9%). In respect to occupations, 75.4% devote themselves to farming, 13.4% to industry, 3.5% to trade, and 7.7% to public services.

S.P. Sl. 197 101 S 28. Differentiation.--From a linguistic viewpoint there are rather numerous differences; but they are not very deep (see what is said further along regarding the dialectology of the southern Slavs). To designate the various groups within the nation, the Slovenes usually give themselves geographic names, borrowed from their political boundaries: Kranjci (Carniolians), Primorci /145/ (people of the seacoast), Korosci (Carinthians), Goricani (Goricians), Styrians, or names of an even more local character, borrowed from the orography and the hydrography. In Styria there are singled out the Pohorianci, the Polianci of the Mura and of the Drava, the Halozanes, in Carniola the Gorenici (people from above), Dolenici (people from below), and the Notranjci who speak different dialects. To the north of the Mura, the Prekmurci (Transmurians) present an interesting type. In the north-west of Istria the Savrini or Bresavi are also pure-blooded Slovenes, as are the Berkini in the north of Istria. On the contrary the Fucki in the outskirts of the town of Buzet (Pinguente) and the Cici are Croats of the kaikavski and cakavski dialects. (1) Likewise, the White

1. Although certain philologists attach the Kaikavci of Croatia to the Slovenes, we relegate them to the next chapter; they consider themselves to be Croats.

Krainici--so called from their costume--who are settled between Kocevje and the Kupa River are also of the kaikavski dialect.

A very interesting group, particularly studied by Professor Beaudoin de Courtenay (2), is the group of Resians established in the

000 give, for example, for the year 1905, a total of 35,000.

S.P. Sb. 161 167 The number of Serb emigrants is not so large. They settle especially in the cities of North America. There have also been, for the past thirty years, colonists in New Zealand and in the Auckland Islands.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 161 162 It is very difficult to determine the boundary between the Serbs and the Croats. In Hungary, as we have already said, it begins at Stara, on the Drava. But the official statistics of Croatia and Slavonia do not distinguish between Serbs and Croats. It is the same in Cisleithania and we do not have the required information. One may, to a certain degree, take advantage of the statistics showing religious adherence and of the new map of Dr. Vasa Ruvarac. But this map gives only the division by districts and besides, as we /163/ have previously mentioned, religion itself is not an absolute indication.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 161 S 31. Statistics.---It is very difficult, if not impossible, to give statistics about the Croats and Serbs, either all together, or taken separately. For the Turkish area we have no certain census and we are reduced to the guesses of individual Serbs or Bulgars, who, pursuing the tendencies which statisticians adopt, differ from one another to an unusual degree. (1) For Istria, the seacoast, Dalmatia,

1. In 1889, the Serb S. Gropcevic figured that in Old Serbia and in Macedonia there were 2,048,000 Serbs and 57,600 Bulgars. In 1900, the Bulgar Kancov figured 700 Serbs and 1,180,000 Bulgars.

Bosnia and Hercegovina, we do not have a distinction made between Serbs and Croats. Such distinction is found only in the Hungarian statistics. On the other hand, as will be seen further on, we assign to the Bulgars the population of Macedonia, properly speaking, south of Sofia. The following gives the approximate numbers of Serbs and of Croats in 1900:

Austria	711,382
Croatia and Slavonia	2,101,580
Hungary, approx.	700,000
Rieka (Fiume)	13,929
Bosnia-Hercegovinia (according to /164/ the census of 1905), approx.	1,650,000
Montenegro, approx.	350,000

S.P. Cr. Sl. 163 the net increase 0.98%.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, the rate, for a period of ten years, was still greater; gross total, 14.8%, net total, 14.2%, otherwise speaking, the birth rate exceeded the death rate by 1.48%. During these latter years, one notes a much more considerable increase but it results from the large number of migrations of persons fleeing from the Turkish territory. The same may be said for Bosnia and Hercegovina, where, as a result of immigration, an abnormal increase was produced at the end of the last century (from 1879 to 1895, 2.15% on an average). Between 1901 and 1904, the increase was only 0.95% per year.

In the north, the Croats and the Serbs are threatened by the Magyars in Hungary and by the Germans in Croatia. The Magyars and the Germans are greatly increasing in number in Croatia. In the space of ten years, from 1880 to 1890, the Serbo-Croats in this province increased by 12.23%, the Germans by 41.3%, the Magyars by 66.1%. In the years 1890 to 1900, the Slavs increased by 8.96%, the Germans by 13.12%, the Magyars by 36.3%. Thus, between 1880 and 1900, the relative number /168/ of Slavs decreased from 90.48% to 87.22%; that of the Germans increased from 4.4% to 5.53%, that of the Magyars from 2.19% to 3.74%.

000 This state of affairs is not yet very serious, but nevertheless it gives rise to concern about the future.

S.P. Sl. 167 The Serbs and the Croats should agree to resist with a common front, all the more as their birth rate is weak, weaker in the areas inhabited solely by them than in the areas with mixed population and as they are constantly diminished by emigration. Between 1880 and 1900 this took away from them more than 100,000 souls and in these recent times the Croats have emigrated in rather large numbers into the two sections of America.

S.P. Sl. 795 162 We have already pointed out the decrease in the numbers of Serbs in the area of Novi Pazar and Kosovo. Alongside the Orthodox Serbs there are to be found today in this zone many Albanianized Mohammedan Serbs--notably of the tribes of the Gash and of the S.P. [163] Berish, also 6,000 Cherkessians who settled there in the years 1858-1862. In this zone there are no Turks properly speaking.

S.P. Sb. 75 162

According to Turkish statistics, in the plain of Kosovo, that is to say in the kazas of Pristina, Vucitrn and Mitrovia, there are 80,000 Mohammedans and 22,000 Orthodox; according to private Serbian statistics there are only 1,956 Serb homes with 14,000 persons. Kancov in 1901 counted at Novi Pazar, Kosovo, and Metokhia, 250,000 Albanians, 100,000 Serbs, and 90,000 Bosnians /169/ who spoke Serbian, while being Mohammedans and enemies of the Serbs.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 161

In the matter of population density, the areas occupied by the Croats and the Serbs are particularly well divided. In Montenegro, it is figured that there are 18 persons per square kilometer, in Bosnia-Hercegovina 30.7, in Dalmatia 46, in Serbia 51.6, in Croatia-Slavonia 56.8, in Istria 69, at Gorica 80, on the seacoast 95. The ratio between the two sexes is particularly interesting. In comparison with other Austrian areas the masculine sex is much more numerous; but the proportions vary according to the areas. Thus for each 1,000 men there are in Dalmatia 976 women, in Istria 933, at Gorica 970, along the seacoast 973, in Serbia 945.6, in Bosnia 893.4, in Montenegro, 882. On the average, throughout the Austrian territory, for every 1,000 men there are 974 women. In Croatia-Slavonia the number is 988, and if we count only the men--leaving out the army--the figure rises to 1,011. Vrbanic gives for 1,000 men 963 women, and he explains the reasons for this ratio. Many more males than females are born here, and during the early part of life there are fewer who die than in the rest of Europe. During the first year the number of deaths is 8.3% for Bulgaria, 21.2% for Croatia, 16.3% for Serbia.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162

Vrbanic gathered in 1896 very interesting data /170/ on the birth rate of the southern Slavs, notably the Serbo-Croats. It is true that they are based upon anterior facts, but they are still of interest.

He finds 40% of the people married among the Serbo-Croats. Serbia especially presents unusual figures.

According to the statistics of 1900 there are only 25.4% unmarried and 67.7 married; 36% of the men and 57% of the women are married before the age of twenty years. Among the Serbo-Croats of Austria, the unmarried are estimated at 58.6% and married persons only at 35.4%. In Croatia-Slavonia, in 1900, above the age of fifteen, 30% of the men were unmarried, and 22.7 of the women, and 63.7% and 64.5% were married. In Serbia, the number of births is 44.45

000

1: Niederle--107 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples

S.P. Cr. Sb. 163 In Serbia, the number of births is 44.45 per 1,000; in Croatia, 44.18; in Damatia, 38.39; in Istria 37.43. In Bulgaria the rate is only 36.36. But if we take into consideration only the legal marriages, we ascertain that for every 1,000 women there were 290 births at Gorica, 273 in Istria, 257 in Dalmatia, 215 in Serbia (same figure in Bulgaria). This is a relatively low birth rate, and, in Serbia and Croatia, the lowest in Europe. Thus it seems that the large number of births depends only upon the number of marriages and not upon fecundity.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 165 /171/ According to Vrbanic the death rate is 30.24 per 1,000 in Croatia, 27.79 in Istria, 27.16 at Gorica, 25.67 in Serbia, 24.38 in Dalmatia. (It is only 18.00 in Bulgaria). The death rate is then higher in Serbia than in Bulgaria. In Bulgaria, in fact, far fewer infants died during their first year (8.3% only, 16.3% in Serbia, 15.4% in Dalmatia, 21.2% in Croatia). The rate of increase through births is, then, 1.83% for Bulgaria, 1.87% for Serbia, 1.4% for Dalmatia, 1.39% for Croatia, 0.98% for Gorica, 0.96% for Istria, which gives an average for the southern Slavs of 1.57%.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162 795 Religion is one of the principal marks which distinguish the Croats from the Serbs: the Croats are Catholics, the Serbs Orthodox and Mohammedans. But this is not an absolute indication. There are Orthodox who consider themselves to be Croats. Thus the latest Croat statistics give 2,075 more Orthodox than the Serbs who were enumerated (616,518 Orthodox against 614,543 Serbs). And there also are numerous Catholics who consider themselves to be Serbs or who are claimed by the Serbs. Such are, for example, the Catholics of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and of the Gulf of Kotor (Cattaro), or the Sokci, the Bunievci and the Krasovani of Hungary.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, Serb means Orthodox. There are 98.7% Orthodox, /172/ 0.40% Catholic, 0.60% Mohammedan. In 1895 there were 548,632 Serbian Mohammedans in Bosnia-Hercegovina (that is 34.9% of the population). But it must be stated that they are decreasing through emigration. Official statistics have, between 1883 and 1905, given 32,625 emigrants of whom 30,434 were Mohammedan. In Bosnia and Hercegovina there were reported 637,246 Orthodox (that is 42.9% of the total population), and 334,142 (21.3%) Catholic. (1)

S.P. Cr. Sb. [167]

1. In Bosnia-Hercegovina the Mohammedans are in the majority at Saraievo and in 12 districts, the Orthodox in 25, the Catholics

S.P. Cr. Sb. 715 162

in 12. During the first years which followed the Austrian occupation, emigration was quite considerable; it still continues, but it is slowing down. The official figures for 1906 give 590,900 Mohammedans, 760,000 Orthodox, and 360,000 Catholics. Mr. Florinskii figures for the entire Balkens 820,000 Mohammedan Serbs.

In Dalmatia in 1900 there were 96,279 Orthodox, 496,778 Catholics which gives 16.2% and 83.6%. The other Austrian areas are Catholic (Istria 99.6%, the seacoast 98.5%). In Croatia and in Slavonia there are 1,721,416 Catholics, and 616,518 Orthodox, that is 71.2% and 25.5%. The total figures for the censuses of Budapest and Zagreb are not completely in accord, but the proportion remains the same. In Montenegro, according to Vrbanic, there are 87.5% Orthodox, 3.1% Catholics, and 9.3% Mohammedans whom Vrbanic considers as Slavs.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 212

From the viewpoint of education /173/ the Serbo-Croats are very much behind. Throughout Austrian territory the number of illiterates reaches 74.14%, in Croatia 54.4% and even 56%, if one is to believe the Hungarian statistics. It is especially Dalmatia which is backward. In 1900, 64.8% of the men and 86.6% of the women did not know how to read or write. Teaching is also greatly neglected in Istria and still more in the Balkan countries about which we do not have any documentation except in the Serbian statistics. There are in Serbia only 21.3% literate (55% in the towns and 15% in the villages).

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162

With regard to occupations, the Serbs and the Croats are primarily an agricultural people. In Istria and in Dalmatia there are 86.9% farmers (industry 4.6%, commerce 3.8%, public services 4.7%). In Bosnia-Hercegovina 88.34%. In the Kingdom of Serbia 85.23% of the population devote themselves to agriculture and to raising cattle.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 578

S 32. Internal Differentiation.--The Serbs and the Croats do not differ greatly either from the physical viewpoint, or from that of linguistics or in the manner of living. Differences have been created solely by the political situation, by religion, and by literature. There are, however, certain shades of differences and certain special groups which we mentioned a short time ago.[1]

S.P. Cr. Sb. 144

From the anthropological viewpoint there is, a far as we know at present, a much greater /174/ difference between the Serbo-Croats and the other Slavs than between the Serbs and the Croats

[1] [cf. cat. 116, pp. 92-95, pp. 105-106, p. 107 -- Analyst]

1: Niederle--119 E-5 1911 E/C Slavic Peoples E/C
Bulgaria EE1

S.P. B. 101

Along this very little-known line, the territory of the Bulgars and of their neighbors the Serbs is penetrated in a south-westerly direction by an Albanian wedge. From Vranje to Kumanovo, /192/ from Skoplje to Tetovo there are to be found a great number of Slav villages more or less Albanianized. It is difficult in these regions to draw a very clear boundary.

Towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra) the Bulgar frontier turns towards the south and follows the left bank of the Black Drin in the direction of Lake Ochrida, which it partially circles, then follows the Devol River, Lake Malik, reaches the city of Koritsa and finally that of Kostur (now Kastoria). The outskirts of Kostur are still Bulgarian as far as Krupishte* on the Aliakmon River (Mac., Bistritsa). Here the boundary turns toward the northeast, towards Lake Osyrovon (now Vegoritis), then it runs to Voden (now Edhessa) towards the lower course of the Aliakmon and reaches the Gulf of Salonika, which it follows to that city.

The outskirts of Salonika are Slav. Beyond that city the boundary runs across the plain of Lankadas toward the Chalcidice, goes through Visoka, Zarovo, Sukho, Njegovan as far as the confluence of the Struma and Lake Takhin* and towards Seres (now Serrai) where it encounters Greek, Turk, and Bulgar populations. From Serrai, according to Tsanov[1] the boundary follows a broken line, poorly known as to its details, which crosses through Turkish Rumelia, reaches Dimotika (now Didymoteikhon) of the lower Maritsa, then through Uzunkopru, Babaeski, Corlu, and Kataldja*, it runs as far as the outskirts of Constantinople.

The western[1] boundary of the Bulgar national group is formed by the shore of the Black Sea as far as the Danube.

S.P. B. 101 162

But the boundary drawn by Tsonev does not outline /193/ a compact population but only the extreme limit of Bulgar groups in the Balkan peninsula. Already the most southern sections of the districts of Philippopolis and Stara Zagora are more sparsely peopled by Bulgars I cannot speak, for want of exact information, of the ethnographic conditions in Turkish Rumelia. On the other hand, we know that the regions located between the Iantra and the sea are more sparsely populated with Bulgars.

Thirty years ago this region was populated by a majority of

[1] [SIC - Analyst]

S.P. B 101 162

Mohammedans. A few districts were even purely Turkish, notably that of Khaskovo, near Silistra which contains only 6% Bulgars, that of Omortag (formerly Osman Pazar) (12.5%), that of Bazaurt (14%), that of Kemanlar (now Isperikh) (19%), that of Shumla (now Kolarovgrad) (24.3%). The Bulgars were the most numerous in the districts of Kesarevo (59%) and of Ruse (59%). In these regions they had a majority only in the towns. According to Sarafov, there were 482,000 Bulgars in this region in 1881. In 1888 there were more than 443,000 of them. In 1900 there were 417,694 Turks, 9,824 Gagauz and 18,079 Tatars in the districts of Ruse, Varna, Shumla, and Trnovo.

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According to Iurkevich the number of Turks in all of Bulgaria has diminished since 1888 by 12.5%. Thus the situation has noticeably improved in favor of the Bulgars.

/194/ According to the census of 1900 the following is the situation relative to the Turks and the Bulgars:

District of Ruse: 153,730 Turks (without the Gagauz and the Tatars) and 175,216 Bulgars.
District of Pleven: 12,261 Turks and 270,010 Bulgars.
District of Trnovo: 25,180 Turks and 366,687 Bulgars.
District of Vidin: 4,444 Turks and 142,975 Bulgars.
District of Shumla: 130,975 Turks and 108,579 Bulgars.
District of Varna: 107,839 Turks and 131,325 Bulgars (making a total of 433,779 Turks and 1,194,943 Bulgars).

The districts which present the most compact masses of Turks are those of Balchik, Varna, Bobrich (now Tolbukhin), Kurtbunar, and Provadiya in the districts of Varna; those of Eski Dzhumaya (now Targovishte), Osman Pazar (now Omortag), Popovo, Preslav, and Shumla in the district of Shumla; Elena, Svichtov, and Sevlievo in the district of Trnovo; Biela, Razgrad, Ruse, Silistra, and Tutrakan in the district of Ruse. The district of Burgas contained in 1900, 37,041 Turks, 39,652 Greeks and 218,189 Bulgars; that of Starazagora, 31,379 Turks along with 350,380 Bulgars. That of Plovdiv (or Philippopolis) 24,886 Turks against 313,847 Bulgars (without the Pomaks) (1). In

1. On the Pomaks, see the following section.

/195/ for the table on this page see the next manuscript page/

this region /196/ the Turks live especially in the arrondissements of Karlovo, Peshtera, Plovdiv (Philippopolis), Stanimaka (now Asenovgrad),

S.P. B. 101 1912

1: Niederle--121 E-5 1911 F/(Slavic Peoples F/U Bulgaria EEI

The Principal National Groups In Bulgaria In 1900

Districts	Bulgars	Pomaks	Serbs	Turks	Gagauz	Tatars	Greeks	Gypsies	Rumanians
I Burgas. . . .	218,189	3	26	37,041	28	132	39,152	10,985	29
II Varna. . . .	131,325	37	43	107,839	9,809	11,329	7,720	9,000	752
III Vidin. . . .	142,975	24	398	4,444	2	20	163	5,686	39,977
IV Vratsa. . . .	230,536	631	145	2,039	--	109	45	9,081	12,225
V Kustendil. .	191,477	--	8	599	--	--	82	1,605	141
VI Plovidiv. . . (Philippopolis)	313,847	17,055	57	24,886	1	31	14,880	11,146	115
VII Pleven. . . .	270,010	2,837	133	12,261	2	510	46	7,277	9,752
VIII Ruse.	175,216	10	62	153,730	6	3,919	697	8,403	5,697
IX Sofia.	365,364	30	545	874	--	1	845	5,838	286
X St. Zagora. .	350,380	2	12	31,379	5	2	2,720	7,823	12
XI Trnovo. . . .	366,837	13	67	25,180	3	173	122	5,206	1,841
XII Shumen. . . .	108,579	2	20	130,945	6	2,658	230	7,513	196
Total	2,864,735	20,644	1,516	531,217	9,862	18,884	66,702	89,563	71,023

S.P. B. 191 162 Kazanluk, Kharmanli, Khaskovo, Aytos, Pomorie, Karnobat, and Sliven. Detailed figures will be found in the table above.

Along with the Turks the Tatars are likewise diminishing, except in the region of Varna where they are increasing. After them come the Gagauz, Christian descendants of the ancient Turko-Tatar invaders.

The Greeks, as is to be expected, are particularly settled on the shore of the Black Sea, notably in the region of Burgas, and in the interior areas around Ploviv (Philoppopolis), especially in the sector of Stanimaka (Asenougrad)--this town is today Greek--to the west of Kyzyl Agach, at Kavakla and in its neighborhood. Along the coast, the most northern Greek colony is Novo Selo near Varna; among the Greek towns we should also mention Mesembria (now Nesebur), Pomorie, Sozopol, and partly Burgas.

The Jews and the Armenians nowhere form compact groups. The gypsies are numerous, but they are scattered throughout the Kingdom.

In the mountainous regions they sometimes form the majority of the population, for example in the outskirts of Elena and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). There are very few Serbs according to the latest information (in all 1,516). This is the result of the intensive /197/ development of the Bulgars and also of the conflicts of the past thirty years. On the contrary, the Rumanians are grouped in compact masses along the Danube, especially between the confluence of the Timok and Vidin, and between the confluence of the Dolni (Cibur) and Svishtov. A majority of Rumanians are also to be found at Tutrakan, and in the interior of the country at Serbenica (now Sofronievo) near Byala Slatina and at Debovo near Nikopol. The Tsintsar (1) are to be

1. Name given to the Rumanians in the peninsula.

found in the outskirts of Sofia and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). We have spoken above of the Russian and Czech colonies of Voivodova*, Gorna*, Metropolis* and Breslianitsi*.

S.P. B. 101 167 Outside of the region which we have just studied, we still meet groups of Bulgars beyond the Danube. These are the colonies which came in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The

000 work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

S.P. B. 163 [162] He[1] presents the following results:

Among the Bulgars the number of men is 1,000 for every 965 women; the males show an excess of births of 54.2%; the ratio between single persons to married persons is for men, 53%; for women 41.9% (4.4% widowers). The birth rate is 36.36 per 1,000; it is below that of the Serbs; on the contrary, the death rate is less than among these, only 18. (compare the figures given above in Section 31). In Bulgaria S.P. B. [165] very few infants die during the first year. They have the lowest infant mortality of any among the South-Slavs /203/ (8.3% only, against 15.4% in Dalmatia, 16.3% in Serbia, 21.2% in Croatia). As a result of this peculiarity, the coefficient of the excess of births over deaths is, if Jirecek is to be believed, as favorable as in Serbia, it represents 1.83. For the years 1881-1887, Sarafov found an increase of 1.85 (during this period there were born 100 boys for 89.7 girls); for the period 1890-1900, the coefficient was, it seems, slightly less. More recently, Iurkevich suggested the figure of 1.5 for the north of Bulgaria and of 1.2 for the south.

S.P. B. 161 According to Popov, the population density is 38.8 inhabitants per square kilometer.

S.P. B. 795 From the religious viewpoint the Bulgars belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. They have a church of their own whose head, called The Exarch, lives at Orta-koi (now Ivailovgrad) near Constantinople. Along with the Orthodox majority, one finds two dissident groups. The first of these is the Catholic Bulgars, or Paulitians (Pavlikiani). They speak the eastern dialect and live in the districts of Nikopol, of Svishtov, in seven villages in the outskirts of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There is also a Catholic community at Berdavski Geran, near Byala Slatina, and another, that of Gostilia, near Oryakhovo (district of Vratsa). All of them originated in the region of Plovdiv or Philippopolis, which was formerly their center. They formerly composed a whole series of communities between Plovdiv and /204/ Nikopol. It is from these that there came the colonies of Bulgars who settled in Hungary (Vinga, Besenov), and who are Catholics.

S.P. B. 795 101 Another rather sizeable section is composed of the Bulgars who, under Turkish domination, embraced Islam. They are called Pomaks.

[1] [i.e. Vrbanic op. cit. 116, p. 125--Analyst]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* This process was occasionally delayed, if not arrested, by the
643 appearance of competent princes who reëstablished for brief periods the stability and prestige of Kievan authority. For example, Vladimir Monomakh (1113-1125), grandson of Yaroslav, fought during his entire adult life either against the nomad Polovtsi or to maintain the unity of the principality against his kinsfolk, but such formal agreements as were reached for the assignment of domains to the various princely families were seldom of long standing. At the same time, the minor principalities of the western border were exposed to Polish or Hungarian aggression, and many southern frontier towns in the steppe country were either wiped out by the Polovtsi or abandoned because they might be.

175* The confusion which prevailed during the sixty years after
661 Yaroslav's death in 1054 marks the onset of the decline of Kiev.
567 While the feuds and disputes among the kindred princes were fought out by the princes themselves and their servitors, the lower classes of the population—the free peasants and the humble urban artisans—saw their fields laid waste and their earning power curtailed. If one prince occupied by force the domain of another and then was forced to withdraw, he frequently dragged off with him on his retirement the peasantry of the area he had temporarily occupied, and turned them into slaves in his own district. The result was a decrease in the free population and an enormous increase in the number of slaves available for work on princely estates.

175* By the end of the reign of Yaroslav the steppe country for
162 one hundred miles or more south of Kiev had been settled by
166 an agricultural population composed partly of free farmers, partly of war captives whom Yaroslav had located there, and partly by semicivilized pagans who had given up their nomad existence to live peacefully among their former foes and to form a sort of border militia. It was on this frontier population that the raids of the Polovtsi fell most heavily. The resulting migration from these exposed positions was most marked after 1125, but it began almost half a century

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

earlier, and is reflected in the increased importance of the more remote northeastern domains of Rostov, Suzdal, and Murom, between the Oka and the Volga where the nomad menace did not reach.

While the inarticulate masses bore the brunt of the crisis, the wealth of the ruling class was for the moment not impaired, but rather enhanced. As long as the princes and their retainers were prosperous, the wealth of the Church also increased by grants and gifts. Monasteries multiplied and new churches were erected. Contact with Byzantium was still preserved. Through the expansion of the hierarchy under Greek guidance and example, the intellectual progress initiated by Yaroslav was intensified. To be sure, this culture remained aristocratic and ecclesiastical, but in this respect it hardly differed from the contemporary civilization of Western Europe, even though deprived of the continuity of classical tradition which lay at the root of the culture developed under the aegis of Rome. Marital alliances with German, Hungarian, and Polish princely families show at the same time that the Russian princes attached but slight importance to differences between the Eastern and Western Churches even after the schism of 1054.

No sooner had Vladimir Monomach died in 1125 when strife among the princes became rife once more. Competition for the control of Novgorod developed between the prince of Kiev and Monomach's son George whose domain lay at Suzdal in the northeast. Rival princes sacked and plundered one another's domains. One unpopular prince was even lynched by the angry Kievan populace. In 1149, Prince George captured Kiev himself, thus proving the vitality and resources of the northeastern area, but was unable to hold the metropolis permanently before 1155. When George died in 1160, however, the city had been fought over so constantly in the previous thirty years that practically all its dependent territory had been nipped off by neighboring principalities and it had been stripped of every element of its political prestige. Hence the possession of Kiev no longer conferred upon the ruling prince

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PREFACE

FEW Westerners, even in the ranks of the cultured, have a precise notion of the historical meaning of the expression 'Slav solidarity'. To most of them, under the influence of pre-war German ideas, it suggests a phenomenon of racial nationalism, tinged with Orientalism.

Yet the idea of Slav solidarity was born, not in Russia, as we are tempted to suppose, but among the oppressed Slav peoples, Catholics by religion. It appeared for the first time in *Osman*, the epic written by the Croatian poet, Ivan Gondoulich, then in the work of his compatriot, Juraj Krizanich, a Catholic priest. It was then invoked in appealing for help with a view to emancipating the Slavs who were still under a foreign yoke: Slovaks, Slovenes, Serbs, Bulgars. (These Slavs were, at the same time, the ones farthest removed from Russia.)

It was only intermittently that the Poles were to be affected by the Slavonic idea, which was to be definitely adopted by the Czechs as soon as they realised that separation from Austria was an essential condition for full national independence.

As for Russia, she used Slav solidarity as a diplomatic card against Turkey, and against Habsburg Austria. She emphasised or brushed aside its manifestations, to suit the changing international situation.

So, in the perspective of history, this solidarity expresses less a racial *mystique* than the feeling of a common misfortune; while the idea of a community of ethnical origin gave it subconscious strength in the eyes of the masses, its value for the *élite* was, for long, only secondary. The conception of a common Slav culture, that of a large State comprising all the Slav peoples, [162] was never envisaged, except by a few visionaries. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that a deep gulf of history and civilisation separated the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, and Slovenes—all Catholics, all steeped in Greco-Latin culture, from the Orthodox Slavs: Russians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Bulgars. Among the first of these, Russian influence was limited to that of her literature—which, moreover, enjoyed no more popularity

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Chapter One

SLAVISM MENACES THE WEST

178 THE collapse of Germany inaugurated a revolutionary era in Europe. In the political domain, it was the prelude to transfers of strength whose full consequences cannot yet be gauged, although we can say definitely that it is the Slavs—and primarily the Russians—who will benefit by them.

[162] In this connection, the war has simply hastened a process to which a relentless impulse had already been given by the demographic rhythm of modern Europe. To-day, out of every three Europeans, one is a Slav. In three-quarters of a century from now, with the differing birth-rates in Western and in Eastern Europe, we shall find this ratio reversed.

563 [161] On the eve of the war, our continent had 454,400,000 inhabitants. The Slavs numbered 145,072,000, distributed as follows: Poland, 27,181,000; Czechoslovakia, 13,611,000; Yugoslavia, 12,017,000; Bulgaria (a Slavicised rather than a Slav country), 6,080,000; Great Russia, 55,548,000; Little Russia, 27,664,000; White Russia, 4,204,000.[1] It should be mentioned, in passing, that Russia, which common opinion (by metonymy) considers as the 'Slav country' *par excellence*, is on the contrary the only one which, within its State frontiers, includes at least an equal proportion of inhabitants of other races. For this reason it is also, whatever its political structure, the country where the national problem is at least easily reducible to a concept of ethnical homogeneity. It is as well not to forget this.

As far as any biological factor can do so, this prospect of demographic superiority in Europe gives stability and solidity to the political advantages which the Slavonic world may derive from the collapse of its age-long enemy—Germanism.

563 829 We shall use the term 'Slavonic world' or 'Slavonic community', rather than 'Slavonic race'. It was at the time when science was abandoning its convictions regarding race-discrimina-

[161] [1] Between 1930 and 1939 the population of Russia rose from 158 to 192 million, i.e. an annual increase of 3,700,000 persons—which constitutes a world record.

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Hence the lack of enthusiasm encountered among the Soviets by the apostles of a 'Green International' of Slavonic peoples. The all-powerfulness of Stamboliiski's Agrarian Party in Bulgaria had given birth to the idea of a Slav coalition, on a peasant basis. M. Svehla, chief of the Czech Agrarian Party, went to Warsaw to confer with the Polish Peasant Leader, M. Vincent Witos; he felt himself assured of Bulgarian support, and counted on that of Radich, head of the Croat Peasant Party.

In actual fact, these various peasant parties were alike in name only. In Bohemia, the agrarian movement combined intellectuals, technicians, business men; although in the Prague Parliament it had scarcely half as many representatives as those who supported Radich in the Belgrade Parliament, yet it controlled banks, co-operatives, schools, newspapers, and about fifty magazines. Unlike Radich, Svehla did not dream of a peasant 'dictatorship' incompatible with the political climate of Czechoslovakia. There was the same divergence in point of view with regard to Communism. At his Party Congress, Stamboliiski had declared that he was 'ready to break the Communists' heads, if necessary'. Such was certainly not Svehla's intention. As for Radich, he had made a first visit to Russia in the time of the Tsars, about 1889, when the Russian Peasants' Federation had just been founded—which gave him the first idea for the Croat Peasant Party, founded by his brother Antoine and himself, in 1902–1903. Becoming an apostle of Slav solidarity, he founded the 'Slav Bookshop' in Zagreb, published a Czech Grammar, worked for Serbo-Bulgarian *rapprochement*. When he revisited Russia in 1924, he recovered the strains of his original Russophilia. But the Soviet leaders showed themselves rather cautious: as we have already indicated, they thought him harum-scarum and changeable. He joined the Peasant International, which he considered, he was to say later on, as simply the extension of the Peasant Federation of 1889. Moreover, in the Balkans, the words 'Agrarian Party' have not the same ring about them as they have in the industrialised States of Central [162] Europe. What Balkan party can, by its composition, its origins, its tendencies, be anything but 'Peasant' in States where (with the exception of Greece) the rural class represents 85 per cent of the population? However ephemeral it may have been, the

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648 175 And, on August 15, Warsaw and Russia signed a treaty covering the frontier-delimitation of the two States, and war damages. M. Osubka-Morawski welcomed the agreements, which restored to Poland her 'historic frontiers' on the Neisse, the Oder, and the Baltic shore. For his part, M. Stanczyk, Minister of Labour, addressing the Polish troops, endeavoured to dispel their hesitation: 'The new Poland is free and independent. Naturally, in the event of a fresh aggression, Russia would be our ally, but the fact that her line of defence coincides with our western frontier has nothing to do with our independence. If you return you will find, it is true, plenty of work—but you will be working for Poland. That is why I advise you to return as soon as possible'.

•162 175 In October, 1945, the President of the Polish National Council, Borislav Bierut, still estimated at six million—a quarter of the total population—the number of Poles remaining outside the national territory. This was a major obstacle to the carrying out of the undertaking given in respect of an early and conclusive election.

But it was not to be doubted that many Poles would, once more, prefer exile to returning to a country whose independence was hopelessly mortgaged.

186* Her geographical position, which condemned Poland to be dominated either by Germany or by Russia, had just fixed her destiny in the East. For a long time anti-Russian (and, since 1920, anti-Sovietic) feeling and ideas had been for Poland a political trend—and, even more, an axiom of international ethics. They had been considered as the fundamental criteria of patriotism—a sort of moral urge, the preliminary condition for the exercise of civic rights.

So that a new era was opening in the history of the Polish people. The previous one was called 'romantic', the present one being designated 'realistic'. But there was a deep-seated uneasiness in the soul of this nation, which—as her history has a hundred times borne witness—has never hesitated to rush to a catastrophe rather than restrain the impulses of a very sen[illegible] patriotism.

186* 795 Poland's strong attachment to the Catholic Faith also opened up possible difficulties. It was natural that the partisans of an *entente* with Russia should be recruited in extreme-Leftist and

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'In liberating the Slavonic peoples, the Red Army has accomplished a mission of great historic import, for if they were not freed from the German yoke there could be no question of lasting peace in Europe. The relations between the U.S.S.R. and the Slavonic countries are based on common interests of defence against the revival of the German forces of aggression which have caused such prejudice to these peoples. And it is beyond doubt that their development on truly democratic bases constitutes the best pledge for peace in Europe'. 186* 648 728

On various occasions moreover, Russia, unwilling to place her cards on the table before her great Allies did so, was known to have her views on the German problem put forward by the Poles or the Czechs, while Yugoslavia, more combative or less wary, launched, now against the English now against the Americans, offensives calculated to put them on a false scent, diverting attention from the real objectives of the diplomatic moves.

In all the discussions raised by the peace treaties, at all the meetings of the United Nations and their Commissions, the Slav delegates voted with the Soviet Union or with its Republics, whether in matters concerning general problems (such as the right of veto or disarmament) or in national 'cases', such as the ban on Franco or the Greek question; so much so that it was always possible to forecast, as soon as a debate opened, which way these delegates would vote.

Conversely, where Russia did not herself inspire the claims put forward by the small Slav States, she supported them. She backed the Yugoslavs in the dispute between Rome and Belgrade regarding the fate of Trieste and Julian Venetia, the maintenance of the Polish-Germanic frontiers on the Oder and the Neisse, and the Bulgarian-Yugoslav offensive against the Athens Government.

Ideologically, the joint attitude of the Slav Governments rested on the theory that they alone were imbued with the real democratic spirit and that the Western Powers represented a survival of reaction and of *bourgeois* Liberalism. 186* 829

This naïve attitude is evident in the speeches of nearly all the Slav diplomats during this period of European reconstruction.

A Polish newspaper, *Robotnik* (of April 14, 1946), took a census of Slavonic strength on the continent of Europe:— 186* 162

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186* 'How many do we number? In Poland, there is only one
• 162 single nation, the Polish nation, if we ignore the artificially "inspired" separation of the Kachoube branch, and the Hitler-invented "nation" of the Gourals; in Bulgaria, one single nation also, the Bulgarian; in Czechoslovakia two, the Czechs and the Slovaks. In U.S.S.R. three, Russians, Ukrainians and White Russians; in Yugoslavia five, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins and Macedonians. There exists, too, a Lusatian nation. In all, thirteen Slavonic nations'.

186* And the *Zycie Slowanskie* (Slav Life) attempted a numerical
161 estimate of this force:—

'The events of the Second World War have, of necessity, brought about displacements on such a large scale that an estimate based both on the pre-war census and on the theory of probability is liable to prove quite inaccurate. However, simply as a rough guide, we may work on the following table:—

1.	Russians	100,000,000
2.	Ukrainians	41,000,000
3.	Poles	25,000,000
4.	White Russians	10,000,000
5.	Czechs	8,000,000
6.	Bulgars	6,000,000
7.	Serbs	5,500,000
8.	Croats	4,000,000
9.	Slovaks	3,000,000
10.	Slovenes	1,500,000
11.	Macedonians	750,000
12.	Montenegrins	400,000
13.	Lusatians	200,000

In all about 205 millions'.

186* During this period the anthology of Slav solidarity was
648 enriched with a number of striking official speeches, broadcast declarations, and editorials. Inter-Slav relations were organised on the basis of mutual aid pacts, such as those of March 19, 1946, between Belgrade and Warsaw, of the following May 10 between Belgrade and Prague (completed by both economic and cultural agreements) and that of March 7, 1947, between Prague and Warsaw.

eco Solidarity between Slavs in Europe and those in America—

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666 result even exceeded the expectations of M. Gheorgiev, who took
175 fright at the excitement stirred up in the country by the Communists—hence this appeal to the population: 'Victory often intoxicates men, and defeat makes them lose their self-control. Tension resulting from elections, if not rapidly mastered, may help to foster a state of excitement prejudicial to order and tranquillity. The Government earnestly exhorts all citizens strictly to observe the laws'.

Spectacular as was the triumph of governmental coalition, it did not reach the overwhelming majorities of which Russia and Yugoslavia held the secret. In particular, the ministerial fraction belonging to the *Zveno* was beaten, so that the country had modified, to the advantage of the Communists, the relative strengths within the coalition. Now, in a nation which had neither capitalism nor trusts nor large industrial concerns nor *latifundia*, the word *Communist* had a meaning which was much more political than social.* It was above all the victory of the 'Russianisers', long held in check by the official policy.

[563] It must moreover be admitted that, renewing the gesture of the liberating Tsar, the Soviet Union had just saved the Bulgarian people by protecting them from the consequences of their rulers' collusion with the Axis. The question that still remained was whether Russia would not have preferred to be defended in Sofia by traditionally 'national' elements, rather than by a party too openly connected with Moscow, and whose leader, George Dimitrov, the hero of the Leipzig trial, was thought to be a tool of Russia.

642 As a logical consequence of the elections, a new Government
175 was in fact formed by Dimitrov on November 23.[1] It included ten Communists, five Agrarians, two Socialists, two members of the *Zveno* and one Independent. The ex-President, Kimon Gheorgiev, held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. The semi-official press saw it as 'the most democratic Government Bulgaria has ever had', whilst the Opposition emphasised the complete hold on power which the Communists had obtained.

648 This Government's vital tasks were to be signing the peace
175 and voting the Constitution. On February 12, 1947, it secured

[162] * The working-class strengths, on which the Communists rely, are very small; indeed, 80% of the population are engaged in agriculture, not to mention tradesmen, civil servants, and members of the liberal professions.

1 [1946 - Analysis]

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So the signature, on February 10, of the peace treaty which (except in Dobrudja) maintained the territorial *status quo* of 1919, was made under protest—on the part of the Government, which, in an official note, expressed its hope of a revision of the 'unjust clauses' of the treaty; on the part of the Homeland Front, which invited the population to 'roll up its sleeves' and work to surmount the difficulties inherent in the application of the treaty; on the part of the Opposition parties, which, while they considered the treaty contrary to the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and to the terms of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, yet blamed the Government for not having been willing to apply sincerely the Moscow agreements, nor to follow the advice of the 'democratic Great Powers'. 728 175

* * *

Poland's fundamental problem in 1946 was the reorganisation and repopulation of the western territories taken from Germany and incorporated by Poland in conformity with the decision of the Potsdam Conference of August 2, 1945, and with the Polish-Sovietic treaty of the following August 17. 'Our western frontiers', said Wladislaw Gomulka, Vice-President of the Council, 'are essential to the maintenance of peace in Europe. Any one who opposes us in this respect threatens our most vital interests, and must be considered as our enemy'.

Three million Poles repatriated from Russia were to be settled in the western territories, where they would be joined by a million and a half Poles from the interior, taken from the overpopulated districts, and a million and a half repatriated exiles. Out of four million Germans liable to deportation, 2,400,000 had already been settled in the Russian-occupied zone of Germany, and one million and a quarter in the British zone. So that the total movements of population affected more than seven million individuals.

Within her new frontiers Poland included 195,000 sq. miles instead of 242,875 sq. miles that she covered before the war; her population had fallen from 35,000,000 inhabitants to 23,620,000. She no longer had on her soil any national minorities; Germans, Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians and Lithuanians were to be repatriated, where this had not already been done. As for the Jews, their number dropped from three and a half million to 86,000. Poland, which had six neighbours before the 131 175 [162]

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of one day seeing Slavonic Christianity return to Catholic unity, and the immense flock of all the Russians come back to the Roman fold. As is well known, the critical point in dogma is the divergence between the two Churches regarding the procession of the Holy Ghost. It is the famous 'Filioque' quarrel. Now, in the Liturgy published by the Holy See in June, 1943, for the use of the Russians and Ruthenians, the *Credo* is given according to the version of the early centuries, without reference to the 'Filioque'—in other words, ignoring the chief dispute which separated the Orthodox from the 'Romans'.

In spite of these concessions, Orthodoxy has never given up. In Carpatho-Ruthenia the number of its followers doubled from 1921 to 1930. Moscow had nothing to do with this; at that time it was the Serbian Patriarchate which presided over the destinies of the Russo-Carpathian Orthodox Church.[1]

And, after the incorporation of the Eastern Marches of Poland and of Carpatho-Ruthenia in the Soviet Union, a counter-offensive for the return of the Uniats to Orthodoxy was organised, using the customary resources of Russian political power. On June 18, 1945, a Committee of Initiative was formed, with a view to winning over these Catholics to Pravoslav unity. A 'Council' of the Uniat Church of the Western Ukraine was held in Lwow on March 8, 1946; it proclaimed the dissolution of ties which, for 350 years, had bound that Church to the Vatican,[2] and its submission to the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the name of the delegates of the three Uniat Eparchies which were represented at the Council, a message was sent to Stalin announcing this decision, and the breaking of the spiritual bond between the Eastern Catholics and Rome.

The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate[3] commented on this event as follows: 'So, gradually, day by day, in union and in united prayer, will the breach opened by Rome within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy be closed; the time is not far distant

[1] In 1921 the figures for Ruthenia were: Catholics 55,000; Uniats 332,500, and Orthodox 60,997.

[2] The anniversary of the connection was commemorated by the encyclical letter *Orientales omnes ecclesias*, published on January 19, 1946, in which the Pope accused the Russians of treating the Catholic Ruthenians as enemies of the State and encouraged the latter to persevere in their traditional faith.

[3] February 6, 1947.

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DISTRIBUTION, SUBDIVISIONS

198 At the present time the Slavic world comprises thirteen languages,
162 each with a distinct literary standard. In the usual classification they are distributed into three groups—Eastern, Western, and Southern Slavic.

Eastern Slavs. (1) RUSSIAN (Great-Russian) is spoken as a native language by the preponderant majority (73 per cent) in the Russian SFSR and by minor groups in the other Republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Moreover, being the principal cultural and state language of the USSR, it is employed as a second tongue in nearly all parts of the Soviet Union that have non-Russian native populations. The study of Russian is promoted on a vast scale in the school programs of all, especially Slavic, states within the Soviet sphere of influence; the official Soviet phraseology labels Russian as "the future world language of Socialism." (2) UKRAINIAN (Little-Russian, Ruthenian) is the native language of the vast majority in the Ukrainian SSR and of minor groups in the RSFSR and some other Republics of the Soviet Union. Outside the USSR, there is a compact Ukrainian minority in Northeastern Slovakia. (3) BYELO-RUSSIAN (White-Russian, White-Ruthenian) is the major language of the Byelo-Russian SSR. According to official Soviet estimates, at the start of the Second World War there were in the Eastern Hemisphere some 99 million native speakers of Russian, over 36 million of Ukrainian, and up to 8 million of Byelo-Russian.

Western Slavs. (4) POLISH is the native tongue of the overwhelming majority of the present population of Poland, of 100,000 Poles in the Těšín district of Czechoslovakia, and of a vanishing minority in those parts of pre-War Poland incorporated into the USSR; in all, at least 21 million speak Polish in the Eastern
000 Hemisphere. (5) KASHUBIAN is spoken in Poland by some

(5) KASHUBIAN is spoken in Poland by some
198 200,000 people on the left bank of the Lower Vistula. To the
162 northwest, away from this compact Kashubian area (in the Stołp
district), survive the last few families that still know SLOVINCIAN,
an archaic variant of Kashubian. These are the remnants of the
POMORANIAN group which in the early Middle Ages extended
from the Lower Vistula to the Lower Oder and was later Germanized. The Pomoranian group together with Polish belongs to the larger unit of the so-called LEKHITIC languages, which also includes POLABIAN, the former language of the Elbe (Laba) area. The last remnant of Polabian on the left bank of the lower Elbe (Dravăno-Polabian) died out toward the middle of the eighteenth century, but is known through a few vocabulary lists and short texts recorded about 1700. The other extinct Lekhitic languages are known only from isolated words and proper names, mostly toponymic. The Kashubs were alternately under Polish and German rule and thus were subjected both to a heavy Germanization and to a strong influence of the closely related Polish language. At the present time Kashubian is treated as a regional vernacular, and its cultural role is limited to a few folk publications, plays, radio programs, and social gatherings. (6) and (7) LOW and HIGH SORBIAN (Lusatian, Lower and Upper Wendish) are spoken by some 150,000 people on the Upper Spree. Surrounded by German, they form two neighboring linguistic islets, the northern one being Low Lusatia (Dolna Lužica) in Prussia and the adjacent part of Saxony with its center at Kottbus (Chośebuz), and the southern one being Upper Lusatia (Hornja Lužica) in Saxony with its center at Bautzen (Budyšin)—the former Protestant and the latter Catholic. Together with the disappearing Eastern Sorbian dialect around Muskau (Mužakow), these are the last remnants of a linguistic group that was quite extensive during the Middle Ages and bordered Polabian on the North, Polish on the East, and Czech on the South, forming a linguistically intermediate zone between these three languages. After the Second World War both Sorbian languages have been, for the first time, introduced into primary and secondary schools of Lusatia. (8) CZECH
198 is, since the postwar transfer of the German minority, almost the
162 only language of the whole western part of Czechoslovakia (Bohemia

and Moravia including the Czech part of old Silesia). Adjacent 198
to this compact area, there are small Czech communities in Kladsko 162
and Upper Silesia (both belonging to present-day Poland). (9) SLOVAK is the predominant native language of Slovakia (an autonomous part of Czechoslovakia). In Europe Czech is spoken by over 8½ million and Slovak about 3 million people.

Southern Slavs. (10) SLOVENIAN is spoken in the Slovenian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslovia) and in small adjacent areas of Austria and Italy. (11) SERBO-CROATIAN covers the greatest part of Yugoslavia: Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia. In the Europe of 1940 Slovenian was spoken by almost 1¾ million and Serbocroatian by some 11 million people. The standard language of the Greek [212] Orthodox Serbs and the Catholic Croats is the same, except for a few lexical variations and the adaptation of the Russian alphabet by the former and of the Latin by the latter. (12) MACEDONIAN is the prevailing language of the Macedonian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslavia). The central dialect, belonging to the Western Macedonian group, has recently been elevated to the status of a standard language. There are about a million native Macedonians including those in the adjacent areas of Bulgaria and Greece. (13) BULGARIAN is the dominant language in Bulgaria. At the end of 1940 it was spoken by about 6 million people in Europe including Bulgarian colonies in the USSR and Bulgars in the part of Dobrudja that remained under Rumania.

Incomplete data on the extent of some of the Slavic languages in the United States are given in the 1940 census: 585,080 people with Russian as their mother-tongue; 83,000 (?) with Ukrainian; 2,416,320 with Polish; 520,440 with Czech; 484,360 with Slovak; 178,640 with Slovenian; 153,080 with Serbocroatian. From the Canadian census of 1951 we may cite the following figures indicating the mother tongue: Ukrainian, 352,323; Polish, 129,238; Slovak, 45,516; Russian, 39,223; Serbocroatian, 11,031.

As a consequence of World War II, western Byelo-Russia was 728
detached from Poland, and the western Ukrainian areas from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania and were incorporated into

728 the USSR; the Polish and Kashubian sections of Germany passed to Poland; some Slovenian and Croatian dominions of Italy to Yugoslavia; and a part of Dobrudja was returned from Rumania 162 to Bulgaria. The total number of Slavs in the world is now over 198 200 million. Except for a few border minorities and Americans with Slavic mother-tongues, all Slavic peoples, save the Sorbs, live in states with a Slavic majority and state language—USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria.

197 Between the three Eastern Slavic languages there are intermediate dialectal areas. Russian is divided into Northern, Southern and transitional (Middle Russian) dialects, each of them with archaic islets presenting salient common features. Ukrainian dialects are classified into Northern, Southeastern, Southwestern, and Carpathian groups;. the marginal dialects (called Rusnak) of the latter group are Slovak-influenced. Byelo-Russian is divided into two dialects—the Northeastern and the Southwestern, disclosing a stronger Polish impact. Polish contains, besides various border dialects, two fundamental groups: Great and Little Polish in the Northwest and Southeast respectively. Kashubian comprehends two types of dialects: the Southern, and the Northern, which includes Slovincian. In Czech there are Bohemian, Central Moravian, and Silesian groups, with transitional dialects from group to group and from Czech to Slovak and to Polish. Slovak consists of three dialectal types: Central; Western, closely linked with Czech; and Eastern, connected with Polish and Ukrainian. Slovenian exhibits great dialectal variety. Serbocroatian from East to West presents three basic groups: Štokavian, Čakavian, and Kajkavian which is transitional to Slovenian. Bulgarian is divided into three basic dialects: Western, Northeastern, and Southeastern. Macedonian sets up a scale of intermediary dialectal zones between West Bulgarian and Štokavian.

PROTOSLAVIC; EXPANSION

PROTOSLAVIC (Primitive Slavic), which substituted (1) *s*, *z* for advanced *k*, *g*, and (2) *x* for the old *s* preceded by *i*, *u*, *r*, *k*, was a Western offshoot of the satem-group of Indo-European languages

S.P. C. 162 judging from the Hungarian statistics, the number of women also exceeds that of the men; for example, in the eleven counties of the west and of the center the proportion is 1,060 women per 1,000 men, for the civil population (1,050 women per 1,000 men when the army /119/ is included); in the east counties the proportion is 1,097 women per 1,000 men.

In the matter of longevity, if in recent times the Czechs, in comparison with the other Slavs of Cisleithania, have the fewest children, in contrast they attain the oldest age.

The number of individuals of twenty years of age is below the average (45.7%), but that of the old people is above the average (15.6% above fifty years of age).

Married persons represent 36.5%, which is a rather high figure. Only the Russians or Ruthenians have a higher percentage in Austria. In the purely Czech areas the mortality from 1881 to 1890 was 9.58%, from 1891 to 1900, 9.9% (among the Germans, 6.64% and 9.67%), giving a yearly average of 0.97%, which is below the average of the other nationalities. For the years 1890 to 1900 the absolute increase among the Czechs was only 8.28% for 1890-1900; for Austria, 9.4%.

S.P. C. 163 Therefore, the legend as to the low birth rate of the Czechs must be considered as incorrect if it is compared with that of their neighbors the Germans which from 1890 to 1900 was 36.3 for each 100 inhabitants. The Czech birthrate has decreased in relation to that of the Germans and, besides, it was never very much greater. On the other hand, among the Germans the infant death rate /120/ and the number of natural children is greater. (1)

1. Let us point out here that in Cisleithania, if the figures for 1851 are compared with those for 1900, the Slavs are increasing and the Germans are decreasing. Here is the table which has been drawn up by Mr. Zivansky and which indicates this increase. However, it must be accepted with certain reservations:

Years	1851	1857	1880	1890	1900	
Czechs	22.74	24.39	23.77	23.32	23.23	%
Poles	11.45	11.77	14.86	15.84	16.57	%
Russians	13.84	12.64	12.80	13.23	13.19	%
Slovenes	6.10	6.01	5.23	5.01	4.56	%

S.P.C. 163

Serbo-Croat.....	3.03	2.92	2.59	2.75	2.78	%

Slavs	57.18	57.73	59.25	60.15	60.44	%
Germans.	36.12	34.71	36.75	36.95	35.78	%

(all the figures above are in percentages)

/Footnote continued from preceding page/
In Transleithania, including Croatia, M. Zivansky notes the following figures:

	1851	1880	1890	1900	
Magyars	36.5	41.2	42.8	45.4	%
Serbo-Croats.	16.4	15.0	15.1	14.2	%
Slovaks	13.2	12.0	11.0	10.5	%
Russians.	3.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	%
Romanians	17.0	15.4	14.9	14.5	%
Germans	10.3	12.5	12.1	11.1	%

Here it is the Slavs and Germans who are decreasing.

- - - - -

Likewise, among the Slovaks, according to the official statistics, the birth rate is not so good as it is thought to be. The birth rate among the Magyars is higher than among them; and marriages are more numerous on the plain than among the poor Slovak mountaineers.

Here the birth rate depends upon well-being. On the contrary, and for the same reason, the death rate is very high among the Slovaks. In short, according to the information gathered by E. Stodola, the /121/ population increase in 1900 was in comparison with the census of 1869, that is in thirty years, among the Slovaks only 20% and among the Magyars 34%. And furthermore the population increase among the Slovaks is diminished by emigration.

S.P.C. 167

Emigration is equally fatal to the Czechs and to the Slovaks. Among the Czechs, as a result of economic conditions, it is directed toward German industrial cities, especially toward Vienna, where, naturally, they easily lose their nationality. The movement

S.P. Sl. 163 181 167 In the matter of the birth rate during these latter years it has been very low in Carniola: between 1890 and 1900, 1.84%; the birth-rate for Austria taken all together is 9.44%. Between 1880 and 1890 the coefficient was 9.44%. For all of the Slovenes taken together the coefficient is only 1.37%.

Therefore, the development of the nation appears to be arrested. This phenomenon is due in part to denationalization, in part to emigration, and in part to inexact census figures.

S.P. Sl. 162 [7]

From the religious viewpoint the Slovenes are almost entirely Catholics (99.9%). In respect to occupations, 75.4% devote themselves to farming, 13.4% to industry, 3.5% to trade, and 7.7% to public services.

S.P. Sl. 197 101

S 28. Differentiation.--From a linguistic viewpoint there are rather numerous differences; but they are not very deep (see what is said further along regarding the dialectology of the southern Slavs). To designate the various groups within the nation, the Slovenes usually give themselves geographic names, borrowed from their political boundaries: Kranjci (Carniolians), Primorci /145/ (people of the seacoast), Korosci (Carinthians), Goricani (Goricians), Styrians, or names of an even more local character, borrowed from the orography and the hydrography. In Styria there are singled out the Pohorianci, the Polianci of the Mura and of the Drava, the Halozanes, in Carniola the Gorenici (people from above), Dolenici (people from below), and the Notranjci who speak different dialects. To the north of the Mura, the Prekmurci (Transmurians) present an interesting type. In the north-west of Istria the Savrini or Bresavi are also pure-blooded Slovenes, as are the Berkini in the north of Istria. On the contrary the Fucki in the outskirts of the town of Buzet (Pinguente) and the Cici are Croats of the kaikavski and cakavski dialects. (1) Likewise, the White Krainici--so called from their costume--who are settled between Kocevje and the Kupa River are also of the kaikavski dialect.

1. Although certain philologists attach the Kaikavci of Croatia to the Slovenes, we relegate them to the next chapter; they consider themselves to be Croats.

A very interesting group, particularly studied by Professor Beaudoin de Courtenay (2), is the group of Resians established in the

S.P. Cr. Sb. 161

Serbs, or a total of 1,667,377 Croats and 1,045,550 Serbs, while leaving out the Sokci, the Bunievci and the Krasovani, which the Serbian almanac, of which we have spoken above, assigned to the Serbs. The same almanac assigned to the Serbs the Catholics of Bosnia-Hercegovina (334,000). It also found 100,000 Serbs in Austrian Dalmatia.

According to these Serbian statistics, there are in Europe a maximum of 2,300,000 Croats. But the Croats figure otherwise, and in assigning to themselves the Bosnian, Bunievci, and Krasovani Catholics, they arrive at a total of 2,700,000 for Europe. Since statistics in Croatia and /166/ in Cisleithania make no distinction between the two nationalities, it is impossible to make any positive statement.

The Academician Jagic (1) secured from the patriarchate of Karlovci official data from which he concluded that the number of Orthodox Serbs of Hungary and Croatia is 1,149,314. This total comes within about 100,000 of being what the Hungarian statistics have indicated.

1. Formerly professor at the University of Vienna, corresponding member of the Academie des Inscriptions. For his works see the Journal des Lavants for 1908.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 163

The increase of the Serbs and the Croats in Hungary, as far as we may judge from the statistics, is taking place in a very unequal manner. It is in Istria that the Croats have the lowest birth rate; they are withdrawing before the Italians. (2) In 1851, they made up 57.36% of the population; in 1906, this figure fell to 42.58%. In contrast, the Croats of Dalmatia, who were numbered at 378,676 in 1851, had increased to a total of 562,000 in 1900. They represented 96.1% of the total population a half-century ago. Today they represent 96.6%.

2. One must never forget that the official censuses are made up to the benefit of the Italians and consequently are unfavorable to the Croats.

For the decade ending in1890, the increase in Istria was 8.64%; in Dalmatia, 12.58%. If we consider only the national group, we find the Serbo-Croats of Austria /167/ an increase of 10.3% in ten years, or 1.03% per year. This is, after the Poles, the highest rate in the Empire. In Croatia and in Slavonia, the gross increase was 1.04%;

S.P. Cr. Sl. 163 the net increase 0.98%.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, the rate, for a period of ten years, was still greater; gross total, 14.8%, net total, 14.2%, otherwise speaking, the birth rate exceeded the death rate by 1.48%. During these latter years, one notes a much more considerable increase but it results from the large number of migrations of persons fleeing from the Turkish territory. The same may be said for Bosnia and Hercegovina, where, as a result of immigration, an abnormal increase was produced at the end of the last century (from 1879 to 1895, 2.15% on an average). Between 1901 and 1904, the increase was only 0.95% per year.

In the north, the Croats and the Serbs are threatened by the Magyars in Hungary and by the Germans in Croatia. The Magyars and the Germans are greatly increasing in number in Croatia. In the space of ten years, from 1880 to 1890, the Serbo-Croats in this province increased by 12.23%, the Germans by 41.3%, the Magyars by 66.1%. In the years 1890 to 1900, the Slavs increased by 8.96%, the Germans by 13.12%, the Magyars by 36.3%. Thus, between 1880 and 1900, the relative number /168/ of Slavs decreased from 90.48% to 87.22%; that of the Germans increased from 4.4% to 5.53%, that of the Magyars from 2.19% to 3.74%.

000 This state of affairs is not yet very serious, but nevertheless it gives rise to concern about the future.

S.P. Sl. 167 The Serbs and the Croats should agree to resist with a common front, all the more as their birth rate is weak, weaker in the areas inhabited solely by them than in the areas with mixed population and as they are constantly diminished by emigration. Between 1880 and 1900 this took away from them more than 100,000 souls and in these recent times the Croats have emigrated in rather large numbers into the two sections of America.

S.P. Sl. 795 162 We have already pointed out the decrease in the numbers of Serbs in the area of Novi Pazar and Kosovo. Alongside the Orthodox Serbs there are to be found today in this zone many Albanianized Mohammedan Serbs--notably of the tribes of the Gash and of the S.P. Berish, also 6,000 Cherkessians who settled there in the years 1858-[563] 1862. In this zone there are no Turks properly speaking.

1: Niederle--107 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples

S.P. Cr. Sb. 163 In Serbia, the number of births is 44.45 per 1,000; in Croatia, 44.18; in Dalmatia, 38.39; in Istria 37.43. In Bulgaria the rate is only 36.36. But if we take into consideration only the legal marriages, we ascertain that for every 1,000 women there were 290 births at Gorica, 273 in Istria, 257 in Dalmatia, 215 in Serbia (same figure in Bulgaria). This is a relatively low birth rate, and, in Serbia and Croatia, the lowest in Europe. Thus it seems that the large number of births depends only upon the number of marriages and not upon fecundity.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 165 /171/ According to Vrbanic the death rate is 30.24 per 1,000 in Croatia, 27.79 in Istria, 27.16 at Gorica, 25.67 in Serbia, 24.38 in Dalmatia. (It is only 18.00 in Bulgaria). The death rate is then higher in Serbia than in Bulgaria. In Bulgaria, in fact, far fewer infants died during their first year (8.3% only, 16.3% in Serbia, 15.4% in Dalmatia, 21.2% in Croatia). The rate of increase through births is, then, 1.83% for Bulgaria, 1.87% for Serbia, 1.4% for Dalmatia, 1.39% for Croatia, 0.98% for Gorica, 0.96% for Istria, which gives an average for the southern Slavs of 1.57%.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162 795 Religion is one of the principal marks which distinguish the Croats from the Serbs: the Croats are Catholics, the Serbs Orthodox and Mohammedans. But this is not an absolute indication. There are Orthodox who consider themselves to be Croats. Thus the latest Croat statistics give 2,075 more Orthodox than the Serbs who were enumerated (616,518 Orthodox against 614,543 Serbs). And there also are numerous Catholics who consider themselves to be Serbs or who are claimed by the Serbs. Such are, for example, the Catholics of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and of the Gulf of Kotor (Cattaro), or the Sokci, the Bunievci and the Krasovani of Hungary.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, Serb means Orthodox. There are 98.7% Orthodox, /172/ 0.40% Catholic, 0.60% Mohammedan. In 1895 there were 548,632 Serbian Mohammedans in Bosnia-Hercegovina (that is 34.9% of the population). But it must be stated that they are decreasing through emigration. Official statistics have, between 1883 and 1905, given 32,625 emigrants of whom 30,434 were Mohammedan. In Bosnia and Hercegovina there were reported 637,246 Orthodox (that is 42.9% of the total population), and 334,142 (21.3%) Catholic. (1)

S.P. Cr. Sb. [167]

1. In Bosnia-Hercegovina the Mohammedans are in the majority at Saraievo and in 12 districts, the Orthodox in 25, the Catholics

000 work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

S.P. B. 163 [162] He[1] presents the following results:

Among the Bulgars the number of men is 1,000 for every 965 women; the males show an excess of births of 54.2%; the ratio between single persons to married persons is for men, 53%; for women 41.9% (4.4% widowers). The birth rate is 36.36 per 1,000; it is below that of the Serbs; on the contrary, the death rate is less than among these, only 18. (compare the figures given above in Section 31). In Bulgaria S.P. B. [165] very few infants die during the first year. They have the lowest infant mortality of any among the South-Slavs /203/ (8.3% only, against 15.4% in Dalmatia, 16.3% in Serbia, 21.2% in Croatia). As a result of this peculiarity, the coefficient of the excess of births over deaths is, if Jirecek is to be believed, as favorable as in Serbia, it represents 1.83. For the years 1881-1887, Sarafov found an increase of 1.85 (during this period there were born 100 boys for 89.7 girls); for the period 1890-1900, the coefficient was, it seems, slightly less. More recently, Iurkevich suggested the figure of 1.5 for the north of Bulgaria and of 1.2 for the south.

S.P. B. 161 According to Popov, the population density is 38.8 inhabitants per square kilometer.

S.P. B. 795 From the religious viewpoint the Bulgars belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. They have a church of their own whose head, called The Exarch, lives at Orta-koi (now Ivailovgrad) near Constantinople. Along with the Orthodox majority, one finds two dissident groups. The first of these is the Catholic Bulgars, or Paulitians (Pavlikiani). They speak the eastern dialect and live in the districts of Nikopol, of Svishtov, in seven villages in the outskirts of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There is also a Catholic community at Berdavski Geran, near Byala Slatina, and another, that of Gostilia, near Oryakhovo (district of Vratsa). All of them originated in the region of Plovdiv or Philippopolis, which was formerly their center. They formerly composed a whole series of communities between Plovdiv and /204/ Nikopol. It is from these that there came the colonies of Bulgars who settled in Hungary (Vinga, Besenov), and who are Catholics.

S.P. B. 795 101 Another rather sizeable section is composed of the Bulgars who, under Turkish domination, embraced Islam. They are called Pomaks.

[1] [i.e. Vrbanic, op. cit. 116, p. 125--Analyst]

G. Stewart [illegible] (no date) [illegible] The Slavic Peoples [illegible]

186* 175 From the external point of view, Czechoslovakia remained within the orbit of the Soviet power, on which, henceforth, depended her security and her conception of the balance of power in Europe.

But the maintenance of national unity, the agreement of parties, the conciliatory realism which they brought to the control of the State, revealed a spirit of discipline and a maturity such as could not, at that time, have been found in any other Slavonic State. Perhaps we must give equal praise to the clearsightedness with which M. Benes, in his Christmas message for 1946, denounced the weaknesses and the blemishes which still remained to be eliminated from the régime; how many other countries might have profited by his warning!

'In all political parties there lurk elements that are bad, morally tainted; products of the great wars and of the revolutionary periods. Such individuals must disappear from our political life. We must wean our young people from tendencies to indiscipline, to idleness, to immorality in relations between the sexes. We must combat the growing scourge of alcoholism, the black market, and clandestine trade. We must encourage a family policy; whereas, in 1938, the excess of births over deaths was 80,000, in 1945 it is only 7,828'. [163]

642 175 Elected for two years, the new Constituent Assembly met for the first time on June 18.[1] The next day it acclaimed Edward Benes as President of the Republic, in that same Vladislas Hall where he had been elected for the first time, in 1935. The Government, constituted on the following July 2, was presided over by M. Clement Gottwald, Leader of the Czech Communist Party. It included six Czech Communists, three Czech Social Democrats, four Socialists of the Benes Party, four Czech Catholics, five Slovak Democrats.

648 In the next chapter the reader will find an outline of the religious problem, seen from the angle of the Orthodox offensive. Faithful to their pre-war tradition, Czechoslovak official circles renewed with the Vatican relations which they did their utmost to render as trusting as possible, in spite of the agnosticism of the régime and its Hussite sympathies. The first chargé d'affaires to the Holy See, Dr. Schwarzenberg, was appointed in January, 1946. Since the previous autumn, the Vatican had already been represented in Prague; in March, Mgr. Ritter was

1 [1946 -- Analyst]

1: Niederle--107 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples

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1 [i.e. Vrbanic. cf. cat. 116, p. 125 -- Analyst]

S.P. T.R 161

(illegitimate children). The death rate is 34 per 1,000. This is indeed a large number, but the number of births greatly surpasses it. The annual population increase is 1.5%, being about 2 million souls. The proportion is not the same in all the regions. Those in which the increase is the most considerable are New Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. Those in which it is the least are the Baltic region and the earea about Moscow. In European Russia--excluding Finland, Poland, and the Caucasus--the annual increase has been figured at 1.41%. In 1900, it rose as high as 1.83%.

S.P. T.R. 166

Emigration and immigration are for Russia phenomena of no importance. What is much more important is the movement of the population within the Empire. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a strong centrifugal movement towards the south and east was to be observed. Very large masses, especially from southern Russia, /37/ were moving constantly towards New Russia, the regions beyond the Volga, the southern Ural, Siberia, Turkestan, etc. The emigration of Great Russians towards the south is of special interest from the viewpoint of the Ukrainian problem.

S.P. T.R. 167

Emigration to overseas countries has been carried on mainly through German ports. It is particularly directed towards America. To the present it has been of very slight importance, if one considers the immense size of the nation. However, it has been increasing constantly. From 1893 to 1902, it was at the rate of 30,000 persons per year during the first five-year period, and of 45,000 per year during the last five years; in 1903, it exceeded 72,000 persons. The greatest number of them migrated to North America (94.3% in 1903). The others went to Argentina (the Parana), to Africa (beginning in 1903) and to Canada.

S.P. T.R. 212

The education of the people is still only slightly developed. If one excludes Poland and Finland, there are to be found only about 22.9% literate (32.6% men and 13.7% women). In Poland, the proportion is 30.5% (34.2% for men, 26.8% for women). More than 30% are found in the Finnish guberniyas and especially in those which have large cities, Esthonia (79%), Livonia (77.5%), Kurland (70.9%), St. Petersburg (55.1%), Moscow (40.2%), Kovno (41.9%), Warsaw (39.1%), Suwalki (37.4%), Yaroslavl' (36.2%), /38/ Plock (33.5%), the Black Sea guberniya (31.2%), Siedlec (30%), Piotrków (30.9%). In 24 guberniyas the figure is less than 20% and even less than 15% in several others (those of Penza and of Pskov).

S.P. C. 146 161 What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing population to the profit of the German sections. (In Moravia it is completely the contrary). In 1890 33.46% of the Czechs in Bohemia were living in German areas; in 1900 there were already 34.61% of them. During this ten year period the birth rate in the German sections was 8.1% for the Germans, and only 4.8% among the Czechs of the Czech sections. These phenomena are explained by the importance of German industry which attracts the Czechs into the German areas.

S.P. C. 148 177 Already the Germans--at least /125/ the sensible ones--recognize that it is impossible to Germanize the Czechs. The chauvinists alone still dared to hope for it, especially those who consider Bohemia as a lock which one can burst asunder in order to open to the German race an access to the Adriatic. But they are fooling themselves, as are those who believe that the Poles of the Kindom of Prussia can be denationalized.

S.P. C. 101 The situation of the Slovaks in Hungary is not nearly so good; they are deprived of all political rights and, following the example of what is happening in Prussia, they are being threatened with expropriation. Nevertheless, they continue to stand against the Magyars within their ancient boundaries, they give way only very slightly within these boundaries, and, were it not for the Magyarization which is being energetically imposed upon the nation, especially upon the upper classes, and for a rather considerable emigration, the people would be able to hold their own, all the more since they are constantly assimilating Polish and Russian elements in the north and east of their territory.

ooo When in 1900 I drew up my ethnographic map for the Slovaks, the Russians protested against the figures which the statistics showed to their detriment. It has been demonstrated that the progress of the Slovaks had not been as rapid as I had thought, but it exists nevertheless. All of eastern Slovakia is nothing but Russia which has been Slovakized, and this assimilation is continuing.

S.P. C. 178 [144] /126/ S 24. Differentiation. --The primitive differentiation of the tribes has left no important trace among the Czechs. All of the shades of difference have been leveled off by time and those which relate to the physical aspects, to the languages, to costume in these latter days, have almost entirely disappeared.

years that Serbia has recognized how much she has lost and how little she has gained: for the region of Novi Pazar and of Kosovo is the keystone of her future. The Albanian question is a vital question to Serbia. S.P. S.B. 167 175 000

Furthermore, in the Serbian section of the Balkan peninsula, there have been many internal migrations between the different regions, migrations which recently have been studied by Mr. Cvijic. In these movements Serbia played a passive role; an active role was played by Hercegovina, by Montenegro, and by a portion of Macedonia. S.P. S.B. 166

/155/ If the Serbs in the southwest withdrew before the Albanians, in the northeast they withdrew before the Rumanians. This is what is found not only in the Hungarian Banat, where a great number of Rumanian villages bear Serb names, but also in the Kingdom of Serbia where, at a bend of the Danube, between Milonovac and Zajecar, the Rumanians have penetrated in compact masses and where the Serbs have been unable to absorb them. It even appears, according to Mr. Resetar, that they are increasing in numbers, even though the official statistics try to diminish their number. For 1900, 89, 873 of them[1] were enumerated; but there were also 32, 556 bilingual persons speaking Serbian. To compensate for these losses, one may point out the success of the Serbo-Croat national group in Dalmatia, where the sea-coast which previously was Roman, is rapidly becoming Slavisized. This Slavisation did not take place immediately upon the arrival of the Slavs in Roman Dalmatia, but was the result of a long process which in part Slavisized the Romans and in part forced them to migrate. It was only in the Seventeenth Century that the Romans disappeared,[2] and a few vestiges of their former tongue remained as a sort of slang in the island of Krk (Veglia) until the end of the nineteenth century. S.P. S.B. 563 [191] S.B. 167 S.B. C. [197]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Split (Spalato) and Dubrovnik (Ragusa) were already Slavic. At the time of the Turkish invasions the Adriatic seacoast was first depopulated, then colonized again. From the neighborhood of Zadar (Zara) Slav colonies crossed into southern Italy /156/ where their descendants can still be found today. We shall speak of them in a short while. S.P. C.P. S.B. 175 167

On the western frontier of Serbia between the Morava, the Timok, and the Pirot, there was for a long time a transitional zone S.P. S.B.

[1] [Rumanians in the Kingdom of Serbia--Analyst] 563

[2] [Along the Dalmation coast--Analyst] 167

S.P. B. 176 167 In this region, before the arrival of the Turks, there were settled a large number of Pecheneg, Uzi, and Cumaeans (whose descendants are today called Gagauz) and later on the Tatars.

It seems that the earliest Turkish colonization took place in the region of Deliorman towards the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and later on at Tuzluk and at Gerilovo. The Ragusan Pavle Gjordjic, who traveled in these areas, reported a numerous Turkish population at Gerilovo*, at Deliorman, and in the Dobrudja. These areas were not completely assimilated by the Turks until the seventeenth century, and in the case of Gerilovo*, not until the eighteenth century. But many Turkish villages still retain their Slavic names.

All this Turkish colonization in the northeast of Bulgaria evidently had as an object the securing of passageways of the Balkans, especially after the defeats suffered in the war against King Wladyslaw of Poland in 1443.

S.P. 8. 101 167 Of the original Slav population[1] there remain only a few rare traces near Provadiya, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), and Razgrad. Also in the sixteenth century a great number of Turks, Yurvks*, and Koniars* came from Asia to settle in certain parts of Thrace and of Macedonia. S.P. 8 101 166 The old Slavic Bulgars, after the arrival of the Turks, naturally withdrew into the mountainous regions. In the sixteenth century their boundary was formed by the towns of Devna*, Monastir (now Bitolj), Krivnia*, Ravna*, Nenovo*, /188/ Nevcha*, Kaludjerica, Divdiedovo*, Novo Selo, or, in other words, the line from Varna (now Stalin) to Shumla (now Kolarovgrad). But towards the south the Slav element soon began again to take over and regain the terrian. The Osmanlis perished little by little in the perpetual wars and were not replaced by new colonists. On the other hand, new Bulgars arrived from the northern areas (Lovech, Nikopol), a scene of constant troubles and danger.

S.P. 8. 175 167 It was on the banks of the Danube that the principal wars were fought and the Slavs moved away from there in all directions. Upon this emigration movement which is a very old one, we have no documentation until after the seventeenth century. Thus we know that in the course of the year 1741 Bulgar colonies went to settle in the Banat of Temesvar where their descendants are still established at Vinga, and Benesov*. From 1752 to 1754 a great number of Bulgars

[1 i.e. in northeast Bulgaria--Analyst]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* This process was occasionally delayed, if not arrested, by the
643 appearance of competent princes who reëstablished for brief periods the stability and prestige of Kievan authority. For example, Vladimir Monomakh (1113-1125), grandson of Yaroslav, fought during his entire adult life either against the nomad Polovtsi or to maintain the unity of the principality against his kinsfolk, but such formal agreements as were reached for the assignment of domains to the various princely families were seldom of long standing. At the same time, the minor principalities of the western border were exposed to Polish or Hungarian aggression, and many southern frontier towns in the steppe country were either wiped out by the Polovtsi or abandoned because they might be.

175* The confusion which prevailed during the sixty years after
661 Yaroslav's death in 1054 marks the onset of the decline of Kiev.
567 While the feuds and disputes among the kindred princes were fought out by the princes themselves and their servitors, the lower classes of the population—the free peasants and the humble urban artisans—saw their fields laid waste and their earning power curtailed. If one prince occupied by force the domain of another and then was forced to withdraw, he frequently dragged off with him on his retirement the peasantry of the area he had temporarily occupied, and turned them into slaves in his own district. The result was a decrease in the free population and an enormous increase in the number of slaves available for work on princely estates.

175* By the end of the reign of Yaroslav the steppe country for
162 one hundred miles or more south of Kiev had been settled by
166 an agricultural population composed partly of free farmers, partly of war captives whom Yaroslav had located there, and partly by semicivilized pagans who had given up their nomad existence to live peacefully among their former foes and to form a sort of border militia. It was on this frontier population that the raids of the Polovtsi fell most heavily. The resulting migration from these exposed positions was most marked after 1125, but it began almost half a century

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

earlier, and is reflected in the increased importance of the more remote northeastern domains of Rostov, Suzdal, and Murom, between the Oka and the Volga where the nomad menace did not reach.

While the inarticulate masses bore the brunt of the crisis, the wealth of the ruling class was for the moment not impaired, but rather enhanced. As long as the princes and their retainers were prosperous, the wealth of the Church also increased by grants and gifts. Monasteries multiplied and new churches were erected. Contact with Byzantium was still preserved. Through the expansion of the hierarchy under Greek guidance and example, the intellectual progress initiated by Yaroslav was intensified. To be sure, this culture remained aristocratic and ecclesiastical, but in this respect it hardly differed from the contemporary civilization of Western Europe, even though deprived of the continuity of classical tradition which lay at the root of the culture developed under the aegis of Rome. Marital alliances with German, Hungarian, and Polish princely families show at the same time that the Russian princes attached but slight importance to differences between the Eastern and Western Churches even after the schism of 1054.

No sooner had Vladimir Monomach died in 1125 when strife among the princes became rife once more. Competition for the control of Novgorod developed between the prince of Kiev and Monomach's son George whose domain lay at Suzdal in the northeast. Rival princes sacked and plundered one another's domains. One unpopular prince was even lynched by the angry Kievan populace. In 1149, Prince George captured Kiev himself, thus proving the vitality and resources of the northeastern area, but was unable to hold the metropolis permanently before 1155. When George died in 1160, however, the city had been fought over so constantly in the previous thirty years that practically all its dependent territory had been nipped off by neighboring principalities and it had been stripped of every element of its political prestige. Hence the possession of Kiev no longer conferred upon the ruling prince

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* set up his capital at Sarai on the lower Volga, just below Stalingrad, to which for two centuries the Russian princes, who were the vassals of Tartars, traveled to make submission.

175* The Tartar invasion aggravated the depopulation of the
●166 Kiev area which had begun under the Polovtsian menace. About the year 1300, even the metropolitan bishop of Kiev moved to Vladimir on the Klyazma, east of Moscow, and the remaining population took to the forests and hills. The result was a concentration of new settlements in the area immediately south of Moscow and considerable additions to the population of the western principality of Galicia-Volhynia, which became known as Little Russia, as opposed to Great Russia of the northeast. At the same time the northwestern principalities fell more and more into the hands of the rising Lithuanian state. The Galician-Volhynian principate was in a fair way to becoming an important national unit when it was devastated in 1283 by a Tartar expedition into Poland, with the result that Volhynia was taken over by the Lithuanians and Galicia by the Poles, who have held it intermittently from 1349 to the beginning of the second World War.

175* The economic results of the Tartar invasions were drastic even in the northeast. What national wealth was not destroyed by their pillage was extracted piecemeal by the process of collecting tribute. A population which had previously lived by hunting and fishing, importing its grain from the more fertile south, was now obliged to practice agriculture on com-
[439] paratively unfavorable soil. A small amount of outside trade in furs, honey, and wax was maintained in order to secure silver with which to pay taxes, but domestic commerce was
175* paralyzed and did not recover till the fifteenth century. Fur-
421 thermore, even prior to the Tartar conquest, the Russian princes, despite their mobility, had begun to acquire fixed estates and thus to become landed proprietors. This process was accelerated by the Tartar hegemony since, for one thing, it was easier to collect tribute from a prince who was fixed, and besides it was difficult to obtain grants of new domains

H.R. 101 S.P. 175 scepter).

They have had religious unity for too long a period to permit anyone to hesitate considering them as a single whole, the Russian nation, despite the shades of difference already pointed out.

As for the matters which relate to external development, we must indicate the following stages:

H.R. 167 S.P. 175 167 The Russian nation did not succeed in extending itself to /17/ the west; between the space which it occupied and the sea Lithuanian tribes (Lettish) and, further to the south, the strong Polish race were concentrated. The Russians did not advance in that direction; very much to the contrary, their race underwent a very serious period of decline; in fact, it almost perished, on the one hand under the pressure of Lithuania, and on the other, under that of the Poles who were forced to stretch out towards the east, finding themselves pushed back by the Germans. This explains why on the maps of Bielenstien (1)

1. A German scholar of the nineteenth century who especially concerned himself with the Lett language.

the Russo-Lettish frontier of the thirteenth century is almost the same as today and why the western portion of Russian territory contains a large Polish element.

The expansion towards the north continued though with less success than formerly. The further one advanced into these regions, the less hospitable they became. But, beginning with the fifteenth century, especially from the reign of Peter the Great, the colonial expansion of the Russian element turned gradually toward the north, where colonies of monks and raskolnoki were sent out. (2) These colonies

2. Heretics (from raskol, schism). Translator.

were of slight importance and widely scattered. Then conditions changed. The expansion towards the north diminished, the movement turned towards the south and southeast.

The Tatar invasion had created a solid enclosing wall /18/ which Russian colonization was unable to cross so long as the Tatar Khanates were not brought under subjection. This was not long delayed. After 1486 Russia was freed from its bonds. The desire for revenge, the increase of the population, and other conditions, pushed the Russians very energetically towards the east, the southeast, and the south. They did not stop their advance. Their front line, which had been on the Oka, was replaced in the middle of the sixteenth century by the so-called Tula line, from Putivl' on the Seym through Briansk and Tula, towards the Una, tributary of the Moksha. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Muscovites occupied the Belgorod, Voronezh-Kozlov line,

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the Tambov-Simbirsk line, the line of the Transkama (Sengilei-Menzelinsk). On the other hand, they colonized the region of Poltava in great masses. (1) At the end of the seventeenth century the line

1. The Ukrainians of the region between the Bug and the Dnestr began in the fourteenth century, under the princes of Kiyev and of Lithuania to penetrate into the Poltava region. But it was not until the sixteenth century that, under the protection of Moscow, they emigrated en masse. In the seventeenth century they already occupied the governments of Kharkov, the western portion of the government of Voronezh and the southern part of the government of Koursk. This immigration is explained by the development of the Cossacks, the necessity of fleeing from Polish domination, and the diminution of the Tatar strength, especially that of the Horde of the Crimea.

of the Don was reached, then, under the reign of Empress Anne, the line of the Ukraine (1731-1735), which was replaced forty years later by the line of the Dnepr between the Dnepr and the Sea of Azov.

T.R. 167 S.R. 175 167

/19/ The movement forward was completed by the conquest of the Khanate of the Crimea in 1783. Colonies of German and Serbian immigrants into Russia accompanied these advances of the military lines. The litoral of the Black Sea was partially colonized in the eighteenth century, and partially, --for example between the Bug and the Dnestr (the present Gubernya of Tavrida)--only in the nineteenth century. At about the same time Russian colonization reached the Caucasus (line of the Caucasus along the Kuban and the Terek from 1779 to 1799), but it was not completed until the second half of the nineteenth century after the complete submission of the Caucasus (1864).

The Russians penetrated earlier into the regions beyond the Volga, especially from the reign of Peter the Great onwards.

At this period they reached Samara and in the years 1734-1744 the Orenburg line. In the interior of Asia colonization was at first accomplished by the conquests of the brothers Stroganov and of Ermak (1558-1582), in Siberia as far as the Obi and Irtysh Rivers. It was completed in the nineteenth century by the conquest of all of Siberia as far as Sakhalin and Manchuria, by the subjugation of the Kirghiz Steppes to the south and finally of Turkestan (Tashkent, 1864, Samarkand 1868, Khiva 1873, Kokand 1876, Ashkabad 1881, Merv 1884, Murghab 1885). Everywhere the troops were followed by colonists, especially by the inhabitants of Great Russia.

S.P. T.R 161

(illegitimate children). The death rate is 34 per 1,000. This is indeed a large number, but the number of births greatly surpasses it. The annual population increase is 1.5%, being about 2 million souls. The proportion is not the same in all the regions. Those in which the increase is the most considerable are New Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. Those in which it is the least are the Baltic region and the earea about Moscow. In European Russia--excluding Finland, Poland, and the Caucasus--the annual increase has been figured at 1.41%. In 1900, it rose as high as 1.83%.

S.P. T.R. 166

Emigration and immigration are for Russia phenomena of no importance. What is much more important is the movement of the population within the Empire. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a strong centrifugal movement towards the south and east was to be observed. Very large masses, especially from southern Russia, /37/ were moving constantly towards New Russia, the regions beyond the Volga, the southern Ural, Siberia, Turkestan, etc. The emigration of Great Russians towards the south is of special interest from the viewpoint of the Ukrainian problem.

S.P. T.R. 167

Emigration to overseas countries has been carried on mainly through German ports. It is particularly directed towards America. To the present it has been of very slight importance, if one considers the immense size of the nation. However, it has been increasing constantly. From 1893 to 1902, it was at the rate of 30,000 persons per year during the first five year period, and of 45,000 per year during the last five years; in 1903, it exceeded 72,000 persons. The greatest number of them migrated to North America (94.3% in 1903). The others went to Argentina (the Parana), to Africa (beginning in 1903) and to Canada.

S.P. T.R. 212

The education of the people is still only slightly developed. If one excludes Poland and Finland, there are to be found only about 22.9% literate (32.6% men and 13.7% women). In Poland, the proportion is 30.5% (34.2% for men, 26.8% for women). More than 30% are found in the Finnish guberniyas and especially in those which have large cities, Esthonia (79%), Livonia (77.5%), Kurland (70.9%), St. Petersburg (55.1%), Moscow (40.2%), Kovno (41.9%), Warsaw (39.1%), Suwalki (37.4%), Yaroslavl' (36.2%), /38/ Plock (33.5%), the Black Sea guberniya (31.2%), Siedlec (30%), Piotrków (30.9%). In 24 guberniyas the figure is less than 20% and even less than 15% in several others (those of Penza and of Pskov).

1: Niederle--50 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples F16
Poland EA1

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5,820 Poles; they reported 26,795 of them in 1900, and at the latest elections for the Parliament of Berlin, the Polish candidate Chocszewski obtained 27,000 votes.

S.P. P. 167

Outside of Europe, Poles have gone especially to the United States (particularly to Chicago, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York) and also to South America, particularly to Brazil (States of Parana, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande Do Sul, Sao Paulo), to Paraguay and to Argentina. In Brazil there are more than eighty colonies (80,000 souls). Parana is already called "New Poland."

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S 13. Statistics.--Just as it is impossible to define exactly the frontiers of the Polish nation, so the number of Poles cannot be determined with complete accuracy. Figures issued by national authorities differ considerably.

For the Kingdom of Poland itself Jean Bloch guesses at a population of a million and a quarter in the fourteenth century. For Bathory's century (16th) he estimates 3,058,000 Poles.

In 1882, Sulimierskii figured 12 million. E. Czynski in 1887, and A. Fircks in 1893 estimated 13 million. L. Straszewicz in 1900 figured from 18 to 19 million and in 1902 V. Czerkawski gave 21,111,347. But I do not consider his statistics as absolutely accurate and here are my estimates.

In the Russian Empire there were according to the census of 1897, 7,931,307 Poles, which is 8.3% of the total population. If we add to this figure the annual increase which, according to Kowalewski, is in the neighborhood of 1.5% per year, which would be 118,970 persons, we obtain for the end of the year 1900:

For the Russian Empire (with Asia), about	8,400,000
For Austria	4,259,150
For Germany (including the Mazuri and the Kashub)	3,450,200 (1)
For the rest of Europe (according to Czerkawski), about	55,000
For America (according to Czerkawski).	1,500,000
	17,664,350 (2)

161 German, one arrives at the figure of 116,810 individuals, and, if this figure is corrected according to the estimates of Parczewski, of Swjela*, and of Muka, about 156,000 persons are obtained, a lamentable total for a people surrounded and penetrated from all sides by the German flood. What favors Germanization is the extent to which the Sorbs [177] are economically dependent upon the Germans: the military service, preaching in German, the absence of an intellectual class, their complete isolation. The Sorbs who resist most energetically are those of Upper Lusatia, whose intellectual center is at Bautzen (Budysin). In Saxony, of 297 communes called Wends (1), according to the census

1. The Sorbs of Lusatia are called Wends in German.

of 1900, there are in all 225 with a Slav majority, and only 7 entirely Slav.

167 We have no other data on the Lusatians or on their emigration. It appears that there are colonies in America (especially in Texas--Serbin (a town), which recalls the name of the nation, Giddingswenden (probably the town of Giddings), West (perhaps the town of West Point) Yewa (not located), Warda (a town), Burleson (a county) whose inhabitants left Europe towards the middle of the last century, and who still preserve the national tradition. There are also some in Australia (at Angerspark, at Adelaide near Melbourne). They are of more recent origin.

715 The great majority of the Sorbs are Lutherans; there are 15,000
162 Catholics, who live for the most part in the neighborhood of Budysin (Bautzen).

197 /98/ S 19. Differentiation.--Even though they are only a small
182 nation, the Sorbs are not unified from the linguistic point of view. The difference between the idioms of Upper and Lower Lusatia is so great that the common people have great difficulty in understanding one another and many linguists have recognized two distinct languages. There are in fact two literary languages founded upon the two dialects which are farthest apart (that of Kottbus and that of Bautzen) and two literatures. This duality creates a grave danger, the much more so as the two fractions are divided from a political viewpoint. Kottbus belongs to Prussia and Bautzen to Saxony. Aside from the language, the
101 two Lusatian groups differ from many viewpoints in matters of domestic
182 life and costume. According to Muka, the boundary between the two

S.P. c. 174 101 and in Moravia, at the beginning of history. However, it appears very likely that the different groups which are still met with today, the Czechs properly speaking, the Hanaks, the Lahs, the Slovaks, and the Valachs existed in those days. But we do not know where the frontier between the Czechs and the Slovaks was located: was it on the lower and middle Morava, as Safarik would have it, or farther to the east?

We know more about the Czechs. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, we see leaving the forest bordering Germany, a whole series of tribes that appear among them: to the north from the sources of the Oharka, proceeding towards the east, the Sedlicany, the Lucany, the Lemuze, the Deczany, the Litomerice, the Psovany, the Charvaty (Czechs?); in the center, the Czechs; near them the Zliczany; and to the south in the area of Budejovice (Budweiss), the Dudlebi.

Very soon the Czechs became the most numerous and strongest of all of these tribes /103/; thanks to their central location, they soon dominated the other tribes and fused them into a single people. From the ninth century their name was used to designate the entire aggregation of tribes.

S.P. c. 175 Thus this nation was formed.* Settled in the watershed between the streams flowing to the north and those flowing to the south, near the source of the large rivers, protected by natural walls, it developed under excellent conditions. And, were it not for the errors of its princes, who through egoism caused serious damage to its prosperity and to its future, the history of this nation would have been entirely different from what it has been, and would occupy today a different position in the Slavic world from that which it now occupies.

S.P. c. 175 167 What caused it* a terrible blow was the German colonization in Bohemia and Moravia. In the south, the Germans, pushing forward along the Danube towards the east, thrust back the Czecho-Slovaks who were settled in this region. This was a completely natural movement and one which should not have caused any great harm to the development of the Czech national group, seeing that the Germans would soon come into collision with the Magyars on the Litava (Leitha).

What was particularly harmful to the Czechs was the German colonization summoned into the country by the national princes of the Premysls dynasty, Premysl Otakar I (1197-1230), Vaclav I (1230-1253)

*[Czechoslovakia — Analyst]

S.P. C. 175 167 and especially Premysl Otakar II (1253-1278) and their successors; the nobility and the clergy, /104/ particularly the monks, followed their example. As a result of this colonization, the Czech element found itself blockaded in the interior of the country by a belt of German cities and towns, a belt which continually drew tighter; at first below the Metallic Mountains and the Boehmerwald, then on the lower Elbe, then in the areas of Liberec (Reichenberg), Trutnov, Kladsko (Glatz) and in the region of the Jeseniky (Gesenke) Mountains. Moreover, German groups settled in the interior of the country. From the thirteenth century Bohemia and Moravia became bilingual countries.

S.P. C. [191]

From the standpoint of area the German zone was neither wide nor compact; it formed itself especially in the clearings of the forests on the west and northwest.

S.P. C. 101 563

In the fourteenth century, according to Professor Sedlaczek, the frontier of the nations in Bohemia ran from Kynwart* toward Zdar*, Kralupy, Chomutov (Komotau) which was German, toward Most, then toward Duchcov and Decin. Bilina and Teplice were still Czech. Then the frontier ran to Benesov* which was German, to Jablonna*, crossed Mount Iestied* and reached the sources of the Jizera (Iser). From the fourteenth century Liberec (in German, Reichenberg) was German. The Germans were settled in the mountains beyond Vrchlaby* (today Hohenelbe) which was still Czech. Pilnikov (Pillnitz), Trutnow, Zacler, Stare Buky* were already German. Starkov* remained Czech, but the region of Brumov*, and the country of Kladsko /105/were Germanized. Olesnica and Rokytnice* were Czech. Beyond Policzka* and Litomysl* the situation was as it is today. At Nemecky Brod there was a German island; Jindrichuv Hradec was mixed, as well as Budejovice (Budweiss). Krumlov and Prachatice were mixed; the Kasperk Mountains were German; in the region of Domazlice the frontier was Czech. Klatovy was mixed, Tachov German.

S.P. C. 175 167 S.P. [565]

Less is known about the German penetration into Moravia and into Silesia. From the thirteenth century the greater part of the fortified towns in Moravia have been German. In many of the cities, notably at Brno and at Olomouc, from the thirteenth century on a German bourgeoisie developed. The religious orders and the clergy contributed in summoning the Germans, especially Bishop Bruno who has been called the greatest Germanizer of Moravia. In the Teschen area the Czecho-Polish frontier has been the same from the fourteenth century

S.P. to the present.
C. 175
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Slovakia, belonging to Hungary, was not spared by the German invasion. Germanization began to penetrate into the northern portion--perhaps Slovak--the Pannonia, beginning in the ninth century, as is attested by a celebrated text of 850: Conversio Bagoiarorum et Carantanorum. In the north of Hungary, from the twelfth century, the regents during the minority of Geza II (1141-1161) called a great number of Germans into the county of Spis to act as /106/ a counterweight to the attraction which Poland was exerting upon the county of Zvolen. Following the example of these first colonists, the Germans, beginning in the thirteenth century, penetrated from the west into the counties of Bratislava and of Nitra, from the south into those of Bars and of Honta where they were not to be found before this period. This immigration increased particularly after the Tatar invasion of 1241. Hungary had been ravaged, and the kings,--notably Bela IV--called for new colonists. Thus, towards the end of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century, there was in Slovak territory no commune in which some German family was not established. The center and the base of German colonies aside from the towns of Spiess, was the association of mining towns with Kremnitz at their head. The sources mention in the first place Krupina, in 1238, then Banska Bystrica in 1255, and Nemecke Pravno in 1267. This state of things lasted until the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Two laws promulgated by the Diet in 1563 and in 1605 put an end to the privileges of the German towns and to the Germanic intrusion. Beginning with this period the Germans in the north of Hungary were Slovakized or Magyarized in turn. (Among the towns which again became Slovak may be cited Pukanec*, Nova Bana, Bela, Lubietova* and, to a considerable extent, Stiavnica and Banska Bystrica).

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Alongside the penetration of the frontier regions /107/ in Bohemia and Moldavia there should be pointed out, the influence beginning with the thirteenth century, of the German element upon the internal economy of the country, the customs, and the language. German almost assumed the role of an official language. German inhabitants received privileges. At court, among the nobility, in the towns, the German tongue played so important a role that some patriots, like Dalimil, (1) began to fear the ruin of the Bohemian language.

1: Niederle--68 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Czechoslovakia EB1

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1. Quite a long time ago I indicated the importance of this chronicler. See my Boheme pittoresque et historique (Paris, 1867).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century matters had gone so far that at the coronation of King John in 1311 the larger part of the people sang in German and the minority in Czech.

S.P.
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[798]

Under Charles IV and his son Vaclav a reaction took place to the benefit of the Slavic element[1]. The nobility and the clergy took an interest in this. This evolution was crowned by the wars of the Hussites, who fought at the same time for Czech faith and Czech nationality. The Germans lost their influence in the towns or were completely driven out; the Czech language reassumed its place. Among the towns which became Slavic may be cited Zatec (Saaz), Litomerice (Leitmeritz), Usti nad Labem (Aussig), Dvur Kralove, Jaromer, Hradec Kralove, Nemecky Brod, Caslav, Kutna Hora, Pelhrimov, Susice, Budejovice, Kaplice, Stribro and Plzen, all of which were already Czech at the end of the fourteenth century.

/108/ At this time, in Bohemia, in Moravia, in Siberia, Czech became an official language. It was proclaimed to be the sole administrative language at Opava (Troppau) in 1431, at Tesin (Teschen) in 1434, in Moravia in 1480, in Bohemia in 1495. In short, in the course of the fifteenth century Bohemia and Moravia rapidly became Czech, the national consciousness grew stronger, all the more because germanization became weaker within the country and in the frontier districts. Nevertheless, this very brilliant period had no enduring results. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a portion of Czech territory was again germanized as a result of the introduction of Protestantism and through the efforts of the new dynasty. Then came a long period of wars and persecutions which desolated entire regions and was followed by the new influx of German colonists from Misnie*, Voigtland*, from Franconia and from the Palatinate. Thus, at the very moment when the Czech language became official within the kingdom, when the Czech literature was flourishing, a great section of Czech soil was lost.

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S.P.
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[728]

Then came the defeat of Bila Hora (1620) and the unhappy events which placed the Czech nation in the hands of a dynasty which was German and absolutist. In 1627 a new organization was imposed

1 [Against the influence of the German element upon the country - Analyst]

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upon the country; German acquired an importance which it never had before. Bohemia found herself engaged in a series of wars, of miseries, of sufferings which diminished to the /109/ lowest degree the numbers and the energy of the Czech nation and rendered it a prey to the immigrants whose number increased each day. Many families which were faithfully preserving the national tradition emigrated, many perished, many changed their nationality. Immense domains were confiscated and passed into the hands of foreigners. Many of the most distinguished German Protestant families also left the country.

Thus, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the German population increased and the Germanic belt which surrounded Bohemia became wider. At this moment the Czechs lost in the north the regions of Zlutice (Luditz), of Zatec (Saaz), where, however, the Czech tongue resisted until the end of the seventeenth century, then that of Postoloptry (1) (Postelberg), Teplice (Teplitz), Usti (Aussig), Bilina,

1. This name simply comes from the Latin "Apostolorum Porta." Translator.

Lovosice (Lobositz), (Litomerice was not germanized until the eighteenth century), Ceska Duba, Steti, Mimon, Vartemberk*. To the northeast they lost the districts of Rokytnice, Vrchlaby, Hostinne; to the west, those of Primda, Hostoun, Pobezovice (Ronsperg), Horsova Tyna*, Straze*, Bor, Plane*, as far as Manetin. The German area, as it was described in the years 1699-1701 by the Czech pilgrim Antonin Frozin, is practically identical with the German area of today. According to the studies of Slavik, as much may be said for /109/ Moravia at the end of the seventeenth century. In the last two hundred and fifty years, however, there have been some modifications in northern Moravia. The towns of Usov*, Unczov*, Zabreh and Stity (Silperk) have been germanized.

On the other hand, the national language, and with it the national consciousness of the Czechs, disappeared more and more under the governmental pressure. The nobility, the intellectual class, the bourgeoisie gave in one by one. In the eighteenth century the patriots despaired compaired completely of the future.

In 1790 Pelcel said that in fifty years it would be difficult to find a Czech; in 1810 Dobrovsky wrote to Kopitar the famous letter: "Causa gentis nostrae, nisi Deus adjuvet, plane desperata est". /"The cause of our country is, unless God helps, quite hopeless"/. And

S.P. c. 175 177 167

again in 1827 Jungmann in a moment of discouragement gave vent to this sad cry: "We have had the sad fate of being the witnesses and the accessories of the final annihilation of our mother tongue."

S.P. c. 175 668 517

Nevertheless, certain men succeeded in awakening the nation, in saving what might be saved. The history of the Czech literature since the second half of the eighteenth century shows us in an admirable fashion the work which a little group of men, obscure but impassioned, taken with a great idea, have been able to accomplish.

Aroused by the progress of liberalism in Europe, by the "Josephinism," they succeeded in reviving an interest in national affairs, in shaking the people out of their torpor, at first among the lowly ones who had preserved the language, then in the intellectual class. This Czech people, whose existence appeared doubtful one hundred years ago, of whom the Viennese educator Kindermann von Schulstein, basing himself upon the new scholastic program, had proclaimed the approaching disappearance, this Czech people, is today conscious of itself, it forms a compact mass of six and one-half million persons and constitutes an impregnable citadel against which the powerless efforts of the germanism bent upon the ruin of the Slavs come and break. There is only one thing to regret and that is that political conditions have prevented the union and assimilation of the two million Slovaks settled in northern Hungary.

S.P. c. 101

S 21. National Frontiers.--The compact mass of the Czechs and Slovaks are distributed among six administrative regions: in Austria, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, and the Duchy of Silesia, in Hungary, and, for a few segments, in Prussian Silesia.

The ethnographic boundary which separates the Slovaks from the other Czechs runs across Moravia; but the Slovaks of Moravia are so closely associated with the life of the Czech nation and are drawing so much closer to them each day that one may /112/ consider as the true boundary the political frontier which separates Moravia from Hungary. There, in the Carpathians, a wall stands which separates the two groups, Czechs and Slovaks, and unless unforeseen circumstances intervene, it is to be feared that their former unity will wind up in a dualism: Czechs on the one side, Slovaks on the other.

Thanks to a series of ethnographic studies, and also to the acute

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Serbo-Croat.....	3.03	2.92	2.59	2.75	2.78	%
Slavs	57.18	57.73	59.25	60.15	60.44	%
Germans.....	36.12	34.71	36.75	36.95	35.78	%

(all the figures above are in percentages)

/Footnote continued from preceding page/
In Transleithania, including Croatia, M. Zivansky notes the following figures:

	1851	1880	1890	1900	
Magyars	36.5	41.2	42.8	45.4	%
Serbo-Croats.....	16.4	15.0	15.1	14.2	%
Slovaks	13.2	12.0	11.0	10.5	%
Russians.....	3.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	%
Romanians	17.0	15.4	14.9	14.5	%
Germans	10.3	12.5	12.1	11.1	%

Here it is the Slavs and Germans who are decreasing.

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Likewise, among the Slovaks, according to the official statistics, the birth rate is not so good as it is thought to be. The birth rate among the Magyars is higher than among them; and marriages are more numerous on the plain than among the poor Slovak mountaineers.

Here the birth rate depends upon well-being. On the contrary, and for the same reason, the death rate is very high among the Slovaks. In short, according to the information gathered by E. Stodola, the /121/ population increase in 1900 was in comparison with the census of 1869, that is in thirty years, among the Slovaks only 20% and among the Magyars 34%. And furthermore the population increase among the Slovaks is diminished by emigration.

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Emigration is equally fatal to the Czechs and to the Slovaks. Among the Czechs, as a result of economic conditions, it is directed toward German industrial cities, especially toward Vienna, where, naturally, they easily lose their nationality. The movement

S.P. C. 169 of immigration of Germans among the Czechs is practically insignificant. On the contrary, in these ten last years 70,000 to 90,000 Slavs have left Bohemia. Formerly it was above all emigration to America which S.P. C. 167 weakened the Czechs. Today this movement has slowed down, but 161 it is rather considerable among the Slovaks and it suffices to explain to us the very minor increase of the population group which in 1851 constituted 13% of the total population of Transleithania, in 1886, 12%, in 1890, 11%, and in 1900 only 10.5%. In these last thirty years, according to Stodola, there have emigrated from the 12 Slovak counties 307,000 persons--especially into America. Now, from 1850 to 1900, the total increase of the Magyars was 80%; these figures include, it is true, 25% other nationalities more or less Magyarized, which would make 1.6% a year; the increase /122/ of Slovaks has been only 0.66% a year.

S.P. C. 212 From the point of view of popular education and the restricted number of illiterates, the Czech national group holds the first rank among the Slav peoples. The Czechs are even superior to the Germans of Austria; for, according to the official statistics, there are in Bohemia 93.77% who know how to read and write, 91.84% among the Germans, 68.53% among the Slovenes, 47.52% among the Poles, and 21.87% among the Russians and Ruthenians.

In Hungary, in the purely Slovak counties, the number of illiterates is 32%; in the counties of the center where there are mixtures of Magyars and Russians, it is 42%.

S.P. C. 162 In the matter of professions, 43.1% of the Czechs devote themselves to agriculture, 36.5% to industry, 9.3% to commerce and the transportation business, 11.1% to public services. From the industrial viewpoint, only the Germans surpass the Czechs by two percentage points (38.5%); from the point of view of agriculture, the Czechs come after the Poles (65%), the Slovenes (75%), the Serbo-Croats 89%, and the Russians of Galicia (63%).

S.P. C. 785 162 In the matter of religion, the Czechs are for the most part Catholics (96.15%). It is figured that there are 2.4% Protestants. Among the Slovaks of Hungary the proportions are no longer the same There are figured to be 70.2% /123/ Catholics, 5% uniates, 23% Protestants of the Augsburg confession.

S.P. Sl. 168 181 167

In the matter of the birth rate during these latter years it has been very low in Carniola: between 1890 and 1900, 1.84%; the birth-rate for Austria taken all together is 9.44%. Between 1880 and 1890 the coefficient was 9.44%. For all of the Slovenes taken together the coefficient is only 1.37%.

Therefore, the development of the nation appears to be arrested. This phenomenon is due in part to denationalization, in part to emigration, and in part to inexact census figures.

S.P. Sl. 162 [195]

From the religious viewpoint the Slovenes are almost entirely Catholics (99.9%). In respect to occupations, 75.4% devote themselves to farming, 13.4% to industry, 3.5% to trade, and 7.7% to public services.

S.P. Sl. 197 101

S 28. Differentiation.--From a linguistic viewpoint there are rather numerous differences; but they are not very deep (see what is said further along regarding the dialectology of the southern Slavs). To designate the various groups within the nation, the Slovenes usually give themselves geographic names, borrowed from their political boundaries: Kranjci (Carniolians), Primorci /145/ (people of the seacoast), Korosci (Carinthians), Goricani (Goricians), Styrians, or names of an even more local character, borrowed from the orography and the hydrography. In Styria there are singled out the Pohorianci, the Polianci of the Mura and of the Drava, the Halozanes, in Carniola the Gorenici (people from above), Dolenici (people from below), and the Notranjci who speak different dialects. To the north of the Mura, the Prekmurci (Transmurians) present an interesting type. In the north-west of Istria the Savrini or Bresavi are also pure-blooded Slovenes, as are the Berkini in the north of Istria. On the contrary the Fucki in the outskirts of the town of Buzet (Pinguente) and the Cici are Croats of the kaikavski and cakavski dialects. (1) Likewise, the White

1. Although certain philologists attach the Kaikavci of Croatia to the Slovenes, we relegate them to the next chapter; they consider themselves to be Croats.

Krainici--so called from their costume--who are settled between Kocevje and the Kupa River are also of the kaikavski dialect.

A very interesting group, particularly studied by Professor Beaudoin de Courtenay (2), is the group of Resians established in the

000 only upon the internal situation of the two sections originally unified, but also upon their mutual relations.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 668 191 There indeed developed between 1830 and 1840 a movement called Illyrian, which sought to unite them,[1] but it had no other results than to unify the literary language for which the dialect called stokavski was adopted. But from the political viewpoint, each of the two sections, despite the original unity of their language, differentiated only by dialectical shadings, followed its own course.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 175 167 Sb [361] Their[1] development has been particularly hindered by exterior circumstances. At first there were the Turkish invasions and the servitude which followed them. Many of the groups emigrated from their ancient homes to seek a more certain asylum. At the outset, Serbian colonization went upstream on the Morava, towards the south. The first centers, the first /152/ capitals were Novi Pazar, Pristina, Prizren, and Skoplje.

But the arrival of the Turks completely displaced the movement. Beginning with the sixteenth century, the Croats went back towards the north, and the Serbs did so even more. To escape from the Turkish oppression, Croat colonies were established in Hungary, in the region situated between the middle reaches of the Raab, the lake of Ferto-Tava (Neusiedler Lake), Bratislava and Vienna. Some even pushed as far as into Moravia and the interior of Hungary.

S.P. Sb. 175 167 These migrations greatly modified the type of the primitive Serbian population. From the regions which formerly had been the home and center of the nation, from Kosovo Polje, from Old Serbia, hundreds of thousands of men came forth to establish themselves in the relatively peaceful regions of Austria-Hungary.

This movement began at the end of the fourteenth century, after the battle of Kosovo (1389) and the conquest of Skoplje by the Turks (1391), after which the Turks began to march towards the region of Lom, Bosnia, and the country of Khum, and finally towards the north. The Serbs then had to withdraw towards the Danube and move their center towards Krusevac and finally towards Smederevo (Semendria). Sb [642] In 1459, the Turks definitely abolished Serbia, and in 1463, Bosnia. The Serbs then began to cross in great masses to the other side of the

[1] [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Analysts]

Danube and of the Sava. Towards 1481, 50,000 of them emigrated /153/ form the region of Krusevac, and these migrations were repeated several times from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, especially after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna, in 1683, and after the treaty of Karlovci (Karlowitz) in 1699, as a result of which the Turks were compelled definitely to give up Hungary and Transylvania. The Serb colonization was favorably regarded by Austria, and the Court of Vienna did not hesitate to promise liberties and privileges, of which only very few were later realized. Also, on numerous occasions, notably in 1750 and 1752, the Serbs left the Austrian State and went to settle in Russia, in New Serbia, of which we shall speak later on.[1]

SP Sb 175 167

From the outset of the fifteenth century, we find Serb colonies in the island of Czeplo, then later in Srem (Syrmien), Backa (Baczka), the country of Torontal and of Timisoara (Temesvar). The great migration into these countries took place in 1690, under the leadership of Arseniye III Tsrnoievitch, patriarch of Ipek (Petch), who led, it is said, 80,000 persons; another took place in 1737 under the leadership of Arseniye Iovanovitch. In Styria, there were Serb colonies near Ptuj from the sixteenth century. The original Slavic domain of ancient Serbia was depopulated to such an extent that it was occupied by Albanian refugees; we can testify even today to the existence of this Albanian wedge which becomes sharper every day, which penetrates into the very heart of ancient Serbia, as far as Kosovo Polje, and which thrusts its point as far as the present kingdom. /154/ Today the region of Kosovo Polje is called Arnautluk (the country of the Arnaut or Albanians) and, according to the information furnished by Nusic, there are very few villages which do not contain Albanians, and there are some which have no Serbs at all, even though they bear Serbian names. Three quarter of the population is made up of Albanianized Serbs. A few years ago the Albanians were even settled in the Principality of Serbia, on the Toplica, Jablanica, and Morava Rivers; they left after the war of 1878 and the region has again been occupied by the Serbs. In 1900 only 2,151 Albanians were counted in Serbia, almost all of them in the district of Vranie, where 205,000 Serbs are found alongside them.

SP Sb 167 563

This withdrawal of the Serb national group toward the north was the result of the Turkish wars, and it is only during the past few

SP Sb 167 175

1 [cf. Cat. 11b, p.101 -- Anohyst]

1: Niederle--97 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples
Serbs EF6
Croats EF4

years that Serbia has recognized how much she has lost and how little she has gained: for the region of Novi Pazar and of Kosovo is the keystone of her future. The Albanian question is a vital question to Serbia. S.P. 84. 167 175 000

Furthermore, in the Serbian section of the Balkan peninsula, there have been many internal migrations between the different regions, migrations which recently have been studied by Mr. Cvijic. In these movements Serbia played a passive role; an active role was played by Hercegovina, by Montenegro, and by a portion of Macedonia. S.P. S.B. 166

/155/ If the Serbs in the southwest withdrew before the Albanians, in the northeast they withdrew before the Rumanians. This is what is found not only in the Hungarian Banat, where a great number of Rumanian villages bear Serb names, but also in the Kingdom of Serbia where, at a bend of the Danube, between Milonovac and Zajecar, the Rumanians have penetrated in compact masses and where the Serbs have been unable to absorb them. It even appears, according to Mr. Resetar, that they are increasing in numbers, even though the official statistics try to diminish their number. For 1900, 89,873 of them[1] were enumerated; but there were also 32,556 bilingual persons speaking Serbian. To compensate for these losses, one may point out the success of the Serbo-Croat national group in Dalmatia, where the sea-coast which previously was Roman, is rapidly becoming Slavisized. This Slavisation did not take place immediately upon the arrival of the Slavs in Roman Dalmatia, but was the result of a long process which in part Slavisized the Romans and in part forced them to migrate. It was only in the Seventeenth Century that the Romans disappeared,[2] and a few vestiges of their former tongue remained as a sort of slang in the island of Krk (Veglia) until the end of the nineteenth century. S.P. 167 563 S.B. [191] S.B 167 S.B. C. [197]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Split (Spalato) and Dubrovnik (Ragusa) were already Slavic. At the time of the Turkish invasions the Adriatic seacoast was first depopulated, then colonized again. From the neighborhood of Zadar (Zara) Slav colonies crossed into southern Italy /156/ where their descendants can still be found today. We shall speak of them in a short while. S.P. C.P. S.B. 175 167

On the western frontier of Serbia between the Morava, the Timok, and the Pirot, there was for a long time a transitional zone S.P. S.B

[1] [Rumanians in the Kingdom of Serbia--Analyst] 563

[2] [Along the Dalmation coast--Analyst] 167

S.P. Sb. 3 167

between Serb territory and Bulgar territory. The nationality of the inhabitants of this region has been for a long time a matter of controversy. But since the Serbs have occupied it and have brought to it their civilization, it can no longer be differentiated from the Serbian group. According to Mr. O. Brosh, an analogous phenomenon occurred in the south, in the section of Serbian territory called Old Serbia.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101

S 30. Territorial Boundaries.--

The Serbo-Croats are divided today among several states. The Croats belong entirely to Austria-Hungary. In fact, they occupy the Slavic section of Istria and of the seacoast, a section of Dalmatia and of Bosnia, all of Croatia and Slavonia, with the exception of Srem (Syrmien), and are scattered besides in western Hungary. The Serbs have their principal nucleus in the Balkan peninsula. They are settled in the independent kingdom, in Bosnia-Hercegovina annexed to Austria, and in a section of Dalmatia, in the independent principality of Montenegro, in the northern sections of the Turkish vilayets of Scutari (Skadar) and of Skoplje, in the north of Slavonia, and they /157/ form sizeable islands in South Hungary.

Because of the great size of the area over which they are scattered, their boundary is poorly defined and it is difficult to trace its outline. It is still more difficult to trace the boundary which separates the Serbs from the Croats. This is how one could mark it approximately: It starts out at the little stream of Dragonja and from the Croat town of Buzet (Pinguente), where the Croats of the two dialects kaikavski and cakavski meet the Slovenes and the Italians; then the border runs down to the south and passes into Istria through Beram (Vermo), Vodnjan (Dignano), and reaches Pula (Pola), then it follows the seashore of the Adriatic as far as the Bojana, which runs into the lake of Skadar (Scutari). Certain cities, Rijeka (Fiume), Zadar (Zara) are in great measure inhabited by the Italians. On the other hand, Sibenik, Trogir (Trau), Split (Spalato) are Slav. However, there are in the Kvarner (Quarnero) Islands some Italian localities.

S.P. Cr. [197]

S.P. Sb. 101

From the Bojana the line which separates the Serbs from the Albanians runs through the middle of the lake of Skadar (Scutari) and passes to the south of the frontier of Montenegro through Sutorman, Vila, Gusinje, Plav, near Pec /Ipek/, then below Djakovica, Prizren, it reaches Mount Chardagh and Mount Karadagh and comes to Vranje

Serbs E16
Croats E16

S.P. Cr. 101 more, and also in Macedonia. Regarding this province, we are unable, because of the contradictory character of our information and of the brevity of this book, to furnish detailed data. Some Serbs live in the regions of Tetovo, of Kumanovo, of Skoplje.

S.P. Cr. 101 167 Aside from the Serb and Croat groups which /161/ may live in the principal cities of Europe, there are also colonies in Italy, in Russia, and in America.

S.P. Cr. 101 167 In Italy, as a result of the Turkish invasions, Croats settled in the Udine area where they became mixed with the Slovenes (see Section 28)[1] and also in the Abruzzi. There they still exist today in the district of Molise and in the province of Campobasso where there are still three villages today: Acqua Viva Colla Croce (Cruc), San Felice Slavo, Montemitro (Mundimitar). There are about 5,000 persons. Italian statistics do not count individuals, but families. The three communes which we have just named are the remains of a large Slavic area which stretched as far as the province of Chieti. These Croats are the descendants of the emigrants who came in the sixteenth century from the seacoast of Dalmatia, between Makarska and the Naretva (Narenta).

S.P. Sb. 101 167 Between the years 1750 and 1752, a great number of Serbs, discontented with the behavior of the Austrian government, migrated to Russia. They settled in the northern section of the gubernia of Kherson, in the districts of Yelizavetgrad (now Kirovograd) and of Alexandrovo, and the city of Yelizavetgrad was their principal stronghold. Founded in 1756, it was at first called Fort Saint Elisabeth. The region was named New Serbia. In the northeast of the guberniya of Ekaterinoslav, another area was called Slaviano-Serbia. It was located between the northern Don, the /162/ Bakhmut (now Artemovsk), and the Lugan. But these Serbs, whose religion was the same as that of the Russians, were completely Russianized and were not reported separately in the Russian statistics. In 1842 Safarik still showed them on his ethnographic map. Mr. Florinskii, in his recent work, estimates their number at 9,000; but he adds that they have almost entirely forgotten their original language.

S.P. Cr. 101 167 In recent times, many Croats of Austria-Hungary have emigrated to America; American statistics confound them with the Slovenes and are, for example, for the year 1907 a total of 25,000.

[1] [cf. E16 Slavic peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 91-92, Category 11C — Analyst]

000 give, for example, for the year 1905, a total of 35,000.

S.P. 56 167

The number of Serb emigrants is not so large. They settle especially in the cities of North America. There have also been, for the past thirty years, colonists in New Zealand and in the Auckland Islands.

S.P. Cr. 56. 161 162

It is very difficult to determine the boundary between the Serbs and the Croats. In Hungary, as we have already said, it begins at Stara, on the Drava. But the official statistics of Croatia and Slavonia do not distinguish between Serbs and Croats. It is the same in Cisleithania and we do not have the required information. One may, to a certain degree, take advantage of the statistics showing religious adherence and of the new map of Dr. Vasa Ruvarac. But this map gives only the division by districts and besides, as we /163/ have previously mentioned, religion itself is not an absolute indication.

S.P. 56. 161

S 31. Statistics.---It is very difficult, if not impossible, to give statistics about the Croats and Serbs, either all together, or taken separately. For the Turkish area we have no certain census and we are reduced to the guesses of individual Serbs or Bulgars, who, pursuing the tendencies which statisticians adopt, differ from one another to an unusual degree. (1) For Istria, the seacoast, Dalmatia,

1. In 1889, the Serb S. Gropcevic figured that in Old Serbia and in Macedonia there were 2,048,000 Serbs and 57,600 Bulgars. In 1900, the Bulgar Kancov figured 700 Serbs and 1,180,000 Bulgars.

Bosnia and Hercegovina, we do not have a distinction made between Serbs and Croats. Such distinction is found only in the Hungarian statistics. On the other hand, as will be seen further on, we assign to the Bulgars the population of Macedonia, properly speaking, south of Sofia. The following gives the approximate numbers of Serbs and of Croats in 1900:

Austria	711,382
Croatia and Slavonia	2,101,580
Hungary, approx.	700,000
Rieka (Fiume)	13,929
Bosnia-Hercegovinia (according to	
/164/ the census of 1905), approx.	1,650,000
Montenegro, approx.	350,000

S.P. Cr. Sl. 163 the net increase 0.98%.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, the rate, for a period of ten years, was still greater; gross total, 14.8%, net total, 14.2%, otherwise speaking, the birth rate exceeded the death rate by 1.48%. During these latter years, one notes a much more considerable increase but it results from the large number of migrations of persons fleeing from the Turkish territory. The same may be said for Bosnia and Hercegovina, where, as a result of immigration, an abnormal increase was produced at the end of the last century (from 1879 to 1895, 2.15% on an average). Between 1901 and 1904, the increase was only 0.95% per year.

In the north, the Croats and the Serbs are threatened by the Magyars in Hungary and by the Germans in Croatia. The Magyars and the Germans are greatly increasing in number in Croatia. In the space of ten years, from 1880 to 1890, the Serbo-Croats in this province increased by 12.23%, the Germans by 41.3%, the Magyars by 66.1%. In the years 1890 to 1900, the Slavs increased by 8.96%, the Germans by 13.12%, the Magyars by 36.3%. Thus, between 1880 and 1900, the relative number /168/ of Slavs decreased from 90.48% to 87.22%; that of the Germans increased from 4.4% to 5.53%, that of the Magyars from 2.19% to 3.74%.

000 This state of affairs is not yet very serious, but nevertheless it gives rise to concern about the future.

S.P. Cr. Sl. 167 The Serbs and the Croats should agree to resist with a common front, all the more as their birth rate is weak, weaker in the areas inhabited solely by them than in the areas with mixed population and as they are constantly diminished by emigration. Between 1880 and 1900 this took away from them more than 100,000 souls and in these recent times the Croats have emigrated in rather large numbers into the two sections of America.

S.P. Sb. 795 162 We have already pointed out the decrease in the numbers of Serbs in the area of Novi Pazar and Kosovo. Alongside the Orthodox Serbs there are to be found today in this zone many Albanianized Mohammedan Serbs--notably of the tribes of the Gash and of the Berish, also 6,000 Cherkessians who settled there in the years 1858-1862. In this zone there are no Turks properly speaking.

S.P. [663]

1: Niederle--107 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples

S.P. Cr. Sb. 163 In Serbia, the number of births is 44.45 per 1,000; in Croatia, 44.18; in Dalmatia, 38.39; in Istria 37.43. In Bulgaria the rate is only 36.36. But if we take into consideration only the legal marriages, we ascertain that for every 1,000 women there were 290 births at Gorica, 273 in Istria, 257 in Dalmatia, 215 in Serbia (same figure in Bulgaria). This is a relatively low birth rate, and, in Serbia and Croatia, the lowest in Europe. Thus it seems that the large number of births depends only upon the number of marriages and not upon fecundity.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 165 /171/ According to Vrbanic the death rate is 30.24 per 1,000 in Croatia, 27.79 in Istria, 27.16 at Gorica, 25.67 in Serbia, 24.38 in Dalmatia. (It is only 18.00 in Bulgaria). The death rate is then higher in Serbia than in Bulgaria. In Bulgaria, in fact, far fewer infants died during their first year (8.3% only, 16.3% in Serbia, 15.4% in Dalmatia, 21.2% in Croatia). The rate of increase through births is, then, 1.83% for Bulgaria, 1.87% for Serbia, 1.4% for Dalmatia, 1.39% for Croatia, 0.98% for Gorica, 0.96% for Istria, which gives an average for the southern Slavs of 1.57%.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162 195 Religion is one of the principal marks which distinguish the Croats from the Serbs: the Croats are Catholics, the Serbs Orthodox and Mohammedans. But this is not an absolute indication. There are Orthodox who consider themselves to be Croats. Thus the latest Croat statistics give 2,075 more Orthodox than the Serbs who were enumerated (616,518 Orthodox against 614,543 Serbs). And there also are numerous Catholics who consider themselves to be Serbs or who are claimed by the Serbs. Such are, for example, the Catholics of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and of the Gulf of Kotor (Cattaro), or the Sokci, the Bunievci and the Krasovani of Hungary.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, Serb means Orthodox. There are 98.7% Orthodox, /172/ 0.40% Catholic, 0.60% Mohammedan. In 1895 there were 548,632 Serbian Mohammedans in Bosnia-Hercegovina (that is 34.9% of the population). But it must be stated that they are decreasing through emigration. Official statistics have, between 1883 and 1905, given 32,625 emigrants of whom 30,434 were Mohammedan. In Bosnia and Hercegovina there were reported 637,246 Orthodox (that is 42.9% of the total population), and 334,142 (21.3%) Catholic. (1)

S.P. Cr. Sb. [167]

1. In Bosnia-Hercegovina the Mohammedans are in the majority at Saraievo and in 12 districts, the Orthodox in 25, the Catholics

S.P. Cx. Sh. 177 [illegible] 101

Towards the south, the Kajkavci have penetrated into certain localities in the territory of the Cakavci. Cakavci was spoken on the seacoast at one time, as ancient documents attest. Here is how this change of dialect is explained: at the moment of the Turkish invasions the inhabitants emigrated en masse towards the north and when they returned later on they had learned to speak Kajkavci. Those who speak the purest /176/ Kajkavski live between Zagreb (Agram), Varazdin, and Krizevac.

The territory of the Cakavci today comprises the greater part of the Adriatic islands, some Dalmatian villages, and the Croatian seacoast as far as the Kupa River.

The most extensive dialect is the Stokavski: in the area located between Vidin, Sofia, and Kyustendil, it is changing under the influence of the Bulgar dialects, and in the southwest, between Vranje and Prizren, under the influence of the Macedonian dialects. There is a whole group of types of speech still little studied, which by certain signs are akin to the Serb group, by others to the Bulgar group, which have been the subject of numerous discussions among philologists and among statesmen. This transitional region of the dialect which Belic calls the dialect of Timok and of Prizren, begins at the Danube at the mouth of the Timok, runs up towards the districts of Nis and of Vranje, Krusevac and Prizren; it divides itself into sub-dialects which bear the name of these localities. According to Belic and Resetar, the eastern frontier of this dialect starts at Ulcinj, goes through Prizren, Janjevo, Prokuplje, Stalac, Zaicar, and returns again to the mouth of the Timok on the Danube.

The secondary groups are composed of the Bunjevci, especially the Sokci in the Backa. We know very little about their origins and not very much more about their political character. They are claimed equally by the Croats and the Serbs. /177/ The Bunievci speak the Stokavski dialect. Another colony is settled in the county of Krasso on the upper course of the Karas (about 7,500 persons). The former ethnographers, Czoernig, Schwicker, Hunfalvy, Dobrovsky, Miklosich, and Drinov, took them for Bulgars. L. Miletic proved recently that their language and their origin are equally Serbian, that their language belongs to the Stokavski dialect, but that it is rather different from that of the Serbs of the Banat. Syrku was mistaken when he pretended

S.P. B 175

the period when the seat of the Tsar and of the Patriarch was at Ochrida (1), felt themselves to be even more Bulgarian the further

1. Today in Macedonia. Translator.

they were removed from the ancient homeland of the nation; they retained this more or less strong sense of solidarity, on the one side against the Serbs whose empire confined them to their region, on the other side against the Osmanli Turks. In 1393 the Turks captured Trnovo; in 1396 after the victory of Nicopolis they achieved the conquest of Bulgaria. The country remained enslaved until the years 1876-1878 when the intervention of Russia gave her back her freedom and independence. The area between the Danube and the Stara Planina (Balkan Mountains) was the first to be freed; in 1885 a peaceful revolution annexed the Bulgarian Rumelia to her, as far as Mount Dospat, to the course of the Arda, the Sakar Planina (Sakar Balkan Mountains) and the Gulf of Burgas. The section of the Bulgars who form a compact group in Macedonia /186/ have vainly been waiting up to the present for their deliverance and for the end of a situation which, despite the efforts of the Powers, still remains a very painful one.

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Such is the political history of the Bulgar people. The development of the nation has furthermore been hindered by perpetual troubles, by disturbances, by the displacements of ethnic groups. When the Greeks again took possession of their ancient domain the Slav colonies of the south had to return north, the Slavs of Greece were completely assimilated during the course of the Middle Ages. But the most serious catastrophe was the Turkish invasion.

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When the Turks penetrated into the peninsula, under the reign of Murad I, they settled in the region of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and of Zagora; in the reign of Bajazet I they settled between Plovdiv and the Balkans and then remained in the basin of the Marica, especially in its lower areas, until the nineteenth century. This would follow from the information furnished in 1819 by Pope Constantine and from the nomenclature of the area which is essentially Turkish (names of villages, fields, streams, woods, pastures, hills, etc.). Of 52 villages of the district of Shirpan only two have non-Turkic names, and only three in the district of Seimen (now Marica). Another center of Turkish colonization was the eastern portion of northern Bulgaria, especially the Dobrudja, which became a desert in the fifteenth /187/ century.

1: Niederle--116 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples F76
Bulgaria EE1

S.P. B. 175 167 In this region, before the arrival of the Turks, there were settled a large number of Pecheneg, Uzi, and Cumaeans (whose descendants are today called Gagauz) and later on the Tatars.

It seems that the earliest Turkish colonization took place in the region of Deliorman towards the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and later on at Tuzluk and at Gerilovo. The Ragusan Pavle Gjordjic, who traveled in these areas, reported a numerous Turkish population at Gerilovo*, at Deliorman, and in the Dobrudja. These areas were not completely assimilated by the Turks until the seventeenth century, and in the case of Gerilovo*, not until the eighteenth century. But many Turkish villages still retain their Slavic names.

All this Turkish colonization in the northeast of Bulgaria evidently had as an object the securing of passageways of the Balkans, especially after the defeats suffered in the war against King Wladyslaw of Poland in 1443.

S.P. B. 101 167 Of the original Slav population[?] there remain only a few rare traces near Provadiya, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), and Razgrad. Also in the sixteenth century a great number of Turks, Yurvks*, and Koniars* came from Asia to settle in certain parts of Thrace and of Macedonia.

S.P. B 101 166 The old Slavic Bulgars, after the arrival of the Turks, naturally withdrew into the mountainous regions. In the sixteenth century their boundary was formed by the towns of Devna*, Monastir (now Bitolj), Krivnia*, Ravna*, Nenovo*, /188/ Nevcha*, Kaludjerica, Divdiedovo*, Novo Selo, or, in other words, the line from Varna (now Stalin) to Shumla (now Kolarovgrad). But towards the south the Slav element soon began again to take over and regain the terrian. The Osmanlis perished little by little in the perpetual wars and were not replaced by new colonists. On the other hand, new Bulgars[?] arrived from the northern areas (Lovech, Nikopol), a scene of constant troubles and danger.

S.P. B. 175 167 It was on the banks of the Danube that the principal wars were fought and the Slavs moved away from there in all directions. Upon this emigration movement which is a very old one, we have no documentation until after the seventeenth century. Thus we know that in the course of the year 1741 Bulgar colonies went to settle in the Banat of Temesvar where their descendants are still established at Vinga, and Benesov*. From 1752 to 1754 a great number of Bulgars

[?[i.e. in northeast Bulgaria--Analyst]]

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and of Gagauz moved into southern Russia, others in 1787-91; during the wars from 1801 to 1812 a very large number came particularly from Vidin to settle in Bessarabia. This emigration was repeated after the war of 1828-1829. In 1821 there were counted in Bessarabia 1,735 Bulgar families with a total of 38,000 persons; in 1829, 4,400 families arrived or about 270,000 souls. Then came the reaction. During the fifty years of peace which followed, many families returned to their own country despite the miseries which they had to undergo. /189/ In 1833, 900 families came back from Bessarabia. On the other hand, from the Balkan regions many of the Bulgars came down to the plain, especially to Rustchuk, the Dobrudja, the country located between Adrianopol (Edirne--Bulg, Odrin) and Burgas, between Shirpan and Stara Zagora, to the outskirts of Kavkalii (now Topolovgrad), of Kyzil Agach*, of Tambol and, under the peaceful reign of Mahmud II, as far as the ouskirts of Rodosto (now Tekirdag), of Derkos* and of Constantinople.

The war of 1877-78 resulted in new movements whose consequences can still be felt today. At the outset of this campaign the Bulgars fled en masse from Stara Zagora, from Kazanlik, from Gjopsa, from Zlatitsa into the country to the north and did not return to their homes until the Russians advanced to the south. In other areas the Turks and the Cherkess evacuated villages which they had occupied for a very long period; the former emigrated through fear of the Russians; the latter did so later on because they were unable to adjust themselves to the new order of things. Mr. Jirecek, historian of the Bulgars, estimates at 100,000 the number of Turks who emigrated from 1878 to 1884. They were replaced by Bulgars who came from Rumelia or from Macedonia, which the Treaty of Berlin retained under Turkish domination.

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On the other hand, emigrants came back from Romania, Bessarabia the Taurida, and Asia Minor and settled in the neighborhood of Svishtov, Varna (now Stalin), and Tuzluk*. With the Macedonians /189/ continuing to move in without interruption, Mr. Jirecek offers figures which give an idea of the changes effected in the population. In 1896, among 338 Christian localities in the dioceses of Varna (now Stalin) and Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), 135 since the war had an entirely new population. There remained only rare traces of the previous generation. On the other hand, according to Miletic, the

S.P. B. 167 previous Bulgar population did not date back further than one hundred and twenty years.

To the west of the Iantra* there are very few old villages and many new ones founded by the immigrants who have come from the areas of Lovech and of Sevlievo. These new populations were distinguished from the old ones by traditions, costume, and especially by dialect. On the other hand, there were many new immigrants to the south of the Balkans in the areas of Burgas, Aitos, and Yambol.

ooo Therefore, the Bulgar country has been the theater of perpetual movements, and definitive order will not be reestablished there until the Macedonian question has been finally resolved. However, the solution of the Macedonian problem is constantly delayed by the neighboring powers.

S.P. B 101 S 34. Territory Occupied by the Bulgars. ---It is bounded on the north by the Danube, from Cherna Voda to Vidin and then by a line which runs from Vidin through Tsar-Petrovo, Boinitsa and Shchichintsi, to the Serbian frontier. From this line at Vidin there runs off a narrow section which goes up as far as Novo Selo on the Danube. The western boundary follows the Timok which serves as the political frontier between Serbia and Bulgaria. But the philologists are not in agreement upon the characteristics of the intermediate dialect of the area of Pirot-Vranje. Belic assigns it to Serbian, Tsonev to Bulgarian and considers only as intermediate the dialect of the Morava and the Resava. As we have already explained, in the basin of the Timok, in the area of Pirot, Nish, Vranje and Prizren a dialect intermediate between Serbian and Bulgarian is spoken. But, leaving aside the dialectic shadings which are of no importance from the viewpoint of nationality, and bearing in mind the other factors which determine national consciousness, it cannot be said that the boundary of the Bulgar national group follows the Timok and runs up towards Nich and Vranje, as Tsonev would have it, but that it starts from Veliki Izvor on the Timok, that it follows the ridge of the Stara Planina (Mountains), otherwise known as the political frontier, as far as Mount Kom; then it passes between Pirot and Caribrod (now Dimitrovgrad), crosses the Ruia Planina (Mountains), passes near Vlasina and reaches the upper Morava at Vranje. Then it follows the road from Nich to Skoplje, runs around that city and runs across the eastern spurs of Mount Chardagh towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra).

S.P. B. 191 162 Kazanluk, Kharmanli, Khaskovo, Aytos, Pomorie, Karnobat, and Sliven. Detailed figures will be found in the table above.

Along with the Turks the Tatars are likewise diminishing, except in the region of Varna where they are increasing. After them come the Gagauz, Christian descendants of the ancient Turko-Tatar invaders.

The Greeks, as is to be expected, are particularly settled on the shore of the Black Sea, notably in the region of Burgas, and in the interior areas around Plovlv (Philoppopolis), especially in the sector of Stanimaka (Asenougrad)--this town is today Greek--to the west of Kyzyl Agach, at Kavakla and in its neighborhood. Along the coast, the most northern Greek colony is Novo Selo near Varna; among the Greek towns we should also mention Mesembria (now Nesebur), Pomorie, Sozopol, and partly Burgas.

The Jews and the Armenians nowhere form compact groups. The gypsies are numerous, but they are scattered throughout the Kingdom.

In the mountainous regions they sometimes form the majority of the population, for example in the outskirts of Elena and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). There are very few Serbs according to the latest information (in all 1,516). This is the result of the intensive /197/ development of the Bulgars and also of the conflicts of the past thirty years. On the contrary, the Rumanians are grouped in compact masses along the Danube, especially between the confluence of the Timok and Vidin, and between the confluence of the Dolni (Cibur) and Svishtov. A majority of Rumanians are also to be found at Tutrakan, and in the interior of the country at Serbenica (now Sofronievo) near Byala Slatina and at Debovo near Nikopol. The Tsintsar (1) are to be

1. Name given to the Rumanians in the peninsula.

found in the outskirts of Sofia and of Plovdiv (Philoppopolis). We have spoken above of the Russian and Czech colonies of Voiyodova*, Gorna*, Metropolis* and Breslianitsi*.

S.P. B. 191 167 Outside of the region which we have just studied, we still meet groups of Bulgars beyond the Danube. These are the colonies which came in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The

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previous colonies have been absorbed by the Magyar and Rumanian elements. They date from the thirteenth century; they were the Bulgars of Brasso (Brasov now Stalin), of Nagy and of Kis Csegerd* (near Blasendorf), of Baumgart (Bongard) and of Reussdorfchen (Roszczur) in the outskirts of Sibin. They are today completely Rumanianized. In former times they were sometimes considered as being Serbs, sometimes as Slovenes. Their Bulgar nationality was demonstrated by Professor Miletic. They were Catholics. There still are in southern Hungary--/198/--in the Banat--the colonies of Vinga, between Avad and Temesvar (now Timisoara), Brestie near Vrsac and Stary Beshenov near Szegedin. These colonies date from 1747; they are also Catholic. There are also a great number of Bulgar colonies in southern Walachia. Weigand estimates the number at fifty, with a population of fifty thousand persons. They are established around Dolz (12 hamlets), Olenitsa (2), Teleorman (now Rosiorii-de-Vede) (5), Vlaska* (7), Ialomica* (3), Ilfov* (22). The largest are those of Afumatz* and of Kisele Sirbi*. There are in addition many Bulgars in the cities of Galati, Braila, Bucharest, Buzan, Olenitsa, Giurgiu (Bulg., Giurgevo), Craiova and Ploesti, who are estimated to number from five to seven thousand.

In Russia, the Bulgars settled towards the middle of the eighth century. They are mentioned from this period as at Chesma, on the river Visa* and Schinusha*. It was after the year 1769 that the principal immigration took place. Bulgar colonies established themselves alongside Serb colonies on the upper reaches of the Ingul and the Ingulka (1). They have disappeared by this time. On the contrary,

1. Tributaries of the Bug and of the Dnepr.

compact groups have remained in Bessarabia; they have been strongly mixed with Turkish elements. They are to be found especially in the districts of Akkerman (now Belgorod-Dnestrovski), Izmail, and Bendery. They are to be found also in the guberniya of Kherson, near Odessa and Nikolayev and in the guberniya /199/ of Tavrida (districts of Berdyansk--(now Osipenko)--and of Feodosiya). The statistics for the year 1897 still counted 172,659 Bulgars: for Bessarabia 103,225, for the guberniya of Kherson 25,685, for the Tavrida 41,260. In this guberniya they are being rapidly assimilated. According to Moshkov, the official statistics also included among the Bulgars the Gagauz, whose number is estimated to be 70,000, grouped around Komrat, in the district of Bendery.

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In Asia Minor, the Bulgar colonies are found principally in the outskirts of Bruss (now Bursa), a portion in a whole group of communes about the little city of Mikhailich (now Karacabey), another portion, around Kodjebunar*, Suiout*, Kobash, Toibelen*, Novo Selo*, Mandra*, Khaladjebair*, and Kilik*. There are also a few communes, occupied especially by shepherds, on the seashore and about Kyzdervent*, not far from Scutari (Skadar). Kantchov* counts here about twenty Bulgarian communes.

In recent times American statistics also attest to the presence of Bulgar immigrants; but they are mixed with the Serbs in such a way that it is difficult to arrive at correct totals. There should be about 50,000. Valjavec estimates them at 4,000, but this total is obviously too low.

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S 37. Statistics.--In view of the fact that the exact number /200/ of Slavs in Turkey proper is not known, it is very difficult to give absolutely exact statistics for the Bulgars. One can only make guesses and, for the balance, refer to the official statistics of the realm which unfortunately are very brief.

At the end of the year 1900 the total strength of the Bulgars should be broken up as follows:

Bulgaria proper (according to the census of 31 December 1900)	2,885,379
Turkish Rumelia, Albania, Constantinople, Asia Minor	600,000
Macedonia (according to Kanchov)	1,200,000
Rumania with the Dobrudja	180,000
Other countries	50,000
Total	4,915,379

In Bulgaria there were, according to the latest statistics, 2,684,735 Bulgars and 20,664 Pomaks; let us not forget that the Bulgarian statistics combine mother tongue and national group. In Rumania, the official statistics do not recognize the native Bulgars; they consider them to be Rumanians and list separately only 7,810 Bulgars as foreign subjects. As we have mentioned above, Weigand estimates the natives at 50,000; Kanchov figures the number of Bulgars in the Dobrudja at 40,000, Ishirkov at 30,000. In Hungary there were

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

It was to this district, centering about the city of Czernowitz, that many Polish officials and soldiers withdrew to escape German and Russian pursuit when Poland was invaded in 1939.

The Western Slavic group includes the Poles, the Czechs (or Bohemians) and Moravians, the Slovaks, and two Slavic islands in German territory: the Kashubs, who live on the Baltic coast northwest of Danzig, probably not over two hundred thousand in number, and a considerably smaller number of Sorbs, or Wends, who inhabit Lausitz, or Lusatia, a small area on the upper Spree river northeast of Dresden.

The Southern Slavs are cut off from their northern kindred by the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Romanians, but comprise the Slovenes in the extreme northern part of Yugoslavia; the Serbs and the Croatians, who differ from one another only in slight variations of dialect and by the fact that the Serbs belong to the Greek Orthodox church and use the Cyrillic Script (similar to the Russian), while the Croatians are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; and the Bulgarians who, though possessing a Slavic national language, represent a complex fusion of racial and linguistic stocks.

In view of the numerous and violent migratory movements which took place in northern Europe both before the Christian era and during the first few centuries after it began, the Slavs are hardly likely to have occupied their present extensive territory during their whole recorded history. On the contrary, their migrations cover a range almost as vast as those of their Germanic neighbors, and the location of their primitive habitat constitutes a problem which has long engaged students of Slavic history and linguistics.

The earliest native tradition dealing with Slavic origins is contained in the so-called Russian *Primary Chronicle,* a compilation completely extant only in two fourteenth-century texts, but which reproduce with considerable accuracy a work composed by a monk of Kiev about the end of the eleventh century. Here we read:

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For many years the Slavs lived beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and the Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs parties scattered throughout the country and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled. Thus some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs. Among these same Slavs are included the White Croats, the Serbs, and the Carinthians. For when the Vlakhs attacked the Danubian Slavs, and settled among them, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs. Of these Lyakhs some were called Polyanians, some Lutichians, some Mazovians, and still others Pomorians. Certain Slavs also settled on the Dnieper, and were called Polyanians. Still others were called Derevlians, because they lived in the forests. Some also settled between the Pripet and the Dvina, and were known as Dregovichians. Other tribes settled on the Dvina and became known as Polotians, from a small stream named the Polot, which flows into the Dvina. . . . The Slavs also settled around lake Ilmen, and were there known by their own name. They built a city, and called it Novgorod. Still others had their settlements along the Desna, the Sem, and the Sula, and were called Severians. And thus the Slavic race was scattered, and likewise its language was known as Slavic.

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In this passage, apart from the detail expended by the author on particularizing the various Eastern Slavic tribes which had fallen under the sway of Kiev more than two centuries before he wrote, what is most striking is his implication that neither the Western Slavs (Czechs, Moravians, and Poles) nor the Eastern Slavs were, in the annalist's view, indigenous to the areas they occupied in his day. He accepts the tradition that the original home of the Slavs was on the middle Danube, from which region (as he relates) they were displaced at an earlier undefined period by a nation known as the Vlakhs, under whose pressure they sought safer residences to the north and northeast. Now, while the term Vlakh has various meanings,

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it would be most natural here to attach it to the Celtic Gauls who penetrated the Danube basin early in the fourth century B.C. and then, under the leadership of a chief named Brennus, marched down through Thrace and Macedonia and invaded Greece as far as Delphi in 280. The only difficulty lies in the absence of the slightest indication in Greek or Latin historians and geographers that the Slavs, or any part of them, were present on the middle or lower Danube basin before the Christian era. Nor are there in this area any early place names demonstrably Slavic which would show these sources to be faulty in this respect.

In fact, though the evidence of this passage from the Russian annals led numerous medieval and early modern historians in the last century to accept the Danubian origin of the Slavs, other much more reliable and older sources place them further north beyond the Carpathian Mountains when they make their first appearance in history. To be sure, the Slavs do not begin their historical career under this name, but under another which is etymologically related to the English term "Wends" or the German "Wenden," frequently applied to the Slavs in our own day. As the Venedi, Veneti, or Venedae, they are thus mentioned by Pliny the Elder and by Tacitus during the first century, and by the Egyptian astronomer and geographer Claudius Ptolemy, who wrote in Greek toward the end of the second century. Pliny locates them vaguely in the vicinity of the Vistula. Tacitus is equally indefinite, placing them in the unknown country east of the Suebic confederacy, which he knew as Germanic. Ptolemy mentions them as one of the major nations living along the Venedic Gulf, which appears to be his term for the section of the Baltic coast northeast of the Vistula.

The identity of the Venedae of the Baltic with the Slavs is established in the sixth century by Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, who says of them in one passage: "From the source of the Vistula river immense areas are occupied by the populous nation of the Venethae, who, though their appellations may change in various clans and districts, are mainly called

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uity depended upon itinerant merchants and traders following strategic watercourses. Even far to the eastward, when the Goths invaded south Russian territory, they maintained the same commercial relations with the Roman Empire which had been established earlier by German settlements along its frontier further westward. Caches of Roman coins, dating chiefly from the interval between Trajan and Septimius Severus (98-198 A.D.), which have been found in great profusion on the west bank of the middle Dnieper, show a remarkable expansion of trade with the Roman west in this area during the second and third centuries, hence under the Gothic hegemony and prior to the Slavic dispersion. Once the Goths had entered into relations with Byzantium and the Greek cities on the Black Sea, their interest in trade with the western Roman Empire waned, and from that point the Dnieprian Slavs largely received products of the so-called Gothic type from the barbarized Pontic workshops. As long as the Goths lived among the Slavs, they exercised a direct economic influence upon them, but once they had withdrawn to the coast of the Black Sea after the fall of Ermanaric before the Huns in 370, they ceased to be a significant commercial factor. Even when Byzantine trade set in during the fifth century, its volume was so restricted that from this point to the eighth century there is actually an interval in which the economic relations of the Dnieper valley with the rest of the early medieval world were in abeyance.

This interval coincides with the epoch of large-scale Slavic migration and dispersion. Its conclusion is marked in turn by the stabilization of the Slavs on the Elbe, on the Danube, and in the Balkans; by the temporary elimination of nomadic invaders from the steppes, the economic advance of the Carolingian period, the beginnings of the Viking Age in Scandinavia, and the establishment of Arab control over Oriental commerce. The period from 700 to 1000, though also initiating the gradual withdrawal of the Western Slavs from the Elbe frontier under German pressure, also saw the evolution of all the medieval Slavic states and their advance to the level of

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II

The Slavic Migrations

We have seen that there is no evidence that the Slavs or any part of them were present in the middle or lower Danube basin before the Christian era. The Gothic historian Jordanes, writing in 551 A.D., reports that in his day the Slavs were occupying the whole valley of the lower Danube from its junction with the Save river to the sea, and that they extended east as far as the Dniester and north to the Vistula. On the basis of this passage historians have frequently maintained that the Slavs did not reach the Danube valley until the migratory Germanic tribes had evacuated both Germany and Hungary, but that their movement was so rapid that they overran this area as soon as its previous occupants had left it. Since the Byzantine historian Procopius associates the arrival of the Slavs in the Balkans with the accession of the Emperor Justinian in 521, it was easy to conclude that the Slavic movement southward began about this date.

There are, however, grounds to believe that the Slavic march toward and across the Danube was a process of longer duration, and actually began considerably earlier. It may be recalled that those tremendous movements known as the barbarian migrations started in the first century A.D. Numerous Germanic tribes made their way from eastern Germany through the Sudeten

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174 defiles into Moravia even before the year 200. These shifts of
●/67 population are explicable by the pressure not only of the Lombards and the Goths, but also of the Slavs, and after the Goths reached the Black Sea during the third century, the Slavs were doubtless the chief impelling factor in such migratory movements. That the Slavic expansion was by no means a brief and spatially limited process is borne out by the fact that in the sixth century we find the Slavs already settled from the Elbe and the Saale in the west to the Don in the east, and from the Baltic in the north to the Adriatic and the Aegean in the south. They were thus occupying an area five times greater than their original home, and during the process of settlement they did not evacuate and abandon their primitive habitat, as so many German tribes (Goths, Lombards, Vandals, Burgundians) are known to have done. This fact alone indicates a slow expansion in all directions rather than a sudden shift of position.

We find in the sources some respectable evidence to support this opinion. In 448, for instance, the Emperor Theodosius II sent an embassy from Constantinople deep into Pannonia (modern Hungary) to buy off Attila and his Huns, who had recently menaced the metropolis. One member of the embassy, named Priscus, has left an account of its long and arduous journey, in the course of which he speaks of meeting in Hungary an hospitable local population whose language was not Hungarian, and who supplied a drink made of honey called
[273] *medos*. This form is probably nothing more than a Greek spelling of Old Slavonic *medŭ*, since honey beer is a traditional Slavic drink and Priscus would have written the word with an *i* if he had been talking about Gothic mead. Jordanes also mentions that the funeral of Attila was accompanied by a great feast called a *strava*, which is a well-known medieval Slavic usage, apart from the fact that the word itself is pure Slavic.

Somewhat earlier during the fourth century it is also recorded that the Sarmatians in the Hungarian plain were expelled from there by the subject rural population, who are

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identified soon after as Wends, that is, Slavs. Apart from these rather tenuous historical data, there are also a certain number of place names dating as far back as the second century not only in the western district between the rivers Drave and Save, but also in Hungary north of the Danube, which cannot be etymologized as anything but Slavic. It is therefore probable that some Slavic infiltration into this area began as early as the first century, and it is entirely certain that Slavs were present there between the third and the fifth centuries. We may thus conclude that the Slavs began to drift into the basins of the Danube and the Save at the very opening of the Christian era, appearing at first simply as isolated islands among an alien population. The slowness of this penetration would then explain the relatively isolated character of the early place names which reflect this drift. The Slavs did not therefore hit the Danube Valley in a sudden wave. After the first scattered settlers had arrived, the major movement set in during the third century when all populations north of the Carpathians were in a state of flux, so that by Jordanes's day (551) their occupancy of the Danube basin was an established fact of fairly long standing.

While it is not difficult to date in this fashion the arrival of the Slavs in the Danube basin, there is no evidence that they penetrated the Balkans proper before the year 500, unless we may suppose with some likelihood that isolated Slavic bands accompanied the numerous alien invaders known prior to that date. In any case, there is no question of real Slavic occupation of the Save and the Danube until the sixth century. Early in its course, when the Byzantine frontiers were being harassed by Huns, Bulgars, and Avars, the Slavs were also on the march southward, and they frequently made common cause with these invaders. Their chief center of population at this period was on the middle reaches of the Danube and in modern Walachia, but they attacked on a long front from Dalmatia to the very walls of Constantinople itself. With the Avars, energetic Turko-Tartars of Asiatic origin who had fought their way across the

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167 steppes to the Danube, they threatened the Greek peninsula,
174 where their first occupation dates from 581.

721 Contemporary chroniclers report that the Slavs had by that
167 time acquired wealth by pillage and fought even better than the regular Greek troops. On the Adriatic, they occupied the districts of Illyria, Dalmatia, and Istria early in the seventh century. Shortly afterward the Slavs on the western front (the Czechs and those on the Adriatic seaboard) overthrew the Avar hegemony and became independent, but after the Avars were thus weakened, the Slavs never menaced Constantinople again. Yet by the end of the seventh century the whole interior of the Balkan peninsula, especially Macedonia and its neighborhood, was populated by Slavs. They even took to the sea and reached Crete in 623. At the height of the Avar expansion, the Slavs had already passed through Thessaly, Epirus, and Attica, and reached the Peloponnese in 588. Here their occupation was so formidable that, for the next two centuries, a Byzantine Greek scarcely dared set foot in the southern portion of the peninsula, while in the north the Danube was never again fixed as the frontier of the Byzantine Empire after 601. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that the Slavs were ever in the majority in Greece proper. Subject Greeks still formed the mass of the population. Were this not the case, it would be difficult to explain the eventual and rather rapid subsequent disappearance of the Slavic element south of Macedonia.

101 Once the Slavs were firmly established in the Balkans, they
177 immediately became exposed to the older cultures they found there. Those on the Adriatic coast and in the western Danube basin felt the impact of Latin civilization transmitted through romanized native populations, through colonial centers, or through the cities of the seaboard. When they settled within the sphere of Greek influence, the dominant cultural pressure was Byzantine. The results of these accidents of location are still discernible in the intellectual orientation of the Balkan Slavs.

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The Slavs were curiously tenacious in retaining their own language, but extremely receptive to manners and techniques transmitted to them through contact with superior cultures. When they were present in a majority, they experienced no difficulty in impressing their language on the indigenous minority, whom they Slavicized rapidly by intermarriage. The Dalmatian coast from Veglia to Ragusa experienced this evolution from the ninth to the last century. On the other hand, remnants of the old Romanized pre-Slavic population, known as Vlakhs, persist in the interior of the peninsula to the present day, especially in southern Macedonia and the Pindus, while the Romanians, in spite of Slavic and Turko-Tartar admixture, are a concentrate of Romanized pre-Slavic native elements. Of the indigenous and un-Romanized population prior to the migrations, the Thracians in the eastern half of the peninsula disappeared altogether, while the Illyrians in the western half survive fractionally as the Albanians. The linguistic differences between Serbian and Bulgarian have sometimes been explained by the existence of an Illyrian substratum in the former, and a Thracian in the latter, since the areas occupied by the new vernaculars correspond roughly to the regions occupied by these two pre-Slavic elements. Of the migrant tribes who preceded the Slavs into the Balkans no trace remains. The Celts had passed from the scene before the Slavs arrived. The Sarmatians, driven into the Balkans from the steppes, were known as early as the fourth century only by scanty place names. A few Germanic islands kept their names until the fifth century. The Huns rapidly dissolved after Attila's death, while the Avars, after the Slavs threw off their yoke, were decimated by their wars with Charlemagne before the year 800, and the remnant was absorbed by the adjacent Slavs.

Though we find in the Balkans an uninterrupted set of Slavic dialects gradually shading into each other, from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, the three basic literary languages (Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgarian) are well-differentiated vernaculars. It is not to be supposed, however, that this

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197 differentiation originated after the dispersion. On the contrary it may be assumed that the germs of dialectal differentiation inherent in the proto-Slavic language even at the epoch of closest ethnic unity evolved into more conspicuous local characteristics as the race gradually spread. It seems probable that the sections of the proto-Slavs whose vernaculars were the precursors of the present South Slavonic languages were geographically placed in their original habitat in an order corresponding to their present locations. The Slovenes are the furthest northwest of the modern South Slavs. It would appear, then, that their proto-Slavic ancestors lived in the southwest corner of the proto-Slavic habitat on the upper Vistula. Similarly, the ancestors of the Serbo-Croatians must have lived in the vicinity of the central Carpathians (there is, in fact, some etymological relationship between the words *Carpathian* and *Croatian*). The proto-Bulgars lived further eastward and seem to have descended the Prut and the Seret rivers toward the lower Danube while the western proto-Slavs came through the Sudeten passes into Bohemia and Moravia.

167 The forefathers of the Slovenes, after crossing the Danube soon after the beginning of the Christian era, first appear in history after 592, when they attacked the cities of Istria and northern Italy and made war against the Duke of Bavaria in modern Styria. They were dominated by the Avars early in the seventh century, and after the Avars were dispersed fell first under Bavarian and then (788) under Frankish sovereignty. Then as now their settlement was most dense in southern Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, though their zone of occupation contracted appreciably under German pressure as time went on so that the northern Slovenian border was pushed south from the Danube to the Drave.

The Croatians and Serbs make their appearance in the western half of the Balkan peninsula south of the Slovenes somewhat earlier than the historical debut of the latter. They were thus reported along the coast at Salona in 536 and at Durazzo in 548. Their starting point was apparently the Vistula valley,

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though in their migrations they left important remnants in Silesia and the Riesengebirge which made their presence felt in local place names before they were assimilated by other Slavic elements of these areas. On the other hand, materials dealing with the early existence of the Serbo-Croats on the Balkan peninsula are strikingly scanty. Both assume historical importance only in the ninth century, when the Serbs collided with the Bulgars and the Croats with other Slavs and with Franks in the middle Danube basin. 167

The destiny of the Slavs in modern Bulgaria was subject to influences differing radically from that of their kindred in the western Balkans. The territory which they had occupied in the sixth century was traversed several times during the seventh century by a nation of Turko-Tartar invaders known as the Bulgars, who had come into the Balkans from across the steppe country, but at first retired behind the Danube after each of their incursions southward. About 670, however, when other powerful Turkic elements began to occupy the south Russian prairies and coastline, they were obliged to seek a residence in the Danube delta and south of it. They thus settled down in Moesia, the flat country between the Danube and the chains of mountains further south. During this process, they seem to have arrived without difficulty at an understanding with the Slavic residents, whose local princes became subject to the Bulgar khan. But here, as elsewhere, it was the invaders who were culturally assimilated. The Bulgars abandoned their own idiom for Slavic, and while Bulgars and Slavs were still differentiated in this area during the eighth century, they were viewed as identical in the ninth. It is thus clear that numerically the Slavs in Moesia must have been more numerous than the energetic and warlike Bulgars whose name they adopted. The new Bulgarian state rapidly expanded its influence to include Macedonia even down to Salonika and the Aegean coast. 167 177

The Slavic flood which overwhelmed the Greek peninsula in the last twenty years of the sixth century lasted until about

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800, but in the next two hundred years Byzantine authority was gradually reëstablished throughout Hellas proper. By the twelfth century, in fact, there were but scattered Slavic remnants to be found south of Epirus and Thessaly. Though place names still yield abundant traces of this Slavic occupation, historians have long since disproved the famous thesis of Fallmerayer that the race of the ancient Greeks had been annihilated in Europe. As a matter of fact, as soon as Byzantine supremacy was restored, what Slavs there were throughout the countryside became assimilated so fast that they disappeared altogether. In Macedonia, on the other hand, though Greek civilization tended to recover and even to dominate as time progressed, the local Slavs were still numerous enough to preserve their ethnic and linguistic identity. In Hellas, however, the native Greek element was too populous and the Slavic colonists too few to make such a survival possible. Somewhat the same situation prevailed further north in Transylvania and Walachia, where the Slavic settlers eventually faded out under Romanian pressure.

While the problems connected with the migrations and the settlement of the Southern Slavs are relatively simple, if we except the alien influences affecting the Bulgarians and the decline of Slavic domination in Hellas, the destinies of the Western Slavs are, for a variety of reasons, infinitely more complex. At the beginning of the Christian era the whole expanse of northern Europe from the Rhine to the Vistula and from the Baltic, first to the Sudetens and later to the Danube, was occupied by Germanic tribes. From the second to the fifth centuries, certain important Germanic units moved out of the basins of the Elbe, the Oder, and their confluents, so that by the fourth century eastern Germany was almost totally evacuated by its Germanic inhabitants. Though German savants have been traditionally loth to admit that there were any Slavs in this area during the first period of German settlement, there are a number of tribal names which the classical historians for lack of accurate knowledge bulked with the Germans,

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but which justify the hypothesis that there were at least some Slavic elements west of the Vistula in classical premigration times. Hence, the westward Slavic drift very likely began sometime before the Slavs actually appear on the Oder and the Elbe in the fifth century A.D. /167 /177

Even with the Germanic tribes present, the area was sparsely enough settled, and it is illogical to suppose that this district was totally denuded of human habitation when they left to pursue their destinies elsewhere. Archaeologically, Germanic civilization comes to an abrupt halt in eastern Germany during the fourth century. Furthermore since the proto-Slavs had a chance to adopt the types of Roman provincial pottery, they must have begun to spread toward the Roman outposts before that date. It would, on the other hand, take us too far afield to belabor the point whether or not the Slavs were in German territory before the Germans descended from Scandinavia. We may thus limit ourselves to the admission that there were some Slavic elements in eastern Germany west of the Vistula even when this area was under German occupation before the migrations began, and the Slavs may well have been the *superiores barbari* who, according to Julius Capitolinus, set so many Germanic tribes in motion during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

But even if we thus suppose that the Slavs crossed the Vistula before 150 A.D., their occupation of Germany to the Elbe and the Oder is not historically confirmed until early in the sixth century. In 512 Procopius mentions that the Germanic Heruli, after defeat by the Lombards, made their way north to Denmark "through all the nations of the Sclaveni," and the Elbe and the Saale are elsewhere mentioned at the same period as the frontier between German and Slav. Apprehensive of Slavic penetration west of this line, Charlemagne in 805 fixed the Slavic boundary, the *limes sorabicus,* running roughly northward from Regensburg to the Saale and from the vicinity of Magdeburg northwestward across country to the estuary of the Elbe and the site of modern Hamburg. The border was later continued on a line roughly connecting the sites of Hamburg

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than 1167, and long before that date the process of extermination or assimilation had set in. 177

In view of the latest developments in modern history, let us pause a moment on the origins of the Czechoslovaks. The primeval habitat of Czechs and Slovaks was located north of the Carpathians between the headwaters of the Oder and the middle Vistula. The Czechs reached Bohemia and Moravia by the upper reaches of the Neisse and Oder and westward through the Sudeten range and between the Gesenke and the Jablunka. The Slovaks, on the other hand, arrived in their present location between the Morava and the Danube by passing the western Carpathians (that is, the Beskids and the High Tatra south of modern Krakow). The western limits of the Czechs were thus the Böhmer Wald and the Erzgebirge, while on the north they enjoyed a good natural frontier in the mountains from the Sudetens to the Carpathians. On the south the Bohemians and Moravians originally extended to the Danube, but were gradually pushed back along the river between Linz and Vienna until the twelfth century, though the Slovaks maintained contact with it at Bratislava (Pressburg). The western Slovak limit is still roughly the river Morava, which joins the Danube about thirty miles east of Vienna. 167

There is no longer much question but that the Czech and the Slovak languages were originally an identical dialect just as their speakers were primitively one group, but even in modern times there is an appreciable diversity of dialect, culture, and character among various sections of even the Czechs themselves, and the present differentiation of the Slovaks was conditioned and intensified by geographical separation from the Czechs and by the long-standing political dominance of the Magyars since 1029. The intellectual gap between Czech and Slovak is also due to the rapid Czech assimilation of German culture. Finally, at the extreme east end of the state of Czechoslovakia is an area known as Subcarpathian Russia. Its inhabitants speak a Ukrainian (Little Russian) dialect per- 197 184

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•/67 (first the Cimmerians, then the Scythians and the Sarmatians) succumbed to the Gothic hegemony, which was broken by the Hunnish attack of 370 A.D. The Huns were the precursors of a long series of Turko-Tartar invaders who crossed the steppes in historical times and offered a succession of recurrent barriers to any large-scale and enduring East Slavic migration toward the Black Sea. The Huns were followed in the sixth century by the Avars, who did not remain long in the steppes, but pushed on into the Danube basin where we have already met them as allies and later masters of the Danubian Slavs during the migration period.

167 721 While the Avars were sowing destruction along the northern border of the Byzantine empire, a new Turkic power was rising between the Don and the Volga. The immense Turkic agglomeration, which extended in the late sixth century from Mongolia to the Sea of Azov, had divided into two parts, eastern and western. The center of the western section was located on the lower Volga, and its prince or khan was inferior in standing only to the Great Khan of the eastern Turks. To the inhabitants of this western Turkic state, the name Khazars was given by the Armenians, from whom the Byzantines borrowed it.

During the Avar disturbances along the Danube and in the Balkans at the end of the sixth century, the remnants of the Hunnish and Bulgar tribes (both Turko-Tartar) east of the Don had restored some semblance of union and developed for a brief period into an ambitious state. The power of the Avars was concentrated far to the west and exercised only an inefficient control over their eastern marches. One active Bulgarian princeling named Kubrat applied for Byzantine aid in casting off the Avar yoke and apparently received this support at the price of his conversion to Christianity. At his death in 642, Kubrat had come to rule over a broad territory known as Great Old Bulgaria, which extended from the lower Don down to the Kuban district in the northern Caucasus. After the demise of Kubrat, his realm fell a prey to the energetic Turks who were

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destined to develop the Khazar state. The advance of the Khazars inspired a wide dispersion of the Bulgars. One branch recrossed the Don and, continuing northward, eventually settled near the junction of the Volga and the Kama, where they appear in later Russian history. The other section moved westward and, after uniting with their tribal kinsmen who had preceded them into the Balkans, carried their standards to Salonika in 675 before they settled in Moesia and fused with the South Slavs already resident there. But the Khazars remained in the steppe country, and gradually spread out across the prairies until they reached the southern Bug.

From such indications as we have that the Eastern Slavs had penetrated as far east as the Sea of Azov in the sixth century, their contacts with the various waves of mobile Asiatic invaders must have been closer than the scanty data of extant sources record though, in view of the infinitely small number of Turko-Tartar loan words which found their way into the Slavic vocabulary prior to the recorded history of the Slavs, it is evident that this contact was productive of little intellectual influence on the Slavs themselves. In fact, thanks to their association with Iranian and Goth, the Eastern Slavs had attained a degree of civilization at least equal and probably superior to that of the series of Turko-Tartar nomads who traversed southern Russia between the fourth and the seventh centuries.

During this interval, in any case, the steppes between the Don and the Dnieper were the scene of constant shifts of population. Fleeing before the Huns, the Goths had moved back into central Europe. Driven by the Avars, the western Bulgars had pushed forward into the Balkans. The Avars themselves were ultimately demolished by combined Frank, Slav, and Bulgar offensives along the Danube, and the eastern Bulgar units were displaced by the Khazars. The period of Khazar expansion westward was thus an epoch peculiarly favorable for the progress of the Eastern Slavs down the valleys of the Dnieper and the Dniester. Traces of this colonization are preserved in the *Primary Chronicle,* which places the Slavic Uli-

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chians and Tivercians between the Dnieper and the Dniester as late as the ninth century, remarking that their settlements once extended as far as the coast of the Black Sea. These are, however, the same tribes who later took refuge in the eastern Carpathians and are the ancestors of the modern inhabitants of Subcarpathian Russia. In any case, after the elimination of the Avars, the East Slavic process of southward settlement was resumed until it was once more interrupted by the passage of the Magyars across southern Russia after the middle of the ninth century, and by subsequent inroads of the Pechenegs (Patzinaks), another wave of Turko-Tartar nomads, in the tenth century. Hence, among the earliest traditions preserved in the medieval Russian annals is that the South Russian Slavic tribes were ancient Khazar tributaries. In the early ninth century these subject tribes extended up the Dnieper as far as the river Sozh, well north of Kiev, and thus brought the whole initial extent of the subsequent principality of Kiev under Khazar tutelage.

The Khazars were a progressive race capable of rapid intellectual development and avid in the absorption of foreign ideas. Despite close diplomatic relations with Byzantium, they carefully sidestepped all influence toward conversion to Christianity with its political implications. Persecutions of the Jews in Byzantium during the reign of Leo III (717-740) caused a considerable Jewish migration from the Empire to the Khazar cities around the straits of Kerch. Since these Khazar centers (Kerch and Phanagoria, together with Itil, at the mouth of the Volga) were the chief transit points for Asiatic trade with the west, the Jewish settlers found abundant scope for their innate commercial talents, and rapidly came to exert a pronounced intellectual influence which culminated in the eighth century in the conversion of the Khazar ruling classes to Judaism. A remarkable feature of the Khazar polity was its religious tolerance, which guaranteed equal privileges not only to Jew and Moslem, but also to Christian refugees fleeing the rigors of the iconoclastic movement in Byzantium itself.

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177 known to have kept a garrison at Kiev, it is even probable that the name of that city is of Khazar origin, that is, *küi,* "bank of a river," and *ev,* "settlement," which well accords with the lower part of the city as it still is today.

On the north and the east, the Eastern Slavs were eventually confronted by Finnish tribes. We have relatively little data on the primitive habitat of the Finns, but modern scholarship places it in the extreme eastern section of northern Europe, on the edge of the Ural mountains and even further eastward. They were thus concentrated from earliest times in the basins of the rivers Oka, the Kama, and the middle Volga, and it is from this nucleus that they spread westward to the Finnish Gulf, occupying not only Karelia and modern Finland, but also the southern shore as far as the Gulf of Riga, hence modern Esthonia and much of present-day Latvia. In central Russia their line of settlement extended as far west as modern Moscow, where they were in touch with an original Lithuanian population which has long since disappeared. Indeed, since these Lithuanian elements occupied a line running from the Baltic to the neighborhood of modern Smolensk and Kaluga, the actual contacts of Eastern Slavs and Finns cannot have begun until the Slavs themselves had already crossed the northern Dnieper and advanced toward the head of the Desna, and until the Finns themselves had begun to move westward toward the Baltic. This view is confirmed by the fact that it is only in the extreme north and east of the Russian area that Finnish linguistic influences are perceptible.

While there are some tribes known to Herodotus who may have been Finns, the Finns themselves are first mentioned with certainty by Tacitus, who did not think very highly of them, since he speaks of their remarkable ferocity at once with their sordid poverty, adding that they lived on herbs, dressed in skins, slept on the ground, and defended themselves with bone-tipped arrows. Jordanes, the Gothic historian, knew some identifiably Finnish tribes as subjects of the Goths. Our now familiar source, the Russian *Primary Chronicle,* composed after

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It was necessary to dwell at some length on the contacts of the Eastern Slavs because the area which they inhabit is, after all, fairly remote, and the process by which they came to occupy it is likewise far from the ken of any but the specialist. As the Eastern Slavs branched out into the steppes toward the Black Sea and the Don and northeastward at the expense of Lithuanian and Finnish tribes, the old unity tended to relax in proportion to their dispersion. New centers of population formed at considerable distances from the old foci. The colonizers underwent new influences which varied with their locations. The southeastern settlers experienced Khazar influence, the northern colonies were close to Scandinavia of the Viking age, and the Slavs along the lower Dnieper were within the cultural sphere of Byzantium.

The Arabic geographers who described eastern Europe of the ninth century already noted four centers of Eastern Slavic concentration at that early period: one near Lake Ilmen, another on the Oka River near the city of Ryazan, one at Kiev, and a fourth in Galicia, and more detailed tribal designations among the Eastern Slavs were likewise known to both German and Greek sources of the same period. Finally, the oft-cited Russian *Primary Chronicle* preserves from traditions considerably earlier than the twelfth century not only a list of tribes on Russian soil, but also their locations. These tribes are the Croats, the Polyane, the Volhynians, the Dulebians, the Buzhane, the Dregovichians, the Polotians, the Novgorod Slavs, the Severians, the Krivichians, the Radimichians, the Vyatichians, the Ulichians, and the Tivercians.

The Croats mentioned were a remnant of the tribe of the same name which remained behind in eastern Galicia, Bukovina, and on the Prut and the Dniester rivers after others of their kindred had moved on into the Balkans. The Dulebians, the Volhynians, and the Buzhane (who are connected by their name with the river Bug in Volhynia) inhabited Volhynia in the neighborhood of modern Lutsk. The Derevlians (whose name is connected with Slavic *derevo*, "wood"), occupied the

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167 177 vast forests south of the Pripet River, and were, on account of their remote location, culturally backward.

In this respect, they contrast with their eastern neighbors, the Polyane, who lived in the prairie country (their name characterizes them as plain dwellers) on the west bank of the Dnieper north and south of the ancient city of Kiev, which had been a point of settlement since far back into the stone age. It is not unlikely that the metropolis mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy in the second century and the *Danparstathir* of Gothic tradition and the Norse *Hervárarsága* were settlements on the site of modern Kiev. Situated on a strategic trade route, the Polyane were exposed to the stimulating influences of both Scandinavian and Byzantine culture as the power of the Khazars waned. It is thus by no means accidental that their chief center became the nucleus toward which adjacent tribes gravitated and that center from which foreign culture radiated throughout the entire period before it was sacked by the Tartars in 1240.

The Ulichians and the Tivercians, the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Subcarpathian Russia, present a more complicated problem. According to the *Primary Chronicle,* they lived on the southern Bug and the Dniester, extending down to the Black Sea coast and as far as the Danube. They [721] are without question the Eastern Slavic tribes which progressed the farthest toward the sea but, because of that same fact, they also occupied a position critically exposed to repeated nomad attacks. They can therefore hardly have moved south until after the departure of the Avars in the sixth century, and they were seriously menaced again by the incursion of the Magyars in the ninth century. We know from Arabic sources that the Magyars even enslaved much of the Slavic population in this area. Then, in the early tenth century, nomad incursions so increased in intensity and frequency that peaceful habitation in the coastal area eventually became impossible. The Ulichians and the Tivercians thus withdrew to the Carpathians and provided an important center of Slavic settlement in Tran-

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sylvania and northern Hungary. This settlement did not take /167
place, however, until after the tenth century, so that the Sub- /177
carpathian Russians actually did not come to occupy their present seats until some five hundred years after the dispersion of the proto-Slavs. There are, indeed, numerous place names even in the interior of Hungary which, by their Slavic origin, bear witness to the movement of these tribes.

The easternmost of the East Slavic tribes on Russian soil were the Severians. Though placed by the *Primary Chronicle* on the Desna and its eastern tributaries, they seem to have constituted the Slavic element which pushed as far east as the Don river in the sixth century and are even located by ninth-century Arab geographers on the lower Volga and in the northern Caucasus. But, like the Ulichians and the Tivercians, they too were exposed to Turko-Tartar impacts which drove them back to the region between modern Kursk, in the north-central Ukraine, and the left bank of the Dnieper. Their chief [361]
cities were Chernigov, on the Desna, and Pereslavl, southeast of Kiev on the left bank of the Dnieper.

North of the Derevlians, between the Pripet and the Dvina and as far east as the Berezina, lived the Dregovichians. Their area of occupation corresponds fairly closely to the modern White-Russian (Byelorussian) district, and thus would border on the zone of Lithuanian occupation. In fact, they are the Slavic group responsible for the contraction of this zone, since they pushed the Lithuanians back toward the Baltic coast and settled the basins of the Dvina and the Niemen rivers. Their [361]
chief cities were Turov, on the Pripet, and Pinsk, east of modern Brest-Litovsk. While their tribal appellation has been quite naturally connected with a word for marsh, it is, because of its termination *-ich,* more likely a patronymic.

To the east of the Berezina and straddling the Dnieper, the Radimichians were an unimportant and backward tribe which fell comparatively early under the sway of Kiev. Further east, even as far as the Oka River and modern Moscow, and thus on the edge of the eastern Finns, lived the Vyatichians, who were

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early colonizers in territory originally Finnish. The same observation applies to the Slovenes or Novgorod Slavs about Lake Ilmen, who thus approach the region of the great lakes. Just why they alone preserved the ethnic name of the Slavs remains an enigma. At any rate, they were, with the Polyane of Kiev, the most progressive of the Eastern Slavs. Located in an area ill-fitted for agriculture, they lived by hunting and trapping, by which they acquired material for barter with Scandinavian traders. Their pioneering spirit gradually carried them still further north toward Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and since only a short portage separated them from the upper Volga, we eventually find them pushing southeastward to insure a food supply from the grain fields of the Moscow district. They founded the city of Novgorod where the Volkhov flows out of Lake Ilmen, and economic and political collisions between this city and Moscow were a familiar feature of later medieval Russian history until the Muscovites emerged as victors.

Just south of the Slovenes lived the Krivichians, who dominated the headwaters of the Dvina, Dnieper, and Volga rivers and extended northwest until they collided with the Balts and Finns in the neighborhood of modern Pskov. Their chief centers, both of which owed their importance to river traffic, were Polotzk on the Dvina and Smolensk on the upper Dnieper. Since Smolensk is situated at an easy portage point between the Dvina, Lovat, and Dnieper rivers, it was one of the earliest points of Scandinavian settlement in the interior of Russia.

It stands to reason that, at the dawn of Russian history, these tribes must have in many instances progressed far beyond any patriarchal organization on the basis of kinship. Essentially an agricultural people, yet living also by hunting and trapping in newly colonized and sparsely settled areas, the Russian Slavs tended to develop beyond a purely patriarchal society as soon as they came to inhabit small farms grouped about a fortified village which served as a focal point for defense and as a rudimentary market for the exchange of their products. Such of these villages as were located on the chief watercourses developed

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just as much to the building up of Bohemia as did the Czechs. 175*
Apart from the early conflicts by which Bohemia became a 177
German vassal, the colonists were brought into the country voluntarily by Bohemian princes and barons, and they could therefore hardly be regarded in our own time as an inferior element with restricted rights in an area to whose economic and cultural development they had been generously contributing for seven hundred years.

It is fair to observe, however, that internal conflict between 175*
Czech and German broke out at the time of the Hussite Wars 721
of the fifteenth century. The radical Hussites bitterly attacked 186
the German population, which was in the main composed of faithful Catholics, and even wiped out the entire German citizenry of numerous cities and towns, while such German residents who compounded with the Hussite extremists were subjected to a violent campaign of Czechization. The results of this epoch of conflict were catastrophic. Most of what the German element jointly with the Bohemian had built up in three centuries of faithful effort was destroyed in less than half a century during which the Czechs split with the Germans on account of their loyal Catholicism. The weakness of the Hussite movement was that, while doubtless promoting a healthy national spirit, it broke down the traditional contacts which in previous centuries had contributed appreciably to the advance of culture and to the international prestige of the nation. The succession to the Bohemian crown first passed to the house of Austria in 1437, and Bohemia subsequently remained under the sovereignty of the Hapsburgs uninterruptedly from 1526 to 1918. During this period of nearly three hundred years there was obviously little doubt of the dominance of German influence.

Before turning to early German relations with the rising 175*
Polish state, let us follow the fortunes of the Slavs who emi- 167
grated westward to the basin of the Elbe. While the burden of German colonization on the Danube front was carried by the Bavarians with some aid from the Franconians, the same

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175* function was performed in north central Germany by the
167 Saxons. The first thrust of Slavic westward pressure had been felt in the fifth century by the Thuringians, whom the Slavs drove westward into the Thuringian forest and the Harz
167 Mountains. As soon as the Thuringians were subjected by the
721 Franks, the age of Slavo-German conflict set in, and hostilities
175* were intermittent in eastern Franconia during the seventh century. Then, in the eighth century, the establishment of numerous monastery-fortresses on the frontier between the Danube and the Weser heralded an aggressive German offensive which developed as soon as the Franks in 804 had conquered the great tribal duchy of Saxony in lower Germany between the Elbe and the Rhine. The German *Drang nach Osten* which resulted in the dispossession and practical extermination of the Slavs on north-German soil thus began in Charlemagne's day, and continued for nearly four hundred years. Charlemagne opened the contest in 789 by attacking the Wilzi, a federation of Slavic tribes residing east of the Elbe in the vicinity of modern Berlin, and their spirited resistance induced him to give his eastern frontier a solid military organization. New fortresses were built on the lower Elbe to protect Saxony from Slavic invasion. Under Louis the Pious, Hamburg and Würzburg became advance posts of German missionary activity, but the last half of the ninth century witnessed almost constant warfare along the Slavo-German frontier from Hamburg to Bohemia, and these border clashes were a fruitful source of slave labor for the vast properties of the new German monasteries of the eastern front.

In 919, with the election of Duke Henry of Saxony as King of the Germans and successor to Conrad I, the last of the Carolingians, the period of large-scale Saxon aggression against the north German Slavs began. The first Saxon conquest recovered the area between the Saale and the upper Elbe, roughly between modern Halle and Meissen. Then, in the winter of 928-929, Henry pushed across the Elbe and captured Branibor, the stronghold of the Slavs on the Havel west of

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Berlin, transforming it into a fortress which is the ancestor of modern Brandenburg. A Slavic coalition inspired by this offensive was defeated in 929 near Wittenberg, and the Saxon sphere of influence was thus extended to the Oder river. While Henry I showed little interest in colonizing the area he had won, and was solely concerned with collecting tribute, a movement of colonization was first reflected by a large number of fortified German settlements established east of the lower Elbe under Henry's successor Otto I, and a similar practice prevailed further south in the reconquered territory between the Saale and the upper Elbe. The German treatment of their Slavic subjects was far from gentle: captives taken in war were ruthlessly butchered, and chieftains invited as guests were treacherously slain. As a result, a Slavic revolt of 983 threw the Saxons out of Brandenburg. For a hundred and fifty years the Slavic coastal area from Lübeck to the Oder was thus free of Saxon encroachment, and it was not until after 1125 that the linguistic frontier in this region advanced beyond where it had stood in Charlemagne's day.

With the election of Duke Lothar of Saxony as King of the Germans in 1125, the situation altered. Even before his accession to the throne, Lothar had been known to the Slavs as a dangerous adversary, and no such drastically anti-Slavic policy as his had been seen since Henry the Fowler two hundred years before. His collaboration with the Danes broke up the Slavic principalities on the Baltic shore east of Holstein, and after Lothar's death in 1137 the coastline between Kiel and Rostock was soon in German hands. Wholesale colonization by Westphalian and other Low-German settlers immediately ensued under reasonably peaceful conditions, which unfortunately were interrupted by a fanatical crusade against the Slavs in 1147, in the vicissitudes of which most of the newly won territory was cruelly devastated. The result was thirty years of conflict in which the last independent group of Baltic Slavs was obliterated. Meanwhile Brandenburg had come back under German control when its Slavic chief died intestate

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* in 1150 and willed his holdings to the neighboring German
721 margrave. German influence was thus restored in this area to
167 the Oder frontier which it had temporarily reached two hundred years before.

000 Albert von Ballenstedt, called "the Bear," Margrave of the Nordmark, into whose hands Brandenburg fell by legacy, is the most sympathetic figure of the German colonization period. He refused to participate in the Wendish crusade of 1147, and thus won the confidence of his Slavic subjects. Brandenburg was free from the trivial and exasperating obligations that weighed upon the peasantry of the older settled regions. There were no traditional rights and no antiquated feudal interests, with the result that as population increased in the west, pioneer colonization toward the east was intensified. The analogy is frequently drawn between this medieval German colonization of the eastern marches and the American migration west of the Alleghenies at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As one French historian wrote in 1875, "the German emigrant in the Middle Ages went beyond the Elbe in order to find free land as today he is crossing the Atlantic." Albert himself died in 1170, but well into the thirteenth century, under his successors, this colonization moved on toward the Polish borderland, and Frankfurt on the Oder was founded in 1253.

175* As a matter of fact, German contacts with Poland date back to the latter part of the reign of Otto I, who occupied the German throne from 936 to 973. Under Otto I the German margrave subjugated the Slavs of Lusatia, and extended his sway into Lower Silesia as far as the Bober river, but when one of his successors somewhat later endeavored to extend German influence east of the Oder into Polish territory, he was thrown back in 979. As it was mentioned in dealing with the conversions of the various Slavic nations, Prince Mieszko I of Poland had abandoned paganism in 966 upon his marriage to Dubravka, sister of the Bohemian prince Boleslav I, and three years later founded the bishopric of Posen, which

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Chapter Three

THE TRIUMPH OF THE NATIONALITIES, OR SLAVISM WITHOUT RUSSIA

THE 1914–1918 War has often been regarded as a settling of accounts between Slavs and Teutons. And it was certainly the Germans who did the most to popularise this over-simplified viewpoint. At the time of the Balkan crisis, Bethmann-Hollweg, the Chancellor of the Reich, reduced the possibility of a European war to a struggle between Teutonism and Slavism: *Ein Kampf zwischen Germanentum und Slawentum.* For his part, General von Moltke wrote, on February 12, 1913: 'Sooner or later will come the war between Germanism and Slavism, for which all the standard-bearers of Germanic culture and spirit must prepare'.

At the time when it was formulated, this prophecy might have been found surprising. Indeed, in the course of the ages, Teutonism had secured solid positions against the Slavs, whom, in nine centuries, it had pushed back from the Elbe to the Vistula. It had colonised, plundered, or subdued their western tribes. It penetrated into Russia by two means—the Baltic nobility, and dynastic marriages. Eleven Tsars or Tsarinas since Peter the Great were either of German blood or under German matrimonial influence. This fact alone will give an idea of the fatality which, since the eighteenth century, weighed upon the destiny of Russia. In face of this infiltration, we think of the terrible phrase addressed by Skobelev to a delegation of Serbian students in Paris: 'In our own country, we are not at home'. In short, history presented itself to the Teutons as an uninterrupted process of absorption of their eastern neighbours, or of domination over their politics.

Moreover, von Moltke's prophecy implied a Slav solidarity which was then in the realm of conjecture. History offered no recent example of it. In 1848, the Slavs had nearly all fought for a cause which was foreign to, even if not opposed to, Slavism. In 1885, and again in 1913, the Serbs and the Bulgars had cut each others' throats. And twelve months later, in 1914,

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

the Slavs were to split up between the two camps into which Europe would be divided. So that, except in congresses, where ethnography and philology were discussed, this solidarity remained a myth. Russian egoism bore heavily upon the little 'Pravoslav' countries, in which the Tsarist policy affected to take an interest. Much more than that; certain territories, caught between two Slavonic currents—such as Macedonia, the Ukrainian Marches, the Teschen district of Silesia—kept alive the spirit of dissidence within the Slavonic family.

What remained of von Moltke's declarations was the obsession of an inevitable reckoning between the two races. Germany, who, from age to age, had extended her sphere of domination at the expense of the Slavs, dimly felt that, one fine day, the latter would grow tired of the role of 'fertilisers' (*Düngervolk*) to which the Pan-Germanic school condemned them. In Merovingian times, a slow but continuous migration, by easy stages, peopled the Eastern Teutonic states with Slavs. These tribes had reached the Elbe and the Oder by the fourth century. To designate the Teutonic peoples, they forged the collective appellation, *Niemtse,* which has remained in the modern vocabulary of the Slavonic peoples, and signifies 'dumb ones', *i.e.,* speaking a language unintelligible to Slavs. But, little by little, the ebb of the Teutonic tribes pushed them back. With the exception of a few descendants of the Pomeranians (the Kachoubes and the Slovinces) and of the Sorabes (Lusatians), the vast group of Western Slavs of the Elbe and the Baltic disappeared in the struggle waged against them by the Germans in the four centuries from the time of Charlemagne to the twelfth century.

This withdrawal is explained by the state of dissension—a hereditary defect with the Slavs—in which these populations lived. An Austrian historian of this century, J. Peisker,[1] was so struck by such a large-scale backward drive, that he sought a different explanation for it. The past, he said, shows such a succession of conquests, and establishments of Teutonism in Slavonic territory, that we cannot attribute it to the fortune of war. We are obliged to suppose the existence of some factor which paralysed the resistance of the Slavs. This factor must

[1] *Die Älteren Beziehungen der Slawen zu Turkotataren und Germanien.* Berlin, 1905.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

be sought in the most remote centuries, in the contact of the Slavs 829
with the Turanian peoples of the Steppes, who were the founda- 167
tion of the so-called 'Scythic' Iranian population. From time 181
immemorial, the Turko-tartar peoples, by their pillaging raids, have borne heavily on the Iranians, their immediate neighbours, and, through them, on the Slavonic peoples. The Iranians have been the victims of the Turkomans of the salt Steppes—and the Slavs, by repercussion, have shared their fate. Having thus exhausted their political and social strength, they have become the chronic prey of the conquerors.

This thesis of an original curse, whatever its scientific value, should be borne in mind, for it justifies a conviction that is widespread among the Germans, *viz.*, the inferiority of the Slavonic race, and its presumed incapacity to develop from the notion of a clan to that of a State. There have been published anthologies of German thinkers and propagandists on this theme, which is summed up in the well-known witticism *Gute Nacht, Russen, nach Asien!*—which the Germans have invoked, even down to our own times, to justify considering Eastern Europe merely as a contemptible suburb of Teutonism.

Such is the background of history on which was projected 829
the 'reckoning' on which Bethmann-Hollweg and von Moltke 721
had banked. Must we, however, go so far as to say that the War 178
of 1914 was a Teuto-Slavonic war? M. Benes considers this thesis as attractive as it is untenable. He regards this war as a struggle between two political and philosophical conceptions, the logical development of the European evolution which, beginning at the Renaissance, culminated in the triumph of political individualism, of parliamentary and constitutional law. The war, he says, was not Teuto-Slavonic in character, nor in aims, nor in results.

Limited to the strict sequence of facts, this judgement is admissible. While Austria-Hungary threw herself into the war to prevent a rupture of her interior balance to the advantage of the Slavs, deeper and more decisive causes armed the Great Powers one against the other.

If, however, we consider the atmosphere that reigned in 186*
Europe in 1914, when the war found so many inflammable 721
substances in a state of suspense, M. Benes's point of view seems more contestable. The interests of the Slavs were neither

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 668 had been foiled by the signing of the Soviet-Czech Pact. The message ended with an exhortation to 'unmask the Hitlerian agitators and the political adventurers of the reactionary cliques of exiles who are seeking to disturb the unity of the Slavs'. The Congress, presided over by Seton Watson, was also addressed by Rumanian, Austrian, and Hungarian democrats. It heard speeches by Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, and Poles, and in its turn sent a message of 'fraternity' to the Slav combatants and partisans, especially the Carpatho-Ukraines. We may notice that this term, formerly considered as subversive, had been substituted, on the initiative of the Czech circles in London, for the official designation 'Sub-Carpatho Russia'.

• [67] But it was perhaps in America, with its fifteen to sixteen million citizens of Slavonic origin, that Panslav demonstrations attracted most attention. On March 27, 1942, a conference of forty delegates met in New York to prepare the Detroit Slavonic Congress. It was decided to give energetic support to Roosevelt's anti-Hitler policy. The appeal to Slav solidarity has always played its role in American political struggles; when Antoine Cermak, a Czech recently arrived in America, was elected Mayor of Chicago he secured the votes of tens of thousands of naturalised emigrants; many election meetings opened to the strains of the Panslav hymn, *Ei Sloveni!* On the occasion of the Detroit Congress, April 25 and 26, 1942, were declared 'American Slav Days' by the Governor of the State of Michigan. Two thousand delegates—Russians, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, and numerous representatives of the American Trade Union organisations—took part in this Congress, presided over by Mr. Blair Gunther. They resolved to help the military and 'underground' operations by spying out the movements of the 'fifth column'. 'Our relatives, our fatherlands have been plundered, ruined, destroyed. We do not wish America to suffer the same fate, and we are going to avenge our fatherlands'.

At the pro-Soviet meeting in Philadelphia, Jan Mazaryk, Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed more than fifteen thousand people. In Chicago in July, 1942, thousands of Americans of Slavonic descent celebrated the 532nd anniversary of the defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg; they heard a message from President Roosevelt read to them, concluding as follows: 'We will crush the tyrant, we will purge your fathers'

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 175 648 668 saying, to astound the world by her ingratitude. It is said that Nicholas I, towards the end of his reign, visited Warsaw and, standing thoughtfully in front of Sobieski's statue, said: 'That's the first of the fools who worked for the Habsburgs. And I was the second'.

175 186 668 It was in the thick of these racial tussles that the Slav peoples held their first conclaves. Bohemia, the most civilised of the Slav nations, was the first to extend her hand to her sisters. By way of a counter-stroke to the German Assembly in Frankfurt, the Slav Congress took place in Prague in June, 1848. Object: the establishment of periodical relations between the Slav peoples and the drawing up of a programme of action for such of those • [171] peoples as were subject to Austrian or Magyar domination. The language spoken at the Congress was German, then regarded as the Esperanto of the Slavs, thus enabling the Germans to claim the Slavs as belonging to their *Geistesleben*. This Congress, attended by three hundred and sixty-three members, under the chairmanship of the Czech historian, Palatsky, was divided into three sections: Russo-Polish, Jugoslav, and Czechoslovak. Whilst protesting its loyalty to the Habsburgs, it claimed, for the Slav populations, the rights and guarantees granted to the Germans and the Magyars. Outbreaks occurred in Prague after this meeting, and the manner in which they were repressed showed that the Slavs could not expect much from Vienna. Once more, the eyes of the Slavonic world turned towards Russia.

186 668 Bakunin, in his *Confession*, has left us a picturesque sketch of this Congress of Prague. He had pleaded the cause of the Russian revolution, and of the Federative Republic of all Slavs. 'The Slavs', he said, 'are real children, but I have found among them an unbelievable freshness, and incomparably greater innate intelligence and energy than among the Germans. The Slavs' predominating sentiment is hatred of the Germans. The forceful, if not very polite, expression, "accursed German" ("*prokliatni Nometz*") pronounced alike in nearly all the Slavonic dialects, has produced an incredible result in every Slav. . . . Hatred of the Germans formed the inexhaustible topic of all conversations; it served as a greeting between strangers. . . . As regards the Congress itself, it was, like all the other political

[i. Slav Congress, June 1848 – Analyst]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Slavic Peoples E 16

Certain minor observances of conduct, which we have noticed throughout the so-called patriarchal zone, but which vary considerably from place to place, such as not crossing the feet, using right or left hand for certain operations, wearing certain colours, etc.—in short, at all times a care that everything be done in a way fitting to the conditions, according to some precise ruling of custom—exist because otherwise an evil force can be inadvertently put in motion, or a man work on himself or his associates some kind of auto-curse.[1] Particular care must be taken as regards children and domestic animals, who naturally cannot be expected to understand the importance of such observances, and must therefore be prevented from doing the wrong thing. Hence in part the arbitrary influencing of omens.

B Y 771 795 788

'I fear to go to the four parts of the earth, and over the whole earth,' says the devil in a Greek manuscript (sixteenth century) when he descends to fetch earth for the creation of man. 'Therefore, he made a sign of the cross with his sceptre, saying: "East, west, north and south." Thereupon all the earth came before God.'

Y B 795 771 773

The so-called Bogomil creation legend, slightly varied, occurs in Russia, Transylvania, in Dobrudja, in the Rhodopes, in Western and Southern Bulgaria, and right across the middle of the Peninsula, in Macedonia, in Bosnia and Hercegovina, in Eastern Serbia and in Old Serbia, and probably elsewhere. It is found in manuscripts from the twelfth century, in Old Bulgarian, Russian, Serbian and Bosnian books. On the one hand, there are versions similar to that of the Book of Enoch, the Vision of Isaiah, and the 'Secret Book' of the Bogomils. On the other, it links up a chain of cosmogonic myth shared by the Finno-Ugrian and Ural-Altaic peoples, and in the traditional version known to Slavonic folk-lore it is more like this latter.[2] It is of interest to note that an

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[1] v. *infra*.

[2] Similarities between Slavonic, Finnish and Central Asian cults and mythology first came to the notice of students of Russian custom, notably P. Jacobi and Prof. Aničkov. The latter's views are theories rather than

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
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early Russian chronicle attributes a very similar cosmogony to Volhs (*magi*) at Kiev, long before the first traces of Bogomil apocryphal literature in Russia.

The fact of the matter is, that most of the apocryphal literature, important for creating a new source of popular legend in the Balkans—e.g. the Apocalypsis of Baruch, Gospel of St Thomas, the Palaia, Vision of Isaiah, etc.—appeared in Slav versions, often markedly differing from any known Greek originals, as early as the eleventh century, and possibly before Bogomilism as such had established a popular hold or, at any rate, a literature of its own. To Jeremije, the Bogomil, is generally attributed the Slavonic version of the Elucidarium. Here, again, no exact Greek prototype can be discovered. Neither the devil's contract motif, nor that of his appearance over the primeval waters in the form of a diving bird, and other significant details, can be traced with any certainty beyond the Slavonic versions.

R SP 773 779

Only on going westwards into Bosnia, it seems certain that the literary form preceded the popularised story. Otherwise, it is clear that the Slav writers of the Middle Ages made considerable use of popular sources, unaware of any inconsistency of doctrine, and tempering their material to taste. In the beginning, according to a Russian monastic writer of the seventeenth century, Almighty God resided in the three chambers of the upper heaven. 'The three chambers of the cross,' he says, in iconographical symbolism. 'The Emperor without beginning, uncreated, unspeakable, not born, not conceived, universal, invisible and unseeable, immortal and immaterial' was there before time. By his thought he gave birth to his Son. 'For the Father is neither created nor begotten, and the Son is begotten and not created. The Holy

substantial history; but there is documentation in his *Jazyčestvo i drevnaja Rus'* (1914), and in more recent articles in *Slavia* and *Revue des Études Slaves* (VIII). More relevant theories are put forward by M. Arnaudov in Sb.N.U. IV. Older works include Spicyn, *Šamanizm v otnošenii k russkoj arheologii*, Zapiski Arheolog. XI; V. Bogoraz, *K prihologii šamanstva* (Etnograf. Obozrenie, XXII, i), where traditions of the type given above will be found.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Great Russians RF2
Slavic Peoples E 16

B Y SP 795 793 756 [887]

There is little trace of shamanism in the Balkans, and few instances of the combining of the functions of priest and doctor and magician except by accident. In peasant cults these offices are adopted to meet a special occasion, unless they are the speciality of a local wise woman. Women who have ceased to menstruate or widows may have to be chosen for certain rites, but this is only a temporary priesthood. The seeress mediates between ordinary people and spirits only when she is required to do so. Young men without physical defect only may be allowed to take part in certain ritual dances, etc. Almost each cult has its own 'priest'. The fulfilment of the village 'vows' and the sacrifice at the sacred village tree is performed by householders, and the high priest of the occasion is the host for that year. The mother of twins is, it is said, considered to be specially pure, and twins themselves have special occasional functions. I hazard that this arrangement is characteristic of peasant cults; and that the institution of a monopoly of priestcraft, whether on the part of the Christian church or by the priests of organised pagan cults, meant a profound social change, to uphold which popular custom had to be discredited.

B Y SP [845]

R SP 771 171

In Russia itself, so many parallels are found that a close

feature of the religious life of South Slav Orthodox communities and has died hard among the non-Orthodox. It represents an elaboration under peculiar circumstances of a strictly domestic cult with occasional ministrants, whose sporadic priestly duties are determined by their normal social function and status. A similar Lithuanian rite was also traditionally a strictly domestic affair. The *slava* embraces ideas and ceremonial found in the earliest accounts of Slav custom and which belonged to pre-Christian ideas, but other features, and the general form as we now know it, so closely resemble the celebration of the liturgy that the institution may well have arisen from an early practice of private celebrations, or imitations of the liturgy, perhaps at a time of a Christian minority, or further encouraged by the conditions of Turkish occupation. There is still a tendency to think that anything that is not traceable to the Churches' institutions is necessarily pre-Christian in origin. The cycle of Christmas rites also shows a mixture of sources and evidence of late formation, and considerable local variety when the cycle of the whole season, which may include rites transferred from other seasons, is considered. In any case, the past is not always 'fossilised'. While a

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
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connection with Asiatic shamanism was suggested many years ago. On the whole, the characteristics of magical practice are better mapped regionally than ethnologically; the Russian and West Slavs falling beside the Baltic and Finnish races of the north; while Balkan Slav folk-lore more closely resembles that of the neighbouring southern races.

In the process of time a religious sentiment has grown up about the ritual inherited from ancient semi-magical rites; and direct magic, conceived as such, figures principally as a part of a medical system, in which, however, empiricism now predominates, and magic is applied rationalistically. This division between applied magic and religion, between charm worker and the priest, seems to have existed since early times.

The pagan cult, as far as can be judged, recognised innumerable local and tribal gods, associated with the various activities of the people, such as war, agriculture, etc., or representing personifications; and an equally important cult of trees, stones and waters, in which, according to some, gods or spirits were supposed to reign. The Slavs of the East could not swear by trees, fountains or stones (but the priests gave accused persons the choice of trial by ploughshare, iron or

custom can in any sense be said to live, though it come out of the past it is also a part of actuality and a factor of present-day life and psychology. The popular religion is more sophisticated, and probably greatly more varied than any reconstruction of primitive cults that could be made. It depends on the vigour of the church organisation locally how far a distinction is made between standard Christian practice and the rest, and how far the non-Christian part of tradition is looked upon as not wholly in conformity with the nominal faith. Left to itself the folk-mind blends diverse elements into a single law. Certainly custom, particularly religious custom, is not in origin a direct response to the physical environment. Adjustment to the demands of a ruling class, for instance, is not expressed only on the economic plane. But there is a tendency to try to adapt institutions—even those forced upon a community—to material circumstances. Hence the permeation of all peasant cults by the dominant interest in provision for life and the staying of disaster. The Church would have had little chance of survival here had its rites not received an economic and apotropaeic interpretation, far removed from the spiritual benefits of its written doctrine.

Slavic Peoples EF6
Yugoslavia EF1
Croatia EF4

earth. The roof is always of the saddle-type and is covered with tiles. In the old days, as it is said, the roofs were covered with thatch and wood. The roof is supported by coupled beams. Originally, the house was divided into two parts: the kitchen and the room». SL 342

«It is characteristic, he says, to note the open fire-place at the kitchen wall, which is usually kept even after the kitchen has been made into a room. An iron stove is also used now. The house is usually approached through a covered terrace, occupying part of the front wall and supported by small arched pillars, that gives a very characteristic appearance to these buildings. In the old days, most of the houses had a balcony or a covered portico extending all along the front of the house. These disappeared in the course of various changes, but their traces can often be seen as yet». SL [354] [351]

«The characteristic mark of the house is given by the fire-place, that is all black from the smoke of years. A chain hangs over the fire-place .... Also the bread is baked there; a big, semicircular cover is used for that purpose. This cover is placed over the bread, and live coals are placed over the cover which bakes the bread». SL [354] [252]

When further examining the architecture of the Croat villages, the Russian investigator finds «many common elements with the Eastern — Slav shapes — many more than with the Serbs and the Bulgars. The new houses are made of stone, but many old houses have remained which were not made of round bars but of adzed wood logs, or of wood planks, placed aslant. The ends of the logs protrude irregularly. Roofs are all of the eagle type and project from the walls very strongly. Most of them are covered with tiles, but there are some made of thatch. The one-storey houses prevail, and the plan of the house is very primitive. One can often see houses with only one room, but, as a rule, we see houses with two or three rooms. One of the rooms is called «hiza» (as the entire house), and the other, «hizitsa». If there is a third room, this is either an intermediate passage with a fire-place or a cellar... The most interesting point is that almost all the old houses have a petchka (stove) of about the same type as the Russian one. On the wall facing the stove and diagonally, we can see the ikons and photographs hanging there. This is similar to the Russian «good corner»... (p. 132). Y C 342 171 Y C [354] [353]

The general conclusion Tokariof draws from his remarks on the architecture of the Balkan Slav peoples is particularly didactic. He says: «The popular architecture of the Croat village, near Zagreb, completely differs in its whole from the architecture prevailing in Y C SL 342 171

Slavic Peoples E1C
Yugoslavia EF1
Croatia EF4

Y C SL 342 171

the Balkan peninsula. We find here a whole series of elements and conditions, entirely unknown to Serbs and Bulgars: buildings made of adzed wood, two aided thatch roof, Russian type of stove (petschka) instead of a fire-plase (tzaki), «good corner» facing it, etc. Similar phenomena exist in Slovenia (see the works of A.N. Harouzin) but do not further to the South, over the Savo River. One is driven to think of a movement of civilization, from North to South that has probably some relation to the invasion of the Slavs. Further to the South, over the Savo and the Danube, this flow was exhausted and Slav colonists, who had reached more southward than all others, the forefathers of Bulgars and Serbs, assimilated some shapes of civilization that previously existed there (stone architecture, houses with fire-place, etc.). And the forefathers of Croats and Slovens, who do not belong to this vanguard of colonisation and did not go so far to the South, retained the ancient Slav building forms» (p. 132).

Y SL 342 171

Thus, from a mere examination of the forms of popular architecture the Slavonian ethnologist drew conclusions about the cross-breeding of civilizations on the Balkan peninsula and about the influence on it of «previously existing» forms of civilization that caused, as he says, the «exhaustion of the flow of civilization» (?) moving from North to South. The envoy of the Soviet Academy does not say, or perhaps does not judge necessary to say, what was exactly the character and the origin of this indigenous civilization that taught the Slav colonist vanguard higher forms of human habitation. But it is expressedly proved that, while the Northern Slavs owe much of the important progress of their national house building shapes to foreign, and especially German, influences, the Slavs of the South, when developing the form of their rural and their urban house, had the Greek houses as a model before their eyes.

S.P. P. 101 Lyczacy, Kociewiacy, Borowiace, Krajniacy, and, on Lake Lebo, those of Kabaci, Lesacy, Belocy. But the most curious is that of Slowiency which /89/ evidently goes back to ancient times and which is found as early as 1586.

S.P. P. 161 The Kashubs are few in number. According to the official statistics of 1900 there were 100,213 of them.

According to earlier statistics of Ramult, there were 174,831 in their own territory, with a total of 200,000 in Europe and 130,000 in America (the United States, Canada, Brazil). As for religion, the majority are Catholics. Only 6% of the Slowiency are considered to be Protestant.

S.P. P. 162

000 Although the Kashubs are very few in number, there is no reason to despair of their prospects, for, on the one hand they live in an isolated region near the sea, and on the other hand they are constantly in close contact with the Polish element, who assist them in maintaining their position.

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IV

THE SORBS OF LUSATIA

S.P. 101 S 16. Historical Introduction.--Of the powerful nation of Slavs who lived for centuries on the middle and lower Elbe, there now exist only an insignificant remnant, composed of the Slavs of the two Lusatias; it is the Slavic group which is the closest to the Czechs from the geographic and linguistic viewpoint.

In former times the Polabian Slavs (or those of the Elbe /Laba/) were settled in the basins of the Oder, of the Saale, and of the Elbe. We are able, with some reservations, however, to follow their trail as far as the first century of the Christian era. But those who accept the Slavic character of the cinerary tombs in Lusatia and Silesia, are able to go back at least as far as 1000 B.C. This is merely a matter of an archeological hypothesis; but it appears much more accurate to attribute the type of tombs found between the Vistula and the Elbe to the Slavs rather than to the Germans.

S.P. [172]

S.P. 101 182 areas formerly ran from Zagan (Sagan) on the Bobrawa through Muzakov, Grodk, Kolany, Kupsk (Muckenberg), Wikow (Elsterwerda) towards Bielagora (Belgern) on the Elbe, and it has remained in conformity with this line in matters relating to the Sorb population.

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V

/99/ THE CZECHS AND THE SLOVAKS

S.P. C. 101 S 20.--Historical Introduction.---The Czechs also belong to the western branch, as well as the Slovaks, who, from more than one viewpoint, may be considered as forming only a single nation with them, even though fate has already separated them to a considerable degree and, judging by all appearances, should further enlarge this separation.

These two branches developed from a common center, which alongside the Polish and the Polabre center, was located somewhere to the north of the Sudeten Mountains and perhaps reached as far as Moravia; it is from this region that the ancestors of the Czechs and the Slovaks came into the regions where history verifies their presence.

S.P. C 174 [172] 101 They came there from the north, perhaps all together in a single move, perhaps at various periods. The texts contain nothing about this; archaeology, while admitting the Slavic and particularly the Czech character of the cinerary tombs of the Lusatian type, can only conjecture that Bohemia and Moravia were occupied before the middle of the first century B.C. /100/ The cradle of the Czechs and the Slovaks is to be found further to the north, but, taking into account archaeological data, one may to a certain degree regard them as being indigenous to Bohemia and to Moravia. The same may be said for the branch settled in Hungary. Dr. Czambel chose to state in recent times that the Slovaks did not come with the Czechs, that they came by themselves and from another region, from the southeast,--all this in order to demonstrate that the Slovaks do not belong to the western group, but to the southern group. But this theory lacks foundation from the viewpoint of history and of philology. The linguistic kinship shows without argument that the Czechs and the Slovaks belong to the same group as the Sorbs of Lusatia, the

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are tied nearer the breg, for these animals emanate a lot of heat while feeding. One or two sky-lights are to be found on the roof of the breg and give some light to this very dark dug-out.

In the second gallery, as we have said, there is the main house. It has a fire-place, 2×2 m., with a wide chimney for the escape of the smoke. The bread is baked under the ash of this hearth and there is an opening near the fire-place for the collection of the ashes. Finally, the zadnik is the space behind the house, where food, agricultural products and other useful articles are kept (1).

The same formation is seen in another lair of the same village, which was built in 1876 (Fig. 51.)

Dug-out houses existed from the ancient times among the Slavs, and other peoples of central and Nothern Europe, but, as it is shown by the remnants found, these dwellings constituted simple shelters (abris). That is to say, the Slavs dug out a deep trench, of more than one meter depth, which they covered with a roof of timbers, branches, hay and mud. According to Niederle «the construction of the house, or rather of the roof, was more or less simple, according to whether the stay in that place was to be of short duration; because the Slavs, used to live a nomadic life for a long time and till the beginnings of historic times». Such shelter-holes (fosses-abris) were already found in the Slav countries, of dimensions 1.50×4 meters, dating from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Their construction has been retained, though on a less primitive shape, until the 19th century in some districts of Russia and Poland (2). The reason of such a form of housing is the lack of forests and of timber for construction of houses in the steppe districts.

The troglodyte houses of Bulgaria prove of an evolution, obviously due to the influence exercised by surface houses; they are neither of Slav nor of Bulgarian origin. Ancient authors, such as Strabo VII, 5, 12, Plinius, Nat. Hist. IV, 80, Ptolemaeus (C. Müller, Ptolemaei Geographia I, 463), mention the «troglodytes» in the district of Little Skythia, now Dobroutcha, and in Dardania, who lived, like the Phrygians and the Armenians, in subterranean dwellings (3).

Consequently the Bulgars, and the Slavs who established them-

1) T. Zlatev op. cit. p. 112 figg. 97-98.
2) L. Niederle, op. cit. 2 p. 96 foll., 98.
3) See C. Jirecek, op. cit. 157. G. Kazarow, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker, Sarajevo 1916, p. 30.

found in tombs confirm these two types.

101 Domestic life also presents varying types during the pre-Christian period. For example, in the West, between the Elbe and the Vistula, /2/ we find a certain type of tomb and a peculiar Adriatico-Danubian material, and another type east of the Vistula, where the influence of the Black Sea is dominant. From the moment at which the Slavs separated themselves from the other Aryans, the differentiation of the languages began to develop within the race itself; this differentiation has been reinforced by various factors, for example, by the formation of isolated centers, where the cultivation of the soil was carried on intensively, or where a political unit developed, by the movements of various groups and their mixture with foreign elements (for example the migration of the Slavs towards the south and their subsequent career in the Balkan Peninsula). This differentiation became so striking that the primitive people, who formed only a single body, dissolved into a set of groups absolutely distinct one from another. Even today there is no complete agreement in the question of knowing just how far this disaggregation has proceeded and which are the groups that should be considered as being completely independent; but everyone recognizes that there is no longer a single Slavic nationality. There is now a series of individual nations. Today, Slavic unity is merely a theoretical concept played upon by ideas and sentiments, but in the life of the Slavs themselves the moments are rare indeed in which one may discover some remembrance of the vanished unity.

How did this dismemberment take place? /3/ What circumstances caused the groups to spring up? How did that individualization occur, what is the condition of the race today, how many nations may be enumerated? These are some of the questions which Slavic science has not yet completely solved.

174 101 The following appears to be the most likely. The nucleus of the primitive Slavic people was between the Oder and the Dnepr; in prehistoric times they reached by successive steps the Elbe, the Saale, the Danube, the Desna, the Niemen, and the Baltic. They disaggregated on this vast territory, partially under the influence of certain geographical conditions, for example, the influence of the large streams and the mountains--partially under the influence of civilizing currents, which are not the same in the Orient as in the Occident, and finally under the influence of linguistic development. At first three groups were established. The first, to the west of the Vistula and the Carpathians, stretched out towards the Occident beyond the Elbe, the Saale,

174 the Elbe, the Saale, and the Sumava (Boehmerwald) and has produced
101 the Slavic branches of the Polabians, Pomorians, Poles, and Czechoslovaks; the second, whose primitive home was between the upper Vistula, the Dnestr, and the middle Danube, descended little by little--save a few tribes to the south of the Carpathians, --some to establish themselves on the Drava, others, after having crossed the Sava and the Danube, in the region of the/4/ Balkans, and formed the Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgar groups; the third group spread out from the basin of the Dnepr in a vast circle to the north as far as the Gulf of Finland, on the upper Dnepr, the Volga, the Oka, to the east, towards the Don, to the south, towards the Black Sea and the lower Danube, and formed the Russian nation; under the influence of diverse conditions this nation differentiated within itself and became altered according to the localities in which it had settled.

101 The various branches of the Slav family are not all equally differentiated from each other. Between the Czechs and the Poles the difference is greater than between the Czechs and the Slovaks. It is greater between the Great Russians and the Poles than between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. Furthermore, in politics and in literature controversies continuously arise in the matter of knowing whether a segment should be considered as a tribe or as an independent nation. There is no agreement at all as to the use of the terms nation, nationality, tribe, branch, any more than as to the actual total number of Slavs.

000 It all depends upon the points of view on the matter of philology, ethnography, history, and or politics. Even when one starts out from the same viewpoint, one can arrive at various conclusions. One philologist sees two languages where another one sees only dialects of the same tongue. Certain of them give greater weight to their hopes for a renaissance, for political individuality, /5/ for national autonomy, than to the scientific data; others, obedient to political considerations, imagine new nations which their rivals are even un-
114 willing to hear mentioned. Thus the number of Slavic nations, and, consequently, the method of handling the entire Slavic problem, differs greatly from one author to another. Thus Dobrowsky (1), --

1. Joseph Dobrowsky, born in 1753, died in 1829, a Czech scholar, the true creator of Slavic philology. See my note about him in the Grande Encyclopedie, Translator.

in order not to go too far back, nor to become involved in too many

S.P. 128 more and more, especially from a political viewpoint.

5. The Slovene group which is not troubled with separatist tendencies.

6. The Serbo-Croat group within which the political divisions and the shades of culture--noticeably in religious matters--are so sharply defined that one must today recognize them as two nations: Serbs and Croats.

7. The very homogeneous Bulgar group. The only point of disagreement is in the matter of the Slavs of Macedonia. Certain people assign them to the Bulgars, others to the Serbs; yet others pretend to recognize here a special nationality, the Macedonian nationality.

In pursuing this study, we shall remain faithful to this framework of seven basic groups. We shall see at the proper time and place to what extent the tendencies of those who wish to break off from these still other independent groups may be justified.

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/8/ No page numbered eight.

I

THE RUSSIANS

H.R. S.P. 174 S 3. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.--In the eastern region which was formed by the division of the primitive people into three groups, developed there the great Russian people which is divided today.

What were the beginnings of this people during the pre-Christian era and the first centuries after the birth of Christ? We know practically nothing about this. It is true that we know of certain names cited by Ptolemy, which apparently refer to them, but there is nothing upon which we may rely. (1) In the fourth century of the Christian era

1. These questions have been studied by the author in a vast work in Czech entitled Slav Antiquities, which also deserves to be tranlated into French. Translator

there appear vague references to a great people called the Antes, a name which denotes the southern Russian tribes between the lower Danube and the Don, but this name later disappears. The information which the Arabs furnish about the Russians of the tenth century is no less enigmatic. It is only with Constantin /10/ Porphyrogenitos and,

H.R. S.P. 174 more clearly, with the first Chronicle of Kiev, (1) preserved in a

1. Chronicle said to be by Nestor: see my translation (Leroux, 1884) and the Index which accompanies it. Translator.

manuscript from the twelfth century, that we have somewhat more precise details. These texts inform us that upon the territory of present-day Russia there lived a swarm of tribes which constituted independent units. The writer of these annals enumerates twelve of them:

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the Slavs of Lake Ilmen, with their center at Novgorod-the-Great.

the Krivichi near the sources of the Dnepr, the Dvina, and the Volga (those who lived on the Polot River were called Polotchani).

the Dregovichi between the Pripet and the Dvina.

the Drevliani to the southwest of the former.

the Poliani from Teterevo to Kiyev, which became their center.

the Dudlebi and Bujani (or Volhynians) on the Bug.

the Tivertsi and the Ulichi on the Dnestr and on the Bug.

the Radimichi on the Soya.

the Viatichi on the Oka.

the Severiani on the Desna, the Seym and the Soula.

the writer of the annals who enumerates these various peoples gathers them together under the collective name of Rus. How did this name Rus originate among this people? Here again is an enigma. (1) But whatever /11/ its origin may be, it is certain that it referred

1. On this enigma, see our edition of Nestor. Translator.

at first to the center at Kiyev, where the first Russian state was founded by the Varangian princes, that from there it spread out rapidly towards the Orient among the Slavs as a political and then an ethnic designation, and that it was applied to certain peoples who, according to the chronicler, were of a Lekh origin.(2)

2. Regarding this name, see the second chapter. Translator.

H.R. S.P. 174 The Slavic domain towards the Orient, as it is outlined by the Russian chronicler in the twelfth century, was not originally Slavic territory, it was previously occupied by allogenes /people of another race/ and colonized by the Slavs. The proof of this statement is furnished by the earlier names, Lithuanian and Finnish, in the region located to the north of the Pripet and in the neighborhood of the sources of the Dnepr, in the basins of the Oka and of the Volga. We encounter upon this territory the first Slavic colonization vouched for by texts and not by the primitive people. It is here that the eastern Slavs,

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before the end of the tenth century and after having left the region of the middle Dnepr, made the first step in their expansion. If one is to believe the chronicle, it was not directed towards the Polish lands. On the contrary, it was the Lekhs who sent out strong colonies towards the east passing through Russian tribes. To compensate for this, Russian colonization was pushed from the earliest period towards the Baltic tribes.

/12/ ...es

/12/ We see the Dregovichi settled upon a territory formerly Lithuanian. The colonization took place still more rapidly and with greater success towards the north and east in the direction of the Finns. Likewise the Krivichi, the Radimichi, the Viatichi (and perhaps a portion of the Severiani) pushed the Chudi, the Muromi, the Mordvini, the Mescheri, and other Finnish tribes out of their original territory.

Towards the Orient the Slavic Severiani pushed forward at an early period and very energetically, and rolled back the Turco-Tatar tribes. This is what is maintained in the texts which, beginning with the sixth century, indicate that the Antes were very numerous along the shores of the Sea of Azov, and which in the ninth and tenth centuries mention numerous Slavic colonies upon the Don and the Volga and the colony of Tmutorokan at the mouth of the Kuban.

It is only towards the south that the development of Slavic colonization was delayed for a considerable period. However, it was favored by the nature of the soil; all of the rivers ran down towards the south, towards the Black Sea.

Here the great obstacle was the invasion of alien peoples who, beginning in the third century A.D., began to occupy for a longer or shorter time the basin of the Black Sea. In the third and fourth centuries there were at first the Goths and the Heruls, then in 376 the Huns, /13/ then towards 482 the Bulgars, (1) then towards 557

1. This refers to the Bulgars of the Volga who later on came to give their name to a section of the Balkan peninsula. Translator.

the Avars. Towards the middle of the seventh century the Khazars crossed over the Don, and finally, during the course of the ninth century, the Magyars of the Ural began heading towards the Danube.

These invasions did not completely arrest the march of the

Slavs towards the south; it is even probable that certain of them, for example those of the Huns and the Avars, carried along after them some Slavic tribes. But during this period it is impossible to speak of a true colonization, of a settlement of Slavs upon the Black Sea.

It is likely that it was only after the Avar invasion[2] that the Russian tribes succeeded in establishing themselves in large groups (the Tivertsi, the Ulichi) along the lower reaches of the Dnepr, the Dnestr, and the Danube.

The movement toward the south became more pronounced. Sviatoslav (957-972) established his permanent residence at Preslav (in present-day Bulgaria). Then a new obstacle arose. This was the arrival of the Pechengs, the Turks (the Uz), the Polovtsians or Kumans. The tribes and the Russian princes were compelled to carry on long struggles against these newcomers in the lower basin of the Don and the Dnepr. Finally there came the Tatar invasion. Victorious in 1224, they ravaged and depopulated /14/ the greater part of southern Russia from the Kalka to Kiyev, the Volhynia, Galicia, and Transylvania and even menaced the Russian lands in the northeast. (1)

1. It has been claimed that the region of Kiyev lost its entire primitive Russian population and that it was only repeopled in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by colonies coming from Galicia. But it has not been proved that this hypothesis is well founded. However, it is certain, as is testified to by the Carpin Map dated 1346, that the country was very sparsely peopled and that beginning with the fifteenth century the Polish lords introduced many new colonies into the vast domains which they had acquired.

All of these invasions exercised a strong and lasting influence upon the destiny of the Russian nation. They cut it off for a long time from access to the south and west. On the other hand, the pressure which they had brought upon the Tivertsi, the Volhynians, the Poliani, and the Severiani compelled these peoples to withdraw to the Carpathians, beyond the Pripet, the Sula, the Desna, driving other tribes before them; and the Russian nation was set in motion in a northern and northeastern direction against the Finns. Bit by bit the Finnish territory was occupied by the Russians and colonized.

In addition to the Viatichi, the Krivichi, and the Severiani, the principal agents of this colonization were the Slavs of Novgorod, particularly in the basin of the Onega, the Dvina, the Vychegda, the Pechora, the Kama, and the Vyatka. These are the principal episodes in the development of the Russian people until the end of /15/ the Tatar domination, that is until the fifteenth century.

2 [In the 6th century A.D. -- Analysis]

S.P. 101 182 areas formerly ran from Zagan (Sagan) on the Bobrawa through Muzakov, Grodk, Kolany, Kupsk (Muckenberg), Wikow (Elsterwerda) towards Bielagora (Belgern) on the Elbe, and it has remained in conformity with this line in matters relating to the Sorb population.

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V

/99/ THE CZECHS AND THE SLOVAKS

S.P. c. 101 S 20.--Historical Introduction.---The Czechs also belong to the western branch, as well as the Slovaks, who, from more than one viewpoint, may be considered as forming only a single nation with them, even though fate has already separated them to a considerable degree and, judging by all appearances, should further enlarge this separation.

These two branches developed from a common center, which alongside the Polish and the Polabre center, was located somewhere to the north of the Sudeten Mountains and perhaps reached as far as Moravia; it is from this region that the ancestors of the Czechs and the Slovaks came into the regions where history verifies their presence.

S.P. c. 174 [172] 101 They came there from the north, perhaps all together in a single move, perhaps at various periods. The texts contain nothing about this; archaeology, while admitting the Slavic and particularly the Czech character of the cinerary tombs of the Lusatian type, can only conjecture that Bohemia and Moravia were occupied before the middle of the first century B.C. /100/ The cradle of the Czechs and the Slovaks is to be found further to the north, but, taking into account archaeological data, one may to a certain degree regard them as being indigenous to Bohemia and to Moravia. The same may be said for the branch settled in Hungary. Dr. Czambel chose to state in recent times that the Slovaks did not come with the Czechs, that they came by themselves and from another region, from the southeast,--all this in order to demonstrate that the Slovaks do not belong to the western group, but to the southern group. But this theory lacks foundation from the viewpoint of history and of philology. The linguistic kinship shows without argument that the Czechs and the Slovaks belong to the same group as the Sorbs of Lusatia, the

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Poles, the Polabes, and that they carried out their migration at the same time as these.

The Czecho-Slovaks, after having crossed the Sudeten and the Carpathians, settled at first in the north of Bohemia, of Moravia, and of Slovakian Hungary; to the south there were settled Gallic, Illyro-Thracian tribes, later on also the Germanic peoples of the Marcomani and the Quadi. After the departure of these allogenes, the Slavs spread not only over the territory on which they are established today, but even much farther to the south. This applies to the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia and also to the Slovaks of Hungary; the latter still have numerous islands /101/ in the counties of Esztergom, of Budapest, to the south in those of Bars* and of Nograd, and positive indications prove that formerly they extended much farther toward the south in the areas in which they encountered colonies of Slovenes and Bulgars.

To the east, it is difficult to determine the ancient frontiers. Their delimitation by the Vah, the Hron, and the Tepla rests only upon hypotheses. However, we do know that the frontier in those days did not extend as far as today,--that is, almost as far as the Tisza. For the greater part of the western Slovaks are made up of Russians assimilated during the historic period. To the north the Polish Gorals (Mountaineers) had penetrated across the mountains in the regions of Trencin, of Orava and of Spis. In the north the frontier followed the Sudeten Mountains (the regions of Sluknov and Friedland were Sorbian (1)

1. Of course this refers to the Sorbs of Lusatia; see the preceding chapter 1 (Translator).

and composed the district of Zagozd*). In Silesia, the region of Opava was Czech. In the west, the Czechs, in the twelfth century, when their written history began were beginning to penetrate across the Bohemian Mountains (Boemerwald, in Czech, Sumava) as far as Bavaria and in the south even beyond the Danube. How far did they go into Pannonia? Did they indeed settle there, they or the ancestors of the Slovaks? This cannot be ascertained with certainty. /102/ In all likelihood, they went at least as far as Lake Balaton, as is vouched for by the history of the princes Pribina, Kocel, and Svatopluk. (1)

1. About these persons, consult my work on Cyrille et Methode (Paris, librairie Franck, 1868).

Like the other Slavic peoples, the Czechs at first did not form a single nation. We know little of the internal situation in Hungary

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 58-63 -- Analysis]

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and in Moravia, at the beginning of history. However, it appears very likely that the different groups which are still met with today, the Czechs properly speaking, the Hanaks, the Lahs, the Slovaks, and the Valachs existed in those days. But we do not know where the frontier between the Czechs and the Slovaks was located: was it on the lower and middle Morava, as Safarik would have it, or farther to the east?

We know more about the Czechs. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, we see leaving the forest bordering Germany, a whole series of tribes that appear among them: to the north from the sources of the Oharka, proceeding towards the east, the Sedlicany, the Lucany, the Lemuze, the Deczany, the Litomerice, the Psovany, the Charvaty (Czechs?); in the center, the Czechs; near them the Zliczany; and to the south in the area of Budejovice (Budweiss), the Dudlebi.

Very soon the Czechs became the most numerous and strongest of all of these tribes /103/; thanks to their central location, they soon dominated the other tribes and fused them into a single people. From the ninth century their name was used to designate the entire aggregation of tribes.

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Thus this nation was formed.* Settled in the watershed between the streams flowing to the north and those flowing to the south, near the source of the large rivers, protected by natural walls, it developed under excellent conditions. And, were it not for the errors of its princes, who through egoism caused serious damage to its prosperity and to its future, the history of this nation would have been entirely different from what it has been, and would occupy today a different position in the Slavic world from that which it now occupies.

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What caused it? a terrible blow was the German colonization in Bohemia and Moravia. In the south, the Germans, pushing forward along the Danube towards the east, thrust back the Czecho-Slovaks who were settled in this region. This was a completely natural movement and one which should not have caused any great harm to the development of the Czech national group, seeing that the Germans would soon come into collision with the Magyars on the Litava (Leitha).

What was particularly harmful to the Czechs was the German colonization summoned into the country by the national princes of the Premysls dynasty, Premysl Otakar I (1197-1230), Vaclav I (1230-1253)

* [Czechoslovakia — Analyse]

S.R. C. 144 142 The outcome of all this is that the Czech type does not actually form a unique type. This circumstance is still more striking if one considers the diffusion of certain characteristics, for example, complexion. Thus the light type (blue eyes and blond hair) is found in the center of Bohemia and Moravia only in a ratio of 14%; in the mountainous sections it reaches from 20 to 25%, and in certain frontier regions where the Germans are in the majority in the northeast, it exceeds 30%. In contrast, we find in these regions 20 to 25% of the dark type; the proportion exceeds more than 25% in the mountainous regions of the Podripsko and of the Podbrdsko; but on the Czecho-Moravian plateau in certain neighborhoods it reaches only between 11 and 15%.

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VI

THE SLOVENES

S.R. Sl. 101 174 S 25. Historical Introduction.--The Slovenes represent the southwestern fraction of the southern Slavs. They are the last remains of a formerly powerful group which occupied at the beginning of the Middle Ages the regions included between the bend of the Danube and the Adriatic pathway and which penetrated deeply into the Alpine regions. (1)

1. Sclaueni, Stlaueni, Sklavenoi, Sthlauenoi of the ancient texts. The word Slovene (in the language of the country Slovenec, Slovenka, in German--Slowenen) has become popular since the period of national renaissance. The Germans frequently use the designations Winden, Windisch, which may be found in many of the topographic names.

It is not known at what period the Slavs appeared for the first time in these regions. The indications, unfortunately extremely uncertain, seem to point to their having crossed the Danube at about the beginning of the Christian era, and to have appeared in the regions of Lake Balaton (Plattensee) and of the Sava. But substantial historical and archeological evidence is lacking.

/136/ One hears it affirmed constantly that the Slavs are the original races in the region of the Alps; these are vain statements. In these countries before the Christian era there lived the Ligurians, the Illyrian, Rhaetian, and Gallic tribes and some survivors of non-Aryan tribes.

Sl. S.R. 101 What is certain is that, from the end of the sixth century, this

2. A Pole, despite his French name, Mr. Beaudoin de Courtenay today lives in St. Petersburg. Translator.

Friul, in the neighborhood of Udine. They[1] are crossed with /146/ Serbo-Croatian blood and perhaps with another, which explains why their language is divided into four dialects. These Slavs of the Friul are settled in eight purely Slovenian communes of the district of San Pietro, in three communes and several mixed localities of the districts of Taranto, Cividale, Gemona and in the purely Slavic commune of Resia (district of Moggio--German, Reschenscheideeck). Beaudoin de Courtenay estimates that the Slavs of the districts of Gemona and of Tarcento are Serbo-Croats, those of Stara Gora and of Cividale are Slovenes; according to him the inhabitants of the district of San Pietro are Slovenes crossed with Croats and Resians, the product of the mixture of a non-Aryan people with the primitive Slavs.

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VII

THE CROATS AND THE SERBS

S 29. Historical Introduction. --The Croats and the Serbs belong like the Slovenes and the Bulgars to the south Slav or Yugo-Slav family (1). They formed at the outset a single group, which

1. Yugo means south. Translator.

history has divided into two sections, into two nations, the Serbs and the Croats. Both of these two nations, even though they are conscious of their kinship, lay claim to an autonomous life.

Even formerly there existed distinctions between the various sections of the future Serb unit and the future Croat unit. But these distinctions were not deep ones. They consisted of dialectic shades of difference, the organization into different tribes, distinct political outlooks, etc.

At the beginning we find ourselves in the presence of an aggregat of tribes belonging to a single group, belonging to a single linguistic type with very slight differences; this group left its early homeland in the region of the /148/ Carpathians, moved towards the Danube, then the Dra the Sava and the Balkan peninsula. The various tribes settled over a considerable extent of territory, without geographic unity; they were separated by the mountains; they communicated with each other with

[1] [i.e. Resians in the Friul -- Analyst]

S.P. Cr. E6 174 [101]

difficulty. They isolated themselves from one another, they were concentrated in different political groups, they assimilated the debris of the autochtonous nations. In the northwest the Croat area in the largest sense of the word took shape--bounded in the tenth century by the sea as far as the mouth of the Cetina (Tsetinia), established on the Kupa and the Drava--the location of the frontier along the Bosnian side is not clearly known; and on the other hand the Serbian area in the largest sense of the word included everything to the east of Croatia as far as the Shara mountains (Shar-Planina) and the region of the Morava. To this Serbian region Constantin Porphyrogenetos added the maritime tribes of the south between the Cetina (Tsetinia) and the Piva, Scutari (Skadar) and Durazzo (Drac). But originally these regions did not belong to the Serbs. At what epoch did the Serbo-Croats occupy this territory? We do not know exactly.

Certain families, perhaps even tribes, crossed the Danube before the fifth century, but the total immigration did not take place before the fifth or sixth centuries. What we may affirm is that they did not come in the seventh century in the reign of Heraclius (about 630-640), as is recounted by Constantin /149/ Porphyrogenetos according to tradition; they took part in the general immigration movement of the Slavs towards the Balkan peninsula in the fifth and sixth centuries.

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From the very beginning the history of these Slavs, conditioned by geographic influences, followed two different currents. The tribes of the northwest, settled in favorable conditions near the sea, were the first to form a sizeable state (perhaps from the seventh century, but especially during the ninth and tenth centuries). They gave to it the name of Croatia, the origin of which is not known and of which no satisfactory explanation exists.

The tribes of the south and of the east were a long way from the sea; they inhabited a mountainous and poor region; they did not develop a political life until later on, towards the tenth or eleventh century. They grouped themselves about the tribe of the Serbs which originally was settled on the Tara, Lim, and Ibar Rivers. It is in Novi Pazar (ancient Rascia) that the word Srbia is first met with. This name spread throughout the region of the southwest which was detached from the Croat national unit. From that time two political entities developed side by side, often even in combat with each other; and political divorce finally took place when Croatia in 1102 became

S.P. 578 Serbs E16 Croats E16 Bulgaria E16

(for example Dubrovnik (Ragusa), and especially in Bosnia. This province is truly an apple of discord between these two national groups. Here the Austrian government is attempting to do things somewhat by chance without having a clearly defined idea regarding nationality.

000 What will come of this? What will happen to the country after the annexation? What will be the new relations between Croats and Serbs? We cannot yet tell today.

From the viewpoint of science and of the Slav idea, one should at least proceed with honesty and not shut one's eyes to the true facts. At the outset it would be necessary to determine through an accurate census the relative situation of the Serbs and the Croats and to treat with justice all of the national and political groups. Furthermore, it will no longer be necessary to invent a third Croato-Serbian nation, the Bosnian (1) nation, as was conceived of by the

1. Certainly, the concept of a Bosnian nation existed before. One may read in the twelfth century chronicle of Kinnamos: "Bosthna...ethos idia para taute zon," (Bosnia...is a nation living by itself), and one often finds that the Bosnians are considered to be a nation. But this designation, which was based upon political considerations, is no longer justified.

Kallay government a few years ago. Moreover, this innovation was in no wise successful. Since 1907, the official designation "Bosnian" has been replaced by the correct designation "Serbo-Croat."

VIII
THE BULGARS

S.P. B. 101 S 33. Historical Introduction. ---The last Slav people produced by the differentiation of the South-Slav group, is the Bulgars.

Almost all of them live on the Balkan peninsula.

S.P. B. 101 174 Like the other South-Slavs they had their cradle much farther north, somewhere, near the Carpathians, in the vicinity of the Russians. Between the third and the fifth century, they abandoned the Carpathians, began to push through the Thracian and Scytho-Sarmatian tribes, towards the lower Danube, and in the sixth century reached the Balkans. At this time the Slavic tribes of the Peninsula did not have a common ethnic name. They were called Slavs like their neighbors the Serbs

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and the Slovenes and they did not form a united group. Still in the seventh and eighth centuries we find in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula an entire series of tribes very slightly united to each other, the Sieveriens and seven anonymous tribes in the north of the present Bulgaria, the Rumeliot Slavs, then the Druguvicnes, /183/ the Smoliani, the Strumenci, the Rynchini*, the Sagudati*, the Berziti in Macedonia. It is evidently to these latter that the Slavs who pushed into Greece and into the Archipelago are related from the linguistic viewpoint, the Velegezites, the Vajuniti, the Milingi, and the Iezerci. Towards this period a union began to develop, but under foreign pressure. In 679 under the leadership of Asparukh a certain number of Bulgars from the Volga--of Turkish origin--crossed the Danube and penetrated into the Dobrudja as far as Varna; they subjugated the neighboring Slavic tribes, unified them, and little by little unified all of the Slavs of the center of the Peninsula.

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On the other hand, the Bulgars of the Volga, who were relatively few in number, became themselves assimilated very quickly with the Slav element and merged with it. (1)

1. Zanetov and Skorpil thought that they found the remains of these ancient Bulgars among the Gagauz (see further on) and among the Turks of Deliorman between Silistra, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), Varna and Rushchouk, whom their Bulgar neighbors called Gadjaly. Mochkov came out against their hypotheses.

Their name alone, which was given to the new state and to its people, recalls the memory of this element of foreign race. Besides the Bulgars have basically always been Slavs, even though they have not hesitated to assimilate foreign elements. Among these elements, along with the Turkish Bulgars, one must cite the remains of the ancient Thracians, the Germans, /185/ especially the Goths, Turks, and Avars, to whom were added later on other Asiatic elements; the Poles, the Cumaeans, the Oguzes, gypsies, and finally the Osmanli Turks.

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The Bulgarian Empire, beginning with the reign of Simeon (893-927) acquired a considerable area; it grew by means of the constant warfare with Byzantines on the one hand and with the Serbs, on the other. The Slavs who belonged to its most remote frontiers at

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It was to this district, centering about the city of Czernowitz, that many Polish officials and soldiers withdrew to escape German and Russian pursuit when Poland was invaded in 1939.

The Western Slavic group includes the Poles, the Czechs (or Bohemians) and Moravians, the Slovaks, and two Slavic islands in German territory: the Kashubs, who live on the Baltic coast northwest of Danzig, probably not over two hundred thousand in number, and a considerably smaller number of Sorbs, or Wends, who inhabit Lausitz, or Lusatia, a small area on the upper Spree river northeast of Dresden.

The Southern Slavs are cut off from their northern kindred by the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Romanians, but comprise the Slovenes in the extreme northern part of Yugoslavia; the Serbs and the Croatians, who differ from one another only in slight variations of dialect and by the fact that the Serbs belong to the Greek Orthodox church and use the Cyrillic Script (similar to the Russian), while the Croatians are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; and the Bulgarians who, though possessing a Slavic national language, represent a complex fusion of racial and linguistic stocks.

In view of the numerous and violent migratory movements which took place in northern Europe both before the Christian era and during the first few centuries after it began, the Slavs are hardly likely to have occupied their present extensive territory during their whole recorded history. On the contrary, their migrations cover a range almost as vast as those of their Germanic neighbors, and the location of their primitive habitat constitutes a problem which has long engaged students of Slavic history and linguistics.

The earliest native tradition dealing with Slavic origins is contained in the so-called Russian *Primary Chronicle,* a compilation completely extant only in two fourteenth-century texts, but which reproduce with considerable accuracy a work composed by a monk of Kiev about the end of the eleventh century. Here we read:

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For many years the Slavs lived beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and the Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs parties scattered throughout the country and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled. Thus some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs. Among these same Slavs are included the White Croats, the Serbs, and the Carinthians. For when the Vlakhs attacked the Danubian Slavs, and settled among them, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs. Of these Lyakhs some were called Polyanians, some Lutichians, some Mazovians, and still others Pomorians. Certain Slavs also settled on the Dnieper, and were called Polyanians. Still others were called Derevlians, because they lived in the forests. Some also settled between the Pripet and the Dvina, and were known as Dregovichians. Other tribes settled on the Dvina and became known as Polotians, from a small stream named the Polot, which flows into the Dvina. . . . The Slavs also settled around lake Ilmen, and were there known by their own name. They built a city, and called it Novgorod. Still others had their settlements along the Desna, the Sem, and the Sula, and were called Severians. And thus the Slavic race was scattered, and likewise its language was known as Slavic.

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In this passage, apart from the detail expended by the author on particularizing the various Eastern Slavic tribes which had fallen under the sway of Kiev more than two centuries before he wrote, what is most striking is his implication that neither the Western Slavs (Czechs, Moravians, and Poles) nor the Eastern Slavs were, in the annalist's view, indigenous to the areas they occupied in his day. He accepts the tradition that the original home of the Slavs was on the middle Danube, from which region (as he relates) they were displaced at an earlier undefined period by a nation known as the Vlakhs, under whose pressure they sought safer residences to the north and northeast. Now, while the term Vlakh has various meanings,

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it would be most natural here to attach it to the Celtic Gauls 174
who penetrated the Danube basin early in the fourth century 167
B.C. and then, under the leadership of a chief named Brennus, 114
marched down through Thrace and Macedonia and invaded Greece as far as Delphi in 280. The only difficulty lies in the absence of the slightest indication in Greek or Latin historians and geographers that the Slavs, or any part of them, were present on the middle or lower Danube basin before the Christian era. Nor are there in this area any early place names demonstrably Slavic which would show these sources to be faulty in this respect.

In fact, though the evidence of this passage from the Russian 174
annals led numerous medieval and early modern historians in 114
the last century to accept the Danubian origin of the Slavs, other much more reliable and older sources place them further north beyond the Carpathian Mountains when they make their first appearance in history. To be sure, the Slavs do not begin [101]
their historical career under this name, but under another which is etymologically related to the English term "Wends" or the German "Wenden," frequently applied to the Slavs in our own day. As the Venedi, Veneti, or Venedae, they are thus mentioned by Pliny the Elder and by Tacitus during the first century, and by the Egyptian astronomer and geographer Claudius Ptolemy, who wrote in Greek toward the end of the second century. Pliny locates them vaguely in the vicinity of the Vistula. Tacitus is equally indefinite, placing them in the unknown country east of the Suebic confederacy, which he knew as Germanic. Ptolemy mentions them as one of the major nations living along the Venedic Gulf, which appears to be his term for the section of the Baltic coast northeast of the Vistula.

The identity of the Venedae of the Baltic with the Slavs is established in the sixth century by Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, who says of them in one passage: "From the source of the Vistula river immense areas are occupied by the populous nation of the Venethae, who, though their appellations may change in various clans and districts, are mainly called

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174 114 *Sclaveni* and *Antae*," and adds elsewhere, "Though deriving from one stem, they have now adopted three names, that is, Venethi, Antes, and Sclaveni." The "Ravenna Cosmographer," an anonymous geographic work not later than the seventh century, mentions the *Sclavini* as living in Scythia, which is here a generic term for northeastern Europe, while the ninth-century Latin text known as the "Anonymous Bavarus," with the full title "Description of the cities and regions on the north bank of the Danube," speaks of the *Zeruiani* (the name is obviously related to the modern terms *Serb* and *Sorb*), "which is so great a realm that from it, as their tradition relates, all the tribes of the Slavs are sprung and trace their origin."

Such of these sources as belong to the sixth century or later obviously reflect a period when the Slavic dispersion had already begun, but they are interesting as early datable appearances of the name *Slav* and as a sound basis for identifying Wends and Slavs as the same people.

174 197 Linguistic evidence also impels us to place the Slavs north of the Carpathians before their dispersion. Old Slavonic not only shows traces of contacts with Thracian, Iranian, and Germanic, but is also closely related to Lithuanian and exerted some influence on the early Finnish vocabulary. The only area where such extensive relations could have developed must necessarily have been north and east of the Carpathian chain. 174 141 It is likewise true that such anthropological evidence as we have identifies the proto-Slavs rather with the northern long-headed race than with the primitive Central European brachycephalics, though even at the epoch of Slavic unity the cephalic index was by no means uniform, and with the lapse of time the stronger shortheaded brunette type came to dominate among the Slavs, as it does indeed today.

174 114 The topological nomenclature of the Carpathian range is, moreover, not Slavic, thus indicating that the early Slavs lived beyond these mountains and the forests which clothed them. Furthermore, Herodotus mentions as adjacent and subject to

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the Scythians, but as distinct from them, a tribe known as the Neuri, who lived between the upper Dniester and the middle Dnieper rivers, and certain related Slavic place names indicate that they extended to the basins of the western Bug and the Vistula. This tribe is therefore generally regarded as Slavic, and on this basis it may be held with some certainty that the proto-Slavs as early as the fifth century B.C., and thus long before their dispersion, inhabited an area at least as far to the east as modern Kiev.

To the west it is not possible to place the proto-Slavic boundary beyond the Vistula, since all ancient historians mention this river as the eastern boundary of Germanic settlement. A further indication of this western Slavic frontier is the fact that the vocabulary of the proto-Slavs lacked a word for the beechtree, which grows west of a line roughly connecting Königsberg and Odessa, so that the Slavs were forced to borrow this name from their early Germanic neighbors. There is no good archaeological evidence to indicate that the proto-Slavs ever extended as far as the Elbe, though their medieval descendants reached it. Neither did they touch the Baltic, for the area north of the string of lakes and marshes which separates modern East Prussia from Polish territory was inhabited at the beginning of the Christian era by Baltic tribes akin to the present-day Lithuanians, who likewise occupied the basins of the Memel and the Dvina between the Slavs and the Gulf of Riga. Before the Christian era, the proto-Slavs were also separated from the Black Sea by a succession of Iranian tribes who occupied the southern steppe or prairie country, but they must have touched the navigable portions of the Russian rivers west of the Crimea, since Old Slavonic borrowed the Greek word for boat.

The habitat of the primitive Slavs before their dispersion was thus an irregular oblong area northeast of the Carpathians, extending eastward from the basin of the middle Vistula to the course of the Dnieper north and south of Kiev, bounded on the

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north by the rivers Narev and Pripet, and along its southern edge touching the headwaters of the Prut, the Dniester, and the Bug, which are all rivers flowing into the Black Sea.

The very origin of the names "Wend" and "Slav" is problematic. The term "Wend" has sometimes been regarded as connected with the Danish *vand,* the modern equivalent of Old Norse "vatn" (water), so that the Wends would derive this appellation from being water dwellers or lake dwellers. Though there are traces of Slavic lake dwellers, the difficulty here is that the name, being found in Pliny and Tacitus, is far older than any Slavic contacts with the Danes as such. For geographical reasons also, the earliest Slavic contacts must have been not with North Germanic, but with East Germanic tribes, who (if we may judge by the Gothic vocabulary) used for water the terms "wato," without a nasal, or (in the case of a river or any body of water) "ahwa," akin to the familiar Latin "aqua." Efforts to correlate the name "Wends" with a Germanic word "wenden," to wander, so that it might signify "the wanderers," collide with the objection that both early East and West Germanic cognates of this verb simply mean "to turn," with no implication of wandering at all. Any connection with the Gothic word "winja" (pasturage) is to be rejected because of the absent dental (d), though there is abundant evidence to prove that the primitive Slavs were relatively skilful agriculturists and cattleraisers. Similarly, it is hardly possible to justify a connection between the name "Wend" and the Indo-European base **uen,* meaning "to strive, to wish, to love," even through such a derivative as Old Norse "vinr," friend. The Slavic etymologies proposed are even more uncertain, so that, for lack of anything better, the most reasonable supposition is that "Wend" is related to the early Celtic base "uindo," which means "white." It would thus appear that this was the appellation applied by the dark-haired Celts in the Danube basin to their blond neighbors behind the Carpathians, and this interpretation is the more appealing since there are pure Slavic tribal names of which the definition "white" or "blond" is a com-

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II

The Slavic Migrations

We have seen that there is no evidence that the Slavs or any 174
part of them were present in the middle or lower Danube basin 167
before the Christian era. The Gothic historian Jordanes, writing in 551 A.D., reports that in his day the Slavs were occupying the whole valley of the lower Danube from its junction with the Save river to the sea, and that they extended east as far as the Dniester and north to the Vistula. On the basis of this passage historians have frequently maintained that the Slavs did not reach the Danube valley until the migratory Germanic tribes had evacuated both Germany and Hungary, but that their movement was so rapid that they overran this area as soon as its previous occupants had left it. Since the Byzantine historian Procopius associates the arrival of the Slavs in the Balkans with the accession of the Emperor Justinian in 521, it was easy to conclude that the Slavic movement southward began about this date.

There are, however, grounds to believe that the Slavic march toward and across the Danube was a process of longer duration, and actually began considerably earlier. It may be recalled that those tremendous movements known as the barbarian migrations started in the first century A.D. Numerous Germanic tribes made their way from eastern Germany through the Sudeten

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174 167 defiles into Moravia even before the year 200. These shifts of population are explicable by the pressure not only of the Lombards and the Goths, but also of the Slavs, and after the Goths reached the Black Sea during the third century, the Slavs were doubtless the chief impelling factor in such migratory movements. That the Slavic expansion was by no means a brief and spatially limited process is borne out by the fact that in the sixth century we find the Slavs already settled from the Elbe and the Saale in the west to the Don in the east, and from the Baltic in the north to the Adriatic and the Aegean in the south. They were thus occupying an area five times greater than their original home, and during the process of settlement they did not evacuate and abandon their primitive habitat, as so many German tribes (Goths, Lombards, Vandals, Burgundians) are known to have done. This fact alone indicates a slow expansion in all directions rather than a sudden shift of position.

We find in the sources some respectable evidence to support this opinion. In 448, for instance, the Emperor Theodosius II sent an embassy from Constantinople deep into Pannonia (modern Hungary) to buy off Attila and his Huns, who had recently menaced the metropolis. One member of the embassy, named Priscus, has left an account of its long and arduous journey, in the course of which he speaks of meeting in Hungary an hospitable local population whose language was not Hungarian, and who supplied a drink made of honey called [273] *medos*. This form is probably nothing more than a Greek spelling of Old Slavonic *medŭ*, since honey beer is a traditional Slavic drink and Priscus would have written the word with an *i* if he had been talking about Gothic mead. Jordanes also mentions that the funeral of Attila was accompanied by a great feast called a *strava*, which is a well-known medieval Slavic usage, apart from the fact that the word itself is pure Slavic.

Somewhat earlier during the fourth century it is also recorded that the Sarmatians in the Hungarian plain were expelled from there by the subject rural population, who are

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identified soon after as Wends, that is, Slavs. Apart from these rather tenuous historical data, there are also a certain number of place names dating as far back as the second century not only in the western district between the rivers Drave and Save, but also in Hungary north of the Danube, which cannot be etymologized as anything but Slavic. It is therefore probable that some Slavic infiltration into this area began as early as the first century, and it is entirely certain that Slavs were present there between the third and the fifth centuries. We may thus conclude that the Slavs began to drift into the basins of the Danube and the Save at the very opening of the Christian era, appearing at first simply as isolated islands among an alien population. The slowness of this penetration would then explain the relatively isolated character of the early place names which reflect this drift. The Slavs did not therefore hit the Danube Valley in a sudden wave. After the first scattered settlers had arrived, the major movement set in during the third century when all populations north of the Carpathians were in a state of flux, so that by Jordanes's day (551) their occupancy of the Danube basin was an established fact of fairly long standing.

While it is not difficult to date in this fashion the arrival of the Slavs in the Danube basin, there is no evidence that they penetrated the Balkans proper before the year 500, unless we may suppose with some likelihood that isolated Slavic bands accompanied the numerous alien invaders known prior to that date. In any case, there is no question of real Slavic occupation of the Save and the Danube until the sixth century. Early in its course, when the Byzantine frontiers were being harassed by Huns, Bulgars, and Avars, the Slavs were also on the march southward, and they frequently made common cause with these invaders. Their chief center of population at this period was on the middle reaches of the Danube and in modern Walachia, but they attacked on a long front from Dalmatia to the very walls of Constantinople itself. With the Avars, energetic Turko-Tartars of Asiatic origin who had fought their way across the

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167 steppes to the Danube, they threatened the Greek peninsula,
●174 where their first occupation dates from 581.

721 Contemporary chroniclers report that the Slavs had by that
167 time acquired wealth by pillage and fought even better than the regular Greek troops. On the Adriatic, they occupied the districts of Illyria, Dalmatia, and Istria early in the seventh century. Shortly afterward the Slavs on the western front (the Czechs and those on the Adriatic seaboard) overthrew the Avar hegemony and became independent, but after the Avars were thus weakened, the Slavs never menaced Constantinople again. Yet by the end of the seventh century the whole interior of the Balkan peninsula, especially Macedonia and its neighborhood, was populated by Slavs. They even took to the sea and reached Crete in 623. At the height of the Avar expansion, the Slavs had already passed through Thessaly, Epirus, and Attica, and reached the Peloponnese in 588. Here their occupation was so formidable that, for the next two centuries, a Byzantine Greek scarcely dared set foot in the southern portion of the peninsula, while in the north the Danube was never again fixed as the frontier of the Byzantine Empire after 601. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that the Slavs were ever in the majority in Greece proper. Subject Greeks still formed the mass of the population. Were this not the case, it would be difficult to explain the eventual and rather rapid subsequent disappearance of the Slavic element south of Macedonia.

101 Once the Slavs were firmly established in the Balkans, they
177 immediately became exposed to the older cultures they found there. Those on the Adriatic coast and in the western Danube basin felt the impact of Latin civilization transmitted through romanized native populations, through colonial centers, or through the cities of the seaboard. When they settled within the sphere of Greek influence, the dominant cultural pressure was Byzantine. The results of these accidents of location are still discernible in the intellectual orientation of the Balkan Slavs.

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177 Slavonic, although the two idioms have undergone widely
174 variant evolutions over a long period. It is generally held by competent scholars that there was at some early date an epoch of Balto-Slavic unity. Precisely when this unity existed it is not so easy to say. The facts that certain Iranian words appear in Slavic without a counterpart in Lithuanian, and that the Balts borrowed other words from Finnish which the Slavs do not possess, have given rise to the theory that the Balts and the Slavs had separated before the arrival of the Scythians and even early in the bronze age, hence before 1000 B.C. But these are very tenuous proofs, and the most we can say with certainty is that the Balts and the Slavs had been separated for a long time before history knew either of them.

177 The modern extent of Lithuanian (Baltic) territory in Lithuania, Latvia, and their environs is, moreover, much more limited than it was in an earlier age, for before the westward migration of the Finns from the Volga, the Letto-Lithuanian people occupied the Baltic coast from the Vistula to the Gulf of Finland and the interior across White Russia (Byelorussia) to the western limit of the Finns between the upper Volga and Moscow rivers north of the line of settlement of the early Eastern Slavs. There were Lithuanian survivals, a tribe known as the Galindians, near Moscow as late as the thirteenth century, showing that Slavic colonization in central Russia encountered not only Finns, but also Balts. The Russian *Primary Chronicle* thus knows not only the Galindians, but also the Prussians on the coast east of the Vistula, and the Lithuanians (a specific tribal name) and other Baltic units around the Gulf of Riga where the Letts now reside. It should be noted that the German Prussians derive their name from the old home of the Lithuanian Prussians, that is, modern East Prussia, the country south of Danzig and Königsberg. This area was subjugated by the Teutonic knights during the thirteenth century, after which the eradication of the original Baltic inhabitants proceeded so rapidly that the language had died out by the year 1700.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16

III

ELEMENTS OF A FOLK-CHRISTIANITY AND ITS RELATION TO MAGIC

Procopius in describing the manners of the Slavs has a remark to this effect; that while they believed in a supreme God and in many spirits and demons and lesser gods, they neither believed in any fate, nor in any direct influences over human life of a supernatural nature. What the writer meant to convey by this extraordinary statement is not known, unless that at that time the ideas of predestination, the cult of fates, who regularly preside over births, and that of the ancestors, for whose service the most characteristic ceremonies of the peasant are designed, were not in evidence; or that in general the religious attitude of these barbarians differed essentially from that of the Greeks. Procopius goes on to say that, when a man felt himself to be in particular danger, through sickness or through war, he promised gifts to the gods, and, if the situation were grave he made these in fact, hoping therewith to redeem his life. This is still a fundamental element of popular prophylaxis. Apart from such literary curiosities, the early religion of the South Slavs can only be reconstructed from later evidence, from recent folk-lore, and, in this case, not very helpful archaeological study.

For the more northern branches of the Slavic race, there is ample evidence of a pagan priesthood, of a shamanistic type, and of an organised cult, with a foundation of animistic magic, an established ritual, calendar and shrines. There is no conclusive record of anything approaching such a highly organised system amongst the South Slavs, and the traces of idol worship have received no concrete archaeological confirmation up to date. The fuller accounts of Helmoldus amongst the West Slavs, and of Nestor amongst the Russians,

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Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

IV

SOURCES OF ANCIENT MAGIC AND MEDICINE

I

During the pagan and semi-pagan period the Slavs lived in small, independent tribes, later forming loose federations within territorial limits. For long the Greeks were unable to negotiate with them, because they did not agree among themselves and had no central authority. The organisation of a united state in Rascia coincided with the establishment of state Christianity, and the pagan empire of Bulgaria was comparatively short-lived.

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The tribal religious cult was likely to have been an extension of a domestic cult, probably rarely accompanied by the specialised functions of an official priesthood. The domestic cult lasts to the present day. The head of the household officiates in ceremonial, and the assistance of an outsider is not essential. In ceremonial which involves the whole tribe or village, the heads of households—the tribal elders—are again responsible; but that they have not an entire monopoly of ritual is evident in ceremonies which are performed by a group without a specially chosen leader, particularly those which belong to the younger people, or ceremonies conducted by old women doctors, etc.[1]

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[1] The rites of the peasants hint also at an independent development. It is not true only that the non-Christian element enjoyed a revival, tended to revert to type, after the fall of the mediaeval empire. A direction was taken at that time, perhaps, in which the popular religion continued a course of development and adaptation. The popular religion, or sometimes a popular aversion to religion as well as to social forms that flourished under a feudal church, must have sought new outlets much earlier. Local forms of peasant cults must be of comparatively recent growth, and contain more than the survivals of an ancient paganism. The *slava*, for instance, is a typical example of a domestic rite which does not require a special priesthood. It has become perhaps the central

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There is little trace of shamanism in the Balkans, and few instances of the combining of the functions of priest and doctor and magician except by accident. In peasant cults these offices are adopted to meet a special occasion, unless they are the speciality of a local wise woman. Women who have ceased to menstruate or widows may have to be chosen for certain rites, but this is only a temporary priesthood. The seeress mediates between ordinary people and spirits only when she is required to do so. Young men without physical defect only may be allowed to take part in certain ritual dances, etc. Almost each cult has its own 'priest'. The fulfilment of the village 'vows' and the sacrifice at the sacred village tree is performed by householders, and the high priest of the occasion is the host for that year. The mother of twins is, it is said, considered to be specially pure, and twins themselves have special occasional functions. I hazard that this arrangement is characteristic of peasant cults; and that the institution of a monopoly of priestcraft, whether on the part of the Christian church or by the priests of organised pagan cults, meant a profound social change, to uphold which popular custom had to be discredited.

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In Russia itself, so many parallels are found that a close

feature of the religious life of South Slav Orthodox communities and has died hard among the non-Orthodox. It represents an elaboration under peculiar circumstances of a strictly domestic cult with occasional ministrants, whose sporadic priestly duties are determined by their normal social function and status. A similar Lithuanian rite was also traditionally a strictly domestic affair. The *slava* embraces ideas and ceremonial found in the earliest accounts of Slav custom and which belonged to pre-Christian ideas, but other features, and the general form as we now know it, so closely resemble the celebration of the liturgy that the institution may well have arisen from an early practice of private celebrations, or imitations of the liturgy, perhaps at a time of a Christian minority, or further encouraged by the conditions of Turkish occupation. There is still a tendency to think that anything that is not traceable to the Churches' institutions is necessarily pre-Christian in origin. The cycle of Christmas rites also shows a mixture of sources and evidence of late formation, and considerable local variety when the cycle of the whole season, which may include rites transferred from other seasons, is considered. In any case, the past is not always 'fossilised'. While a

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connection with Asiatic shamanism was suggested many years ago. On the whole, the characteristics of magical practice are better mapped regionally than ethnologically; the Russian and West Slavs falling beside the Baltic and Finnish races of the north; while Balkan Slav folk-lore more closely resembles that of the neighbouring southern races.

In the process of time a religious sentiment has grown up about the ritual inherited from ancient semi-magical rites; and direct magic, conceived as such, figures principally as a part of a medical system, in which, however, empiricism now predominates, and magic is applied rationalistically. This division between applied magic and religion, between charm worker and the priest, seems to have existed since early times.

The pagan cult, as far as can be judged, recognised innumerable local and tribal gods, associated with the various activities of the people, such as war, agriculture, etc., or representing personifications; and an equally important cult of trees, stones and waters, in which, according to some, gods or spirits were supposed to reign. The Slavs of the East could not swear by trees, fountains or stones (but the priests gave accused persons the choice of trial by ploughshare, iron or

custom can in any sense be said to live, though it come out of the past it is also a part of actuality and a factor of present-day life and psychology. The popular religion is more sophisticated, and probably greatly more varied than any reconstruction of primitive cults that could be made. It depends on the vigour of the church organisation locally how far a distinction is made between standard Christian practice and the rest, and how far the non-Christian part of tradition is looked upon as not wholly in conformity with the nominal faith. Left to itself the folk-mind blends diverse elements into a single law. Certainly custom, particularly religious custom, is not in origin a direct response to the physical environment. Adjustment to the demands of a ruling class, for instance, is not expressed only on the economic plane. But there is a tendency to try to adapt institutions—even those forced upon a community—to material circumstances. Hence the permeation of all peasant cults by the dominant interest in provision for life and the staying of disaster. The Church would have had little chance of survival here had its rites not received an economic and apotropaeic interpretation, far removed from the spiritual benefits of its written doctrine.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Yugoslavia EF1
Slavia Peoples E16

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Austrian Colonel Borovicska, these huts were, in 1858, the normal type of house in the Kossovo valley (1).

SL
[342]

The Czech historian L. Niederle is more plain about the present subject. According to him the old typical house of the Balkan Slavs appears as a simple hut (kuć'a) with small auxiliary spaces near it. But when he examines the Slav dwellings in general, he says that «only the Serba, the Kroats and the Bulgars ignored the ante-room from the beginning (le vestibule)», that is the second room, which was built in front of the entrance of the single room of the Slav house already before the 11th century, at first in order to protect the entrance against the direct influence of the rain, the snow or the cold; but later it constituted a separate space, used for the storing of various articles, for the stabling of cattle and for the habitation of persons in summer months (Fig. 45, b). «We must therefore suppose», says Niederle, «that the Slavs of South had abandoned their primary Northern homeland before the ante-room (vestibule or antichamber) had formed an essential and independent part of the house in the Northern countries. This progress, on the other hand, would not have been possible, as long as the population lived under semi-nomadic conditions and did not build permanent, spacy and strong shelters. Consequently, the transition to the permanent habitation was made from the 6th to the 11th century, that is to say at a period when the main bulk of the Jugoslavs had already descended towards the Danube and even more to the South of it» (2).

SL
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It is thus explained why the ancient Jugoslav house did not follow the evolution of the houses of the Slav peoples living in Eastern and central Europe, but has the primitive form of a Slav house, i.e. the form of a simple hut from the very beginning.

But also another great progress achieved by the Slav house architecture before the 10th century, under foreign influence this time, remained unknown to the old Jugoslav house: it is the creation, in the interior of the house, of the «izba» with its stove and later with its kitchen, which originated, as we have seen, (pp. 71 foll. above) from a German influence. Niederle says: «Only the old Jugoslav kuć'as have no ovens but just one hearth. This leads us to believe that: the Jugoslavs started their migration to the South before the introduction of the oven or of the stove into their houses» (3).

SL
[342]

1) Franz Baron Nopcsa, Albanien, Berlin 1905, p. 8.
2) L. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité slave. Paris, 1926, 2, 100 foll.
3) L. Niederle, op. cit. 122.

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But alongside these external modifications,* great changes were taking place in the internal life of the Russian people; tribal life was being replaced by provincial life. The ancient tribal units were being dislocated and were disappearing little by little into the new provincial organizations which formed themselves around the princes, and little by little a new division of the Russian people could be seen establishing itself, whereby the old tribal units were replaced by three large groups, differing with respect to language, internal organization and, in certain ways, to political life. Mr. Shakhmatov, in a remarkable essay published in 1899 by the Russian Review of Public Education, has not yet spoken science's final word. We must restrict ourselves to this simple statement. Already at the time of the Tatar domination, the old tribal units had grouped themselves, either as a result of their internal development, or as a result of external causes, into three groups:

In the south (between the San, the Pripet, and the Dnepr) the Ukrainian group which obviously was made up of the former Poliani, Drevliani, Volhynians, Dudlebi, Tiversti, Ulichi, a portion of the Severiani, and the remains of the Croats and the Serbs from the Carpathians;

In the north the Great Russians, made up principally of the Slavs from Novgorod, the Viatichi, the Krivichi, and a portion of the Severiani;

/16/ In the west the Belorussians or White Russians (including principally the former Dregovichi, the Radimichi, a portion of the Drevliani and Krivichi, and the remains of the Lithuanians).

At this period appeared the expressions Great Russia, Little Russia (Ukrainia) and White Russia (it is not known what this last epithet signifies).

S.P. H.R. [197]

The Little Russian (Ukrainian) group is the one which has remained the purest from the language viewpoint; the White Russian group is less pure, as it has been affected by the political union with Lithuania from the end of the thirteenth century and, later on, from the sixteenth century, by a strong Polish influence. The basic elements of the Great Russian group were extremely varied; but the one which was most influential of all was the city which was to become the center of the Russian world, namely Moscow.

Despite this division, the three groups remained three branches of the same nation. The languages were closely related; close ties bound them together from a political viewpoint (at the beginning the common struggle against the Tatars, later the union under the Muscovite

* [Migrations and colonizations: cf. cat. 116, pp. 11-14.--Editor]

H.R. 101 S.P. 175 scepter).

They have had religious unity for too long a period to permit anyone to hesitate considering them as a single whole, the Russian nation, despite the shades of difference already pointed out.

As for the matters which relate to external development, we must indicate the following stages:

H.R. 167 S.P. 175 167 The Russian nation did not succeed in extending itself to /17/ the west; between the space which it occupied and the sea Lithuanian tribes (Lettish) and, further to the south, the strong Polish race were concentrated. The Russians did not advance in that direction; very much to the contrary, their race underwent a very serious period of decline; in fact, it almost perished, on the one hand under the pressure of Lithuania, and on the other, under that of the Poles who were forced to stretch out towards the east, finding themselves pushed back by the Germans. This explains why on the maps of Bielenstien (1)

1. A German scholar of the nineteenth century who especially concerned himself with the Lett language.

the Russo-Lettish frontier of the thirteenth century is almost the same as today and why the western portion of Russian territory contains a large Polish element.

The expansion towards the north continued though with less success than formerly. The further one advanced into these regions, the less hospitable they became. But, beginning with the fifteenth century, especially from the reign of Peter the Great, the colonial expansion of the Russian element turned gradually toward the north, where colonies of monks and raskolnoki were sent out. (2) These colonies

2. Heretics (from raskol, schism). Translator.

were of slight importance and widely scattered. Then conditions changed. The expansion towards the north diminished, the movement turned towards the south and southeast.

The Tatar invasion had created a solid enclosing wall /18/ which Russian colonization was unable to cross so long as the Tatar Khanates were not brought under subjection. This was not long delayed. After 1486 Russia was freed from its bonds. The desire for revenge, the increase of the population, and other conditions, pushed the Russians very energetically towards the east, the southeast, and the south. They did not stop their advance. Their front line, which had been on the Oka, was replaced in the middle of the sixteenth century by the so-called Tula line, from Putivl' on the Seym through Briansk and Tula, towards the Una, tributary of the Moksha. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Muscovites occupied the Belgorod, Voronezh-Kozlov line,

N.R. 167 the Tambov-Simbirsk line, the line of the Transkama (Sengilei-
S.R. Menzelinsk). On the other hand, they colonized the region of Poltava
175 in great masses. (1) At the end of the seventeenth century the line
167

1. The Ukrainians of the region between the Bug and the Dnestr began in the fourteenth century, under the princes of Kiyev and of Lithuania to penetrate into the Poltava region. But it was not until the sixteenth century that, under the protection of Moscow, they emigrated en masse. In the seventeenth century they already occupied the governments of Kharkov, the western portion of the government of Voronezh and the southern part of the government of Koursk. This immigration is explained by the development of the Cossacks, the necessity of fleeing from Polish domination, and the diminution of the Tatar strength, especially that of the Horde of the Crimea.

of the Don was reached, then, under the reign of Empress Anne, the line of the Ukraine (1731-1735), which was replaced forty years later by the line of the Dnepr between the Dnepr and the Sea of Azov.

T.R. 167 /19/ The movement forward was completed by the conquest of the
S.R. Khanate of the Crimea in 1783. Colonies of German and Serbian
175 immigrants into Russia accompanied these advances of the military
167 lines. The litoral of the Black Sea was partially colonized in the eighteenth century, and partially, --for example between the Bug and the Dnestr (the present Gubernia of Tavrida)--only in the nineteenth century. At about the same time Russian colonization reached the Caucasus,(line of the Caucasus along the Kuban and the Terek from 1779 to 1799), but it was not completed until the second half of the nineteenth century after the complete submission of the Caucasus (1864).

The Russians penetrated earlier into the regions beyond the Volga, especially from the reign of Peter the Great onwards.

At this period they reached Samara and in the years 1734-1744 the Orenburg line. In the interior of Asia colonization was at first accomplished by the conquests of the brothers Stroganov and of Ermak (1558-1582), in Siberia as far as the Obi and Irtysh Rivers. It was completed in the nineteenth century by the conquest of all of Siberia as far as Sakhalin and Manchuria, by the subjugation of the Kirghiz Steppes to the south and finally of Turkestan (Tashkent, 1864, Samarkand 1868, Khiva 1873, Kokand 1876, Ashkabad 1881, Merv 1884, Murghab 1885). Everywhere the troops were followed by colonists, especially by the inhabitants of Great Russia.

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Rivers, and the Carpathians. The Gorals also use this word to designate the country and people of Poland.

Towards the close of the tenth century, as far as we know, the Lekh people consisted of the following tribes:

The Polianes primitively settled on the Warta, the Notec (today in German, Netze) near the lake of Goplo and as far as the Oder.

The Vislanes on the upper Visla (Vistula).

The Mazovi on the two banks of the middle Vistula.

The Kuiavi at the bend of the Vistula, near Thorn.

The Slezani (Silesians) on the upper Oder and to the east as far as the other side of the Bobra. They included the tribes of the Didoshi, the Bobrani, the Bezunchani, the Opolani and the Holasici.

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/63/ What were the ties of kinship between the Polish tribes and the Slavs of the seacoast, the Pomoriani (1) (between the lower Vistula, the Oder and the Notec) and the Lutitsi to the west on the Varnava and the Elbe? It would be difficult to determine them. The old writer of the Kiyev annals, in the indications which he gives us of the country inhabited by the Poles, relates these peoples to the Lekhs. Here is what he says: "For these Slavs coming to settle on the Vistula called themselves Lekhs and among these Lekhs certain of them called themselves Polianes, Lekhs, some Lutitsi, some Mazovi, others Pomoriani."

1. It is from this name (po, along the, more, sea) that Pommem is derived, the German name of Pomerania now Germanized.

All these tribes subjected themselves to the Polianes of the center under the princes of the Piast dynasty and accepted their name. It is not known when this unification took place. We only know that the principal authors of it were the princes Mesek I (960-992) and Boleslav the Brave (992-1025).

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Unity was not accomplished at the outset; it was achieved by the development of internal colonization.

At the beginning, the regions of Little Poland and of the Mazovia were sparsely inhabited. The foreign element which hastened this unification, was obviously the Germans against whom it was necessary to carry on warfare from the time when they subjugated and annihilated the Slavs of the Elbe (eleventh and twelfth centuries).

The struggle against the Germans exercised among the Poles, as among the Czechs, a considerable influence upon their internal and

1 [Between the different Polish tribes, cf. Above and page 41, category 116 — Analyst]

P
SP
175 external development. From their primitive homeland located in the
648 basins of the Oder, of the Warta, and of the Vistula, they sought to spread out in all directions. But they encountered in the west the resistance of the Germans; they were unable to overcome it; they were even compelled to give way and they sought to assure their existence and expansion by constant fights and invasions against the Prussians, the Lithuanians, and the Russians. Obviously, the Poles clearly recognized that one of their first tasks was to maintain in the north a wide passageway to the sea and in the west, their frontier on the Oder, if not on the Elbe. Unfortunately all of the advantages, all of the conquests which they gained in this direction were of a purely ephemeral character. A terrible blow fell upon them through the Tatar invasion and through the battle of Legnica--/An German--Liegnitz/ (1241). It broke the bonds which united Silesia with Poland and threw this province into the arms of Germany, who began to Germanize it. Another check was the summons of the Teutonic Knights into the country of Chelm
P and of Loba (1226) which facilitated the Germanization of the seacoast.
SP
[563] Finally, let us point out the German colonization which the ecclesiastical or lay princes invoked, beginning with the thirteenth century, in Silesia, into Little Poland, Great Poland and Mazovie; these colonies did not become assimilated and remained completely German in language and customs. Thus a grave peril for Polish nationality was created and developed. "Exterminare idioma Polonicum" /exterminate the Polish language/ became the order of the day for the Germans on the western froniter. Beginning with the thirteenth century, the Polish nationality appeared to be gravely compromised.

P
SP
175 However, it succeeded in escaping from this peril.[1] The clergy
668 showed themselves to be highly patriotic; literature was born and exercised a happy influence upon all classes of society. The Hussite movement also exercised its influence in Poland against the Germans. The dynasty followed a national political line. It accomplished noteworthy successes,
P especially over the Teutonic Knights, who were defeated at Grunwald
SP in 1410. In truth, the provinces beyond the Oder and to the north
175 could not be saved. The Poles lost three-quarters of their primitive
648 domain; but what they lost in the west, they attempted to regain in the
668 east, that is toward the northeast, and toward the southeast. This double direction was imposed upon them by the very nature of the terrain; in the center, the basin of the Pripet presented an inhospitable and insurmountable area; to the south rose the barrier of the Carpathians. The Polish flood had to direct itself on the one hand towards Lithuania,

1 [Germanization of the Polish nationality beginning with the 13th Century -- Analyst]

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on the other, towards the Ukraine, and this double march characterized a new phase of Polish history.

The offensive movement was begun at an early date, /66/ but it achieved no serious result until the Union of Lublin (1569) when Lithuania was rejoined to Poland together with a large section of southern Russia (see above in S. 3).[1]

Kazimir had already occupied Red Russia in 1340, and in 1370 the Galician area was detached from the political control of Kiyev.

In Lithuania Polish institutions and language gained the upper hand over the native institutions and language; the upper classes of society took on Polish ways, and Polish colonization penetrated into the country, especially in Polesia. The same occurred in Galician Russia, the Volhynia and Podolia. The Poles were unable to hold Russian Galicia except by making it a base of operations for invading the basins of the Dnestr and the Bug. In the fifteenth century they colonized Podolia and Volhynia, and carried on this enterprise through the sixteenth century. Bobrinskii (1) claims that at this period this

1. A contemporary Polish historian. See my Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire de Pologne in the 3d series of the Monde Slave (Paris, Hachette, 1902). Translator.

province was half Polish! To these attempts at colonization was joined a religious action, the "union" of Polish-Lithuanian Russia with Rome.

During that time the Russian princes, emancipated from the Tatar yoke, had formed at Moscow a new and formidable political center. They /67/ had undertaken to group about them all of the Russian countries. We do not need to explain here how this plan was carried out. Moscow naturally entered upon a struggle with Poland: the war at first had as its object the Lithuanian provinces, then the Ukraine and finally Poland proper. It went steadily against Poland and finally resulted in the three partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795.

These events naturally had an ominous influence upon the development of the Polish national group; the conquests of the Poles were annulled and with them all of the Polish colonization of Russian territory. The states which divided up the Polish domain among themselves had for some time the idea of annihilating the Polish nation. But the vital force of this nation, its great traditions and its high hopes for the

[1] [cf. E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, p. 16, category 116-Analyst]

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future, preserved it and even strengthened it so that its adversaries themselves had partially to renounce their intentions.

The struggle which the Polish national group has undergone for its existence since the fall of the Republic has been extremely painful and still is so today, especially the struggle against the Germans.

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When the Congress of Vienna in 1815 perpetuated and revised the partition, it annexed to Russia the Duchy of Warsaw and set up the realm which the Poles call "Kongressowka." It guaranteed to the Poles their nationality and their autonomy. /68/ At first they enjoyed these benefits; but beginning in 1830 the situation changed. The revolution of Warsaw was smothered in blood. An the anti-Polish reaction which already existed in Russia became only more pronounced. The unhappy revolution of 1863 brought about the enslavement and the misery of Poland. Russianization was carried out with eagerness, and it required a terrible blow struck at the governmental system--the unfortunate war with Japan--to permit Poland to breathe a little more freely. The advent of the constitutional regime and the institution of the Parliament provided her with the possibility of making known her miseries, and we can hope that at the present moment, they will, at least in the Russian Empire, receive satisfaction.

The situation in Prussia is more serious. There arose, before 1775, a new and intensive movement of German colonization, especially in the basin of the Netze, and, after the insurrection of 1830, a political evolution which tended very simply to Germanize the Polish element. The attempted insurrection of 1845 and the events of 1848 gave this policy an opportunity to assert itself. At the beginning neither force nor violence was used. The Prussian government was convinced that the Polish element would eliminate itself little by little. The census of 1870 proved the contrary. Bismark then had recourse to new methods. He strove to uproot the Polish nation and had /69/ recourse to the most violent means. Certainly, in Russia the Poles were not comfortable; but in the Empire such violent measures, such refined ones as the Prussians thought up had not been employed. What no nation had ever before attempted to do against another nation, the Germans now undertook against Poland. They sought to dispossess an entire people by the law of colonization (Ansiedelunggesetz), which placed at the disposal of the government one hundred million marks to purchase ground from the Poles and to establish German colonies there. Thanks be to God

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that up to the present all of these efforts have failed. At least, the results obtained are not in any manner in proportion to the pecuniary sacrifices. The law of expropriation voted in 1908 succeeded no better, and there is room to believe that all the efforts of the German "hakatists" (1) will break against the energetic resistance of the Polish people.

1. This name of Hakatists is given to a Prussian association founded in 1891 to colonize the routes to the east. This association was founded by Hansemann, Kennemann, and Tiedeman. It is from the initials of these three persons, H, K, T, that the word "hakatists" has been formed. (Translator).

Nevertheless, the situation of the Poles of Poznan and of Silesia remains a difficult one and there is no reason to hope that it will improve. The Prussian minister Von Arnim clearly stated in 1907 that they cannot be Germanized and that this is not being thought of. However, it is the goal towards which Prussia is steadily striving. And naturally the struggle /70/ of three and a half million souls against sixty million Germans can only be looked upon with anxiety.

And in fact Germanization is making serious progress among the Mazuri, in Silesia and Poznan, even though in certain places the Poles succeed in gaining the upper hand.

It is in Austria that the condition of the Poles is the most bearable. For the past forty years the former system of Germanization has been abandoned and the Polish nationality has developed in complete liberty; it even exercises a certain influence upon the destinies of the Empire and of the other nationalities.

000 S 12. The Domain of the Polish National Group.

We do not encounter as many difficulties in outlining this domain as we did in the case of the Russian domain. However, we do run into certain difficulties.

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Here again our principal criterion is the language.[1] It is upon the basis of the language that certain ethnographic maps have been drawn up in Prussia and in Austria. But the work has not always been done correctly. The latest census carried out in Prussia, has been based upon the mother tongue; but it is known that a great number of persons on the side of both the Poles and Germans have declared that they spoke

1 [i.e. to determine the domain of the Polish national group – Analyst]

1: Niederle--59 E-5 1911 E1 Slavic Peoples E1 6
Sorbs

101 At the period for which we possess somewhat more detailed historical data about them, the Polabian Slavs were divided into three great families:

1. The Obotrites in Mecklenburg, Lüneburg and Holstein (as far as the Varnava River), whence they penetrated into the Old Mark;

2. The Luticl or Veletiz between the Oder, the sea, the Varnava and the Elbe;

3. The Sorbs on the middle Elbe between the Verra*, the Havel, and the Bobrawa.

● 175 177 From the time when history records the presence of the Slavs on the Elbe, their history has been but a long struggle for existence; they carried on this struggle simultaneously against the German Empire and the Roman Church. The campaign undertaken by the Germans against the Polabian Slavs was at the same time of a political, national, and religious character. The Slavs resisted energetically, but the struggle was too unequal. The Germans had as allies the Danes, and upon occasion also the Polish and Czech prines. Furthermore, they were not in agreement among themselves.

Under Charlemagne and his immediate successors, the Germans achieved only insignificant victories.

The Saxon dynasty was more fortunate; the entire country of the Polabians fell into German hands. The conquest was accomplished by the /93/ Margraves. The Slavs were not only conquered, but were in a short time denationalized. Beginning with the twelfth century German colonization penetrated into their country; in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Germans were already superior in numbers, and by the fifteenth century only a few rare specimens of the Slav race were to be found.

On the island of Rugen* (Rouiana* in Slavic) the Slavs disappeared in 1404; on the Elbe towards the middle of the sixteenth century, they occupied only the districts of Luchow* and Danneberg*, the southern part of the district of Blekede*, a third of that of Ulzen*, and the northern section of the Old Mark (Altmark). Further to the east no more than a few remains were to be found in Mecklenburg, which was still rather thickly populated by Slavs in the thirteenth century (between the rivers Elde and Suda), and in Brandenburg in the district of Priegnitz (Brizan). But this rather sizeable group in Luneburg, was completely unable to maintain itself. In 1671 there were still Slavs

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177 there; about 1700 they were in great measure Germanized; the last Slav group was that of the Dravani (Drawaina) in the district of Luchow which even today is called Wendland, country of the Wends.

177A The Slavic language disappeared between 1750 and 1766. It was in 1751 that mass was celebrated in Slavic for the last time.[1]

161 In the years 1890-1900 the newspapers reported, according to A. Parczewski, that the census /94/ of 1890 had found 570 Slavs-Wends still in this region. But it was an error. The official census had indeed found in the Luchow area 570 Wends, but they spoke only German.

197 The Slavic tongue in this region has been dead for more than a century, as Mr. Muka reported without hesitation.[2] He was sent out as an investigator by the Academy of Sciences of Cracow.

000 However, the Slavic character is still found in great measure in the type and in the manner of life of the inhabitants of the Wendland.

101 Originally the Sorbs of this region[2] occupied in a compact mass
175 all of the country situated between the Saale, the Verra*, the Fulda, the upper Havel, and the Spree. They extended as far as Frankfort on the Oder, on the Lower Bobra, the Hvizda (Queis). The group included the so-called Sorbs between the Saale and the Elbe (1) then the Lusatians

1. These Sorbs are designated in Latin texts of the Middle Ages by the name Sorabes. (Translator)

on the middle Saale, and the Milczani on the upper Elster, the upper Spree and the Neisse. From the eleventh century on the Germans began to penetrate into these regions; but they only came there in large numbers beginning with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At this period the Sorb national group began to diminish to the west of the Elbe; it finally succumbed as a result of the Thirty Years War. The situation was better in /95/ Upper and Lower Lusatia, united under the Bohemian crown. Unfortunately, in 1635 the Treaty of Prague ceded
175 the territory to the House of Saxony. The Sorbian national group
668 commenced to decline, especially in Lower Lusatia. Its decadence was not arrested until the nineteenth century by the literary renaissance which restored some energy to this small people.

Thanks to the efforts of a few patriots, the national conscience

[2] [Wendland -- Analyst] [1] [Among the Polabian Slavs - Analyst]

175 was reawakened, literature revived, the Slavic tongue was introduced into the primary schools and the Germans of Saxony granted to their Sorbian fellow-citizens a tolerable modus vivendi. How long will this state of affairs endure? It is difficult to foretell.

177 Germanization is making great progress especially in Lower Lusatia, subjected to Prussians.

101 162 S 17. Boundary of the National Group. ---In 1886 Muka established on his ethnographic map, the best which exists up until the present, this boundary by a line which began to the south of Lubja (Lobau), passed between Rychbach (Reichenbach) and Wosporg (Weissenbach*), ran to Nizka (Niesky*), Reczice* (Rietschen*), went toward Muzakow* (Muskau*) on the Neisse, then following the Neisse reached Barsc (Forst), ran to Gresna* (Griessen*), to Barklawa* (Baerenklau*), to the west of Gubna (Guben*). The line then went straight to the west by Luboraz* (Lieberose*), Mochow*, Waldow*, Bocklin* (Burglehne*) then toward the south through Lubnjow* (Lubbenau*), /96/ through Wotrowce* (Bischofsdof*), Kalama* (Kalan*), Rudna* (Reuden*) and Bukowina; then towards the southwest the boundary ran around Komorow* (Senftenber*), Rolana* (Ruhland*) on the Elster, went through Nadzicow* towards Kamence*, Elstra*, Biskupci* (Bischofswerda*), where it turned sharply to the east towards Velecin* (Wilthen*) on the Lubia*. Such was the outer boundary of the region in which the majority of the people spoke Sorbian; there was in this region an absolutely Sorbian territory in the neighborhood of Chotebuz* (Cottbus*) and of Grodk*. There were also numerous German islands.

On the map drawn up in 1902 by A. Czerny, the territory had diminished and the Germans had gained ground. Today the northern part of Lower Lusatia is separated from the southern part only by a straight line between Grodk* and Chotebuz* on the two banks of the Spree. However, Tetzner in his book wrongly indicates Lower Lusatia as forming only an island.

161 S 18. Statistics.--The figures in effect confirm that the number of Lusatians is diminishing. At about 1880-1884, Muka, travelling from village to village, had set the total number of Sorbs at 175,966. He counted 72,000 in Lower Lusatia and 103,000 in Upper Lusatia. The official statistics for 1900 numbered only 93,032 Sorbs, speaking only Sorbian. If one adds about 23,000 bilinguals speaking both Sorbian and

S.P. c. 174 101 and in Moravia, at the beginning of history. However, it appears very likely that the different groups which are still met with today, the Czechs properly speaking, the Hanaks, the Lahs, the Slovaks, and the Valachs existed in those days. But we do not know where the frontier between the Czechs and the Slovaks was located: was it on the lower and middle Morava, as Safarik would have it, or farther to the east?

We know more about the Czechs. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, we see leaving the forest bordering Germany, a whole series of tribes that appear among them: to the north from the sources of the Oharka, proceeding towards the east, the Sedlicany, the Lucany, the Lemuze, the Deczany, the Litomerice, the Psovany, the Charvaty (Czechs?); in the center, the Czechs; near them the Zliczany; and to the south in the area of Budejovice (Budweiss), the Dudlebi.

Very soon the Czechs became the most numerous and strongest of all of these tribes /103/; thanks to their central location, they soon dominated the other tribes and fused them into a single people. From the ninth century their name was used to designate the entire aggregation of tribes.

S.P. c. 175 Thus this nation was formed. Settled in the watershed between the streams flowing to the north and those flowing to the south, near the source of the large rivers, protected by natural walls, it developed under excellent conditions. And, were it not for the errors of its princes, who through egoism caused serious damage to its prosperity and to its future, the history of this nation would have been entirely different from what it has been, and would occupy today a different position in the Slavic world from that which it now occupies.

S.P. c. 175 167 What caused it a terrible blow was the German colonization in Bohemia and Moravia. In the south, the Germans, pushing forward along the Danube towards the east, thrust back the Czecho-Slovaks who were settled in this region. This was a completely natural movement and one which should not have caused any great harm to the development of the Czech national group, seeing that the Germans would soon come into collision with the Magyars on the Litava (Leitha).

What was particularly harmful to the Czechs was the German colonization summoned into the country by the national princes of the Premysls dynasty, Premysl Otakar I (1197-1230), Vaclav I (1230-1253)

A [Czechoslovakia — Analyse]

1: Niederle--66 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16 Czechoslovakia EB1

S.P. C. 175 167 and especially Premysl Otakar II (1253-1278) and their successors; the nobility and the clergy, /104/ particularly the monks, followed their example. As a result of this colonization, the Czech element found itself blockaded in the interior of the country by a belt of German cities and towns, a belt which continually drew tighter; at first below the Metallic Mountains and the Boehmerwald, then on the lower Elbe, then in the areas of Liberec (Reichenberg), Trutnov, Kladsko (Glatz) and in the region of the Jeseniky (Gesenke) Mountains. Moreover, German groups settled in the interior of the country. From the thirteenth century Bohemia and Moravia became bilingual countries.

S.P. C. [191]

From the standpoint of area the German zone was neither wide nor compact; it formed itself especially in the clearings of the forests on the west and northwest.

S.P. C. 101 563 In the fourteenth century, according to Professor Sedlaczek, the frontier of the nations in Bohemia ran from Kynwart* toward Zdar*, Kralupy, Chomutov (Komotau) which was German, toward Most, then toward Duchcov and Decin. Bilina and Teplice were still Czech. Then the frontier ran to Benesov* which was German, to Jablonna*, crossed Mount Iestied* and reached the sources of the Jizera (Iser). From the fourteenth century Liberec (in German, Reichenberg) was German. The Germans were settled in the mountains beyond Vrchlaby* (today Hohenelbe) which was still Czech. Pilnikov (Pillnitz), Trutnow, Zacler, Stare Buky* were already German. Starkov* remained Czech, but the region of Brumov*, and the country of Kladsko /105/were Germanized. Olesnica and Rokytnice* were Czech. Beyond Policzka* and Litomysl* the situation was as it is today. At Nemecky Brod there was a German island; Jindrichuv Hradec was mixed, as well as Budejovice (Budweiss). Krumlov and Prachatice were mixed; the Kasperk Mountains were German; in the region of Domazlice the frontier was Czech. Klatovy was mixed, Tachov German.

S.P. C. 175 167 Less is known about the German penetration into Moravia and into Silesia. From the thirteenth century the greater part of the fortified towns in Moravia have been German. In many of the cities, notably at Brno and at Olomouc, from the thirteenth century on a German bourgeoisie developed. The religious orders and the clergy contributed in summoning the Germans, especially Bishop Bruno who has been called the greatest Germanizer of Moravia. In the Teschen area the Czecho-Polish frontier has been the same from the fourteenth century

S.P. [565]

S.P. 175 167

to the present.

Slovakia, belonging to Hungary, was not spared by the German invasion. Germanization began to penetrate into the northern portion--perhaps Slovak--the Pannonia, beginning in the ninth century, as is attested by a celebrated text of 850: Conversio Bagoiarorum et Carantanorum. In the north of Hungary, from the twelfth century, the regents during the minority of Geza II (1141-1161) called a great number of Germans into the county of Spis to act as /106/ a counter-weight to the attraction which Poland was exerting upon the county of Zvolen. Following the example of these first colonists, the Germans, beginning in the thirteenth century, penetrated from the west into the counties of Bratislava and of Nitra, from the south into those of Bars and of Honta where they were not to be found before this period. This immigration increased particularly after the Tatar invasion of 1241. Hungary had been ravaged, and the kings,--notably Bela IV--called for new colonists. Thus, towards the end of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century, there was in Slovak territory no commune in which some German family was not established. The center and the base of German colonies aside from the towns of Spiess, was the association of mining towns with Kremnitz at their head. The sources mention in the first place Krupina, in 1238, then Banska Bystrica in 1255, and Nemecke Pravno in 1267. This state of things lasted until the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Two laws promulgated by the Diet in 1563 and in 1605 put an end to the privileges of the German towns and to the Germanic intrusion. Beginning with this period the Germans in the north of Hungary were Slovakized or Magyarized in turn. (Among the towns which again became Slovak may be cited Pukanec*, Nova Bana, Bela, Lubietova* and, to a considerable extent, Stiavnica and Banska Bystrica).

S.P. 175 177 191

Alongside the penetration of the frontier regions /107/ in Bohemia and Moldavia there should be pointed out, the influence beginning with the thirteenth century, of the German element upon the internal economy of the country, the customs, and the language. German almost assumed the role of an official language. German inhabitants received privileges. At court, among the nobility, in the towns, the German tongue played so important a role that some patriots, like Dalimil, (1) began to fear the ruin of the Bohemian language.

S.P. C. 175 177 191

1. Quite a long time ago I indicated the importance of this chronicler. See my Boheme pittoresque et historique (Paris, 1867).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century matters had gone so far that at the coronation of King John in 1311 the larger part of the people sang in German and the minority in Czech.

S.P. C. 175 168 [798]

Under Charles IV and his son Vaclav a reaction took place to the benefit of the Slavic element. The nobility and the clergy took an interest in this. This evolution was crowned by the wars of the Hussites, who fought at the same time for Czech faith and Czech nationality. The Germans lost their influence in the towns or were completely driven out; the Czech language reassumed its place. Among the towns which became Slavic may be cited Zatec (Saaz), Litomerice (Leitmeritz), Usti nad Labem (Aussig), Dvur Kralove, Jaromer, Hradec Kralove, Nemecky Brod, Caslav, Kutna Hora, Pelhrimov, Susice, Budejovice, Kaplice, Stribro and Plzen, all of which were already Czech at the end of the fourteenth century.

/108/ At this time, in Bohemia, in Moravia, in Siberia, Czech became an official language. It was proclaimed to be the sole administrative language at Opava (Troppau) in 1431, at Tesin (Teschen) in 1434, in Moravia in 1480, in Bohemia in 1495. In short, in the course of the fifteenth century Bohemia and Moravia rapidly became Czech, the national consciousness grew stronger, all the more because germanization became weaker within the country and in the frontier districts. Nevertheless, this very brilliant period had no enduring results. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a portion of Czech territory was again germanized as a result of the introduction of Protestantism and through the efforts of the new dynasty. Then came a long period of wars and persecutions which desolated entire regions and was followed by the new influx of German colonists from Misnie*, Voigtland*, from Franconia and from the Palatinate. Thus, at the very moment when the Czech language became official within the kingdom, when the Czech literature was flourishing, a great section of Czech soil was lost.

S.P. C. 175 177 167

S.P. C. [728]

Then came the defeat of Bila Hora (1620) and the unhappy events which placed the Czech nation in the hands of a dynasty which was German and absolutist. In 1627 a new organization was imposed

[Against the influence of the German element upon the country - Analyst]

S.P. 175 177 167

upon the country; German acquired an importance which it never had before. Bohemia found herself engaged in a series of wars, of miseries, of sufferings which diminished to the /109/ lowest degree the numbers and the energy of the Czech nation and rendered it a prey to the immigrants whose number increased each day. Many families which were faithfully preserving the national tradition emigrated, many perished, many changed their nationality. Immense domains were confiscated and passed into the hands of foreigners. Many of the most distinguished German Protestant families also left the country.

Thus, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the German population increased and the Germanic belt which surrounded Bohemia became wider. At this moment the Czechs lost in the north the regions of Zlutice (Luditz), of Zatec (Saaz), where, however, the Czech tongue resisted until the end of the seventeenth century, then that of Postoloptry (1) (Postelberg), Teplice (Teplitz), Usti (Aussig), Bilina,

1. This name simply comes from the Latin "Apostolorum Porta." Translator.

Lovosice (Lobositz), (Litomerice was not germanized until the eighteenth century), Ceska Duba, Steti, Mimon, Vartemberk*. To the northeast they lost the districts of Rokytnice, Vrchlaby, Hostinne; to the west, those of Primda, Hostouń, Pobezovice (Ronsperg), Horsova Tyna*, Straze*, Bor, Plane*, as far as Manetin. The German area, as it was described in the years 1699-1701 by the Czech pilgrim Antonin Frozin, is practically identical with the German area of today. According to the studies of Slavik, as much may be said for /109/ Moravia at the end of the seventeenth century. In the last two hundred and fifty years, however, there have been some modifications in northern Moravia. The towns of Usov*, Unczov*, Zabreh and Stity (Silperk) have been germanized.

On the other hand, the national language, and with it the national consciousness of the Czechs, disappeared more and more under the governmental pressure. The nobility, the intellectual class, the bourgeoisie gave in one by one. In the eighteenth century the patriots despaired compaired completely of the future.

In 1790 Pelcel said that in fifty years it would be difficult to find a Czech; in 1810 Dobrovsky wrote to Kopitar the famous letter: "Causa gentis nostrae, nisi Deus adjuvet, plane desperata est". /"The cause of our country is, unless God helps, quite hopeless"/. And

S.P. c 175 177 167

again in 1827 Jungmann in a moment of discouragement gave vent to this sad cry: "We have had the sad fate of being the witnesses and the accessories of the final annihilation of our mother tongue."

S.P. c 175 668 517

Nevertheless, certain men succeeded in awakening the nation, in saving what might be saved. The history of the Czech literature since the second half of the eighteenth century shows us in an admirable fashion the work which a little group of men, obscure but impassioned, taken with a great idea, have been able to accomplish.

Aroused by the progress of liberalism in Europe, by the "Josephinism," they succeeded in reviving an interest in national affairs, in shaking the people out of their torpor, at first among the lowly ones who had preserved the language, then in the intellectual class. This Czech people, whose existence appeared doubtful one hundred years ago, of whom the Viennese educator Kindermann von Schulstein, basing himself upon the new scholastic program, had proclaimed the approaching disappearance, this Czech people, is today conscious of itself, it forms a compact mass of six and one-half million persons and constitutes an impregnable citadel against which the powerless efforts of the germanism bent upon the ruin of the Slavs come and break. There is only one thing to regret and that is that political conditions have prevented the union and assimilation of the two million Slovaks settled in northern Hungary.

S.P. c. 101

S 21. National Frontiers.--The compact mass of the Czechs and Slovaks are distributed among six administrative regions: in Austria, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, and the Duchy of Silesia, in Hungary, and, for a few segments, in Prussian Silesia.

The ethnographic boundary which separates the Slovaks from the other Czechs runs across Moravia; but the Slovaks of Moravia are so closely associated with the life of the Czech nation and are drawing so much closer to them each day that one may /112/ consider as the true boundary the political frontier which separates Moravia from Hungary. There, in the Carpathians, a wall stands which separates the two groups, Czechs and Slovaks, and unless unforeseen circumstances intervene, it is to be feared that their former unity will wind up in a dualism: Czechs on the one side, Slovaks on the other.

Thanks to a series of ethnographic studies, and also to the acute

1: Niederle--83 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples E16
Czechoslovakia EB1

S.P. C. 184 Slovaks broke away from the Bohemian crown in 1031; despite the relations which they have maintained since that time with the Czechs, and many attempts to bring them more closely together, the separation persists and, except for an unexpected miracle, it will finally lead to the division of the formerly single nationality into two different nations.

S.P. C. 175 182 [197] During long centuries, the Czechs and the Slovaks of Hungary, even though they spoke different dialects, had neither the same costumes, nor the same customs, and were living under different sovereigns and in different states, were nevertheless not conscious of these differences. Their literary representations proclaimed the unity of their language and rejoiced in it.

Attempts have been made in these latter days to demonstrate that the Slovaks were of a non-Czech origin, that they have merely been Czechized by the influence of religious literature, and that the divergences which have recently occurred were only a return toward an ancient state of affairs.

S.P. C. [197] This thesis, which was that of Czambel, recently deceased, is not sufficiently well-founded. What is certain, on the contrary, is that the Slovaks and the Czechs at the outset formed an ethnic and linguistic unit with some /132/ dialectal differences, a unit which occupied the region located to the south of the Sudeten and Carpathian mountains. But this common domain was divided by the Carpathians into two regions, one of which had its center to the west, the other to the east. These geographic conditions gave birth to two political organisms. The Danube, which was their natural bond, fell into the hands of the Germans. In 1631 the Slovak areas were detached from Bohemia and from Moravia. The religious and literary ties between the two groups in no wise succeeded in reuniting the broken bonds.

The differences between the two peoples grew more and more pronounced. Among the upper classes the idea developed that they belonged to different states, to another fatherland, that they had a different ideal of autonomy. These ideas were expressed for the first time in 1787 and towards the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, at the period when the Slovak literature broke away from the Czech literature.

Beginning with this period the Czechs had to reckon with this

S.P. C. 175 182

tendency, which replaced the once purely theoretical unity of the two groups by two units, akin no doubt, but independent of one another, which assigned to the Slovaks a special place in the sequence of Slav peoples.

ooo The history, the internal differentiation, the political life had sufficiently prepared the ground /133/ for these events. Have they taken place in a way favorable to the future of the Slovaks? It is difficult and premature to solve this question today. We have only to recognize and to respect the individuality of the Slovaks and to hope that they may remain faithful to the feeling of solidarity and of moral unity of their group with the Czech nation.

S.P. C. 141

From a physical viewpoint, according to the latest research, the characteristic traits of the Czechs are that they are of medium height (169.2 centimeters for the men, 157.3 centimeters for the women) and very well proportioned; a rather large cranial capacity; with a rather round skull (index 83.3); an oval face of average proportions; the hair is brown or dark blond; the eyes usually light in color.

The brachycephalics are in the majority; among 100 skulls, are found 1% subdolichocephalic, 13.5% mesocephalic, 56.5% subbrachycephalic and 29% brachy--and ultra-brachycephalic. Up to the present it has been impossible to demonstrate differences by localities

S.P. C. 142

Statistics drawn up in 1880 showed that among 100 children, 38.17% had blue eyes, 30.86% grey eyes, 30.70% brown eyes; 44.04% blond hair and 55.75% brown or black hair. The light type (blue eyes and blond hair) is represented in Bohemia by 18.3%, in Moravia by 15.9%; the dark type (brown eyes, brown or black hair) /134/ by 23.4% in Bohemia, and 23.6% in Moravia. Moreover, the crossing of types darkens the complexions, as may be verified by the statistics prepared for the ethnographic exhibition of 1895. (1) This indicates among the adults 75% with dark hair.

1. About this exhibition, which I had the good fortune to visit, see my volume Russes et Slaves (2d series, Paris, Hachette, 1896, p. 340 ff.) Mr. Niederle was one of the principal organizers of this exhibition. Translator.

ooo The outcome of all of this is that the Czech type does not

1: Niederle--86 E-5 1911 E/C Slavic Peoples E/6
Slovenes E/7

S.P. 91. 175 101 what is caption in that, from the end of the sixth century, this region[1] was flooded with Slavs. In the year 551 Jordanes did not yet know of them, for he drew the frontier of the Slavs from the Vistula to the lower Drava. In 595 Thassilo, Duke of Bavaria, was already fighting the Slavs in the area of the Korutania (Carinthia); in the year 600, we know that they threatened Italy. Evidently it was the departure of the Lombards for Italy which facilitiated the expansion of the Slavs.

At the beginning of this expansion they settled upon very extensiv areas; but their groups were not very dense and they did not occupy all of the territory. To the east and to the north they had the Danube as their frontier--onto the right bank of which the Czechs crossed in certain localities--to the west, a line running from Linz through Wels, Dachstein, Tauern, Dreiherrenspitze and from there through the western corner of the Tyrol, as far as Innichen and Udine.

Thus they occupied the southern half of Lower Austria, all of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the territories of Gradiska and of Gorica (Goritz), the region of Lienz in the Tyrol, that is to say the east part of the Pusterthal, the Langau of Salzburg /137/ and the southeastern portion of Upper Austria. We are assured of this by the topographic nomenclature, by the ancient name of Sclavinia, and by a series of documents directly relating to the Slavic colonies. In this territory the sources mention very strong ancient tribes, such as those of the Dulebi, of the Suselci*, of the Stodoranes* alongside the Croatian colonies.

S.P. 91. 175 At the outset of their history the Slovenes fell under the yoke of the Avars. They were freed from it by Samo (623-658). On the contrary, they were unable to resist for long the attacks of the Germans from Bavaria; their chiefs had to become the vassals of Bavaria (745-772). Then they were subjugated by the Franks (788) and by the Friuli. 91. [175] Their country was invaded by German colonies, which systematically sought to Germanize it. The Catholic Church played the principal role in this policy of Germanization. This work was carried on at the same time by the diocese of Salzburg and by that of Aquileia. The conversion to Christianity almost always redounded to the profit of Germany. The Slav diocese of Great Moravia did not endure long (1) and exercised slight influence.

1. About this diocese, see my book on La conversion des Slaves au christianisme, ch. vi ff. Translator.

1 [the region of the Alps -- Analyst]

1: Niederle--87 E-5 1911 EKSlavic PeoplesE16
Slovenes EF7

S.P. Sl. 175

Beginning from the eight century the Alpine Slavs, who had occasionally crossed over the frontiers which we mentioned earlier, began /138/ to withdraw, especially in the north between Carinthia and the Danube, in the region called the East Mark (Ostmark). There in the north, German colonization established itself firmly upon the Danube, then upon the Leitha and upon the Mura, in the neighborhood of Celovec (Klagenfurt) and on the upper Drava. However, it scarcely descended at all along the course of this river. Then it penetrated to the banks of Lake Balaton (Plattensee), and, except for the arrival of the Magyars and the defeat of the Bavarians in 907, Germanization certainly would have invaded all of Panonia and the basin of the basin of the Drava.

The German frontier today would not be on the upper Raab, but on the lower Sava. The Magyars prevented this expansion, but in turn, they subjugated all the Slovenes--except a few groups. Moreover, the rapidity with which the Alpine areas were Germanized is explained by various circumstances. The Slavs were never very numerous in the Alpine regions of the East Mark (Ostmark). They lived in groups which were isolated and from the outset mingled with German groups.

In the texts having to do with the establishment of the churches founded by the Slavic prince Pribina and consecrated by Liufram, bishop of Salzburg (850), we find fifteen names of Slavic chiefs and fifteen names of German chiefs and we read an entire list of names of German localities. In this region the Slavs were never /139/ very strong nor very compact; thus, we must not be surprised to see them disappear in Austria proper, beginning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Evidently they did not exist in compact masses exept in the south, in Carantania, that is to say in southern Styria, in Carinthia, and in Carnolia, areas where they have maintained themselves until the present.

S.P. Sl. 101

S 26. Territorial Boundaries.--Today the Slovene country includes: 1) the entire Duchy of Carnolia (except the German island of Kocevje /Gottschee/), the north of Istria, Gorica /Hung: Kerrce/, the region of Udine in the Friul, the southeast part of Carinthia, southern Styria and a small section of eastern Hungary (the two counties of Vas* and Zalad*).

S.P. Cr. Eb. 174 [101]

difficulty. They isolated themselves from one another, they were concentrated in different political groups, they assimilated the debris of the autochtonous nations. In the northwest the Croat area in the largest sense of the word took shape--bounded in the tenth century by the sea as far as the mouth of the Cetina (Tsetinia), established on the Kupa and the Drava--the location of the frontier along the Bosnian side is not clearly known; and on the other hand the Serbian area in the largest sense of the word included everything to the east of Croatia as far as the Shara mountains (Shar-Planina) and the region of the Morava. To this Serbian region Constantin Porphyrogenetos added the maritime tribes of the south between the Cetina (Tsetinia) and the Piva, Scutari (Skadar) and Durazzo (Drac). But originally these regions did not belong to the Serbs. At what epoch did the Serbo-Croats occupy this territory? We do not know exactly.

Certain families, perhaps even tribes, crossed the Danube before the fifth century, but the total immigration did not take place before the fifth or sixth centuries. What we may affirm is that they did not come in the seventh century in the reign of Heraclius (about 630-640), as is recounted by Constantin /149/ Porphyrogenetos according to tradition; they took part in the general immigration movement of the Slavs towards the Balkan peninsula in the fifth and sixth centuries.

S.P. Sr Sb 101 175

From the very beginning the history of these Slavs, conditioned by geographic influences, followed two different currents. The tribes of the northwest, settled in favorable conditions near the sea, were the first to form a sizeable state (perhaps from the seventh century, but especially during the ninth and tenth centuries). They gave to it the name of Croatia, the origin of which is not known and of which no satisfactory explanation exists.

The tribes of the south and of the east were a long way from the sea; they inhabited a mountainous and poor region; they did not develop a political life until later on, towards the tenth or eleventh century. They grouped themselves about the tribe of the Serbs which originally was settled on the Tara, Lim, and Ibar Rivers. It is in Novi Pazar (ancient Rascia) that the word Srbia is first met with. This name spread throughout the region of the southwest which was detached from the Croat national unit. From that time two political entities developed side by side, often even in combat with each other; and political divorce finally took place when Croatia in 1102 became

Croats E F4
Serbs E F6

SP CR Sb attached to the Hungarian crown. In 1526 it passed, with that crown,
101 under the scepter of the Hapsburgs.
175

SP CR Sb The Serbs on their side were getting ready in the twelfth century for /150/ the
175 most brilliant period of their history, a period inaugurated by the great zupan Stevan Nemanji (1168-1196). The breach widened still further
Ca Sb when the two groups found themselves separated from a religious view-
[195] point. The Croats, as a result of their political ties with the pope, had received from Rome the royal crown, the liturgy, and the Catholic hierarchy. The Serbs, on the other hand, had received from Byzantium Christianity and also antocephalous church, at the time of Archbishop Sava, brother of the first crowned Tsar, Stevan. This double ecclesiastical influence deeply penetrated into the entire national life and manifested itself in the literature.

CR Sb While the Croats used the Roman alphabet, the Serbs used the
[212 181] cyrillic alphabet. The former followed Latin culture; the latter Byzantine culture.

Sb Serbian power was destroyed by the Turks at the battle of Kosovo
175 (1389); but they did not draw any nearer to the Croats. Subject to the
668 Osmanlis, they preserved their national character, they again recruited their energy, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, after the insurrections of 1804 and of 1815, they regained little by little their political autonomy.

The Principality of Serbia appeared as a solid nucleus ready to gather together all of the Serbian elements of the Balkans into a new national unit.

Sb CR /151/ During this time the Croats unfortunately exhausted their
175 strength in perpetual warfare against the Turks and in struggles for either
668 internal independence or for the dynasty. Recently both the Serbian government and the Austrian government have equally disappointed the hopes of the Serbo-Croatian nation.

Recently the annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina to Austria has completely nullified the dreams of a Great Serbia.

000 This political situation has exercised a profound influence, not

[from the 12th - 19th centuries -- Analyst]

000 only upon the internal situation of the two sections originally unified, but also upon their mutual relations.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 668 191 There indeed developed between 1830 and 1840 a movement called Illyrian, which sought to unite them,[1] but it had no other results than to unify the literary language for which the dialect called stokavski was adopted. But from the political viewpoint, each of the two sections, despite the original unity of their language, differentiated only by dialectical shadings, followed its own course.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 175 167 Their[2] development has been particularly hindered by exterior circumstances. At first there were the Turkish invasions and the servitude which followed them. Many of the groups emigrated from their ancient homes to seek a more certain asylum. At the outset, Sb [361] Serbian colonization went upstream on the Morava, towards the south. The first centers, the first /152/ capitals were Novi Pazar, Pristina, Prizren, and Skoplje.

But the arrival of the Turks completely displaced the movement. Beginning with the sixteenth century, the Croats went back towards the north, and the Serbs did so even more. To escape from the Turkish oppression, Croat colonies were established in Hungary, in the region situated between the middle reaches of the Raab, the lake of Ferto-Tava (Neusiedler Lake), Bratislava and Vienna. Some even pushed as far as into Moravia and the interior of Hungary.

S.P. Sb. 175 167 These migrations greatly modified the type of the primitive Serbian population. From the regions which formerly had been the home and center of the nation, from Kosovo Polje, from Old Serbia, hundreds of thousands of men came forth to establish themselves in the relatively peaceful regions of Austria-Hungary.

This movement began at the end of the fourteenth century, after the battle of Kosovo (1389) and the conquest of Skoplje by the Turks (1391), after which the Turks began to march towards the region of Lom, Bosnia, and the country of Khum, and finally towards the north. The Serbs then had to withdraw towards the Danube and move their Sb center towards Krusevac and finally towards Smederevo (Semendria). [682] In 1459, the Turks definitely abolished Serbia, and in 1463, Bosnia. The Serbs then began to cross in great masses to the other side of the

[1] [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Ann'g. ed.]

Danube and of the Sava. Towards 1481, 50,000 of them emigrated /153/ form the region of Krusevac, and these migrations were repeated several times from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, especially after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna, in 1683, and after the treaty of Karlovci (Karlowitz) in 1699, as a result of which the Turks were compelled definitely to give up Hungary and Transylvania. The Serb colonization was favorably regarded by Austria, and the Court of Vienna did not hesitate to promise liberties and privileges, of which only very few were later realized. Also, on numerous occasions, notably in 1750 and 1752, the Serbs left the Austrian State and went to settle in Russia, in New Serbia, of which we shall speak later on.[1]

SP Sb 175 167

From the outset of the fifteenth century, we find Serb colonies in the island of Czeplo, then later in Srem (Syrmien), Backa (Baczka), the country of Torontal and of Timisoara (Temesvar). The great migration into these countries took place in 1690, under the leadership of Arseniye III Tsrnoievitch, patriarch of Ipek (Petch), who led, it is said, 80,000 persons; another took place in 1737 under the leadership of Arseniye Iovanovitch. In Styria, there were Serb colonies near Ptuj from the sixteenth century. The original Slavic domain of ancient Serbia was depopulated to such an extent that it was occupied by Albanian refugees; we can testify even today to the existence of this Albanian wedge which becomes sharper every day, which penetrates into the very heart of ancient Serbia, as far as Kosovo Polje, and which thrusts its point as far as the present kingdom. /154/ Today the region of Kosovo Polje is called Arnautluk (the country of the Arnaut or Albanians) and, according to the information furnished by Nusic, there are very few villages which do not contain Albanians, and there are some which have no Serbs at all, even though they bear Serbian names. Three quarter of the population is made up of Albanianized Serbs. A few years ago the Albanians were even settled in the Principality of Serbia, on the Toplica, Jablanica, and Morava Rivers; they left after the war of 1878 and the region has again been occupied by the Serbs. In 1900 only 2,151 Albanians were counted in Serbia, almost all of them in the district of Vranie, where 205,000 Serbs are found alongside them.

SP Sb 167 563

This withdrawal of the Serb national group toward the north was the result of the Turkish wars, and it is only during the past few

SP Sb 167 175

1 [cf. Cat. 11b, p.101 -- Analyst]

1: Niederle--97 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples
Serbs EF6
Croats EF4

years that Serbia has recognized how much she has lost and how little she has gained: for the region of Novi Pazar and of Kosovo is the keystone of her future. The Albanian question is a vital question to Serbia. S.P. S.B. 167 175 000

Furthermore, in the Serbian section of the Balkan peninsula, there have been many internal migrations between the different regions, migrations which recently have been studied by Mr. Cvijic. In these movements Serbia played a passive role; an active role was played by Hercegovina, by Montenegro, and by a portion of Macedonia. S.P. S.B. 166

/155/ If the Serbs in the southwest withdrew before the Albanians, in the northeast they withdrew before the Rumanians. This is what is found not only in the Hungarian Banat, where a great number of Rumanian villages bear Serb names, but also in the Kingdom of Serbia where, at a bend of the Danube, between Milonovac and Zajecar, the Rumanians have penetrated in compact masses and where the Serbs have been unable to absorb them. It even appears, according to Mr. Resetar, that they are increasing in numbers, even though the official statistics try to diminish their number. For 1900, 89, 873 of them[1] were enumerated; but there were also 32, 556 bilingual persons speaking Serbian. To compensate for these losses, one may point out the success of the Serbo-Croat national group in Dalmatia, where the seacoast which previously was Roman, is rapidly becoming Slavisised. This Slavisation did not take place immediately upon the arrival of the Slavs in Roman Dalmatia, but was the result of a long process which in part Slavisised the Romans and in part forced them to migrate. It was only in the Seventeenth Century that the Romans disappeared,[2] and a few vestiges of their former tongue remained as a sort of slang in the island of Krk (Veglia) until the end of the nineteenth century. S.P. S.B. 167 563 [191] S.B. 167 S.B. c. [191]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Split (Spalato) and Dubrovnik (Ragusa) were already Slavic. At the time of the Turkish invasions the Adriatic seacoast was first depopulated, then colonized again. From the neighborhood of Zadar (Zara) Slav colonies crossed into southern Italy /156/ where their descendants can still be found today. We shall speak of them in a short while. S.P. c.r. S.B. 175 167

On the western frontier of Serbia between the Morava, the Timok, and the Pirot, there was for a long time a transitional zone S.P. S.B.

[1] [Rumanians in the Kingdom of Serbia--Analyst] 563

[2] [Along the Dalmation coast--Analyst] 167

S.P. B. 101 174

and the Slovenes and they did not form a united group. Still in the seventh and eighth centuries we find in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula an entire series of tribes very slightly united to each other, the Sieveriens and seven anonymous tribes in the north of the present Bulgaria, the Rumeliot Slavs, then the Druguvicnes, /183/ the Smoliani, the Strumenci, the Rynchini*, the Sagudati*, the Berziti in Macedonia. It is evidently to these latter that the Slavs who pushed into Greece and into the Archipelago are related from the linguistic viewpoint, the Velegezites, the Vajuniti, the Milingi, and the Iezerci. Towards this period a union began to develop, but under foreign pressure. In 679 under the leadership of Asparukh a certain number of Bulgars from the Volga--of Turkish origin--crossed the Danube and penetrated into the Dobrudja as far as Varna; they subjugated the neighboring Slavic tribes, unified them, and little by little unified all of the Slavs of the center of the Peninsula.

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On the other hand, the Bulgars of the Volga, who were relatively few in number, became themselves assimilated very quickly with the Slav element and merged with it. (1)

1. Zanetov and Skorpil thought that they found the remains of these ancient Bulgars among the Gagauz (see further on) and among the Turks of Deliorman between Silistra, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), Varna and Rushchouk, whom their Bulgar neighbors called Gadjaly. Mochkov came out against their hypotheses.

Their name alone, which was given to the new state and to its people, recalls the memory of this element of foreign race. Besides the Bulgars have basically always been Slavs, even though they have not hesitated to assimilate foreign elements. Among these elements, along with the Turkish Bulgars, one must cite the remains of the ancient Thracians, the Germans, /185/ especially the Goths, Turks, and Avars, to whom were added later on other Asiatic elements; the Poles, the Cumaeans, the Oguzes, gypsies, and finally the Osmanli Turks.

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The Bulgarian Empire, beginning with the reign of Simeon (893-927) acquired a considerable area; it grew by means of the constant warfare with Byzantines on the one hand and with the Serbs, on the other. The Slavs who belonged to its most remote frontiers at

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the period when the seat of the Tsar and of the Patriarch was at Old Ochrida (1), felt themselves to be even more Bulgarian the further

1. Today in Macedonia. Translator.

they were removed from the ancient homeland of the nation; they retained this more or less strong sense of solidarity, on the one side against the Serbs whose empire confined them to their region, on the other side against the Osmanli Turks. In 1393 the Turks captured Trnovo; in 1396 after the victory of Nicopolis they achieved the conquest of Bulgaria. The country remained enslaved until the years 1876-1878 when the intervention of Russia gave her back her freedom and independence. The area between the Danube and the Stara Planina (Balkan Mountains) was the first to be freed; in 1885 a peaceful revolution annexed the Bulgarian Rumelia to her, as far as Mount Dospat, to the course of the Arda, the Sakar Planina (Sakar Balkan Mountains) and the Gulf of Burgas. The section of the Bulgars who form a compact group in Macedonia /186/ have vainly been waiting up to the present for their deliverance and for the end of a situation which, despite the efforts of the Powers, still remains a very painful one.

SP [144]

Such is the political history of the Bulgar people. The development of the nation has furthermore been hindered by perpetual troubles, by disturbances, by the displacements of ethnic groups. When the Greeks again took possession of their ancient domain the Slav colonies of the south had to return north, the Slavs of Greece were completely assimilated during the course of the Middle Ages. But the most serious catastrophe was the Turkish invasion.

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When the Turks penetrated into the peninsula, under the reign of Murad I, they settled in the region of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and of Zagora; in the reign of Bajazet I they settled between Plovdiv and the Balkans and then remained in the basin of the Marica, especially in its lower areas, until the nineteenth century. This would follow from the information furnished in 1819 by Pope Constantine and from the nomenclature of the area which is essentially Turkish (names of villages, fields, streams, woods, pastures, hills, etc.). Of 52 villages of the district of Shirpan only two have non-Turkic names, and only three in the district of Seimen (now Marica). Another center of Turkish colonization was the eastern portion of northern Bulgaria, especially the Dobrudja, which became a desert in the fifteenth /187/ century.

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In this region, before the arrival of the Turks, there were settled a large number of Pecheneg, Uzi, and Cumaeans (whose descendants are today called Gagauz) and later on the Tatars.

It seems that the earliest Turkish colonization took place in the region of Deliorman towards the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and later on at Tuzluk and at Gerilovo. The Ragusan Pavle Gjordjic, who traveled in these areas, reported a numerous Turkish population at Gerilovo*, at Deliorman, and in the Dobrudja. These areas were not completely assimilated by the Turks until the seventeenth century, and in the case of Gerilovo*, not until the eighteenth century. But many Turkish villages still retain their Slavic names.

All this Turkish colonization in the northeast of Bulgaria evidently had as an object the securing of passageways of the Balkans, especially after the defeats suffered in the war against King Wladyslaw of Poland in 1443.

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Of the original Slav population[7] there remain only a few rare traces near Provadiya, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), and Razgrad. Also in the sixteenth century a great number of Turks, Yurvks*, and Koniars* came from Asia to settle in certain parts of Thrace and of Macedonia.

S.P. B 101 166

The old Slavic Bulgars, after the arrival of the Turks, naturally withdrew into the mountainous regions. In the sixteenth century their boundary was formed by the towns of Devna*, Monastir (now Bitolj), Krivnia*, Ravna*, Nenovo*, /188/ Nevcha*, Kaludjerica, Divdiedovo*, Novo Selo, or, in other words, the line from Varna (now Stalin) to Shumla (now Kolarovgrad). But towards the south the Slav element soon began again to take over and regain the terrian. The Osmanlis perished little by little in the perpetual wars and were not replaced by new colonists. On the other hand, new Bulgars arrived from the northern areas (Lovech, Nikopol), a scene of constant troubles and danger.

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It was on the banks of the Danube that the principal wars were fought and the Slavs moved away from there in all directions. Upon this emigration movement which is a very old one, we have no documentation until after the seventeenth century. Thus we know that in the course of the year 1741 Bulgar colonies went to settle in the Banat of Temesvar where their descendants are still established at Vinga, and Benesov*. From 1752 to 1754 a great number of Bulgars

7 [i.e. in northeast Bulgaria--Analyst]

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and of Gagauz moved into southern Russia, others in 1787-91; during the wars from 1801 to 1812 a very large number came particularly from Vidin to settle in Bessarabia. This emigration was repeated after the war of 1828-1829. In 1821 there were counted in Bessarabia 1,735 Bulgar families with a total of 38,000 persons; in 1829, 4,400 families arrived or about 270,000 souls. Then came the reaction. During the fifty years of peace which followed, many families returned to their own country despite the miseries which they had to undergo. /189/ In 1833, 900 families came back from Bessarabia. On the other hand, from the Balkan regions many of the Bulgars came down to the plain, especially to Rustchuk, the Dobrudja, the country located between Adrianopol (Edirne--Bulg, Odrin) and Burgas, between Shirpan and Stara Zagora, to the outskirts of Kavkalii (now Topolovgrad), of Kyzil Agach*, of Tambol and, under the peaceful reign of Mahmud II, as far as the ouskirts of Rodosto (now Tekirdag), of Derkos* and of Constantinople.

The war of 1877-78 resulted in new movements whose consequences can still be felt today. At the outset of this campaign the Bulgars fled en masse from Stara Zagora, from Kazanlik, from Gjopsa, from Zlatitsa into the country to the north and did not return to their homes until the Russians advanced to the south. In other areas the Turks and the Cherkess evacuated villages which they had occupied for a very long period; the former emigrated through fear of the Russians; the latter did so later on because they were unable to adjust themselves to the new order of things. Mr. Jirecek, historian of the Bulgars, estimates at 100,000 the number of Turks who emigrated from 1878 to 1884. They were replaced by Bulgars who came from Rumelia or from Macedonia, which the Treaty of Berlin retained under Turkish domination.

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On the other hand, emigrants came back from Romania, Bessarabia the Taurida, and Asia Minor and settled in the neighborhood of Svishtov, Varna (now Stalin), and Tuzluk*. With the Macedonians /189/ continuing to move in without interruption, Mr. Jirecek offers figures which give an idea of the changes effected in the population. In 1896, among 338 Christian localities in the dioceses of Varna (now Stalin) and Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), 135 since the war had an entirely new population. There remained only rare traces of the previous generation. On the other hand, according to Miletic, the

5: Thomson S-5 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16.
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A CENTURY OF A PHANTOM
PANSLAVISM AND THE WESTERN SLAVS

by S. Harrison Thomson

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AMONG the gorgeous phantoms of history, none has had a more rich or variously enticing story than Panslavism. It may well be that more literate Europeans have enjoyed the thrill of frightening themselves by it and more designing political manipulators have used it as a stage illusion than would be true of any other fiction. On the other hand there have been published several serious histories of the spectre.

By 1848 Panslavism was already an old and ripe story. To go back to the empire of Samo in the early seventh century is perhaps to be too inventive, but we can certainly trace the idea of Slavic reciprocity in the plans of Boleslaw Chrobry (the Hardy) of Poland, who, around the year 1000, planned a western Slavic empire comprising the Poles, the Czechs, the Moravians, the Elbian Slavs and the western Ukrainians. His obvious purpose was to block further German expansion eastward.[1] Whatever their motivation, those grandiose plans proved ephemeral, as did others conceived by Polish or Czech rulers for centuries thereafter. There is no discernible difference, so far as we can judge, between the territorial and dynastic maneuvering that went on among Slavic princes and that of Austrian, Hungarian and Wallachian rulers in these centuries of the formation of national states. One Slavic people was as likely to be antipathetic to a neighboring Slavic people as to a neighbor who was Germanic or Turco-Ugric. Territorial nationalism or dynastic combination were already the prevailing patterns.

But from the seventeenth century on concepts of a common ethnic and linguistic background begin to grow and take shape. From the Croat Juraj Križanić in the seventeenth century,[2] who spent fifteen years in Siberian exile after proclaiming his Panslav ideas in Russia, to the great Slovak poet, Jan Kollár, in the early nineteenth century, we can trace an unwavering line of western Slavic intellectuals who formulated and reformulated the idea of a glorious Slav race which should of right be united in heart and body, preferably under one paternal Slav ruler.

Somewhat ironically a Baltic German, Johann Gottfried Herder, had contributed much to the most recent upsurge of this Slav feeling by glori-

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1 On whom the classic study is St. Zakrzewski, *Boleslaw Chrobry Wielki* (Cracow, 1925); and cf. more recently, Z. Wojciechowski, "Boleslaw Chrobry i kryzys stosunków polskoniemieckich" in *Przegląd Zachodni* IV (1948), 369-383.

2 Smurlo, E., "From Križanić to the Slavophiles," *Slavonic Review* VI (1928), 321-335; of A. Fischel, *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1919), p. 20ff.; P. G. Scalardi, *Krijanich, messager de l'unité des chrétiens et ère du panslavisme* (Paris, 1947).

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fying the Slavic race and treating it as one, from the Moldau to the Urals. He would doubtless have been disturbed to be credited with partial parenthood of both Pangermanism and Panslavism. Early in the nineteenth century most western Slavs were of necessity romantics. Romanticism was the only recourse left them: Poland tragically partitioned, the Slavs of the Austrian Empire barely existing under Metternich, the South Slavs predominantly under the Ottoman Turk. Any voice even faintly suggesting a prouder past, and by implication a comparable future, would be welcome. Their history was their refuge and their hope in time of troubled humiliation.[3]

Philology, poetry and letters, history and the trend of international events in the forties of the nineteenth century all combined to deepen and broaden the feelings but dimly and sporadically aroused a half century before by the wildfire spread of the ideas of the French Revolution. There was now, after decades of scholarship, scientific and historical ground for the concept of Slavic community. The ferment of the Slav Revival, however, romantic it may have been in a technical sense, was a psychological fact of great moment to all the western Slavs, whether living under Magyar repression in Slovakia or Croatia, clumsy Austrian Biedermeier in Bohemia, or awkward Hapsburg pampering in Galicia. The springs of hope and confidence were filling. The single great Slavic state to the east—Mother Russia—was still victoriously radiant from defeating Napoleon, and her very glamor drew irresistibly the yearnings of the Slavic millions enslaved by alien peoples. In many quarters among the western Slavs there was talk of the all-Slavic Tsar, while in Russia there was not infrequently an expression of interest among scholars and publicists as well as among reflective politicians in the possibility of strengthening the natural bonds between Mother Russia and her temporarily estranged children in the west. Pushkin's lines, written after the Polish revolution of 1830-31

> Will the Slavic rivulets pour into the Russian sea,
> Or will it dry up? That is the question.

reflected current Russian thought.[4] A. S. Chomyakov, the Slavophil poet,

[3] See the illuminating discussion of Panslavism by Wacław Lednicki in *European Ideologies* (New York, 1948), pp. 808-951, particularly rich in literary background. His earlier study, "Poland and the Slavophil Idea," *Slavonic Review* VII (1928-29), 128-140, 649-662, can also be consulted with great profit. It is significant that this study of Polish Slavophilism ends about the middle of the nineteenth century. See also W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej w okresie przewrotowym*, I (Lwów, 1913) *passim*. For the echoes of this current of thought in Polish literature, and an explanation of how and why it took a line divergent from that in other Western and Southern Slavic countries see Zofja Klarnerowna, *Słowiańofilstwo w literaturze polskiej lat 1800 do 1848* (Warszawa, 1926), *passim*.

[4] See Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 168ff., and Lednicki *passim*. The literature on Russian

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in the next year spoke dramatically of "the brothers in fetters, who wait yearningly for thy call and thy protective embrace." There was much more, a good deal of it more effusive, and all of it tinged with theology, from poets, essayists and even historians, but mostly urging the western Slavs, and particularly the Poles, to recognize their divinely appointed lot as part of a great Slavic nation, naturally under Russian leadership. The Slovak Kollár's "On Slavic Reciprocity" was first published in German in 1837, then appeared in Russian in 1838 and a second time in 1840, but the concept of reciprocity was interpreted by the Russian editor and Russian readers in a Russian sense.[5] It would be difficult to determine whether the Russian espousal of Slavophilism was more or less enthusiastic than that of the western Slavs in the period before 1848, but it is certain that Russian Slavophilism could, even at this early date, be more properly called Panrussism than Panslavism.

We can indeed thus early discern a fairly clear and perhaps radical split in the aims of those who supported Slavic unity. On the one hand the western Slavs thought in terms of reciprocal aid, comfort and support, implicitly and explicitly favoring the independent existence of the several Slavic peoples. On the other hand the Russian Slavophils, from their proud vantage-point of an independent state existence, regarded the lesser Slavic peoples beyond their borders as strayed, lost or stolen children who should return to the mother's heart and hearth, the mother of course being Russia. Their principal concern, indeed, was that Russia herself should perceive her providential mission to carry on the torch of the true Christian faith which was visibly falling from the hand of the weakening West. It was taken for granted that the errant western and southern Slav brethren would accept the new situation with appreciation and even enthusiasm.

Decades of Romanticism, the European enlightenment followed by three-quarters of a century of Slavic renaissance in philology, poetry, ethnography, history and science, has made the dispersed Slavic peoples very sensible of their similarities and their differences, and eager to grasp and hold their own future. The events of February 1848 in western Europe only precipitated these feelings into action. German nationalism had found its voice in the Frankfurt Parliament. It was only natural that the western Slavs should answer with a Slavic assembly. In April the Slovak Ljudevit Štur was agitating in Prague for a meeting of representatives of the Slavic

Slavophilism is tremendous. Of the more recent literature in western languages, see Charles Quénet, *Tchaadaev et les lettres philosophiques* (Paris, 1931); A. Gratieux, *A. S. Khomiakov et le mouvement slavophile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939); Alexander von Schelting, *Russland und Europa* (Bern, 1948); and Bernhard Schultze, *Russische Denker* (Vienna, 1950).

[5] Clementis, Vl., *Panslavism Past and Present* (London, 1943), p. 38.

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peoples, and Dr. Fr. Brauner received a letter from Ondrzej Moraczewski in Poznań, dated April 23, inviting the Czechs to initiate a Slavic congress.[6] But the first public suggestion to this effect came from the Croat Ivan Kukuljević in the April 20 issue of the *Narodni Noviny*, and a revised call to meet was published on April 30 in the same paper over the signature of Palacký and 19 other leading Czechs.[7] A public statement was issued on May 5 to "our brothers of the Austrian Empire" inviting them to convene in Prague on May 31, in order "to deliberate on our common interests ... We are resolved to remain faithful to the hereditary house of Habsburg-Lorraine ... and to maintain the integrity and independence of the Empire by all means in our power. We therefore reject all accusations of separatism, of Panslavism, of Russianism, which might be brought against us by ill-intentioned accusers.... Our undertaking is essentially conservative in nature and should in no wise disturb our liberal and justice-loving non-Slavic fellow-citizens." This was the voice of Austro-Slavism.

Of the 340 participants, 237 were Czechs and Slovaks, 42 South Slavs, 60 Poles and Ruthenians, and one Russian. Of the Poles several were from Prussian Poland, and the Russian—Bakunin—did not officially represent Tsarist Russia. The very thought of revolution of any sort was uncongenial to Tsar Nicholas I. The Poles would have preferred to have the Congress declare for a restitution of all of Poland, but there was little support for so revolutionary a concept.[8] The ruling motivation was anti-German and anti-Magyar. It was certainly not pro-Russian. Bakunin, the sole Russian present, a voluble guest, was quite un-Russian in his advocacy of Slavic federation.[9] The enthusiasm was tearful and tremendous, the speeches were moving, the parades, dinners and celebrations were elaborate and mystic. Palacký's speech of June 12, resuming the conclusions of the several commissions, specifically demanded a federalized Empire, with Slavs enjoying equal rights and privileges with the Germans and the

[6] Tobolka, Zd., *Politické dějiny československého národa od r. 1848 až do dnešní doby*, I (Prague, 1931), 77.

[7] Published in J.M. Černy, *Boj za právo* I (Prague, 1893), 183 and F. Palacký, *Spisy z oboru politiky* (Prague, 1898), p. 24f. See also F. Roubík, *Český rok 1848* (Prague, 1948), p. 199, and K. Kazbunda, *České hnutí roku 1848* (Prague, 1929), p. 182ff.; Albert Pražák, "Slavonic Congress of 1848 and the Slovaks" in *Slavonic Review* VII (1928-29), 141-159.

[8] Batowski, Henryk, *Współpraca słowiańska* (Warsaw, 1946), p. 53. See also W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej* I (Lwów, 1913) 288-291.

[9] *Bakuninová Zpověď* (Prague, 1926), p. 72ff.; see also B. P. Hepner, *Bakounine et le panslavisme révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1950), pp. 236-284; and on Bakunin's Panslavism and his participation in the Prague Congress see V. Cejchan, *Bakunin v Čechách* (Prague, 1928), pp. 14-30. It seems quite clear that Bakunin had little or no understanding of the orientation of the Slavs of the Hapsburg monarchy.

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Magyars.[10] This was the last plenary session of the Congress. Tumultuous events in Prague, not directly connected with the Slav Congress, made further meetings impossible, and on June 28 it was adjourned *sine die*.[11] An attempt was made to carry on the work of the Congress through a society bearing the name *Lipa slovanská* (the Slavic linden tree), but it did not survive the reaction that set in the next year. There remained, however, for a few years, one insistently free voice. Karel Havlíček, one of Palacký's adjutants at the Congress, refused to be quiet, and through his journal *Slowan* continued, for the two years he was relatively unsilenced, to defend the rights of the Slavs in the Hapsburg Empire, and went so far as to warn Vienna: "If they will not allow the lesser Panslavism in Central Europe they should take care lest the greater crash on their necks."[12] This is especially suggestive in view of the fact that Havlíček had but recently returned from a trip to Poland and Russia completely cured of any pro-Russian sentiments.[13] There was no western Slav who spoke more frankly than this in the early 'fifties.

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Thus as of 1849, Austro-Slavism had apparently had its day within the Hapsburg Empire, and Tsar Nicholas I, after reading the statements written out by Ivan Aksakov in answer to a police questionnaire, wrote in the margin of Aksakov's plaidoyer two comments: "Under the guise of compassion for the pseudo-persecution of Slavic tribes there is hidden a criminal thought about an uprising against the constituted authority of neighboring and partly allied states and about a general unification, which is expected, not from God's will, but from a revolution, which is perilous to Russia." "Only God can determine what is being prepared in the distant future, but if an accumulation of circumstances would indeed lead to such

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10 Palacký, Fr., *Spisy z oboru politiky*, p. 46ff.

11 Roubík, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

12 Quoted in Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 307f. See Karel Tuma, *Karel Havlíček Borovský* (Prague, 1883) who follows the development of Havlíček's thought in these years with extensive quotations from his letters and editorials. In addition to T. G. Masaryk's classic work, *Karel Havlíček* (Prague, 1896), see the more recent work of Jaromír Bělič, *Karel Havlíček Borovský a slovanstvo* (Prague, 1947), especially pp. 27ff. and 180ff. This latter section is particularly illuminating in its analysis of the changes of attitude Havlíček went through toward the Poles, the Russians and Slavism in general.

13 Jirásek, J., *Rusko a my* II (Prague, 1946), 161f.; Tuma, *op. cit.*, pp. 71ff., 92ff. Havlíček saw no reason to modify his unfavorable opinion of Russia even after the failure of the Congress and the onset of reaction. He wrote in the August 30, 1848 issue of his ilsue of his *Narodní Noviny* (quoted by Tuma, *op. cit.*, p. 234f.): "If Russia were a free constitutional country the Austrian Slavs (in case Austria were to be broken up), could consider a union with their blood brethren like the Germans, the Magyars or the Wallachs. They would then be a part of one of the most honorable, and perhaps leading countries of the world. But Russia is a land of despotism, and the rest of us free Slavs must, unfortunately, consider this our brother as our worst enemy."

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unification, it would be for the peril of Russia."[14] Not only did the Tsar disapprove of Slavophilism, but the presence of Russian armies in Slovakia as allies of Habsburg repression in the same year did not encourage Slavophilism among the western Slavs.

For the better part of a decade, both among the western Slavs and within Russia little is heard of Panslavism or even of Slavophilism. The interest of the Russian intellectuals was taken up, in these years, by the polemics focussed around the question of the relations of the Orthodox to the Roman church. The encyclical of Pius IX to the Eastern Christians set off the sharp dispute.[15] In the Empire the reaction of Bach was severely anti-Slav,[16] and Tsar Nicholas would not hear any talk of Slav federation. But the end of the Crimean war, coinciding with the death of Nicholas I and the end of his absolutism, heralded a change in the Russian attitude toward the lesser Slavic breeds beyond the pale. Russia defeated was more receptive to ideas of Slavic reciprocity than before. But to the western Slavs, for a time at least, the shock of Russia's military vulnerability was a bitter disillusionment.[17] This feeling of despair lasted for a number of years until Austria herself was humbled on the plains of Lombardy. Then hope welled anew. Bach's régime was through and Vienna was a suitor for the support of her Slavic peoples. It is not without interest that at about the same time, 1857 and 1858, a Slavic Benevolent Committee was organized in Moscow,[18] and the Foreign Minister, Prince Gorchakov, gave it his blessing. Its benevolence was preeminently directed toward strengthening cultural and ecclesiastical ties with the southern Slavs, particularly the Bulgars. The Tsarevitch was the patron. The list of the founders of the Committee included all the living Slavophils, of both currents—the romantic Panslavists and those we must henceforth call Panrussians. The significance of the junction of these two currents cannot be missed. This date may in fact be taken as a convenient dividing line between the earlier theoretical, romantic, Muscovite Slavophilism, best represented by the poet Chomyakov, the two Kireyevskys, Samarin and Konstantin Aksakov, and the later political Panslavism which should properly be called Panrussism.[19]

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[14] *Ivan Sergeyevich Aksakov v jego pismakh* I, ii (Moscow, 1888), 154-55, 160. I am indebted to Professor Leonid I. Strakhovsky for this quotation.

[15] von Schelting, A., *op. cit.*, p. 147ff.

[16] Denis, Edouard, *La Bohême depuis la Montagne Blanche* II (Paris, 1903), 353ff.; Tobolka, *op. cit.*, I, 187ff.

[17] See chapter VI, "Polonia farà da se (1857-1863)" of W. Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen (1795-1914)*, (Berlin, 1917). This German work is not identical with the previously noticed Polish work of the same author

[18] Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 367ff.; cf. also B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans* (Oxford, 1937), p. 60ff.

[19] Benes, *Umsky o Slovanstvi* (Prague, 1947), p. 79ff. C. Oudnet, *Tchaadaev* etc., p.

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Theoretical Slavophilism was influenced by poorly understood western thought—Rousseau, Hegel, and Fichte—into paths of unrealistic and unhistorical grotesquerie and then grafted onto Uvarov's threefold motto of nationality, orthodoxy and autocracy.[20] 175 186 668

It is a simple axiom of diplomatic history that a great and powerful state does not interest itself "benevolently" in other and lesser peoples unless it either needs their help or hopes to profit from that "benevolence." The change in the momentum of Russian Slavophilism in the late fifties of the nineteenth century clearly illustrates this axiom. Before 1855 Russia was too strong to need the support or loyalty of the western Slavs, and her leadership reasoned that her strength lay in the centralized autocratic system. As the system was regarded as good *per se* it was proper to support it elsewhere, in Prussia, in the Hapsburg Empire and, with qualifications, even in Turkey. But the Crimean War revealed considerable weaknesses in her state structure, and Vienna's affections had shifted to the enemies of Russia. Under these circumstances help, psychological at least, was welcome. Panslavism, it was obviously reasoned, might actually have its points, particularly since most of the western Slavs were in the Hapsburg Empire anyway, and a little discreet discontent there might pay diplomatic dividends. This period is thus a decisive period in the history of the theatrical property known as Panslavism.[21] 829

The Benevolent Committee actively wooed the South Slavs with appeals to their Orthodoxy, developing the thesis that West and East were irrevocably separate, that Slav, Eastern and Orthodox were and of right ought to be synonymous with Russia. Then came the January 1863 revolution of the Poles, put down by the butcher Muraviev with brutal ruthlessness. The Benevolent Slavic Committee was able to convince Russian opinion that it was all the Poles' fault, that their Catholicism blinded them to the truth of their Slavic heritage and made them guilty of the "great betrayal,"[22] but after Muraviev the western and southern Slavs were farther than ever from accepting the doctrines of Muscovite Slavophilism.[23]

408, would call this movement "the second slavophilism." See also M. Prelog, *Pozi Slovanu do Moskvy v. 1867* (Prague, 1931), p. 4.

[20] See T. G. Masaryk, *Rusko a Evropa* I (Prague, 1930), 406ff. The English edition, *The Spirit of Russia* (London, 1919), was based on the German text which Masaryk revised for the 1930 Czech edition.

[21] P. N. Milioukov has a chapter in his *Le Mouvement intellectuel russe* (Paris, 1918) p. 377ff., entitled "La décomposition du slavophilisme" in which his explanation of the processes of Russian thought from *ca.* 1848 to the publication of Danilevsky's *Russland und Europa* is treated mystically. Any resemblance between his discussion and the realities of Russia's changed position in European politics after 1855-56 is not even coincidental.

[22] Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[23] Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen*, p. 223ff., and contemporary literature there cited.

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175 186 668 829 Among the South Slavs a considerable element of enlightened opinion, particularly the younger generation,[24] supported the Polish revolutionaries, and among the leaders there was much openly pro-British and anti-Russian expression. Nevertheless the dominant sentiment, both among Serbs and Croats in the 'sixties was one of nationalist aspirations and, as between other Slavic peoples, benevolent neutrality.[25]

Palacký remarked in 1863 that "Russian Tsardom was not based on Slavic principles but upon an amalgam of Mongolian and German principles."[26] The fact that European opinion had largely turned against Russia finally came home to many of the Russian Slavophils and a natural desire to repair the damage by allaying the suspicions of non-Russian Slavs soon made its appearance. In line with this feeling the Slavic Committee and the recently founded (1863) Society of Friends of the Natural Sciences projected an Ethnographic Congress to meet in Moscow in the summer of 1867.[27] Invitations were broadcast to learned societies throughout the Slavic world. Between the invitation in 1866 and the following summer several events transpired to give the Congress more potential significance. Austria had lost another war—this time to Prussia—and, within the Empire, the Compromise *(Ausgleich)* which divided the Empire into two parts, Hungary and Austria, had become law. The Slavs of the Empire were thus not only split, but put under their enemies, Magyars and Germans. Their long-standing aspirations for an equal share in a federative Empire were roughly dashed.[28] The outlook was black for the western Slavic peoples and it is not surprising that, with the exception of the Poles, the invitations to the Ethnographic Congress at Moscow were eagerly accepted.

In the meantime Ivan Aksakov, enthusiastic over the implications of the visit of so many leading personalities among the western Slavs to the Congress, constituted himself the propagandist of the Exposition, and many editorials in his journal *Den*, beginning with February 1867, concerned the Slav question. He emphasized the bonds between the Russians and other Slavic peoples, and expressed confidence that they had only to know each other to reject foreign, non-Slav control and join forces with

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24 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 13ff.

25 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 13ff.

26 Palacký, *Politisches Vermächtnis* (Prague, 1872), p. 26, quoting himself in 1863.

27 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 27ff.

28 Louis Léger recounts the opinion he met on a trip among the South Slavs in 1868, when their participation and hopes in the Moscow Congress were frankly explained to him. See his *La Panslavisme et l'intérêt français* (Paris, 1917), p. 232ff., reprinted from *La revue moderne* of April, 1868.

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their motherland.[29] His line was followed by most of the Moscow journalists.

In Prague the *Národní Noviny*, the organ of the Young Czech party, avowed openly the political aims in the minds of the Czech representatives:

> "We make not effort to conceal the fact that the Moscow Exhibition has for us who are going not only philological or ethnographic interest, but a significance deeply political. We are not responsible for that significance; rather those who have inaugurated dualism in Austria and have endangered the independence of the Czech crown and even of the Czech people . . . those who have turned the Slovak nation over to the mercies of the Magyars, those finally who are recklessly sacrificing the heroic Croatian people to the greed of the Magyar magnates."[30]

The majority of the Czech delegates, though men of intellectual and often scientific attainments, were yet men active in political life. The delegates of the South Slavs were exclusively non-political. Bishop Strossmayer and Franji Rački, who were especially invited, did not join the delegation, though the Bishop gave the expedition his active support. Ljudevit Gaj, the leading Croat nationalist journalist, went to Moscow, but was unaccountably quiet.[31]

In the realization that the Poles would not be represented, Palacký and Rieger were anxious to show their consideration of Polish sensitiveness and went to Paris to explain their reasons for making the trip when the Poles refused to go. Prince Adam Czartoryski and Andrew Zamojski urged the Czechs not to go, and the son of Adam Mickiewicz wrote them an impassioned letter begging them not to attend the Congress. Another special delegation of representative Polish emigrés waited on them to the same intent.[32]

Opened by the Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich on April 23, the Congress was ostensibly an academic and scientific meeting, but railway passes had been given the foreign guests. The western Slaws, on their way to the Congress, crossed the Russian frontier at Granice (i. e. in Polish Silesia) on May 16 and on the 20th reached St. Petersburg.[33] On the way receptions and entertainment were provided by a number of municipalities, though the government took no official action in the matter. Enthusiasm was unbounded. The Czechs and the Serbs were received by Gorchakov

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29 Aksakov, I. S., *Slavyanskii vopros* (Moscow, 1886), pp. 117-122.

30 *Národní Noviny*, 1867, no. 11, quoted by Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

31 Fric, J. W., *Die Kehrseite der slavischen Wallfahrt nach Russland* (Prague, 1867), *passim*.

32 A considerable literature has accumulated on Gaj's trip and activities. See Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 43ff. and literature there cited.

33 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 68ff.

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in separate audiences and greeted with honeyed and unintelligible words. The Tsar received 20 of the leaders of the various delegations in Tsarskoe Selo on May 26. He is reported to have said to them: "May God hearken soon to all your prayers," a hope which thus relieved the Tsar of any further need for action or hearkening. But he called them his "blood brothers here on native Slav soil" and thereby caused a sensation in western Slav capitals.[34] There were copious banquets and eloquent speeches by learned professors and publicists that left no room for doubt that the messianic hope of close Slavic collaboration was well on the way to realization.[35] They were so busy collaborating that there was barely time to visit the elaborate ethnographic and archeological exhibits for which the Congress had been called. The ghost of absent Poland did discreetly appear at several of the more formal occasions, but it was almost dispelled by confident and urbane diplomacy, which naturally deceived no one. The meeting made a deep impression upon everyone present. The Benevolent Committee was profusely congratulated for its felicitous initiative. But very few felt that much had been accomplished. Gorchakov apologetically stayed aloof, save to opine that the Czechs were apparently working for the King of Prussia. General Peter Suvalov acidly remarked that the pilgrims were pursuing a phantom, and the Austrian minister, Revertera, was told that the Russian court regarded the whole spectacle as foolish.[36] In the western Slavic press reports were, in a slight majority, critical and skeptical. The Moscow Congress may have been the high point in public tribute to the numerous concepts in the center and at the periphery of Slavophilism, but it left much disillusionment in its wake. The Poles were disgruntled at the Czechs for participating against their expressed wishes. The Austrian government had, or affected to have, more than grave doubts of the sincerity of the Czech leaders in their devotion to Austro-Slavism, and even the Catholic clergy saw in the expedition a leaning to Orthodoxy and a defection from Catholicism. Within the Austrian Empire the large Slavic public had lost confidence in the political sagacity of their leaders. There was, of course, after the Congress, not the slightest trace of implementation of all the high-sounding resolutions calling for increased cultural reciprocity between the general Slavic peoples.

About 1870 the vaguely variegated sensitivities and aspirations fo-

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[34] Kazbunda, K., *Pouť Čechů do Moskvy 1867 a rakouská diplomacie* (Prague, 1924), p. 63, and M. D. Miličević, Etnografska izložba a slovenska sastanak u Moskvi 1867 (Belgrade, 1884), p. 18ff.

[35] The classically bitter report on the Congress is that by Julian Klaczko, "Le Congrès de Moscou et la propagande panslaviste" in *Revue des deux mondes* LXI (1867), 132-181. Klaczko, a native of Wilno, had been the editor of the Paris *Wiadomości Polskie*, which ceased publication in 1861. A much more valid short account is that of Louis Léger in *Le Panslavisme et l'intérêt français* (Paris, 1917), pp. 211-249.

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cussing around the two general concepts of Slavism and Russian expansionism began to coalesce and crystallize. In that year there appeared a small book by General Rostislav A. Fadeyev under the title: *Thoughts on the Eastern Question*.[37] It had passed the censor in 1869. Fadeyev, as a soldier, was primarily interested in strengthening Russia's strategic position and in pointing the way to achieving her natural strategic aims—the control of the Straits. To him the Hapsburg Empire was the principal enemy, and not England and France. As the peoples of the polyglot Empire were mostly Slav, Russia should obviously take them under her wing, and eventually head an all-Slav state. This was Panslavism, clearly put, for Russia's political benefit.

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A much more radical and thorough treatment appeared by separate chapters in the periodical *Tsarja* in 1869 and, revised, in book form in 1871: Nikolai J. Danilevski's *Russia and Europe*. He was a trained botanist and geographer, and his broad approach covered questions of race, religion, climate, politics, and strategy. Because of its thoroughness and easily comprehensible conclusions, it became immediately the Bible of Panslavism.[38] Danilevski posited a deep-rooted antagonism between West, that is the Latin and the German, Catholicism and Protestantism, commercialism and pointless diversity, and East, that is the Slav, the orthodox and the ordered universal. Russia had a destiny to realize. She should save the smaller and weaker Slavic peoples from the curse of europeanization. The Poles had indeed gone farthest in that sinister direction, hence the great tension between Russia and the Poles. In their case Russia had had to be severe, but it was properly not with their Slavic nature but with its europeanized, Catholic perversion. The Poles should realize that Russia had had to discipline them for their own salvation. To Danilevski Panslavism, so far as it was good, was Panrussism.

It would be difficult to say which of these two works, Fadeyev on the Eastern Question or Danilevski's *Russia and Europe* had the more in-

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[36] Reverteria, on the other hand, had been instructed by Beust in May to give the whole matter no unnecessary notice. The two governments affected not to count it as of any political significance. See Kazbunda, *Pan Čechů do Moskvy*, p. 57. Reverteria was recalled the next year by Beust and the Tsar told his successor, Albin Vetsera, that he disliked the whole incident and regretted that it had occurred. "Russia is large enough for me; I want nothing from my neighbor" and disavowed any slightest desire to entice away from the Emperor any of his Slav subjects. See Kazbunda, *op. cit.*, p. 121f.

[37] English translation by T. Michell (London, 1871), *Opinion on the Eastern Question*. See also Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 400ff.

[38] German translation by Karl Nötsch (Berlin, 1920), somewhat abridged, *Russland und Europa*. See further Benel, *Unaby*, pp. 98-107, and the recent study of Alexander von Schelting, *Russland und Europa*, where the focus is on the relation of Danilevski to the church. On p. 238 he calls Danilevski "der eigentliche Systematiker der panslavistischen Weltanschauung."

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fluence. Their arguments were so dynamic in their implications that together they are a landmark in European psycho-political history. Panrussism now had a divinely appointed mission and a program for political implementation.[39] Those whose interests lay in cultural exchange with their western Slav brothers no longer felt unsupported, and those who had before been politically Pan-Russian could not rejoice in the moral support of the intelligentsia. It was a perfect coalescence of ideals and interests. There is no wonder that Gorchakov, the foreign minister, felt very gratified about the jelling of enlightened public opinion. He had shared the distrust felt by the court at cultural Slavophilism, so vocal at the Moscow Congress. It implied equality among the various Slavic peoples. Russian policy would be much happier if Russia's "leadership" and of course "benevolent" hegemony were generally accepted. It is hardly necessary to mention that the acceptance of Russian Orthodoxy—no longer Greek Orthodoxy—was by now assumed as a *sine qua non* of the whole Slavic program. It is not difficult to see how the atmosphere created by the wide circulation of these two sensational books may have convinced Gorchakov and the court that Ignatyev's reports and suggestions from Constantinople correctly represented the proper policy to be pursued—at least in the interests of Russia.[40] We are here far removed from any semblance of the Panslav sentiments of Kollár, or the Austro-Slavism of the Prague Congress of 1848 or even from the implications of Slav cultural reciprocity so fervently expressed by most of the leaders at the Moscow Congress of 1867. We are dealing with realistic political opportunism which makes use of the slogans and stage illusions evoked by romantic or even philosophical Panslavism. Gorchakov and Ignatyev and certainly—and indeed avowedly—Fadeyev, were quite aware of the political semantics fluttering around the words Slavophilism, Panslavism, Slavic solidarity. The fact that the words sent shivers up and down the spines of western diplomats and at the same time thrilled the Russian people and some western Slavs could only please the anti-western party at the Tsar's court.

In 1874 an Archeological Congress was held in Kiev under the auspices of the Moscow Archeological Society. It was sparsely attended by non-Russian Slavs, about a dozen in all, out of a total of 206 delegates. Several unpleasant incidents at this Congress showed that the resentments and tensions between, particularly, Poles, Russians and Ukrainians, were

[39] See Lednicki, *art. cit.*, p. 845ff., and Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 75ff. Feldman, *op. cit.*, says bluntly: "Unter den Russen vollzieht sich nach dem Jahre 1870 eine Umwandlung der alten slavophilenBewegung in einen selbstbewussten politischen Imperialismus."

[40] On Ignatyev see Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 73ff., and his article in *Slavic Review* XI (1932), 343- , 569-

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deep and lasting. Slavic solidarity was certainly not advanced by this meeting.[41]

It is true that the Bulgarian atrocities precipitated a resurgence, in Russia herself, of the emotional index of the Panslav idea, but basic political realities were not thereby at stake. The participation of Russian soldiers as volunteers in the Serbian army could not obscure the fact that Russia already saw clearly that Turkey was no longer a major antagonist. Indeed the Balkan wars of 1876-78 were only an incident which, if anything, confirmed the political Panslavists (*lege* Panrussians) of the necessity to consolidate their political program and its psychological and moral bases for use in a coming struggle with enemies much stronger than the Ottoman Empire. The Russian campaign of 1877-78 could have been lifted bodily from Fadeyev or Danilevski.

The fact that Gorchakov and Ignatyev had to retire from public life after the Treaty of Berlin has several interesting if not ironic aspects. What must have played a large part in their downfall was the fact that their aggressive Panslavism or Pan-Russism or Russian nationalism had gained less for Russia at Berlin than was popularly expected.[42] Yet they themselves, and here lies the irony, were substantially responsible for inducing Russian opinion to expect so much. The significant fact is the generality of the adoption of the Russian nationalistic thesis, and, in retrospect, the large-scale perversion of the thesis of Slav reciprocity. What, less than a half century before, seen from Paris or London, had been a cloud, small as a man's hand, on the eastern horizon, now seemed a swirling thunderhead, about to loose a torrent and a tempest. This menace bore the label Panslavism. No wonder the west shivered at the word. Yet it was by this time in no sense Panslav but pure Russian expansionism.

It would be of interest to examine the trends of thought among the western Slavs in these years. It was among them that the ideas of Slav reciprocity had first arisen. The great Croat leader, Bishop Strossmayer, had not modified his stand in favor of a South Slav federation and cultural reciprocity with the lands of Orthodoxy. Professor Jaroslav Jagić and George Daničić, the renowned South Slav philologists, both advocated a union of the Croats, Serbs and Bulgars. Nowhere among these leaders do we detect any desire to join a larger Slavic world led by Russia, or any urge to make Orthodoxy the common Slav faith.[43] Their insistence on their cultural and political independence constitutes an emphatic rejection of the

[41] Léger, *Le Panslavisme . . .*, pp. 242-249. Léger was present at the Congress.

[42] Gorchakov's last years have been frequently discussed. See in brief B. Nolde, *L'Alliance franco-russe* (Paris, 1936), pp. 199ff. and 209ff.

[43] Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 347ff.; see also R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question* (London, 1911), p. 126ff.

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so-called Panslavism emanating from Moscow in these decades. The fact that, under Magyar rule, any move by South Slavs or Slovaks to cultivate their native language or culture was proceeded against as "Panslavism" and consequently regarded as high treason[44] is obviously irrelevant, because erroneous in its factual bases. Palacký in his *Politisches Vermächtnis* observed that he had come to the conclusion that a Russian universal monarchy would mean "violent compulsion, absolute subjugation and enslavement of all civilized Europe, the suppression and suffocation of every free and noble thought and aspiration of the human race." He added that he thought that the enlightened minds of Russia would likewise regard the expansion of Russia westward as a misfortune.[45] He might not have counted Dostoyevski among the enlightened minds of Russia.

The Poles, crushed between Russian and Prussian calculated oppression, sought solace from their dire despair in their own literature and art. It was all that was left them. Memories of the Russian soldiery of Muraviev certainly estopped any warmth of feeling toward the Slavs they knew the most about from personal experience.[46] The less they had to do with the Russians the better. Orthodoxy was Russian and therefore they clung to their Roman Catholicism with deepening gratitude. The Poles were grateful also to Austria for the relative freedom they enjoyed in Cracow and Galicia, and used it to fortify their nationalism in literature and science.[47]

By the end of the century, whether because of absorption into a more potent and definitely programmatic Russian expansionism, or because its vagaries had repelled the western and more rational Slavs, or because the anti-Panslav campaign from Berlin, Paris and London had been effective, or because Russian imperialism was not too successful, the Panslavism of the Prague Congress of 1848, of the Moscow Slavophils, or the Moscow Congress of 1867 or even of Ignatyev, was dead. It might be more exact to say that the ghost had been laid.

The subsidence of the noble sentiments of Slavic reciprocity, of "interslavism," did not mean, however, that the scarecrow of Panslavism was not still usable. Eduard Beneš recently put these developments in urbane terms:

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44 Cf. the Vakanović memorandum of 1872, quoted by Palacký, *Politisches Vermächtnis* ,p. 13; cf. also Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 353f. It would appear that the Magyars were the most consistently fervent believers in Panslavism. At any rate they thought every Slovak was a Panslav. The record contains many instances of such fantasy almost too ludicrous to believe. The most fantastic aspect of this complex is its literal truth. See, e. g. Thomas Capek, *The Slovaks of Hungary: Slavs and Panslavism* (New York, 1906), pp. 47-52.

45 *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

46 Kucharzewski, Jan, *Origins of Modern Russia* (New York, 1948), p. 349ff.

47 Chlebowski, Bronislas, *La litterature polonaise au XIXe siecle* (Paris, 1933), chs. XXVIII and XXIX; and see Feldman, *op. cit.*, chapter IX, "Aufleben der Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen im Zusammenhange mit modernen sozialen Ideen."

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"Panslavism then, up to 1905, solved no question fully, it failed to attain its aims, and could not be transferred into the field of politics in any concrete form. Finally it became a synonym for Tsarist Russian nationalism and as such, in the form of a political doctrine, could only be prejudicial to all concerned: to the Russians, to the other Slavs, to Europe and to the world. It was harmful to the Slavs because, above and beyond the fact that it was in political fact in great measure a fantasy, it was used and misused against them by their opponents to such an extent that not only the Magyars and the Germans but all of western Europe saw in it a real danger and frequently, because of it, opposed them even where the Slavs were in the right. Against us Czechoslovaks it was for instance used during the first world war and here and there one heard echoes of it even during the second."[48]

The year 1905 brought a marked change, not only in Russia's external prestige and her internal constitutional structure, but also in the attitude of the western and southern Slavs toward the whole question of their own future and the relations between them and Tsarist Russia. Whereas for over a half century, since at least the Prague Slavic Congress of 1848, they had consciously or unconsciously looked to powerful Russia for moral or physical support, now, that Russia had been militarily humbled and they found their own strength growing and their interests in their western connections in a more satisfactory perspective, the prospect of a future independent of Russia was not unpleasing. The vestiges of admiration for Russia that remained clouded but did not basically alter the vision of the future that opened out before them.

As for the Poles, who had never accepted the thesis of Russian leadership, the harsh campaign for russification under Alexander III only increased their hatred of everything Russia stood for and their determination to maintain their separate polonism.[49] Among the Czechs and the Slovaks the "realism" of Masaryk, by which he had meant simply that they should trust in their own moral strength and the logic of national development in order to win out over an already corrupt, artificial and doomed monarchy, had made much headway and was destined to capture the dominant place in the people's thought. The South Slavs had not forgotten the disillusionment brought by the Congress of Berlin and had quickly adjusted themselves to the thesis that they should and could make substantial gains in cultural and political autonomy on their own initiative in the Balkan ambit.[50] The coup of 1903 in Belgrade furthermore opened vistas of actual independence from the Hapsburg monarchy. All the western Slavs had sensed vividly for a full quarter century that Russia had been increasingly

[48] Benes, *Uvahy o Slovanstvi*, p. 127f.
[49] Cf. M. Zdziechowski, *Wpływy rosyjskie na duszę polską* (Cracow, 1920), p. 53ff.
[50] Cf. E. Denis, *La Grande Serbie* (Paris, 1920), p. 121ff.

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disinterested, indeed bored, with them and their problems. What fleeting political *rapprochements* took place at top levels did not touch real public opinion save to confirm the general belief that arrangements between dynasts, foreign ministers and such like were cynical and opportunistic. In this case at least it would have been difficult to prove this instinctive judgment erroneous.

On a basis of these psycho-political developments among the Slavs within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and along her borders the decade between 1905 and the outbreak of the war of 1914 witnessed the rise to dominance of what is usually described as Neo-Slavism.[51] The leading and best known exponent and expositor of this short-lived but significant movement was the Czech politician, Dr. Karel Kramář. The essence of this movement, fundamentally indigenous and unconnected with Russia or the accidental fact that Russia was largely Slavic, was an effort to counterweight Central Europe and the Balkans against the aggressive expansion of Germany in every field of political, economic and social life in that area. Seeing that Austria-Hungary was weakening in the face of the steady pressure from the north, the Neo-Slavs even advocated support of the Empire on condition that it be federalized. If Austria-Hungary could be weaned away from Germany and the Triple Alliance broken up, Russia and Austria-Hungary could draw closer together. Pan-Germanism would then be blocked and the western Slavs could move and have their being in this larger atmosphere. Along these lines there was even, *mirabile dictu*, talk of a Polish-Russian *rapprochement*. Late in 1905 Swiatkowski, an energetic Russian journalist, proclaimed that the German danger made Slavic cooperation absolutely necessary,[52] and he proceeded to beat the drums for a broad-gauged campaign to bring it about—among the Sokols, in the press, by congresses, by cultural and social relations on every level. He envisaged a political union of some sort, but specifically an economic and customs union to which the non-Slavic states of Central Europe should also be invited. In the next two years the idea grew that it was time for all the Slavs to get together again, as in 1848 and 1867, to further their mutual interests. The leader of the movement in Russia was Lt. Gen. Volodimirov, whose recent retirement left him with time on his hands. He enlisted some publicists and men of letters of a poetic cast of mind, travelled to Warsaw, Cracow and Prague, where he found other optimists.

The second Slavic Congress of Prague, which met in July, 1908, was the result of this agitation. It was attended by representatives of most, though

[51] Benel, *op. cit.*, p. 134ff. The most complete discussion of this movement is the collaborative work, *Slovanstvo. Obraz jeho minulosti a přítomnosti* (Prague, 1912), with a foreword by Dr. Kramář.

[52] Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 507f.

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not all, of the Slavic peoples in Russia, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans.[53] The slogans were unity, solidarity, reciprocity, equality and unification, though few if any of the delegates knew precisely what they meant. Roman Dmowski, the leader of the Polish delegation, ostentatiously shook hands with Krasowski, the head of the Russian delegation,[54] and the whole Congress echoed for days with the miracle that had been wrought. It all sounded like the ominous approach of peace and good will. But the fact is that the whole idea behind the Congress was based on a completely untenable assumption: that the interests of Russia and Austria-Hungary did not conflict.[55] It can only be charitably said that the organizers of the Congress had, in a greater degree and with even less excuse than their predecessors of 1848 and 1867, failed to think through their program, its logic and its practicability. Questions which the literate man on the street in Prague, Belgrade or Warsaw knew had to be faced either did not appear on the agenda or were greeted by bland smiles and silence. Two further facts highlight the absurdity of the meeting. The old Panrussians, now benignly veneered with liberalism, were in control of the Russian delegation and there is not the slightest reason to doubt that all their vocal support of the new Slavism was utterly cynical. Neo-Slavism in general and the Prague Congress in particular never aroused any enthusiasm among the Serbs. Roman Dmowski told Beneš in 1917 that his aims at the Congress of 1908 were solely the independence of Poland, and in no sense Slav.[56]

The roseate aura of Slavic amity and hope engendered by the Congress lasted less than three months. Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina and the hopes of the western Slavs for an acceptable *modus vivendi* within the then political framework were rudely dashed. The next year it became evident that the promises made to the Poles in Russia in 1905 of modest recognition of their nationalistic feelings were valueless and that reaction was again in the saddle in St. Petersburg.[57]

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[53] Léger, *Le Panslavisme* . . ., p. 271ff.; Beneš, *op. cit.*, 139ff. A rich source of documentation is the printed (but not published) record of the trial of Kramář, Alois Rašín, V. Červinka and Josef Zamazal, which went on from Dec. 6, 1915, to June 3, 1916. Letters, documents and testimony of all sorts on the whole movement, including the various congresses, are printed *in extenso*. See further Paul Milyukov, "World War and Slavonic Policy" in *Slavonic Review* VI (1927-28), 268-290, particularly interesting in its critique of Kramář's ideas and Beneš' opposition to them.

[54] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 149. Dmowski published this same year his *Niemcy, Rosja i Kwestja Polska* (Lwów) in which he argued that Poland's principal enemy was Germany and that it was to the interest of the Poles and the other western Slavs to support Russia.

[55] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 155f.

[56] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 154f.

[57] One of the resolutions passed at the Prague congress to which most weight was

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175 156 827 668 Yet there were still pleasantly optimistic souls among the Slavic intellectuals. Another Congress was called for Sofia in 1910. It makes even more fantastic reading than those that preceded it. Dr. Kramář was frequently eloquent. No Pole was present as a delegate. The Russian delegation was almost exclusively conservative. No Ukrainian representative came and the Bulgarian Tsar was ostentatiously absent from Sofia during the Congress. This was the last Slavic Congress before the outbreak of hostilities in 1914.[58] Almost everybody save the leading Czech slavophil Dr. Kramář left Sofia fully aware that he had witnessed the *rigor mortis* of an ailing phantom—indeed a cooling thought. The Neo-Slav movement had had a short life and an inglorious end. If it accomplished anything it proved that Slavism as a gospel, so long at least as there was an Austro-Hungarian Empire, had insufficient grounding in the tissues of international relations to have the slightest influence upon the trend of events in Central and Eastern Europe.

It is a commonplace among German historians and analysts of the origins of the first world war that it was essentially a defensive struggle by Germandom against Slavdom. Bethmann-Hollweg made the statement early, and so weighty a study as Fischel's *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* is avowedly devoted to this thesis. But it will hardly bear careful examination. There were Germans on one side—there was a majority of Slavs on the other. But that is more accidental than essential. Along with many Slavic-German issues there was in fact a greater number of issues completely unrelated to the Slavic-German question which in the inevitable logic of history would have had to be decided completely regardless of ethnics and culture. After the war, out of which arose three new or revised west Slavic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the principal inter-Slav questions were solved and there was hardly a whisper of Panslavism. Bolshevik Russia, emphasizing its multinationality and its supranational foundations, in the early years at least, had no interest in Slavic countries *per se*, and Panslavism, Slavophilism, Neo-Slavism and even Pan-Russism became historical curiosities, objects of antiquarian research.

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attached was to the effect that St. Petersburg should be the meeting place of the next Pan-Slav conference the following year. Léger (*op. cit.*, p. 278) says: "l'on se sépara en se donnant rendez-vous pour l'année suivante à St. Petersbourg. Ce rendez-vous ne devait pas se réaliser." S. B. Fay, *Origins of the World War* (New York, 1929), 401, and B. E. Schmitt, *Annexation of Bosnia 1908-1909* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 248, mention the congress in the summer of 1909 and the circular letter sent to Slav organizations in the Balkans. The contradiction is only apparent. There was such a conference and such a secret circular, but very few South Slavs attended the meeting. See dispatch from Count Brockdorff-Rantzau (German chargé d'affaires in Vienna) to Bethmann-Hollweg of July 25, 1909, in *Die Grosse Politik*, XXVI, 844f.

[58] See the *Kramář-Prozess*, pp. 402-407, for interesting sidelights on the meeting.

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This should cause no surprise. Whenever in the past these national groups had existed as independent states there had not been any discernible urge for exceptional collaboration on a basis of their consanguinity. They had pursued their particular needs, in the same way as France, Italy and Spain, also related by history, language, religion and ethnic bonds, had, throughout their history, tended toward particularism and strenuously rejected any centripetal pressures. It would seem reasonable to allow Slavic peoples to act according to a pattern assumed to be rational and even enlightened farther west.

The Little Enente was, quite accidentally, two-thirds Slav. Its collapse was precipitated by the early defection of Yugoslavia, one of the Slav thirds. The Balkan Entente followed no noticeable Slavic pattern.

The aggressive war of 1939 was variously advertised. It was directed against any people that objected to being nazified, Slav, Teuton, Baltic or Latin. The fourth partition of Poland, shared in equally by Russia and Germany, made it abundantly clear that it was not a war against Bolshevism or of German against Slav. It would have been difficult to arouse among western Slavs any enthusiasm for the Slav idea from August 23, 1939 to June 22, 1941.

At this point it is possible to draw some deductions from the history of the variations in Slav feeling. The sense of Slavic community weakened, or perhaps more accurately shuffled into the unrealistic or academic empyrean, in times of peace. Under stress and strain or in times of crisis Slavophilism became again, with the limitations of the moment, an active force.[59] But all wars, the ultimate in national interest, have acted as rapid solvents of these fond dreams. This failure of the idea to stand any real test will explain why we use the term phantom or illusion of the whole concept.

From 1941 on one heard much of Slavic solidarity. There were All-Slav congresses at Moscow in August 1941, April 1942 and May 1943. The Russian speakers emphatically repudiated the political Panslavism and Pan-Russism of the nineteenth century and appealed "for the union of all Slav strength in the struggle against Hitlerism."[60] There was to be a unity of equals with equals, all bound together in a happy family of democratic peoples. Thereafter Slavic committees sprang up and Slavic congresses were held in London, Detroit and Pittsburgh, and in 1945 and following years, in Sofia, Belgrade, Bratislava, Prague and Warsaw. The themes of all these meetings followed the same lines: rejoicing in new Slav unity

[59] Cf. A. Mousnet, *Le Monde Slave* (2nd. ed., Paris, 1947), p. 385.

[60] Vl. Osmanin, Secretary of All Slav Committee, in May, 1943, quoted by Mousnet *op. cit.*

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under the leadership of Soviet Russia. Whereas the pre-1914 congresses were usually gatherings of professors and publicists, and the realist politicians generally abstained, the post-1941 gatherings were almost exclusively made up of politicians and poets. The trained professorate was in a noticeable minority. It would perhaps be superfluous to quote many of these political leaders on the subject of Slav unity, but it would not be difficult to discover a marvelous, perhaps inspired, unanimity.

There were numerous speeches in all the western Slav capitals which emphasized "the Slavic bloc, directed by the great Russian people"[61] "for the protection of their freedom and democracy."[62] There is no room for question as to what was meant. The signing of every new treaty, of commerce, mutual defense or cultural friendship, was accompanied by headlines, radio propaganda and ministerial banquets, in all of which inter-Slavic devotion was lauded with profound conviction. Ceremonial visits of chiefs of state were exchanged, there were many elaborate parades and happy reunions. In between, naturally, there were visits to Moscow. M. Georgiev, the Bulgarian President, remarked, on landing in Moscow on Jan. 7, 1946: "I am happy to be in the fortress of the Slavic peoples which, thanks to the wise direction of Generalissimo Stalin, has become the hope of all democratic humanity." M. Vishinsky then visited Sofia.

The years 1946 and 1947 brought electoral and diplomatic victories to Russia. As all the Slavs were now safely enjoying their Slavic solidarity, it was no longer necessary to emphasize Slavism. Marxian Socialism was a more comprehensive concept into which Magyars, Rumanians, Austrians, Germans and Balts could conveniently be made to fit. We have therefore to remark upon the relative silence of western Slavic spokesmen on the subject of Slavic solidarity in the years 1947 and 1948. That stage illusion was no longer necessary, at least in so urgent a fashion as before. On the other hand it would be incorrect to say that it had been completely withdrawn from circulation. The enforcement of Russian language instruction in the schools, the extended tours of Russian artists, authors, scientists and athletes throughout all the Slavic countries, the dominant place in areas of cultural expression, education, science, press, radio, screen and stage, given to the products of Russia, all reveal the underlying plan. It should not be overlooked, furthermore, that the Orthodox Church has, with the support of the Kremlin, been incorporated into the program of implementation of the plan with considerable success in at least Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the Ukraine. Whereas under Tsarist rule the trilogy of

[61] Quoted by Mousset, *op. cit.*, p. 257, from Zdeněk Nejedlý, Czechoslovak Minister of Education.

[62] Nikolov, President of Slav Committee, at Sofia, quoted by Mousset, *op. cit.*, p 262f.

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nationalism, orthodoxy and autocracy was the slogan reserved for Russia herself, one is justified in remarking that Russian nationalism has now become Slavic nationalism or Slavic unity, Orthodoxy is being encouraged outside Russia, and of autocracy throughout the western Slavic states there appears to be quite adequate evidence. We have, on the other hand, little positive proof that thus far the various Slavic peoples love each other more than they did, say in 1860, 1890 or 1935. Titoism rather speaks for itself, and the great popularity of Gomulka in Poland would indicate, if there were any need, the continuity of Polish separatism from time immemorial. A thousand years of determined and consistent western orientation and nationalism are not obliterated in a decade of government by loud speakers, force and fear.

As we look back over the last century of Slav thought, interaction and political mutuality, several broad lines of change strike our notice. In 1848 Slavophil enthusiasm stemmed mostly from within the polyglot Hapsburg monarchy. A century later, not only has this Empire, officially a bulwark of Germanism with all its westward leanings, disappeared, but its place and much more has been taken by the heirs of the Tsars. In 1848 Slavic thought was largely centered on cultural and moral reciprocity. A century later the Slavic nations, under the direction of Russia (excepting, for the moment, Yugoslavia), constitute a solid and ruthlessly integrated political, economic and military unity, more tightly welded with each passing day. But nothing seemed more sure, and indeed necessary, in 1848 than the Hapsburg Empire. Yet that imperial idea was in actuality soon after 1848 rejected by those who had theretofore felt it to be necessary. Under similar circumstances there is every reason to think that the present, stronger than imperial, concept will be rejected. Of their own volition the western Slavs have never in their long history shown any general desire to become part of an inclusive Slav empire. They have at various times experienced the imperial idea only to repudiate it. Nor, in spite of present conditions, is there any evidence that the people of these nations have lost their historic particularism. All the verifiable evidence is in the opposite direction. These peoples have lived long and are wise from bitter experience, a teacher whose lessons last longer than those of ministers of propaganda. Nowhere is the common man more anxious to claim citizenship of the world than in Central Europe, where the western Slavs for much more than this past century have been exposed to the repeated appearances of, only to reject, the phantom of Panslavism.

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no oppressor of the Slavonic race other than the Turk, Krijanich added the German. He was the ancestor of the Russian Slavophiles of the nineteenth century. He was completely out of harmony with his age, which could not understand an argument combining the Slavonic idea with Roman Uniatism. He met the usual fate of a precursor. Having offered his services as Librarian to the Czar Alexis Mikaïlovitch, he obtained from Moscow a mission to reform Russian spelling; the manuscript of this work was recovered at Tver in 1888. But it was not long before he was suspected of being a Papist agent, and was deported to Siberia, in circumstances which have never been cleared up. At Tobolsk he drew up a treatise on 'Politics' which, on the lines of Machiavelli's work, was intended to deduce, from the principles of good and evil, the laws of the art of government. Was Peter the Great acquainted with this treatise, and was he influenced by it? Unfortunately, that is a matter which scholarship has not yet been able to decide. After that we lose trace of Krijanich. A Dutch traveller relates that a monk of that name died under the walls of Vienna, in the ranks of Sobieski's army; such would seem to be the crowning adventure of that strange visionary, promoter of a doctrine which was to be revived two hundred years later by a pleiad of thinkers and scholars and which, freed of its denominational utopianism, will remain the 'credo' of the apostles of Slav solidarity. 186* 178 538 [568]

After the capture of Azov from the Turks by Peter the Great in 1696, the centre of gravity of Slavonic hopes was fixed in Russia. If we exclude the Polish point of view, it remained there for more than two centuries. The three reigns of Peter the Great, Catherine II, and Alexander I, helped to awaken the Russian national conscience by contact with the Slavs of the Balkans, Austria, and Hungary. This contact set up currents of mutual influence between sister-nations, discovering each other after long centuries of isolation and mutual ignorance. A Serbian Academician, M. Stoyanovich, published a series of testimonies from Serbs who were contemporaries of Peter the Great, from which it appears that, from this time onwards, the Southern Slavs considered Russian successes as their own. 186* 175 177

Readers will not be surprised at the omission here of any reference to the 'Will of Peter the Great', which the Chevalier d'Eon, of dubious reputation, was said to have brought from 186*

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186* Russia to the Court of Versailles. This belongs to the prolific family of apocryphal documents in which the presumed projects of deceased monarchs have found an imaginary embodiment. But this forgery has often been invoked as an argument in favour of the existence of 'Panslavism'. Now, it does contain a programme of Russian expansion, and allusions to the Balkan Christians, but nothing more specifically affecting the Slavs. Which proves, at the very least, that his own contemporaries did not regard the founder of Modern Russia as the instigator of a policy of Slav solidarity.

186* • 175 648 Under Catharine, every war against the Ottoman Empire was the occasion of levies of Slav contingents. After the failure of their risings, large bodies of Slavs took refuge in the South of Russia, where vast districts were allotted to them. During the Napoleonic wars, Admiral Seniavin's fleet, at the Cattaro Delta, assisted the combined Montenegrins and Serbs. But, at the Congress of Vienna, a failure on the part of Russian diplomacy caused the Cattaro Delta to be handed back to the Austrians. It was alleged that Alexander I had agreed to this betrayal of the Slavs, as the price of a night spent with the beautiful Madame de Metternich. Notwithstanding, Suvorov's victories prepared the way for the Serbian insurrection; when this broke out, the Russian general, O'Rurck, joined Karageorge, to beat the Turkish army at Varvarino, to the north of Nish.

Up to the nineteenth century, the Empire of the Tsars remained aloof from the European concert. When it did join in, through the expedient of the Holy Alliance, it espoused interests which were not its own, and for which, moreover, it showed little concern, by backing up the Balkan risings. In this way it tried its utmost to sponsor solidarity among the absolutist régimes, while at the same time supporting the Orthodox minorities.

186* 178 814 But the movement whose watchword was defence of 'brothers in race', did not arise in official circles. It was a creation of the 'intelligentsia'. It received its first impetus from the immense work of the German historical school in the second third of the nineteenth century. 'Sanctus amor patriae dat animum', the epigraph to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, inspired Chafarik's *Slavonic Antiquities* in 1837, and Palatsky's *History of Bohemia*. The Slavs threw themselves passionately into these

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studies, and allowed themselves to be infected with that racial pride which German science displayed, with a tremendous orgy of texts and compilations. 186* 178 814

Kollár, a Slovak, Koukouljevich, a Croat, Kopitar and Stanko Vraz, two Slovenes, with Vuk Karajich, a Serb, formed the pleiad of romantic scholars and men of letters who revealed to the Slav peoples the common basis of their culture and their traditions. Their scientific offensive, which Renan was to call, somewhat disdainfully, 'Comparative Philology transplanted to the political domain', was the prelude to an era of ferment, when far-seeing minds could foretell the catastrophe which would abolish the work of the Congress of Vienna. Never had pure learning let loose such a storm. It was destined to pile up, under the throne of the Habsburgs, the explosive forces whose work of destruction has been completed under our eyes.

The movement was precipitated by the recrudescence of racial antagonism in Hungary. The 1848 Revolution had scattered powder-trails throughout Europe. Austria-Hungary found herself, in the years that followed, a prey to two opposing currents, representing the different life-aspirations, rather than political conceptions, of two enemy groups among the nations of this heterogeneous Empire. While the Liberals of Vienna, in revolt against absolute power, marched in unison with the Frankfurt Parliament, and included in their ranks the Germans of Austria; while the Magyar Liberals broke with the Habsburgs and bore Kossuth to power, the Slavs of Cis-Leithania and Trans-Leithania, by a repercussion natural to oppressed races, rebelled against tendencies aiming at the strengthening of the two hegemonies, Germanic and Magyar. The ethnical crisis attained its peak in Hungary, where the Croats marched to the defence of the throne under the leadership of the Ban of Croatia, Jellachich, while the Slavs of Hungary (Slovaks and Serbs) kicked against the persecutions of a régime which Western journalism confused with Parliamentary Liberalism. Russia intervened in 1849 not only, as was long believed, to save the monarchical principle, but also under moral obligation not to let the Slavs of Hungary succumb. By the victory of Vilagos, the Russian armies restored to the Habsburgs Hungary, which they were on the point of losing. Six years later Austria, by her anti-Russian attitude in the Crimean War, was, according to a famous 186* 175 648 668

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186* saying, to astound the world by her ingratitude. It is said that
•175 Nicholas I, towards the end of his reign, visited Warsaw and,
648 standing thoughtfully in front of Sobieski's statue, said: 'That's
668 the first of the fools who worked for the Habsburgs. And I was the second'.

175 It was in the thick of these racial tussles that the Slav peoples
186 held their first conclaves. Bohemia, the most civilised of the
668 Slav nations, was the first to extend her hand to her sisters. By way of a counter-stroke to the German Assembly in Frankfurt, the Slav Congress took place in Prague in June, 1848. Object: the establishment of periodical relations between the Slav peoples and the drawing up of a programme of action for such of those
[171] peoples as were subject to Austrian or Magyar domination. The language spoken at the Congress was German, then regarded as the Esperanto of the Slavs, thus enabling the Germans to claim the Slavs as belonging to their *Geistesleben*. This Congress, attended by three hundred and sixty-three members, under the chairmanship of the Czech historian, Palatsky, was divided into three sections: Russo-Polish, Jugoslav, and Czechoslovak. Whilst protesting its loyalty to the Habsburgs, it claimed, for the Slav populations, the rights and guarantees granted to the Germans and the Magyars. Outbreaks occurred in Prague after this meeting, and the manner in which they were repressed showed that the Slavs could not expect much from Vienna. Once more, the eyes of the Slavonic world turned towards Russia.

186 Bakunin, in his *Confession*, has left us a picturesque sketch
668 of this Congress of Prague. He had pleaded the cause of the Russian revolution, and of the Federative Republic of all Slavs. 'The Slavs', he said, 'are real children, but I have found among them an unbelievable freshness, and incomparably greater innate intelligence and energy than among the Germans. The Slavs' predominating sentiment is hatred of the Germans. The forceful, if not very polite, expression, "accursed German" ("*prokliatni Nometz*") pronounced alike in nearly all the Slavonic dialects, has produced an incredible result in every Slav. . . . Hatred of the Germans formed the inexhaustible topic of all conversations; it served as a greeting between strangers. . . . As regards the Congress itself, it was, like all the other political

[1. Slav Congress, June 1848 – Analyst]

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Chapter Three

THE TRIUMPH OF THE NATIONALITIES, OR SLAVISM WITHOUT RUSSIA

THE 1914–1918 War has often been regarded as a settling of accounts between Slavs and Teutons. And it was certainly the Germans who did the most to popularise this over-simplified viewpoint. At the time of the Balkan crisis, Bethmann-Hollweg, the Chancellor of the Reich, reduced the possibility of a European war to a struggle between Teutonism and Slavism: *Ein Kampf zwischen Germanentum und Slawentum.* For his part, General von Moltke wrote, on February 12, 1913: 'Sooner or later will come the war between Germanism and Slavism, for which all the standard-bearers of Germanic culture and spirit must prepare'.

At the time when it was formulated, this prophecy might have been found surprising. Indeed, in the course of the ages, Teutonism had secured solid positions against the Slavs, whom, in nine centuries, it had pushed back from the Elbe to the Vistula. It had colonised, plundered, or subdued their western tribes. It penetrated into Russia by two means—the Baltic nobility, and dynastic marriages. Eleven Tsars or Tsarinas since Peter the Great were either of German blood or under German matrimonial influence. This fact alone will give an idea of the fatality which, since the eighteenth century, weighed upon the destiny of Russia. In face of this infiltration, we think of the terrible phrase addressed by Skobelev to a delegation of Serbian students in Paris: 'In our own country, we are not at home'. In short, history presented itself to the Teutons as an uninterrupted process of absorption of their eastern neighbours, or of domination over their politics.

Moreover, von Moltke's prophecy implied a Slav solidarity which was then in the realm of conjecture. History offered no recent example of it. In 1848, the Slavs had nearly all fought for a cause which was foreign to, even if not opposed to, Slavism. In 1885, and again in 1913, the Serbs and the Bulgars had cut each others' throats. And twelve months later, in 1914,

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186* the Slavs were to split up between the two camps into which
578 Europe would be divided. So that, except in congresses, where
• 175 ethnography and philology were discussed, this solidarity remained a myth. Russian egoism bore heavily upon the little 'Pravoslav' countries, in which the Tsarist policy affected to take an interest. Much more than that; certain territories, caught between two Slavonic currents—such as Macedonia, the Ukrainian Marches, the Teschen district of Silesia—kept alive the spirit of dissidence within the Slavonic family.

175 What remained of von Moltke's declarations was the
167 obsession of an inevitable reckoning between the two races. Germany, who, from age to age, had extended her sphere of domination at the expense of the Slavs, dimly felt that, one fine day, the latter would grow tired of the role of 'fertilisers' (*Düngervolk*) to which the Pan-Germanic school condemned them. In Merovingian times, a slow but continuous migration, by easy stages, peopled the Eastern Teutonic states with Slavs. These tribes had reached the Elbe and the Oder by the fourth century. To designate the Teutonic peoples, they forged the collective appellation, *Niemtse,* which has remained in the modern vocabulary of the Slavonic peoples, and signifies 'dumb ones', *i.e.*, speaking a language unintelligible to Slavs. But, little by little, the ebb of the Teutonic tribes pushed them back. With the exception of a few descendants of the Pomeranians (the Kachoubes and the Slovinces) and of the Sorabes (Lusatians), the vast group of Western Slavs of the Elbe and the Baltic disappeared in the struggle waged against them by the Germans in the four centuries from the time of Charlemagne to the twelfth century.

829 This withdrawal is explained by the state of dissension—a
167 hereditary defect with the Slavs—in which these populations
181 lived. An Austrian historian of this century, J. Peisker,[1] was so struck by such a large-scale backward drive, that he sought a different explanation for it. The past, he said, shows such a succession of conquests, and establishments of Teutonism in Slavonic territory, that we cannot attribute it to the fortune of war. We are obliged to suppose the existence of some factor which paralysed the resistance of the Slavs. This factor must

113 [1] *Die Alteren Beziehungen der Slawen zu Turkotataren und Germanien.* Berlin, 1905.

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186* 728 nations, the better they understand each other; witness the Poles and the Bulgarians, the Czechs and the Yugoslavs. But to say that living side by side no more ensures agreement among nations than it does among individuals is to state a commonplace.

[578] Yet the reshuffling of the map did, nevertheless, satisfy the essential aspirations of the Slavs. It gave Yugoslavia her unity, Czechoslovakia her independence, Poland her liberty. But some irredentism still remained. Bulgaria claimed Macedonia (although she had lost it before the war). The Yugoslavs regretted that the Slovenes of Istria and Carinthia had remained outside the frontiers of their State, Poland remained in dispute with Russia on her Eastern Marches, and with Czechoslovakia in the Teschen Basin. The Ukraine question was assuming a fresh form and acuteness. Even after the recasting of Eastern Europe, there still remained seeds of discord between the Slavonic nations.

131 • 175 Much more; looked at as a whole, the new map seemed to be based on an age-long law which shuts the Slavs off from the sea. It was because it was cut off from all the seas that the original Slavia remained as unknown to the Ancients as Central Africa was to the Europeans of fifty years ago. One after the other the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Goths, the Huns, the Avars, the Khazars, the Tartars, all barred them from the Black Sea. It was not until the eighteenth century that the Russians became effective masters of the northern shore of this sea. Similarly with the Baltic, where Scandinavian, Finnish, and Baltic peoples settled; until the Second World War, Leningrad was a Slavonic breach in Finnish territory. As for the White Sea, it was inaccessible to the Russians before the sixteenth century. The Finns, and perhaps the Lapps, had got in before them.

728 131 175 Now the 1919–1920 treaties took the Baltic territories and Finland from Russia. They refused Danzig to Poland, Fiume and Trieste to Yugoslavia. Following the coasts of the Baltic, from the borders of Esthonia to the Free Port of Danzig there was no real Slavonic port, even though the hinterland might be entirely populated with Slavs. On the Adriatic, the Dalmatian coast offered nothing but indifferent outlets, backed by steep slopes—and yet the hinterland was wholly Slavonic. The Aegean had no Slavonic outlet. The Slavs were allowed no possibility of becoming maritime powers, capable of rivalling the Germanic,

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Anglo-Saxon, or Latin nations. The treaties of the earlier war had thus sanctioned a traditional exclusiveness in this respect. 728 131 175

On the other hand, Slavism scored a point—the only one—in an acquisition of territory. This was achieved by the clauses which allocated to the Czechs Sub-Carpathian Russia—an ethnical mosaic, with predominant Russian or Ukrainian elements, which was to form an autonomous unit within the framework of the Czechoslovak Republic. This allocation, demanded by the Ruthenians of America, was decided upon chiefly because the signatories to the treaties considered the Prague government as the best mentor they could give to a dangerously backward Slavonic population. Indeed, Czechoslovakia was, within a few years, to improve Sub-Carpathia, that Cinderella of the Slavonic world; at the cost of heavy budgetary sacrifices, she turned this territory entrusted to her into a real 'Civilisation Front'. [186]

As is well known, at the Peace Conference the Czechoslovaks intervened—another gesture of pure Slavonic inspiration—to try to secure for the Serbs of Lusatia the benefit of the protection accorded to minorities. These Lusatians are the remnant of a powerful tribe who people a corner of Saxony and Brandenburg, with its centre at Bautzen. Theirs was for long the *terra incognita* of the Slavonic world; they were discovered by the learned circles of Czechoslovakia and Poland in the nineteenth century. [563]

The return of Poland to an independent life, and the Sovietisation of the Russian State, modified the nature of the relations between the two peoples. Immediately after the earlier war and the Treaty of Riga, one could not say that these relations had been clarified. It is certain that the Government of Moscow was then pursuing a Eurasiatic policy, which drew it away from European affairs. But no one could imagine that this disinterestedness would last very long. In Moscow they still, as under the Tsars, spoke of the 'Jesuitism' and the 'Jagellonism' of the Poles; in Warsaw, they talked about the hegemonic appetite of Russia, and her propaganda. 'Atheism' and 'Marxism' had replaced 'Orthodoxy' and 'Panslavism' as passwords. 648 829

The Polish-Sovietic War of 1920 complicated inter-Slav relations. The Poles bitterly reproached the Czechs with having refused 648 578

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Chapter Four

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE SLAV LIBERATION FRONT

THE historians of the future will be struck by one fact which seems to escape those of our own day, and which we consider below. 721 648 175

Whereas the wars of the nineteenth century originated in, or had as pretexts, disputes localised in different parts of the globe—Spanish Succession (1823 and 1870), the affair of the Duchies, Italian unity, German unity, the protection of the Holy Places, etc.—the thunder-clouds which foreshadowed the wars of the twentieth century all burst in a Slavonic sky.

The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 created the atmosphere which favoured the germination of the Italo-Turkish War and of the Balkan Wars. The Sarajevo outrage in June, 1914, was the pretext for the First World War. The Sudetenland crisis in 1938, which led to the Runciman mission, was the prologue to the Munich bargaining. The whole of the preliminary phase of the Second World War was enacted on Slav territory.

Contrary to all international engagements, the Munich Conference on September 29, 1938, sanctioned the mutilation of Czechoslovakia, in whose history this Conference will remain as a 'second White Hill'.

Then occurred various 'Slavonic episodes', as preludes to the general conflagration. Poland occupied Teschen on October 2, 1938. A few days later Slovakia proclaimed her autonomy. On November 2, the Ribbentrop-Ciano arbitration award, pronounced in Vienna, transferred the eastern part of Czechoslovakia (Sub-Carpathia) to Magyar rule.

On March 15, 1939, 'President' Hacha handed over to the Führer the fate of Bohemia; Hitler entered Prague—Czechoslovakia was wiped off the map.

On August 23, 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed a ten-year pact of non-aggression. Reassured on the Russian side, Germany turned against Poland. Incidents were multiplied

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721 in Danzig; German criminals, dressed in Polish uniforms,
648 attacked German villages in Upper Silesia to provide Hitler with
• 175 the pretext for an invasion. This was launched on September 1, at 5.45 a.m. The curtain was raised for the greatest drama in history.

186* But, beyond this, the historian who, with these
578 facts as his starting-point, sought to establish synchronism
648 between the feeling of a common destiny among the Slavs and the great wars of the twentieth century would very soon conclude that no such feeling existed. At all times of threatened crisis, there have appeared more or less general impulses towards *rapprochement*; the first result of all actual crises has been to set the Slavs one against the other. In this Second World War, as in that of 1914–1918, we were again to find the Bulgars, the Croats, and the Slovaks ranged with Germany, Bohemia trampled upon, Poland quartered, Serbia crucified, Russia at grips with the Teutonic colossus.

Much more: the Slavs participated in the spoils. Poland rewarded herself at Czechoslovakia's expense, Russia at Poland's, and Bulgaria at Serbia's.

175 Just as the 1914–1918 war had started with the crushing of
648 Serbia, so that of 1939 had as its prologue the carving-up of
721 Czechoslovakia. The latter succumbed to the fate which had forced her to look for support to the Western Democracies, with whom she had no territorial connection, and whose diplomacy, wavering or swept along by the back-wash of internal policy, had been able neither to ensure peace nor to provide for war. The inconsequentiality of France, signing a pact with Moscow, then hastening to evade its consequences, encouraging Yugoslavia to be on her guard against Fascist megalomania, then signing the Four-Power Pact and observing it no more than she had done the previous pacts; all this culminated in the Munich Pact, which—whether justified or not by our military unpreparedness—completed the state of confusion among the nations for whom France was the greatest asset in peace as in war.

It was not only by its inaugural phase—the dismembering of Czechoslovakia and the aggression against Poland—that the war once again seemed destined to become a reckoning between Slavs and Teutons. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler had reproached

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William II for never having acquired new lands in the east. 175
It was not, at that time, a question of fighting Communism, but 648
of 'living space'—a theory which, in Nazi ideology, was directed 721
at the States bordering Eastern Germany and, beyond them, the 'fabulous resources' (*unerhörte Möglichkeiten*) of the Ukraine. Once more the Teuton resumed his age-long vocation of 'consumer of Slavs'.

But, looking closer into the matter, this was not, any more 186*
than in 1914, the essential cause of the Pan-Germanic explosion. 829
Hitler's Germany was aiming higher, and farther. Actuated by 721
what she considered to be a prime necessity of her geographical situation and of her 'racial pre-eminence', she regarded herself as the providential elaborator of new syntheses calculated to regenerate the world—but which were, in reality, simply the oldest of hegemonic appetites. It was not upon the Slavs that she declared war; it was upon a form of civilisation made up of Humanism and Christianity which the centuries had identified with the habitable world. The Slavs were the first victims of the *Wehrmacht,* simply because they were considered to be the easiest obstacle to overcome, owing to the inferiority complex which, from time immemorial, the German school had attributed to them. Their geographical position condemned them to be the target for the first onslaught. But the Slavonic world was subjected to unprecedented trials in all the different phases of the war—Czech, Polish, Balkan, Russian. Therein lay the real, the only 'Slavonic' aspect of this war—the recurrence of the periodic catastrophe which crushes these nations as soon as Europe is unleashed against herself.

So March 15, 1939—the date of the occupation of Prague 186*
by Hitler's troops—aroused deep emotion among the Southern Slavs, who realised that the dyke which had hitherto held back the German drive on Eastern Europe had collapsed. There were manifestations of sympathy in Belgrade and in Sofia, especially among the students; messages flowed into Prague from all the Slavonic regions in the Balkans.

Germany herself seems to have had some obscure realisation of 186*
her crime. A curious article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 829
April 23, 1939—an article whose author foresaw the opprobrium that this 'operation' was to cast upon his country—endeavoured to reconcile the policy of the 'Protectorate' of Bohemia with the

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186* 829 conceptions of romantic Germany, and with Herder's 'Slavophilia'. He made every effort to show that a nation's interest does not necessarily lie in its elevation to the rank of a sovereign State, but that it may find its development in a subordination of national aspirations to political necessities. 'Geographical and historical facts, and political realities', he said, 'today play their part on an equal footing with the principle of nationalities'.

What the author meant by 'political realities' was to be judged in the light of the volleys of firing which mowed down the students of the University of Prague, guilty of having manifested their attachment to the Czech fatherland.

648 175 The subsequent course of events is too recent to need recalling here. The whole edifice of guarantees, built up to support peace, collapsed like a house of cards; twenty years of vague conceptions of security were swallowed up into the abyss that was to engulf the ruins of a world built up by ten centuries of patience and human genius. The Pacts of the Little Entente, gradually voided of their contents,[1] remained inoperative; Article 16 of the Pact of the League of Nations—rendered optional at the request of Poland—did not have to be put into operation; the Polish-Soviet Pact of non-aggression of July 25, 1932, extended in 1934 to December 31, 1945, and reaffirmed on November 26, 1938, remained a dead letter; the 'constant peace and eternal friendship' stipulated in the first clause of the Hungarian-Yugoslav pact concluded on December 12, 1940, and ratified on February 27, 1941, lasted five weeks; as for the 'perpetual friendship' sworn between Bulgarians and Yugoslavs on January 24, 1937, it lasted fifty months, to say nothing of the Salonica Pact concluded on July 31, 1938, between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente. The multiplication of security-pacts ended in making them completely ineffective. *In corruptissima republica leges plurimae.*

If Germany's designs on Bohemia and Poland were clear—too clear—the same could not be said of her position in the Balkans. At the most she claimed to put an end to what she called 'the state of anarchy created by the 1919–1920 treaties in the Balkan-Danubian region'.

* * *

[1] In February, 1940, the minutes of the Balkan Conference contained no reference to the territorial *status quo*.

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The first pawn she moved upon the chess-board was Bulgaria. 648
On March 1, 1941, the Government of Sofia adhered to the 175
Tripartite Pact with a ceremonial which had the Belvedere in Vienna as its setting. A communication from the *Political and Diplomatic Correspondence* of Berlin announced the news to the world, and added: 'Henceforth Bulgaria is numbered among the nations who enjoy equal status, who will in future serve only their own interests, to the exclusion of all others'. The terms of this adhesion had been 'discussed' on the previous November 17, during an interview between Hitler and King Boris at Berchtesgaden. At least one of the conditions was learned on the day the pact was signed; that very day, the Bulgarian Government notified the U.S.S.R. of the entry of German troops into Bulgaria 'to maintain peace within the country'. It was the first manifestation of a policy which the Bulgarian press was to designate 'passive belligerence'.

In face of pressure from Germany, what could the Bulgarian Government do? Three solutions were open to them—to resist by force, to make a diplomatic protest, to give way. The first was out of the question, the second would have added the drawbacks of a refusal to those of actual acceptance. In Sofia they judged the third solution to be the most 'realistic', and the only one that could save what remained to be saved.

In order to appease public opinion, the President of the Council, Bogdan Filov, declared in the Sobranje that 'Berlin had not demanded anything which ran counter to the obligations arising from the treaties concluded between Bulgaria and her neighbours'. And the *Zaria,* of Sofia, summed up its commentary as follows: 'Bulgaria has just decided her fate of tomorrow'. The press was almost unanimous in seeing in the country's adhesion to the Axis the road which should lead her to the revision of the Treaty of Neuilly, to the realisation, so often glimpsed, so often lost again, of a Great Bulgaria.

But the Macedonian psychosis did not prevent thoughtful people from remembering the evil genius of Bulgarian crises and their antecedents—the Balkan Wars and the catastrophe of 1918. Russia was still the ally of Germany. But who could believe that this *entente,* already beginning to show signs of wearing thin, would last until the end of the war? And if not, would it not be Moscow who would act as arbitrator for the destiny of Eastern

[1. Germany – Analyst]

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Europe? In November, 1939, on presenting his credentials, the first Soviet diplomat accredited to Sofia had made an unusual and emphatic allusion to the 'historical relationship' of the two countries. Consequently, in Moscow they expected an understanding, if not deferential, attitude on the part of Bulgaria. And so the population was profoundly moved on learning, on March 3, 1941, that the Soviet Government had just indicated, in a fairly stiff note, that they did not share the opinion of the Filov Cabinet, and that the latter's attitude seemed directed rather towards territorial expansion than to the consolidation of peace.

Bulgaria's position then became more and more critical. A Soviet note blamed her adhesion to the Axis. And, with the German-Russian War, began a series of incidents which strained to the utmost the relations between Russians and Bulgarians. In July, the Moscow Government denounced concentrations of troops on the Turkish frontier and preparations, co-ordinated with those of the Axis Powers, for an attack on the Straits.

Sofia denied these accusations. Moscow returned to the attack on September 12 with a note enumerating seven 'facts which the Soviets declared they considered as so many acts of hostility towards them' (movements of German troops, utilisation of aerodromes, ports, railways, etc.). On September 15 the Filov Cabinet again proclaimed their innocence: they had never exceeded the bounds of neutrality.

This diplomatic duel was accompanied by a chorus of violent press polemics concerning incidents, real or imaginary, alternately announced and denied over the air—the projection of Soviet bombs on Bulgarian territory, descent of 'Red' parachutists, acts of sabotage, acts of violence, etc.

And, in the background, was a continual, dogged propaganda tending to strengthen diplomatic action by exploiting both the economic difficulties of the Bulgarian people and the old theme of Russophile affinities. The note of September 12 had discreetly distinguished between the Sofia Government and the 'country'. Agitation was organised in working-class circles. The governing classes retorted by reinforcing the law for the protection of the State. There were executions.

Within a few weeks, Bulgaria saw herself faced with a problem no less social than national.

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If the Soviet reaction left any room for doubt, this was entirely removed on the occasion of the drama which was played out in Belgrade in the last week of March, 1941. On the 25th of that month, the Yugoslav Premier, Tsvetkovich, and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tsintsar Markovich, were received by Hitler and signed Yugoslavia's adhesion to the Tripartite Pact in Vienna. Forty-eight hours later a *coup d'état* put General Simovich in power. Rising magnificently, the Serbian people, more clear-sighted than their leaders, and faithful to their tradition of independence, had swept away the pusillanimous ministers who had just put the country at the feet of the oppressor. War was inevitable. At Vichy, when Pourich, the Yugoslav minister, announced his King's decision to Admiral Darlan, the latter said to him quizzingly: 'How many divisions have you, for resisting Germany?' And Pourich replied: 'Sir, that is a question we never ask in my country. We fight first, and count afterwards'.

648 175 [669]

There you have the whole heroic philosophy of the Serbian people. Russia greeted Belgrade's *coup d'état* by signing, on April 5, a pact of friendship and non-aggression with the new Government. She could not do more to indicate where her sympathies lay. *Pravda* recalled the fact that the relations between the two countries had steadily improved since May, 1940, when diplomatic contact had been resumed. But Belgrade learned the news of this pact simultaneously with that of the German attack, which took place a few hours later. To justify this aggression, Hitler enumerated a certain number of complaints, the first of which was a reminder of the Sarajevo outrage. That day, he had no doubt forgotten one of the sentences in *Mein Kampf*: 'It was the hand of the goddess of eternal law and of inexorable punishment that struck down Austrian Germany's most deadly enemy, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand'.[2]

Bulgaria took advantage of the German victory to reoccupy Macedonia, and on May 18 the Bulgarian flag was hoisted at Skoplje. She announced that she would limit her occupation to the lands she considered as *irredenta*. Needless to say, the appeal which the Yugoslavs broadcast from London, on the following

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[2] French translation (1934), p. 26.

1 [1941 -- Analyst]

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186* June 9, in the name of 'Slavonic fraternity', met with no
175 response in official quarters. The *Dnes*, of Sofia, replied that
648 Slavism was a myth, and that, moreover, Russia was not Slavonic.

But, even supposing that Slavism was a myth, Russia was a reality. Once again Slav solidarity appeared in its negative aspect. Bulgaria declared war on the United States and on England; to the very end, she maintained her diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., thus showing herself more 'Russophile' than King Ferdinand's Government had been in 1915.

* * *

648 Mistress of the Balkans and of Danubian Europe, Germany
175 set up her 'order' in those parts. None of the formulas on which the structure of the Balkan world had been modelled in the past had succeeded in conciliating national aspirations with the tranquillity of Europe. The notion of equilibrium had condemned the Balkan-Danubian States to chronic readjustments, under cover of which the small nations had been made to pay the cost, first of the disputes and then of the reconciliations, of the Great Powers. The hegemony of the large empires (Turkey, Austria-Hungary) had perhaps improved material living conditions for the masses, but it had led to *irredentism* and terrorism. The principle of the *nationalities* (1919–1940) had achieved empirical justice, but had split Europe up into atomic units at the very moment when the progress of communications would have rendered desirable the economic equipment of vast areas. In the crisis that followed the failure of the Creditanstalt, the standard of living of certain Balkan populations fell below what it had been during the Turkish period.

The tangle of races, religions, and historical affinities represented in this region makes any 'rational' solution impossible. Hitler said so himself, in a speech of April 28, 1939: 'I have never left in doubt the fact that it is intrinsically almost impossible to harmonise political and ethnical frontiers to every one's satisfaction'.

But Hitler did more than say this—he proved it. If his principles had triumphed, the Balkan-Danubian world would have been permeated by more irredentism than there had been in the time of the 'Diktat'.

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In the first place, the 'Balkanisation' or splitting up with which the Europe of 1920–1938 was reproached was not reduced under German domination, but rather aggravated. The number of small States had increased by three (Slovakia, Croatia, Montenegro). The 'corridors' and 'wedges' were more numerous, the general configuration more irregular than ever. 648 175

In the second place, the number of malcontent countries, too, had strangely increased. Before the war there were only two, Hungary and Bulgaria. In 1942 there were five—Greece, Serbia, Croatia, Rumania, and Slovakia; Bulgaria herself, disgusted at losing the western borders of Macedonia to Albania, was threatening to join the ranks of the malcontents. Exercising violence, cynicism, and corruption by turns, Hitler's Reich succeeded only in creating two phases of antagonism, first setting the Balkan nations one against the other, then regrouping them all against itself. The Reich gave the name of 'allies' to nations which were all hostile to it, including some which only joined it in order to secure its support against their neighbours when the time came for a final reckoning. The essence of civilisation is a certain ability to forget; the most backward nations live on a heritage of resentments which forms an obstacle to any policy of unification. And, on the other hand, the régime of conquest ruins the psychological foundations of the reorganisation which it claims to make. Although no European region stood in greater need of rationalisation than the Danube Basin, the nebulous declamations of the Nazi prophets regarding the economic systematisation of the continent missed the mark. In the autumn of 1943, to remedy the disastrous consequences of Italy's volte-face, Neubacher, the representative of the Reich's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Balkans, endeavoured to arrange a Conference of the Peninsular States in order to establish a Balkan Confederation within the framework of the 'New Europe', but he met with refusal or scepticism everywhere. Even those of the Balkan-Danubian States who were fighting side by side with the Reich were only awaiting an opportunity to come to blows. Not a day passed but brought news of riots accompanied by bloodshed in the transferred territories—Bulgars versus Albanians, Greeks versus Bulgars, Rumanians versus Hungarians. And all this turbulence was taking place on the margin of resistance to the oppressor—at first masked, then open.

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There was something else they forgot in Berlin—the fact that the prestige of the Reich, in the whole of this sector, was doubly handicapped—handicapped by a generalised scorn of death and by the state of mind of peasants who, having seen, in one and the same generation, the collapse of Ottoman Turkey, Tsarist Russia, and the Habsburg Empire, instinctively failed to consider any hegemonic experiments as permanent. The majority of these nations have been hardened to defeat, as well as to recovery; consequently they believe neither in lasting adversity nor in the permanence of strength. They are the uncertain factor in the European pattern.

In short, in the brief historical parenthesis represented by the domination of the Axis in Eastern Europe, there was no elimination, but first transfer and then coalition of irredentisms. We may say that the incoherence of the concepts elaborated by the Axis Powers and their inability to remedy it, were the best retrospective justification of the treaties which had put an end to the previous war, though this should not lead us to underestimate their errors and omissions.

The decisive turning-point of the war—Russia's entry into the campaign—will remain a key-event in the history of the Slavonic peoples. At the moment when this occurred, some tens of millions of Slavs were perishing under Nazi oppression. It was impossible for this mortal duel between two giants not to flood their hearts with tremendous hope, replacing the discouragement that the unnatural *entente* sealed in Moscow had caused them. The war of which Russia was, for several years, to bear the heavy burden was a real 'war of liberation'. For the first time, in a political speech, made to the Soviet Assembly in Moscow on November 6, 1941, Stalin used the expression 'Russian people' (*Rouski Narod*) in preference to 'Soviet Union'. 'These people (the Nazis), devoid of conscience and honour, have the cynicism to summon the nations to the destruction of the great Russian nation, the nation of Plekhanovs, Lenins, Bilenskys and Tchernichevskys, Pushkins and Tolstoys, Gorkys and Tchekhovs, Setchenovs and Pvalovs, Rapins and Surikovs, Suvorovs and Kutusovs'. To this panorama of Russian genius he added a solemn pledge, calculated to reassure the nations of Eastern Europe, as to the price of the liberty he promised them and which he was to bring them. 'We have no intention of

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conquering foreign territories or of annexing other nations. . . . 648
Nor do we intend to impose our will and our régime *on the* 175
Slavonic peoples or on the other oppressed nations of Europe who are awaiting our aid'.

Russia, Slavonic peoples, liberation—these words sounded 186*
like a rallying-call around notions long vague and confused, 175
suddenly taking shape in the Titanic conflict in which the 648
destiny of the civilised nations was the stake. Bethmann-Hollweg's war-cry: *Germanentum gegen Slawentum* took on an entirely new meaning. The Teutons had conquered the territories where the first Slavonic tribes had camped; Ferdinand II had broken Czech independence; Frederick had annexed Silesia and Poland; Hitler appropriated Bohemia, Poland, Slovenia, Serbia, and the Ukraine. He chained Croatia and Slovakia to his ephemeral chariot of victory. He was the greatest spoliator of Slav territory that history had ever known. In a sketch broadcast in America, the two Czech comedians, Voskovec and Werych, were discussing the war. 'Who is the greatest man humanity has produced?' asked one. 'Opinions differ', said the other. 'No, no doubt about it, it's Hitler'. 'How can you say such a thing?' 'Yes, Hitler. He is the first statesman to make the Slavs agree among themselves'.

This *entente* was strengthened during the following months, as a result of Russia's policy towards the various countries in revolt against the Hitlerian occupation and also as a result of the Congresses which were held from 1942 to 1944, both in Soviet territory and in the New World.

The old Slavonic instinct of rebellion was rediscovering its traditional weapons—bombs and meetings—and their efficacy increased as German power, undermined by revolt, collapsed. Out of the 5,000,000 Slav 'workers' mobilised by Sauckel, only 200,000 were volunteers.

If we leave out of account the German occupation régime, which in Czechoslovakia took the name of 'Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia' and in Poland that of 'General Government', if we ignore the case of Dalmatia (Zara, Spalato, Cattaro) attached to Italy by a decree of May 18, 1941, and that of Montenegro, which proclaimed its 'independence' on July 13, 1941, but five months later was placed under the authority of an Italian governor, there remain two Slavonic States, Slovakia and

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Croatia, to bear witness to the 'European Order' dreamed of by Hitler and Mussolini.

Slovakia was for long the most outcast of the Slavonic nations. From her went out the first call for Slav solidarity, and it was one of her sons, the priest Jean Kollar, who founded romantic Slavism. Kollar had studied in Jena with the historian, Luden. He had participated in the Wartburg Festival. Every one knows of the disputes the Slovaks had, between the two wars, with the Czechs, whom they accused of practising exaggerated centralism. The anti-Czech elements took advantage of the Czechoslovak crisis to proclaim the independence of Slovakia on March 14, 1939—the same day as the notification of that of Carpatho-Ukraine, immediately occupied by Hungarian troops. Ten days later the country, presided over by a priest, Joseph Tiso, signed the so-called 'protection treaty' (*Schutzvertrag*) which placed it under the domination of the Reich. The latter guaranteed for twenty-five years the 'political independence' and the territorial integrity of the Slovak State. The head of the Government, Tuka, gave to the German-Slovak friendship the name of *Schutzfreundschaft*. A very active Germanophile minority had always existed in the country: the Popular Party of Hlinka (another ecclesiastic) had maintained close relations with the German Party of the Sudetes, whose propaganda, organised by Conrad Henlein, was one of the immediate causes of the war. As far back as September, 1939, Slovakia was represented by a few modest contingents in the campaign against Poland. Her Government was to pride itself on having been the first to bank on a German victory, and for this reason was to claim a sort of 'right of seniority' among the allies of the Hitlerian Reich. It adhered to the Tripartite Pact on November 28, 1940, and appeared to feel it a great honour to see Slovakia, with her two and a half million inhabitants, put on the same footing as Italy and Japan. 'By receiving us', said President Tuka, 'the German Reich has openly and solemnly placed us in the company of independent states'.

This honour was worth a few sacrifices—particularly of the patriots who had formed a different idea on the matter of independence. On his return from Salzburg, where he had seen the Führer, Tuka announced that it would be a National Socialist State. It was necessary to bring to reason certain

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elements who were resisting the spirit of the *Schutzvertrag* and following divergent paths. 186* 175 648

We may therefore consider Slovakia as a State which, from that time onwards, realised all Hitler's hopes. Better still, it had anticipated them. 'The spirit of National Socialism comes from Hlinka', said President Tuka, 'its methods come from Hitler'. 'Slovakia', he said again, 'must be the vestibule of Paradise'. Racial laws were applied in Slovakia with the same rigour as in Germany, and the Government prided itself on administering 'the most anti-Semite country in the world'. Out of 89,000 Jews who lived there in 1939, there remained in January, 1944, according to official statistics, 20,000 (11,000 of whom had been baptised) and these, moreover, were destined to be eliminated, down to the last man. 'Slovakia was the first country to feel the beneficial effects of the great purification to establish a just world order'—this testimony from the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* speaks volumes as to the docility with which the Bratislava Government responded to Hitlerian control.

It is never difficult to attach a conception of the State—however fantastic it may be—to historical antecedents. Slovak propaganda discovered 'positive elements' which justified the Government's policy. Its organ, the *Slowakische Rundschau*,[1] recalled that the Slovak State in its first form, the Great Moravian Empire, founded by King Svatopluk, had collapsed because it had proved incapable of collaborating in peace with the Holy Empire. [208]

It was more difficult to reconcile the Hitlerian ideology with the principles of Christianity to which the people were profoundly attached (Slovakia is the European country in which the clergy are most in evidence in political struggles). This difficulty did not deter either the priest, Tiso, or his Government, who enjoy the doubtful credit of having, despite the Encyclicals, combined the teachings of the Church with the Hitlerian creed. This was a favourite subject for official speeches. 'The victory of Germany will be the victory of Christian principles', declared Mach, the Minister of the Interior, in his message for Christmas, 1943.

[1] Of July 7, 1940.

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648 175 Needless to say, the masses of the populace saw in these absurdities nothing but a blind submission to Germany. In August, 1944, the Germans physically occupied the country. The Government was reorganised; Stephen Tiso, President of the Bratislava Court of Appeal, replaced Tuka as President of the Council. His first act was to have recourse to the Germans to put an end to the increasingly threatening activity of the Partisans. On September 13 a National Council was formed which sent a message of fidelity to Benes. The latter replied, 'The Czechs and the Slovaks will give the State a new form, based on absolute equality of rights and on a spirit of democracy and fraternity'.

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184 175 Croatia presents, from the historical point of view, a quite different personality. She prides herself on having safeguarded her juridical individuality through a thousand years, under régimes of personal union and under the rule of foreign sovereigns. The clique which, thanks to the collapse of the Yugoslav State, took the power into their own hands and proclaimed the independence of the country on April 10, 1941, was composed of revolutionaries, most of them *émigrés*, grouped since 1929 in the *Oustachi* (insurgent) organisations, by Ante Pavelich, who revived the Croatian Law Party dissolved in 1918, and was the instigator (with Italian and Magyar accomplices) of the crime which led to the death of King Alexander and of Louis Barthou.

The new 'Independent State of Croatia' (a term calculated to imply that the Croatian State had existed without independence) was represented by the crown of King Zvonimir, who died in 1089—a feature borrowed from the constitutional *mystique* of Hungary, which personifies in the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen the union of people and monarchy.[4]

The ideology of the new régime was reduced to negative elements—a struggle against Orthodoxy, Liberalism, Democracy, Freemasonry, Judaism, and Bolshevism, hitherto combined, according to the official propaganda, 'under the false geographical label of Yugoslavism'. It thus claimed to renew the tradition

161 [4] The new Kingdom of Croatia had a population of 7,080,000 inhabitants, as follows: Croatia, 5,000,000, Serbs, 1,500,000, Hungarians, 70,000, and Slovenes, 87,000. It covered an area of 71,958 square miles.

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which had made of Croatia the bulwark of Christianity (*Antemurale Christianitatis*).

But, while Slovakia was the testing-ground of Germany's 'European' conceptions, it was from Mussolini's Italy that the Croatia of Pavelich took her watchwords.[5] It was to Mussolini that Pavelich, condemned to death by the Aix-en-Provence Assize Court, fled for protection. It was in the Doges' Palace in Venice that Pavelich signed Croatia's adhesion to the Tripartite Pact on June 15, 1941. Moreover, the 'oustachi' had not awaited the arrival of the Germans and the Italians before rallying to the Axis. The first step towards adhesion to the Tripartite Pact dates from the interview which took place in January, 1940, between Pavelich and Count Ciano, in the latter's home.

Moreover, the independence of the new State had, from the time of its constitution, been seriously mortgaged, for the Duke of Spoleto, son of the late Duke of Aosta, was to reign over it, with the title of Tomislav II. However, he never appeared in Croatia, and notified his abdication on August 27, 1943.

Italy had counted on Croatia to play the same role in the Balkans as Germany had assigned to Slovakia in the Danube Basin—that of a testing-ground for the New Order. 'Croatia represents the touchstone of the system which the Axis Powers wish to establish in Europe'.[6] As soon as it came to power, the pro-Hitler minority which governed by terror at Zagreb (or at Bania-Louka) had, in the name of racialism no doubt, abolished the word 'Slav' from their terminology. In the propagandist work (*The Croats*) published in Zagreb in 1943, we read (on page 75) that the Croats are of Iranian stock and 'derive their origin from the ancient cradle of the best European races in the Caucasus', while on page 78 we learn that Professor H. M. Chadwick's theory 'completes and corroborates the thesis concerning the Gothic origin of the Croats'. No doubt these two opinions are somewhat contradictory, but the Gothic connection was calculated to rejoice the hearts of the theorists of Nordic pre-eminence. Pavelich himself declared to a German journalist that he wished the German origin of his nation could be proved

[5] The Croatian National Socialist Party amalgamated with the 'oustachi' movement on July 13, 1941.

[6] Broadcast from Radio-Rome, April 27, 1942.

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186* 175 and that Croatian science would endeavour to elucidate this problem [*sic*].

186* 175 668 Croatia had been the starting-point of the defection which dislocated Yugoslavia, but a Croat, Joseph Broz (Marshal Tito), was at the head of the movement which resuscitated that country. This movement began as a guerrilla war waged by partisans; it grew into the rising of a whole nation. 'Tito', by his previous political activity, by his participation in the Spanish campaign (where he had met Rodnitzev, the future defender of Stalingrad), had made numerous contacts with Soviet generals and statesmen. He had Moscow's unconditional support in organising resistance in the Balkans and, at the request of the Russians, he ousted, in the confidence of the Allies, General Mihaïlovich, one of the earliest rebels, but who was reproached with Serbian exclusiveness and with executions of Communists.

By regrouping, under the ægis of Russia, the Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, and Macedonian populations, Tito made himself the champion of a cause that was specifically Slavonic.

In Bulgaria, Communist opposition and popular sentiment (immemorially attached to Russia, but, since Stalingrad, more enthusiastic than ever as the result of the recovery of the Red Armies) obstructed with increasing boldness the Hitlerophile policy of the Government, which periodic contacts with the Führer failed to stabilise.

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186* 668 544 In order to galvanise and render articulate the new solidarity on democratic lines which was shaping itself among the Slavonic peoples against their common aggressor, congresses were organised. The first was held at Moscow in August, 1941, only a few weeks after Russia's entry into the war. It may be considered the cradle of this rebirth of Slavism. The opening address was pronounced by the Soviet writer, Alexis Tolstoy. 'We reject', he said, 'the old ideology of Panslavism, which we consider reactionary and contrary to the principle of equality among the nations. . . . Slavs, let us unite, that each Slavonic nation may be entitled, as the other nations are, to a free, peaceful existence, that the culture of our nations may flourish without restraint. . . . The fires of Warsaw and of Belgrade are not yet extinct. From the spark springs the flame; the wind of hatred fans these smoking ruins, in which are consumed German

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mediatisation. In the past, Slavism had mobilised more feeling than will-power, animated more Congresses than Crusades. It now reassumed the academic, 'poet and professor' form it had exhibited a hundred years earlier. 186* 668

So that Russia's first acts as a liberating power were not particularly Slavonic. In virtue of the ethnical principle, exercised in her own favour, she annexed to the Ukraine Carpatho-Ruthenia, which had been a Civilisation Front for another Slavonic power—Czechoslovakia. As far as Poland was concerned Russia drew the logical advantages of her victory. Poland's annexation of Prussia's Eastern Marches was simply compensation for the amputations she suffered in favour of the Ukraine and of White Russia. The support discreetly given by Moscow to the Bulgaro-Yugoslav claims on Aegean Macedonia reflected less concern for Slav solidarity than the desire to liberate the outlet from the Straits. 186* 668 723

The award of the Teschen Basin, once more disputed between Poland and Czechoslovakia, provided Russia with a very delicate arbitration task, in which the necessity for compensating the sacrifices demanded of the Poles weighed more heavily than the memory of Czech fidelity; had not Czechoslovakia, for ten years, been considered as the 'aircraft-carrier' of Soviet military power?

In reality—and a large dose of ingenuousness was required in order to believe that it could ever be otherwise—the territorial changes over which the Russians presided were all inspired by Russian interests, in the historical and traditional sense of the word.

* * *

Let us briefly recall the evolution of the Slavonic peoples immediately after their liberation. 648 175

Poland was, during the war, represented by a Government-in-exile in London, which negotiated with the Allies, to whom they gave valuable military assistance. In Moscow this Government was regarded as 'reactionary' and incompatible with a policy of good Polish-Sovietic relations. So it was constantly attacked by the Russian leaders and the Russian press. [329]

As long as the war was conducted outside Polish territory, London and Washington classed this dispute with those that are

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648 only settled by being shelved. The English and the Americans
•175 were in a delicate position with regard to Poland; the former because it was difficult for them to forget that they had entered the war in order to safeguard Poland's independence, the latter because in the United States there is a large Polish emigration, whose electoral influence is by no means negligible. (It should not be forgotten that Roosevelt was the candidate of the minorities, the allogeneous groups, and the Catholics.)

But the entry of Soviet troops into Polish territory put an end to all hopes of postponing until the end of the war the solution of the dispute between the Polish exiles in London and the 'Association of Polish Patriots' set up in Moscow to tie the future of Poland to that of Russia. As in the case of the Baltic peoples, the Kremlin intended to deal only with a Polish authority constituted on her territory and consisting of members not suspected of any anti-Sovietic affiliations or tendencies.

Yet M. Stanislas Mikolajczyk, leader of the Peasant Party, who, on July 5, 1943, had replaced General Sikorski at the head of the Polish Government in London, sought to gain time. The Soviet press conducted a violent campaign against him and his collaborators, representing them as survivors of a retrograde Poland, the inheritance of the 'Colonels' Government', and as reincarnating the anti-democratic, anti-Russian tradition of Pilsudski.

On the day when Radio-Moscow announced the entry of the Red armies into Chelm, the communiqué was followed by the Soviet anthem, then the Polish. From this entry of the Reds into Poland dates the formation, on Russian-occupied territory, of the 'National Liberation Committee', whose first act was to repudiate allegiance to M. Mikolajczyk's Government. Thence forward there were two Polish authorities.

642 The National Committee issued a manifesto to the 'People
175 of Poland', announcing that in the Committee was invested the 'sole legal authority' existing in Poland, since it was actuated by the spirit of the democratic constitution of 1921, whereas the London Cabinet had resulted from the authoritarian constitution of April, 1935. The Committee considered itself, thenceforth, as the sole provisional legal organ of the executive power; moreover, this claim was supported by a Soviet communiqué announcing that the administration of the Polish territories

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occupied by the Russian armies would be entrusted to the Committee. 642 175

It will be noticed that in both documents the word 'Government' was avoided. No doubt that explains why neither London nor Washington received notification of the establishment of this new organism. But the Poles in London reacted indignantly. For them, this new institution was juridically valueless and, in practice, without authority. They declared that out of the fifteen members composing this Executive Directory seven were unknown, while eight were notorious Communists. The President, M. Osubka-Morawski, was a thirty-five year old workman, excluded from the Socialist Party in 1940 on account of his affiliations with Moscow. They therefore asked London and Washington to disavow these 'usurpers'. 648 175 578

Russia's might, and the role of the Soviet armies in the joint military effort, scarcely permitted an unfriendly attitude in regard to an initiative to which the Soviets had already given their sanction. London had not, for years, 'hedged' over misunderstandings which set the London and the Moscow exiles at loggerheads, only to take a final decision just when the Russian armies were achieving advances which left their allies far behind. So London simply announced that Great Britain continued to recognise M. Mikolajczyk's Government, whilst hoping that it would find some way of coming to an agreement with the organisation which had been set up in opposition to it. In the United States, where the Polish question caused very violent discussion during an election year, Mr. Cordell Hull entrenched himself in the silence which was his usual refuge when he was questioned concerning Eastern European problems.

In view of this negative attitude on the part of London and Washington, M. Mikolajczyk decided to seek an interview with Marshal Stalin. He went to Moscow, accompanied by his Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Romer. But his interview only served to make him realise the insurmountable prejudices which Soviet circles cherished against the London exiles.

Yet the Allies could not allow the Polish question to remain in this state of uncertainty just when a general settlement of the war was within sight. So this question was included on the agenda of the Crimean Conference in February, 1945. The Three Powers decided that the evolution of the international

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situation necessitated the creation of a new Polish Provisional Government on a wider democratic basis than that which had governed the establishment of the organism which functioned in the liberated regions of Poland (first the Lublin, then the Warsaw Government). M. Molotov and the ambassadors of Great Britain and the United States received a mandate to carry out this reorganisation in conjunction with the members of the Provisional Government and the Polish democratic leaders both in Poland and abroad. This new Provisional Government would, as soon as circumstances permitted, organise free elections with a secret poll.

The Yalta decision provoked a split in Polish circles in London. The Government-in-exile, at the head of which M. Arciszewski had replaced M. Mikolajczyk, declared that neither that Government nor the Polish nation would recognise the decision; but M. Mikolajczyk and the Peasant Party, the majority of the Christian Democrats, and nearly half the Socialists, immediately signified that they would have nothing to do with this uncompromising attitude.

On April 21, 1945, whilst awaiting the application of the Yalta decisions, the Warsaw Polish Government, presided over by M. Osubka-Morawski, signed a treaty of friendship and mutual aid with the Soviet Government. This confirmed the Russian point of view, according to which the Warsaw Cabinet remained the nucleus of the future reconstructed Government. 'This reconstruction', said Marshal Stalin in a declaration to *The Times*, 'will have the effect of favouring a policy of friendship towards the Soviet Union instead of a policy of a "sanitary cordon" directed against her'. Moscow remembered the experience of 1919 and the 'barbed wire fence'.

At Yalta, the desire for prudence by which Mr. Roosevelt was inspired meant that the procedure in connection with the enlarging of the Polish Government was left very vague. Hence Mr. Hopkins' mission to Moscow in order, among other things, to set this procedure in action. As the result of the Stalin-Hopkins interview, a Soviet note was sent on June 13 convening in Moscow the Three Power Commission and the representatives of the Warsaw Government, together with the Polish leaders abroad.

The forwarding of this note had been speeded up in the hope

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of enabling Poland to be admitted, at least *in extremis*, to the San Francisco Conference. For as the result of London and Washington's refusal, on April 18, to allow an invitation to be sent to the Warsaw Government, it looked as though Poland, the first victim of German aggression, might be absent from the discussion of the statute destined to preserve the world against the recurrence of similar attacks. 648 175 578

The invitation found the London Poles divided. Of the three organisations invited, M. Mikolajczyk, ex-President of the Council, and M. Stanczyk, Vice-President of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party, accepted; M. Witos declined the invitation on health grounds, and M. Zakowski, the representative of the Socialist Party, reflected the discord which had apparently developed in that party by refusing to join the delegation.

The trial of sixteen Poles who had been detained in Moscow for several weeks, charged with sabotage and anti-Soviet activities, interfered with the negotiations. In vain did the Poles in London try to secure their release, by emphasising the role these men had played in the Resistance; Marshal Stalin declared that the Conference must not prevent the trial from taking place. At the hearing certain of the accused pleaded guilty to acts of terrorism directed against Soviet troops, and attributable to the *Armija krajowa* (Armed Forces of the Interior), which had been recognised on the previous August 30[1] by the English and the Americans, and to a political organisation called *Niepodlegosc* (Independence). The verdict returned on June 21[2] was mitigated; the chief offender, General Okulicki, was condemned to ten years' imprisonment, while the remaining accused were either acquitted or received very light sentences. 687 661 175

The objects of this trial, synchronised with the Conference from which, on principle, was to come the reconciliation of the Warsaw Poles and the London Poles, seem to have been as follows. Firstly, to discredit the leaders of the Government-in-exile and their staffs; secondly, to give (by the verdict) an example of the Russians' spirit of moderation; and thirdly, to emphasise their unshakeable determination to put an end, once for all, to anti-Soviet propaganda on Polish territory.

So the agreement reached on June 23[2] found the atmosphere 648 175

1 [1944 -- Analyst]
2 [1945 -- Analyst]

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648 cleared, and awakened a reasoned optimism in English and
•175 American circles.

642 Twenty-four hours after the arrival in Warsaw of the Poles
175 invited by Moscow to join the new 'National Unity' Government the former Osubka-Morawski Cabinet resigned, and was reconstituted with the addition of these elements representing the exiles or the home Resistance movements.

The new Government included representatives of the Communist Party (which were not, as the London exiles maintained, in the majority) as well as of the Socialist, Peasant, and Democratic Parties. For the greater part it was composed of the ministers who had resigned from the Warsaw Cabinet. It kept at its head the ex-President, Osubka-Morawski, supported by two Vice-Presidents, MM. Gomulka and Mikolajczyk.

At the same time, the composition of the National Council—a sort of pre-Legislature—was also modified. Its Presidium, which played the role of provisional Chief of State, was under the leadership of M. Bierut, a Communist, who was, however, given two Vice-Presidents—M. Witos, leader of the Peasant Party, and Professor Grabski, National-Christian.

This Government declared that the first question on its agenda was that of repatriation of the Poles still residing abroad.

648 As soon as the formation of the National Unity Ministry was
175 known, the British authorities negotiated with the former exiled Government in London, with a view to its prompt dissolution.

[578] But on June 25[1] the Government-in-exile published a declaration, affirming that it refused to acknowledge any transmission of power, and proclaimed the new Warsaw Government to be 'illegal'. At the same time, it issued a manifesto to the Polish people justifying its attitude of protest, and declaring itself willing, as far as the fate of the country was concerned, to abide by a free election.

On July 5 London recognised the new Provisional Government, already approved by Moscow and Washington. This meant a break between the British authorities and the Cabinet-in-exile, which England had for so long supported and encouraged. The B.B.C. ceased to broadcast Polish programmes, and the various services installed in London were invited to wind up as quickly as possible.

1 [1946 -- Analyst]

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The English press greeted this news philosophically, emphasising the fact that recognition was subject to the promise of free elections as soon as Poland's material situation would allow. 208 829

Isolated protests were made; as, for example, that of William John Rose, Professor at the School of Slavonic Studies in London, who wrote to *The Spectator*:—

'The solution adopted is the very one which was rejected by our House of Commons—the co-option of a minority of Poles from London and from Poland to a majority of Lublin Poles, the latter occupying all the chief posts.

'Great Britain and the United States have recognised this Government without any precise information having been given regarding the elections and their nature, though they were the condition on which recognition was granted.

'The renouncing of the principles for which the Allies fought for six years is deplorable. Whatever may be its significance for Poland, it is humiliating for the Western democracies. Obviously, we have an excuse; we are busy with our own elections. Unfortunately, however, while we were inactive others were not. What has become of the anger shown by Mr. Eden and M. Stettinius when M. Molotov exploded the "bombshell" (to use the expression of nearly all the journalists) concerning the fate of the Polish politicians?'

In Washington Senator Vandenberg declared to Mr. Grew, interim Secretary of State, that the settlement of the Polish question was inadequate and unsatisfactory for millions of citizens, himself included. 'This settlement does not appear to give a clear assurance that the Polish people will be able to express themselves freely under this Government, which is imposed on them by the Big Three, within the limits of frontiers likewise fixed by these same powers'.

In Moscow, on the contrary, the solution of the Polish crisis was considered as a victory for the democracies and a guarantee of European peace. The Soviet Government hastened to regularise its relations with the new State. On July 9th it signed a commercial treaty with Warsaw, in order to 'develop and consolidate to the utmost the economic relations between the two countries, in a spirit of friendship and collaboration'. 648 1750

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

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648 And, on August 15, Warsaw and Russia signed a treaty
•175 covering the frontier-delimitation of the two States, and war damages. M. Osubka-Morawski welcomed the agreements, which restored to Poland her 'historic frontiers' on the Neisse, the Oder, and the Baltic shore. For his part, M. Stanczyk, Minister of Labour, addressing the Polish troops, endeavoured to dispel their hesitation: 'The new Poland is free and independent. Naturally, in the event of a fresh aggression, Russia would be our ally, but the fact that her line of defence coincides with our western frontier has nothing to do with our independence. If you return you will find, it is true, plenty of work—but you will be working for Poland. That is why I advise you to return as soon as possible'.

162 In October, 1945, the President of the Polish National
175 Council, Borislav Bierut, still estimated at six million—a quarter of the total population—the number of Poles remaining outside the national territory. This was a major obstacle to the carrying out of the undertaking given in respect of an early and conclusive election.

But it was not to be doubted that many Poles would, once more, prefer exile to returning to a country whose independence was hopelessly mortgaged.

186* Her geographical position, which condemned Poland to be dominated either by Germany or by Russia, had just fixed her destiny in the East. For a long time anti-Russian (and, since 1920, anti-Sovietic) feeling and ideas had been for Poland a political trend—and, even more, an axiom of international ethics. They had been considered as the fundamental criteria of patriotism—a sort of moral urge, the preliminary condition for the exercise of civic rights.

So that a new era was opening in the history of the Polish people. The previous one was called 'romantic', the present one being designated 'realistic'. But there was a deep-seated uneasiness in the soul of this nation, which—as her history has a hundred times borne witness—has never hesitated to rush into a catastrophe rather than restrain the impulses of a very sensitive patriotism.

186* Poland's strong attachment to the Catholic Faith also opened
795 up possible difficulties. It was natural that the partisans of an *entente* with Russia should be recruited in extreme-Leftist and

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atheistic circles. But the international crisis which swept the country was complicated by a religious crisis. This became evident when the Council of Ministers decided, on September 17, to denounce the Concordat, accusing the Vatican of having violated its clauses by the publication, during the occupation, of laws contrary to its engagements (an allusion to the nomination of bishops of German nationality in Posnania). 186* 795 [648]

Poland had lost the liberty of choice which, for so long, had enabled her to seek her equilibrium between the Teutonic and the Russian world. Willy-nilly, she had to accustom herself to the new state of affairs; but she brought to the situation the germ of serious civil discord. And her exiles, maintaining a more than century-old tradition, were to keep alive, especially in Anglo-American and in Catholic circles, an atmosphere of opposition—not to mention the clandestine resistance, all the centres of which were not extinct in Poland itself. Our grandchildren will talk of the 'Polish Question' just as our grandparents used to do. [578]

* * *

In her foreign policy Bulgaria has a 'spare ideology' which enables her to reverse her international situation according to whether she is at peace or at war. Thus she periodically takes her stand beside the Power which seems able to help her to realise her territorial aspirations. This is the effect of that 'Macedonian psychosis' of which we have spoken. But her evil genius has invariably inspired her to 'back the wrong horse'. 648 175

In the Second World War, she passed through three phases.

Feeling sure that Germany was invincible, but profiting by her previous disappointments, she first tried to gain Hitler's support at the lowest possible price. This was the period of so-called 'passive belligerency', limited to platonic manifestations—adhesion to the Tripartite Pact and to the anti-Comintern Pact.

But the Axis soon saw through this ruse. In April, 1941, it allowed Bulgaria to settle in Western Macedonia (Serbia) and in Eastern Macedonia (Greece). In return, it expected its troops to have right of passage through and of quartering in Bulgarian territory. Such was the *leit-motiv* of the three interviews which took place between Hitler and King Boris, between March, 1941,

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648 and March, 1942. The Führer considered Bulgaria as his
•175 strongest card in the Balkans.

King Boris's Government capitulated, but ensured for itself a strategic withdrawal—the maintenance of its diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. This was the reverse of its 1917 policy, when Bulgaria, then at war with the Russians, kept her representatives in Washington. She was the only European signatory to the Tripartite and anti-Comintern Pacts who did not send even a token legion to fight on Russian soil. Are we to credit this fact to Slavism? In that case, we may liken it to the curious intimacy which during the war marked the relations between Croats and Bulgars: cultural agreements of October, 1942, periods of training spent by Croat officers in Bulgaria, contacts between labour organisations, etc.

The third phase of Bulgarian 'neutrality' opened with the bombardment of Sofia by the Americans (November 14, 1943), which showed the Bulgarians that their declaration of war on the United States was not the harmless operation they had expected it to be. 'Wretched Bulgaria!' Churchill was to say. Thenceforth the Sofia Government lost all hope of deriving nothing but advantages from the war. It entered into the struggle at the very moment when the fate of Germany seemed irrevocably settled.

This aggravation of the external situation coincided with an internal crisis.

King Boris having died on August 28, 1943, in circumstances which have not yet been cleared up, on September 9 following the Sobranje appointed three regents, who, on the 11th, took the oath to King Simeon II and the Bulgarian people. Thenceforward Bulgaria was not fighting simply to satisfy her ambitions, but to save her stakes. The difficulty was to redress the situation with the twenty German divisions stationed on Bulgarian soil, and all the country's strategic bases controlled by the Occupying Authorities.

The Allies reiterated their demands. On May 13, 1944, London, Washington, and Moscow launched an appeal to the Bulgarian people to dissociate themselves from a Government which was leading them to disaster. *Pravda* recalled the adage *Quos vult perdere*. It accused the Bulgarians of being 'the stranglers and executioners of their Slav brethren'. 'There is

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only one way', declared Stalin, 'for Bulgaria to avoid a catastrophe: to break with the Axis and withdraw from the war'. The population heard these warnings over the radio, and gave signs of daily increasing anxiety. 648 175

Naturally, the most pressing—and the most effective—objurgations came from the Russians. Already, on April 17, 1944, Molotov had handed to the Bulgarian chargé d'affaires, Stamenov, a note enumerating the concrete examples of assistance given by his country to military operations against Russia, particularly in the Black Sea.

On April 24 the Sofia Government replied, in confused terms; against all the evidence, it denied the charges, and declared itself ready to verify any facts which the Soviet Authorities might bring to its notice. In addition the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chichmanov, protested his 'very sincere desire to maintain correct, loyal, and friendly relations with the Soviet Union'.

This duplicity deceived no one. The Moscow Government returned to the attack on April 26, proposing the reopening of the Soviet Consulate in Varna, which had been closed since the autumn of 1942, and the creation of fresh consular representations in Burgas and Roussé, to collaborate with the Bulgarian authorities in carrying out the verifications which the latter had just proposed.

Bulgaria adhered 'in principle' to these proposals, but made acceptance of them subject to the resumption of economic relations between the two countries—which was simply a way of postponing matters.

The Soviets showed up this manoeuvre; on May 15 the Sofia Cabinet drew up a reply, maintaining its attitude. But the Soviet notes took on a menacing tone; accusing the Bulgars of endeavouring to evade the issue, under cover of this constant postponement, the Kremlin demanded a final answer from the Bagrianov Government, which, on July 29, decided to give way on the question of the Consulates. Meanwhile the war had advanced more rapidly than diplomacy, and the military situation demanded a clear explanation. On August 12, Bagrianov was called upon to break with Germany. Once more he sheltered behind Bulgaria's 'absolute neutrality'. But he was negotiating secretly to get out of the dilemma. On August 25, the English

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648 and the Americans were asked for an armistice. On the 29th he
•175 announced the evacuation of Greece and Yugoslavia by his troops. And on the 31st an armistice delegation arrived in Cairo.

Too late! On the previous evening Sofia had received a Soviet ultimatum, involving the resignation of Bagrianov, who was replaced (on September 3) by Muraviev. The latter proclaimed his fidelity to the policy of so-called 'neutrality', but denounced the anti-Comintern Pact and dissolved the Legislature which had declared war.

This was not the reply which Moscow had expected. A last Soviet note, dated September 5, announced 'not only is Bulgaria at war with the U.S.S.R. but the latter in her turn will, henceforward, be at war with Bulgaria'—an unusual formula which made the latter country the aggressor and conferred a defensive character on the entry of the Tolbukhin army into Bulgarian territory.

This army occupied Roussé and Varna. Bulgaria then resigned herself to declaring war on Germany (September 8). Consequently for a few hours she was, theoretically, at war both with Russia and with Germany. But at 10 o'clock on September 9, four days after the declaration of war, the Soviet Command gave the order to cease fire. Shortly afterwards it was learned that Sofia had accepted the preliminary armistice terms.

The day before, a Government had come into power under Kimon Gheorgiev, leader of the political party called *Zveno* (The Link). He had been the instigator of the military *coup* of May 19, 1934, which had dissolved the Legislature and guided Bulgarian foreign policy in two directions—*entente* with Russia, and reconciliation with Yugoslavia.

To the new Government fell the heavy task of winding up its predecessors' disastrous policy which had, once again, placed Bulgaria in the camp of the vanquished. On October 28th the Government signed the armistice with the Allies, carried out executions on a large scale, and sought an immediate *rapprochement* with Tito. The *entente* between Bulgars and Yugoslavs, sanctioned by the agreement of October 9 between the Sofia Government and the Yugoslav National Liberation Committee, was facilitated by the solidarity which had been established,

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during the last phase of the war, between the 'partisans' of the two countries. This solidarity was increased by the ideological affinities between the two régimes.

On September 15 the Russians made their entry into Sofia. The day before, Gheorgiev had issued a proclamation: 'The Homeland Front will place all its means and all its forces at the disposal of the Soviet Union and her great allies, in order to drive the Germans out of the Balkans. It will immediately do its utmost to establish *an indissoluble alliance with the U.S.S.R. and the new Yugoslavia,* and to form ties of sincere friendship with the great Western democracies, with the United States and with our neighbours'.

It was in her effort to reconcile the Russian 'alliance' with her democratic 'friendships' that liberated Bulgaria made her first blunder on the international stage. The Government had fixed the general elections for August 26, 1945. It was backed by a coalition of five parties (Communists, Agrarians, Socialists, *Zveno,* Radicals), forming the *Otetchestvenni Front* (Patriotic Front), which unleashed against its adversaries a violent campaign of persecutions. It did not seem, either to the English or to the Americans, that this régime represented very sound ideas of democracy. Evidently several members of the Bulgarian Cabinet shared this view, for in the month of August they resigned and went over to the Opposition.

It was then that the London and Washington Governments advised Sofia that they could not recognise the régime that might result from the elections, in view of the atmosphere of oppression and constraint under which these promised to be held.

The Gheorgiev Government haughtily rejected this communication, while the press denounced the old 'colonial policy' habits, of which it bore the stamp. But to the general surprise it was learned, on the following day, that the elections were adjourned indefinitely. And a few hours later the President of the Council explained that the incident was due to a misunderstanding; that, in Bulgaria, democracy was of the 'Balkan' type, and that the chief thing for Bulgaria was to conclude a peace treaty by the quickest possible means. On the next day but one (August 27) the American Government agreed to the restoration of diplomatic relations and received the new Bulgarian representative in Washington, General Vladimir Stoïtchev.

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648 The sudden volte-face on the part of the Sofia Cabinet was
• 175 very easy to explain. Trusting entirely to Russian support, the
666 Bulgarians had never for a moment doubted that Russia would consider the Anglo-American attitude as negligible. They therefore contented themselves with invoking the necessity of consulting the Inter-allied Control Commission, in which the Soviet representative's influence was predominant. Judge of the Government's surprise on learning, from the mouth of that representative (General Birousov), that the Commission had been unanimous in recommending the postponement of the elections!

They had been put off until November 18. The day before, the Washington Government renewed its warning of the month of August, to the effect that the conditions under which the election promised to be held would no doubt prevent it from considering the resulting Government as being the authentic expression of the 'popular will'.

It was difficult to know whether the American attitude arose from the conviction that the Bulgarian electoral law was less 'correct' than the Yugoslav electoral law, or whether the discrimination followed from the fact that Yugoslavia was an allied, and Bulgaria a vanquished, country.

But this time the Sofia Cabinet held out and the elections took place on the date fixed. They gave 75–85 per cent of the votes cast to the Patriotic Front, the Opposition parties having decided to abstain.

However, the Government wisely refrained from giving to this poll the appearance of a retort to the American veto. On the contrary, it advised Washington of its intention to enlarge the basis of the Government on democratic lines.

[829] It is certain that the rivalry between the Agrarians and the Communists offers prospects of internal crises. But, from the external point of view, Bulgaria's policy is fixed *ne varietur*. It will depend on Moscow's goodwill. The Bulgarian people, profoundly Russophile, will find little difficulty in accepting this new state of affairs. There is more doubt as to whether the same thing will be true of the leaders, who will always find it difficult to resign themselves to having only one card in their diplomatic game.

* * *

186* The Slavonic problem presents quite a different appearance

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in Yugoslavia, where it has two aspects: one external—that concerned with relations between Moscow and Belgrade, the other internal—the *entente* between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. 186*

The personality of Marshal Tito, who had the confidence of the Russians and was the animator, first of resistance to the Germans, then of the liberation movement, considerably simplified the question of relations between Yugoslavs and Sovietics. 648 175 578

Before the soil of Yugoslavia had been liberated, a Government-in-exile (presided over, at the end, by Dr. Ivan Choubachich) continued to function in London, whilst in Yugoslavia Marshal Tito directed the war of liberation. During the winter of 1944–1945, King Peter II tried to bring about an agreement between Tito and the exiled Government. Various obstacles retarded the conclusion of the agreement, and they were later on to paralyse its enforcement.

These obstacles included the conduct of the King during the war. He was reproached with having lived far removed from his people and with not having imitated the example of his grandfather, King Peter I of Serbia, who in 1876 under the name of 'Peter Mrkognich', led a detachment of rebels in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or his father, the Regent Alexander, who had fought in 1917–1918 on the Salonica front. 643 175

He was further reproached with his inopportune marriage, contracted far away from the country, and against the advice of his friends and counsellors. On March 21,[6] 1944, at the Yugoslav Embassy in London, he had married Princess Alexandra of Greece, who, on July 17 of the following year, gave birth to a son.

Now, in Serbia, dynastic loyalty is not (as in Croatia, for example) founded on any fundamental attachment to the monarchical idea. It exists simply in respect of the monarch's patriotic function—what the Serbs call *narodni rad* ('national work')—a name which takes on its full significance only in a country which is periodically reduced to slavery.

The authority of King Peter II was also weakened by the support he had given to General Draja Mihaïlovich. The latter had been the first to rise against the occupation, and his heroic resistance had rallied the best elements of the old army in Southern Bosnia and in Montenegro. But he was reproached 725 648 175

[6] March 20, according to Keesing (trans.).

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725 with 'Great Serbian' and 'reactionary' tendencies. Subsequently
648 a much more serious charge was made against him; carried away
•175 by his struggle against the Communist elements, he was said to have parlied with the Occupying Authorites and with the agents of Nedich, the Serbian 'Quisling'. General Mihaïlovich was nevertheless the War Minister *in partibus* to the London Cabinet, where the accusations brought against him were never seriously considered until Churchill[1] echoed them. They were the basis of the case brought against his partisans in July, 1945, and the severe sentence passed against them.

[829] Then there was, between the London Government and the 'Tito Movement', the psychological opposition between the exiled politicians (except those of Czechoslovakia) and the insurgents, who, remaining within the country, risked their lives day in and day out. The latter were inclined to see the 'London people' as theorists, if not profiteers of the Resistance, who, in assured comfort and relative security, carried out a paid task with the pen or by radio.

[668] Finally, Tito's partisans merged, in many cases, with the Communist or extremist elements, for whom the old Yugoslav political formations and their staffs embodied a régime of despotism, patronage, and reaction, whose return to power would have constituted an historical retrogression.

643 However, the break did not come immediately. Although
661 King Peter agreed, under pressure from the Allies and especially
648 from Russia, to disown Mihaïlovich, he showed greater hesitation
1175 in negotiating with Tito, whose republican trend and attachment to the Soviet régime were well known.

On June 16, 1944, he resigned himself, rather against his convictions, to authorising Choubachich to sign an agreement with Tito, which provisionally safeguarded the rights of the Crown. On the following November 1 he agreed to the formation of a National Union Government in liberated Yugoslavia. But he reserved his approval as to the nomination of a Regency and the exercise of political power by one single party, the National Liberation Front, until a Constituent Assembly should have met. On this point he even entered into conflict with his

[1] 'General Mihaïlovich, I regret to say, has gradually adopted a changed attitude, and certain of his leaders have parlied with Italian or German troops'. (Speech in the House of Commons on February 22, 1944.)

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own Government, which he forced to resign. The Choubachich Cabinet disregarded this and on January 23, 1946 published a communiqué, according to which the sovereign would not return to the country until a Constituent Assembly had pronounced on the question of the régime. In his absence, the royal power would be delegated to a Council of Regency whose members would be chosen from the London Government and from the Tito Government. 643 661 648 175

On January 30 the King finally agreed to this formula, as recommended by Moscow, London, and Washington.

Then Choubachich went to Belgrade to agree with Tito on the names for the new Government. Prolonged and painful haggling resulted in the formation of the Provisional Cabinet on March 7,[1] in which Tito kept the Presidency and the War Ministry, while Choubachich assumed control of Foreign Affairs. A Serbian democrat, Milan Grol, and a Croat Agrarian, Choutei, entered the new administration. 642 175 [695]

Yugoslavia was to be reconstituted on a federative basis; the State itself officially took the name of 'Democratic and Federal Yugoslavia'. So the constitution of the 'Yugoslav' Government was followed by the formation of 'National' Governments, six in number—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia. Care had been taken not to give this federal organisation a statute and frontiers, on account of the conflicts these would not have failed to provoke; the National Assembly would, in due course, decide upon the internal structure of the State.

It remained to be seen whether Tito would bring to the management of affairs the eminent qualities of which he had given proof in the Resistance. Would history salute him not only as a detached figure in the epic background against which the tragedy of the Serbian nation is played, but also as a reconstructor of the State? 000

Born in 1893 in the Croat village of Klanyets, Joseph Broz was the son of an artisan. He had known hardship in his youth, and soon exhibited a revolutionary temperament. At seventeen he engineered a strike, and showed himself to be an agitator. It is said that he took his appellation of 'Tito' from the bishop of medieval Crete whose relics rest in the Church of St. Mark in Venice. Taken prisoner by the Russians in 1914, he took part 175 643

[1] [1946 -- Analyst]

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•175 643 in the Bolshevist Revolution, and distinguished himself in the attack on the Kremlin. He fought on all the Soviet fronts, from the Caucasus to Finland. He married a Russian, who died, leaving him a son of Soviet nationality (who, for his part in the defence of Moscow in 1941, was to win the title of 'Hero of the Soviet Union').

He returned to Croatia in 1924 and took his place as a militant in the Communist and Trade Union ranks. Arrested for illegal propaganda, he served four years' imprisonment. As soon as he was liberated he went to Paris, travelled in various European countries, and returned to France in 1936, charged with the organisation of the so-called 'railway' for supplying volunteers to the International Brigades in Spain.

When he learned of the capitulation of Yugoslavia in 1941, he returned to Zagreb and launched a summons for a general revolt. He had two interviews with Mihaïlovich, but the Communist and Proletarian ideology which he openly professed frightened the Serbian general—no basis for agreement was possible.

175 643 668 The Serbian rising began on July 7, 1941. On that day was constituted, in the region of Belgrade (the seat of the partisans' general staff), the first formation destined to embark upon the struggle with the invader and to continue it until he was crushed. Tito proved to be an irresistible organiser and 'live wire'; his influence grouped around him a veritable army, whose numbers increased daily, and constantly deprived the Occupying Authorities of food supplies and communications.[2] Starting with 35,000 men, Tito's army was to number 700,000 at the liberation. This epic is one of the most glorious pages in the history of the Yugoslav people—and they already possess not a few.

175 648 643 Not only did Tito enjoy the confidence of the Russians, who considered him as one of themselves, but he was in constant touch with the Allies. The first English mission reached him on May 27, 1943, during its fifth offensive. At the very end of 1943 Churchill placed his son with Tito, to assist him during the most

[2] At Bihach, on November 27, 1942, he declared: 'Our country is enslaved, our people the victims of a fruitful terror. Barefoot, starving, bloodless, they are at the mercy of the occupiers and their acolytes. But their determination to live is unshakeable, because they believe in victory'.

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critical hours of the campaign. The liberation army effected its junction with the Russian Army during the final offensive, and entered Belgrade with it on October 20, 1944.

The next day appeared a communiqué, issued as the result of the Moscow discussions, announcing the agreement of British and Soviet views regarding Yugoslavia, on the following basis:—

Union between the Royal Government and the Liberation Movement.

The right of the Yugoslav people to decide their own future constitution.

The United States Government gave its consent to these arrangements. Marshal Tito, who was in Moscow during the Conference, several times discussed them with Stalin and the Soviet leaders.

On April 11, 1945, Russia and liberated Yugoslavia signed a treaty of mutual assistance and collaboration which preserved their traditional policy of *entente*, as well as their united efforts against Hitler's Germany.[3] It formed part of the system of pacts concluded by the Soviet Union with Great Britain, France, and Czechoslovakia, to raise a barrier against any fresh effort on the part of German imperialism to threaten the liberty of the European peoples. The experience of the past, confirmed by this war, showed that in all German plans for aggression, the conquest of the Southern Slav countries was a step towards the domination of the Continent. The fact that Yugoslavia had awaited the year 1940 to establish diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. had opened in South-East Europe a breach which had enabled the enemy to disintegrate Balkan solidarity and to force his way through to the Eastern Mediterranean. Hence Article 2 of the treaty provided for immediate and effective mutual assistance in the event of one of the parties being involved in military operations against Germany, if that country resumed her

[3] About the middle of December 1943, the Yugoslav Government, exiled to Cairo, and then presided over by Bojidar Pourich, had proposed to Moscow a pact of mutual assistance on the model of that which had been concluded between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic. The Kremlin declined this proposal. At that time Tito was, in their eyes, the sole authentic representative of the Yugoslav nation. On this occasion it was recalled that the Soviet Government had already, in the spring of 1942, raised the question of a pact with the Yugoslav Government in London; at that time it was the latter which had opposed a demurrer.

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•175 648 aggressive policy, or against any other State which might revive this policy, under any form whatsoever.

Backed both without and within by the might of Moscow, Tito's régime seemed to be irresistibly established.

Its[1] first care had been to renew its claim to the territories of which Yugoslavia had been defrauded immediately after the First World War. It raised the question of Trieste and its hinterland. The Yugoslav delegation in London warmly defended a case supported by detailed and absolutely pertinent documentation, based on ethnographic and economic considerations. But they were imprudent enough to allow it to be understood that they would lay claim to Aegean or Hellenic Macedonia—which was bound to alienate the goodwill of Great Britain. They also mentioned the exorbitant sum which they intended to demand from Italy by way of reparations—thereby upsetting the United States, from whom Italy was at the same time seeking material aid to help her out of her desperate financial situation.

642 661 175 Yet, to tell the truth, the distrustful atmosphere which grew up around the Yugoslav claims arose more directly from the form of government and the political principles established by Tito. Under colour of anti-Fascism, the régime exercised the same reprisals against all its detractors. It was accused of borrowing the methods of the totalitarian régimes; the Opposition said that it had introduced the word 'Democracy' into the name of the State in order to dispense with it in reality, as, in the past, Pavelich gave the name of 'Independent State of Croatia' to a political offshoot of the Axis. He governed, on Russian lines, a very sensitive nation, which perhaps had not a very 'Western' notion of democracy, but had always shown itself stubbornly attached to the external forms of its independence. Certainly Tito had succeeded in grouping around him zealous young men, who had been tested under fire and were indifferent to the juridical or constitutional rites which, in the West, accompany the exercise of liberty. Certainly, too, the Yugoslav National Front represented itself not as a single party but as a synthesis of all the various energies resolved to work for the restoration of public life.

656 204 625 Nevertheless to Anglo-American eyes the régime appeared to be a dictatorship. Was not its slogan—'No liberty for the enemies of liberty'—calculated to justify an administration

1 [Tito's régimes -- Analyst]

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founded on despotism and personal power? The law of August 25, 1945 on the control of the press banned not only the ex-'collaborators', but also the publishers of 'alarmist' news or of news 'contrary to the general interest'—as conceived by the Government, naturally. A well-informed police organisation, modelled on Russian methods, ceaselessly exercised a very close watch over public opinion and, naturally, indulged in arbitrary arrests and acts of violence. 656 204 625

This policy led to dissension within the Government. The leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, Milan Grol, resigned on August 19[1]; on October 8[1] he was followed into retirement by Dr. Ivan Choubachich and the Minister Chouteï, both Croat Agrarians. 578 175

Choubachich's resignation was serious, for it upset a ministerial equilibrium which had been agreed upon among the Allies. Yet what was this agreement worth, since Tito, repudiating the terms of the compromise which had sanctioned his authority, had pronounced against the monarchy? 'Not one of our combatants thought that anything new could be created under the leadership of the King, especially as the Nediches and Mihaïloviches committed their crimes in his name. . . . The point is, whether the monarchy is compatible with the new system of Yugoslav Federal Democracy. . . . For several reasons, I think it is not'.

The next day (August 8, 1945) King Peter replied to this declaration by withdrawing from the Regents the power they held from him.

Tito was not intimidated by this retort. He declared that the Government acted in agreement with all the creative and constructive forces of the country, with all sincerely democratic parties. The masses of the populace had acquired, during the war, firmly-rooted political knowledge which had nothing in common with the electoral catchwords with which they previously used to be taken in.

The Opposition replied that free elections would prove the truth of this assertion, whereas those to which the country had been called were not free. The Americans and the English repeatedly emphasised the reserves they made regarding their attitude towards the régime which would result from this poll. 666 829 175

The elections took place on November 11.[1] They gave to the

1 [1945-- Analyst]

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666 National Front 80–90 per cent of the votes cast.[4] It is true that
829 the Opposition abstained from voting (its Belgrade organ,
•175 *Demokratia,* was suspended) and that the electoral system favoured the Coalition Government. But the Anglo-Americans took no action. They declared the results of the poll to be 'acceptable'. On these results were based the two Assemblies (Union Assembly and Assembly of the Nationalities) which, following Russian lines, were to control the country's constitutional life.

578 In short, both at home and abroad, Tito was master of the
643 situation. He had armed forces, the levers of control, fanatical partisans, a 'Youth' following, attached to a régime which had radically reorganised the whole staffing of the army, the administrative services, and diplomacy. But certain large sections of opinion were not with him. In the provinces the old parties were still solidly rooted. Those circles criticised the 'personal' and 'plebiscite' character of the régime, which was an unprecedented innovation in Serbian political life. Against the Marshal were the Monarchists, the old army, Serbian nationalism, Croat par-
[659] ticularism, Slovene 'Clericalism'. For a long time he alienated the Catholic clergy; on October 18, Radio-Vatican broadcast a letter from the Yugoslav bishops to the Belgrade Government, accusing the latter of systematically persecuting the Roman Church.

And this was only criticism of internal affairs. Tito was further reproached with having reorganised relations between the Yugoslav populations on anachronistic bases. How would this State turn out—a State of twelve million inhabitants, with six autonomous Governments, capped with a Federal Government? Where would the frontiers of Croatia and Serbia be? And those of Serbia and Macedonia? Could the Macedonian question be considered as settled by the granting of autonomy? And would not the Bulgaro-Yugoslav *entente,* advertised as a victory for the régime, be submitted to a severe test when autonomy gave rise to political disputes in this country which, for a century, had been torn by undercurrents of passion and foreign intrigue? Was

666 [4] According to official statistics, out of 8,383,455 electors and 7,413,214 votes cast, 6,574,975 went to the National Front. The franchise had been given to women; the electoral age had been lowered to 18, and even lower for those who had fought in the liberation.

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the resurrection of Montenegro, a country of 200,000 inhabitants, which had disappeared since 1918, and of Bosnia, which had not been heard of in history since the Middle Ages, in keeping with the ideas of a 'new world' that were current in Tito's circle? And had not Tito himself, by liberating atomic nationalisms, super-Balkanised his country at a time when means of communication were suppressing distances—in other words, had he not inaugurated a policy which was opposed to history, progress, and common sense, in order to realise the midsummer night's dream of a Slavophile of the 'Forties'?

The federal régime, it will be said, has representatives in Europe—Switzerland, Russia, Austria. But Switzerland has maturity, Russia has extent, Austria has an historical and cultural homogeneity to safeguard its unity.

Was not the Yugoslav community in imminent danger from this 'State power' given to regions hitherto divided by so many memories? The Croats used to oppose the Serbs in religious matters. Between the two wars, rivalry between Catholics and Orthodox had subsided somewhat. But the elections in Austria and Hungary showed that, after the liberation, the attachment of the populations of Central Europe to the Roman Church had lost none of its force. Croatia—*antemurale Christianitatis*—could not escape this deeply-rooted tendency, still less at a time when Russia, the protectress of the Yugoslav State, reaffirmed the Orthodox tradition on which her relations with the Serbs had formerly been based. How was it possible not to see in this renewal of religious antagonism between Belgrade and Zagreb a threat of secession?

In Yugoslavia the Crown used to be (as in Belgium) the link between different peoples, traditions, and trends. On November 29, 1945, obedient to Tito's watchword, the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly, composed of the Union Assembly and the Assembly of the Nationalities, proclaimed the Federative Republic. It deposed and condemned to exile the dynasty of the Karageorgevich.

This vote was the logical conclusion of the elections and also—it must be admitted—of the errors of the young King. The latter raised a protest which was greeted, in London circles, with more sympathy than encouragement. The fate of the monarchy in Yugoslavia seemed, indeed, to be definitely settled.

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Marshal Stalin sent his congratulations to Tito and his good wishes to the 'sister nation' of Yugoslavia. The establishment of the republic was greeted everywhere as a victory for the spirit of democracy. In actual fact it is hard to believe that there is more 'democracy' in the Balkan republics than in the Scandinavian or British monarchies.

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The real question still remains to be seen—whether Tito's régime ensures a new lease of life for Yugoslav unity or whether it portends, sooner or later, a disruption of that unity, which might this time be irreparable. It is by no means impossible that in the next few years, even months, the evolution of Yugoslav life may be characterised by a gradual weakening of the ties between the Serbs and the Croats and a correlative strengthening of solidarity between Serbs and Bulgars—in other words, by an end of the union of Southern Slavs, and an attraction of part to the East.

On the international scale, the future of Yugoslavia is at the mercy of the super-powers who are the arbiters of peace. So that all depends on the importance which the Balkan world holds in the policy of Russia who, in Central Europe and in Asia, is occupied with interests of far wider scope. And here it is as well not to forget that, during the time of the Tsars, the Balkan peoples always bore the brunt of all efforts at *rapprochement* between Russia and Austria-Hungary. Will they, tomorrow, form the medium of exchange between the U.S.S.R. and the Anglo-American democracies, without whose capital it would be difficult for them to exploit their natural resources?

* * *

Of all the liberated Slav States, it was, as might be expected, Czechoslovakia which showed most practical sense. She managed her return to liberty without any unnecessary clashes or violence.

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No serious difficulty arose between the London Government-in-exile and the Resistance. On May 8, 1944, Benes signed an agreement with Moscow concerning the administration of the liberated territories. On the following October 29 he declared that, after the war, the affairs of the Republic would be so organised as to avoid a repetition of the events of 1938. 'Czechoslovakia will be a fully decentralised Republic, organised

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on the basis of respect for the principle of nationalities'. No reference to a federal system. 642 643 175

He returned to Czechoslovakia early in March, 1945, and, from Kosice, he followed the last stages of the liberation. On May 10 the national flag again floated from Prague Castle and Cathedral; a few days later Benes made a triumphal entry into the city.

The Government (formed on April 5, under the presidency of M. Fierlinger, and composed of twenty-five members, seven of whom were Communists) avoided the mistake made by the majority of the liberated countries, by postponing the elections until passions had had time to subside a little. The authorised [646] political parties, four in number, agreed on the allocation of mandates to the Provisional National Assembly, which numbered 300 deputies, including 100 for Slovakia. On April 14[1] an electoral body chosen by the local National Committees nominated the members of this Assembly. 'The Czechs', Benes 181 said, 'must take radical measures, while at the same time 186 avoiding extremism'. That was the whole programme of the 643 Czechoslovak Popular Front.

In the international order, the Government observed the same prudence. Benes's realistic attitude towards Soviet Russia is well known. 'The Czechs are a Slavonic people, and they are specially drawn towards the Russians, whom they understand better than any other people'. But Czech culture, and the democratic education of the Czech people, are fundamentally Western. The President continually returned to that assumption. Czechoslovakia is an intermediary region between two civilisations; its historical evolution, its psychology, its intellectual and social structure, all have affinities with the Anglo-American and French democracies.

The Soviet orientation was represented by the Communists, under the leadership of the Deputy Prime Minister, M. Clement Gottwald, and the Minister of National Education, Zdenek Nejedly, a celebrated musicographer, who attended the Moscow Panslav Congresses. But their influence was exerted moderately, and solely on the lines of the national interest. In reality, the Czech people, with their habits of thrift, their appreciation of property, their aversion to conformity, are fundamentally opposed to the Marxist ideology.

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

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It is true that, on resuming possession of the liberated capital, M. Benes affirmed his intention of remaining faithful to the ideas of the new policy of union with the great Russian nation and with the other Slavonic peoples. But such statements need reading in the context of his previous declarations.

Had not the President himself, in an article in *Foreign Affairs* (October, 1944), uttered a warning against any distorted interpretation of his words? 'We must not abandon our old method of evolutive adaptation and our old policy of balance between East and West. Our geographical position does not allow us to make a sudden change in this century-old policy'.[5]

A new fact had previously arisen, which was to turn the scale slightly in favour of Russia. This was the annexing of Carpatho-Ruthenia to the Ukraine. Czechoslovakia thus became one of Russia's neighbours; there arose between the two countries a community of strategic and economic interests, which modified the equilibrium of Central Europe. Benes had always said that Russia's non-participation in the 1919–1920 settlements had distorted the general view of that equilibrium. His judgement was proved correct—probably even more so than he anticipated. When, on December 12, 1943, he had signed the Czecho-Russian treaty of friendship and mutual aid, he had understood that liberated Czechoslovakia would be restored to her pre-1938 frontiers. But, at the time of the treaty on June 29, 1945, which, without any plebiscite or international consultation, transferred Ruthenia to Soviet sovereignty, M. Molotov had put forward arguments based on ethnography, linguistics, folklore, and history, to which Prague could not but submit. Moreover, had they been consulted, the vote of the Ruthenians would not have been in doubt. So Fierlinger, the Prime Minister, recognised that 'the time had come for Ruthenia to return to her homeland, the great Soviet Ukraine'. He forbore to add that she had been separated from it for a thousand years, and he passed over the heavy sacrifices that Czechoslovakia had made

[5] Compare this declaration with the one Benes had made in February 1944, to the diplomatic editor of *Reynolds' News*: 'Our pact with Russia is a fundamental consolidation of the Czechoslovak Republic. And we consider that, at the same time, it strengthens our independence. . . . Our friendship with U.S.S.R. does not mean that we depend on that country; on the contrary, the pact institutes reciprocal collaboration with our State, which desires to live in real, sincere friendship with Russia, while safeguarding its full sovereignty'.

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for twenty years in order to raise the economic standard of this 648
'Ukrainian Piedmont'. And in November, 1945, the National 186
Assembly, without any vain recriminations, ratified the transfer 175
of sovereignty. 643

In addition to all that, Czechoslovakia risked losing the Teschen Basin, occupied on October 2, 1938, by Polish troops, and still in dispute between the two countries. But, in the spirit of Slav solidarity (not of conquest) which had, in 1920, installed Czechoslovakia in Carpatho-Ruthenia, she was enabled to cast her eyes on that minority—Serbian or Sorabian or Wend—of Lusatia, whose 80,000 survivors still peopled 1,900 square miles between Bautzen and Cottbus. A Sorabian 'National Committee' was formed in Prague with a view to attaching this territory to Czechoslovakia. But had not the Poles, too, claims to put forward to this detached tribe of the ancient Slavonic community?

In any case, Czechoslovakia could not be reproached with having derived benefit from her fidelity to the Slavonic idea; although, in 1918, that fidelity had ensured for her the rebirth of her national life, in 1945 it brought her nothing but amputations. But was not the good grace with which she accepted the loss of her Eastern province (by a treaty in which M. Molotov saw 'a striking manifestation of the sincere friendship of the Slavonic peoples') a demonstration of her disinterestedness, and did it not prove that her Slavism was free of any expansionist or Chauvinist speculation?

On the other hand, in spite of some rather imprudent expressions on the part of M. Nejedly ('We belong to the great Slavic bloc, controlled by the Russian nation'), the Prague Government endeavoured to protect the individuality of the country from political or ideological domination. It repeatedly asked the Soviet Authorities to hasten evacuation of their troops. It lost no opportunity of protesting against allegations which represented it as a 'satellite' of Moscow. 'A good many people come here with the idea, which is quite unfounded, that the Russians control us', said President Benes to the World Congress of Students. 'The real truth is much simpler; there is no need to seek startling explanations for our decision to conduct our own business as we think fit'. As a more characteristic gesture, and one which requires no commentary, in October, 1945, he

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648 sent to London a military mission under General Svoboda, the
186 Commander-in-Chief, to renew contacts with the British General
•175 Staff, and to ask the latter to co-operate in the reconstitution of
643 the Czechoslovak Army.

In short, of all the liberated Slav nations, Czechoslovakia was the one which had most clearly marked out the contours of her independence in the New Europe. She accepted neither 'synchronisation' nor enfeoffment. Without disavowing either her Slavonic affinities or her traditional attachment to Russia, she restored her relations with the West to their 1938 footing.

[829] An intermediary State, Czechoslovakia is carving out her path between the Russian and the Anglo-Roman worlds; nearer to the former by her security reflexes and her views on the future of Europe, she is nearer to the latter by her spiritual unrest, her philosophy of life and her conception of progress.

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186* The rapid tour which has taken us from Warsaw to Sofia and
829 from Belgrade to Prague is sufficient to clarify speculations founded on the birth of a Slavonic 'Imperialism'.

Once again, it is official eloquence which has nourished these speculations. There was not a Polish, Czech, Yugoslav, or Bulgarian statesman who did not see, in the issue of the Second World War, the end of the curse which, for a thousand years, paralysed the expansion of the Slavonic world. Not one who did not celebrate the establishment and the benefits of an inter-Slav *entente*. Let us quote a few of these heroic declamations at random.

In the first rank was Poland—no doubt because this was the nation which, from the Slavonic point of view, had the worst memories to atone for. Commenting on the signature of the Polish-Sovietic agreement, the head of the Government of the Polish Republic regretted that his country had not, at the time of the German aggression, frankly taken her stand beside the Soviet Union, in order to form a 'Slavonic bloc'. 'This grave political error', he declared, 'caused a great deal of suffering to the Slavonic peoples and, most of all, to Poland'.*

* When, on July 15th, the new Polish Ambassador handed his credentials to the Regent of Yugoslavia, he alluded to 'Germany, the eternal enemy of the Slavs'. This was an undeniable historical truth; but how fail to recall, on hearing it invoked, the importunate shadows of Beck and Stoyadinovich?

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186* 668 in Europe and in America'. And in the Belgrade newspaper, *Politika,* M. Stankovich, President of the Serbian Assembly, showed still greater discretion: 'Only the enemies of democracy could see in this meeting of Slavonic countries a manifestation tending to the creation of a Slav bloc, or an attempt to separate East and West'.

Marshal Tito, supported by Marshal Tolbukhin, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Mgr. Nicolaï, and the President of the Yugoslav Assembly, Ivan Ribar, opened the Congress. 'The Slavs', he said, 'have a mission, but not a mission to create a bloc. Yet the time has come to decide that they shall never again be divided against one another'. A message from Stalin, on the same lines, was read. The *leit-motiv* of the speeches was the merit of the Slav peoples in the triumph of democracy, and their contribution to universal civilisation.

In short, the eloquence of the Congressists did not go beyond a speculative exchange of views; it avoided drawing too much attention to the agreement of views between the small nations and Moscow.

• [175] Nearly a hundred years had elapsed since the Prague Congress of 1848. By a curious trick of fate, over both these demonstrations of Slav solidarity, at a hundred years' interval, Russia exercised unopposed control. Great as was the opposition between the ideas of the Slavophiles and those of the Congressists of 1946, both Assemblies, with the same pride, saw their work as a threat to reaction—Austro-German reaction in 1848 and Western reaction in 1946.

The Congress organised the strengthening of economic and cultural relations between the Slav States. It formed a permanent Liaison Committee to sit in Belgrade.

[208] The press in the Slavonic countries gave enthusiastic reports of these assemblies. In general, newspapers in the other countries were very reserved in their comments. On December 17 the *Manchester Guardian* recalled the century-old vision of a Slovak poet, a vision of the Slavs united in a powerful body with Russia as the head, Poland the trunk, Bohemia the arms, Serbia the legs. 'The new Panslav movement has arisen out of a common struggle against the invader. If it fosters the community feeling on the human plane, it may do good. If it tries to establish itself in the political domain, it will fail, as in the past'.

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A sceptic might have observed that, despite the oratorical manifestations of harmony and goodwill, three specifically Slav problems which had arisen in 1919 still appeared on the agenda of questions at issue in 1946—the allocation of the Teschen Basin, the definitive status of Macedonia, the fate of the Lusatian Serbs. 186* 668

Indeed, the Macedonian question does not seem to have been finally settled by the creation of a Macedonian Republic within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation. That is why, at the end of 1946, Yugoslav newspapers demanded the incorporation of the Bulgarian districts (Petrich, Gornya-Djumaïa, Nevrekop) in the Popular Republic of Macedonia, and reproached the new Bulgarian constitution with submitting every project for the transfer of territory to the decision of the legislature—a step which Belgrade considered as a stipulation derogatory to the 'Macedonian minority's' right to self-determination.[2] In other words, in Yugoslavia the Macedonian population of Bulgaria was still considered as non-Bulgarian in character. Latent, but still discernible, it was the old quarrel which had, for half a century, set the two peoples in opposition to each other. It was recalled in the Sobranje on December 12, by an Agrarian Deputy, who asked the Government whether it did not consider the Yugoslav claims as an interference in Bulgarian Home Affairs. And early in 1947 a much-talked-of action brought at Skoplje plainly pointed to the survival of the famous ORIM (Macedonian Internal Revolutionary Organisation) directed by Vanka Mihaïlov—that organisation which had been so widely discussed at the conclusion of the previous war. 563 678 648 175

[2] An action which the French Press Agency described (on January 27, 1947) as 'typically Macedonian' was brought against Albanians, Yugoslavs of Albanian or Turkish origin and 'real Macedonians', accused of having organised, in 1945, an illegal society—*National Chiptare Demokratia*—to overthrow the Albanian Government of Enver Hodja and set up a 'Great Albania', including a part of Western Macedonia, with Kossovo and Metova. The conspirators were in league with Mihaïlov's Revolutionary Committee—the famous ORIM (Macedonian International Revolutionary Organisation), whose hand had already been detected in a separatist Macedonian plot which had been judged in November 1946. In this plot was involved no less a person than Metodijé Andorov Cento, one of the most popular figures among the Macedonian 'partisans' and, up to the spring of 1946, President of the Macedonian Liberation Assembly. Cento was sentenced to eleven years' hard labour. Decorated by Tito, he was in opposition to the Government, criticising its Communist affiliations, and in conflict with Lazar Koulichevsky, Prime Minister of the Macedonian legislature. [668]

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648 As for the question of the Polish-Czech frontiers, the Prague
• 175 Government wanted a return to the pre-Munich *status quo*; it will be seen later that the claim to the Teschen Basin, occupied by the Poles since 1938, delayed the return to normal status in the relations between Warsaw and Prague.

As regards the Serbs of Lusatia (Wends and Sorbs), they sent petition after petition to the peace arbitrators, claiming a hearing and justice. They submitted two memoranda, one on February 1, 1946, to the United Nations, the other in the month of May, to the Four Powers Conference in Paris. They returned to the attack on July 6, to ask for the separation of Lusatia from Germany. They were invariably put off until the German problem should be discussed by the Conference. Czechoslovakia, who had already espoused their cause at the time of the discussion of the Versailles Treaty,[3] signified that she saw in their separation from the Reich a guarantee for her own security.

101 These Lusatians are the remnant of a large tribe which must formerly have been the vanguard of the Slavs on the march towards Bavaria. In the ninth century the country was erected into a principality. But, of all the Slavonic groups, this is the one which has encountered the least favourable conditions for the development of a lasting political unity.

* * *

000 Now a few words on the evolution of the internal and external policies of each of the small Slav States while the treaties were in the negotiation stage.

642 On January 15, 1946, Yugoslavia voted her Federal Con-
175 stitution, which set up the six People's Republics mentioned in the previous chapter. (The 'People's Republic of Serbia' included the two autonomous provinces of Voïvodin and Kossovo). Each of these republics sent twenty-five deputies to the Peoples' Council. They were sovereign States—except for the functions reserved to the central power (peace and war, internal security, basic legislation, currency, transport, postal services, radio, Customs, immigration, etc.)—*i.e.*, essentially in matters of education, public health, and social justice.

As in Russia, actual power lay with the Presidium of the Legislature, composed of thirty members, elected by the Assembly

[3] See above, p. 41.

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and responsible to it. The Assembly comprised two Chambers, 642
the Federal Council and the Council of Nationalities; the 175
former was elected by all the citizens, the latter appointed by the republics and autonomous districts. The Constitution established the right of referendum, compulsory military service, the separation of Church and State. Private property was recognised, up to a maximum of 25–30 hectares. But foreign [656]
trade and the greater part of the means of production, mining resources, springs, hydraulic power, woods, transport, wireless, etc. were under State control.[4] The Federated Republics were organised, and elected their Governments, early in 1946 (Bosnia-Herzegovina on February 15, Serbia on February 20, Slovenia on February 23; it will be noticed that the latter took the name of 'Popular Republic of the Slovenes'—obviously with the intention of serving as a magnetic centre for the Slovenes who remained under Italian or Austrian domination).

The promulgation of the new Constitution closed the first 645
stage in post-war developments. The new Federal Government 175
was introduced to the Legislature on February 2, 1946. Its President was Tito, who held the portfolio of National Defence, assisted by two Vice-Presidents, one Communist, the Slovene Edward Kardelj, a militant member of the Slovene Workers' Associations and principal instigator of the Constitution, and one Republican, the Serb, Jasa Prodanovich. Foreign Affairs were entrusted to Stanoje Simich. Kardelj was President of the Federal Control Commission, an all-powerful organism which supervised the acts of the Ministers and of the President himself. The spokesman of the Communist Party was Milovan Djilas, who was responsible for the Youth Movement. The President of the Presidium was a Croat, Ivan Ribar, a former Deputy of the Serbo-Croat Coalition, President of the Constituent of 1921 and one of the authors of the so-called Constitution of Vidovdan. After having joined the Democratic Party, he left it at the time of the dictatorship of King Alexander. Under the occupation he did liaison work between the Republicans and the

[4] The arms of the Federal State represent a field, between two sheaves of corn, connected by a ribbon inscribed: '22nd November, 1943'. Between the tips of the ears of corn is a five-pointed star; in the middle of the field five torches, bending over, converge into a single flame. The federal flag is red, white and blue (with the red at the bottom), and has a red star in the middle.

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645 Communists, then rejoined the partisans in Bosnia and was
175 elected President of the National Liberation Front.

687 The chief event of this period was the trial of General Draja
175 Mihaïlovich, who had organised the earliest resistance to the invader, but was subsequently accused of collaboration with the Germans and the Italians. Arrested on the borders of Bosnia and Serbia, he was court-martialled on June 10, 1946, by the Military Tribunal of Belgrade, which condemned him to death on July 15. He was shot. Some American airmen had vainly asked to bear witness in his favour. The Belgrade Government had documents published establishing his 'treason'; they reveal undeniable complicity with the enemy in the lower ranks, and, especially, the implacable intention of eliminating the Communists from the Resistance; the role of Mihaïlovich himself is less clearly shown—which explains the emotion his condemnation aroused in England and in America.

[829] The *Daily Telegraph* thus expressed itself on this condemnation: 'The long perspective of history will enable the truth about the much-discussed figure of Mihaïlovich to be more clearly perceived. His contemporaries can do no more than think that, caught up in the whirlwind of events beyond his control, he was a victim of Fate'.

In the same connection the British statesman, Noel Baker, declared that the decision to suspend aid to Mihaïlovich during the war had been taken as the result of numerous denunciations from various sources, alleging that he was no longer adequately contributing to the war effort. 'Subsequently', he said, 'it became evident that certain of his lieutenants were actively collaborating with the Germans'.

793 No less sensational was the trial of the Catholic Archbishop
687 of Zagreb, Mgr. Aloysius Stepinac. This followed proceedings
175 against numerous members of his clergy, notably that involving
659 some Slovene priests, in December, 1945, at Ljubljana. The bishop of that town, Mgr. Rozman, a refugee in Italy, was condemned to eighteen years' imprisonment.

[208] The action against the Croatian priests accused of collaboration was prepared in January, 1946, by a violent press and radio campaign, denouncing the Archbishop's relations with the *Oustachi* of Pavelich, by whom he had been decorated (in

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common with the Croatian Orthodox Metropolitan, Hermogene Maximov, and the German Lutheran bishop, Popov).

Arrested on September 18, 1946, Mgr. Stepinac was tried, on the 30th of the same month, not only on the charge of intelligence with the enemy, but also of having, after the liberation, worked with the opponents of the régime. These charges (as well as that of having forcibly converted Orthodox Christians to Catholicism) were upheld by the judges, who condemned the prelate (on October 11) to sixteen years' hard labour, to the loss of his civic rights for a period of five years, and to the confiscation of all his possessions. In vain had the defence recalled the fact that Mgr. Stepinac had protested against the racial laws and collective reprisals, and that the allied press had, while the war was actually in progress, rendered homage to his courageous stand.[3]

Pope Pius XII, in a public speech, protested against this verdict, denying the compulsory conversions—which, moreover, are contrary to canon law. And, although Tito had declared that the proceedings were by no means the prelude to a campaign against the Church in Czechoslovakia, Christian circles throughout the world protested against what they called a 'religious trial'. The 115 Catholic archbishops and bishops of the United States, assembled in Washington for their annual Assembly, described the verdict as 'an outrage on justice'. The Archbishop of Westminster declared that, during the war, 'in Croatia the only voice raised against Nazism and its works had been that of Archbishop Stepinac'.

The Vatican, in an unofficial note, recalled the Church's sanctions against members of the laity sitting in judgement on a bishop, or guilty of any act of violence upon his person; it nevertheless continued to maintain its Nuncio in Belgrade—Mgr. Patrick Hurley, a priest of American nationality, who had entered upon his office at the beginning of the year. In October, 1946, it appointed a co-adjutor to the Bishop of Maribor and another to the Bishop of Ljubljana. (In the absence of a

[3] A Catholic Agency announced, at the end of February 1947, that the President of the Croatian Government, Dr. Bakarich, was said to have invited the prelate to sign his appeal, giving him reason to hope that he might be liberated and, with American support, go abroad. Mgr. Stepinac refused, not wishing to leave either his people or his diocese.

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793 794 648 Concordat in Yugoslavia, the Vatican proceeds directly to the appointment of bishops, without previous agreement with the Government.)

648 175 [659] Relations between the Holy See and Belgrade again became strained when on January 31, 1947, Tito's Government handed to the Secretariat of State two notes, demanding the handing over of five Yugoslav 'war criminals', said to have taken refuge in the Vatican, and accusing the latter of having facilitated the escape to South America of other Yugoslav nationals, wanted by their country's police. The Pope denied these allegations, but added 'that he distinguished between those who were persecuted for political reasons, and criminals; to the former he gave every assistance in his power, without asking whence they came'.

Yugoslavia's external policy remained unshakeably based on Soviet support. 'The Slav peoples now look to Moscow as, after 1919, they looked to Paris; nothing is more natural', said a semi-official commentary on Tito's tour of Central Europe. Far from endeavouring to gain the confidence of the English and the Americans, whose co-operation a wise diplomacy would have sought, in order to bring their claims on Trieste to a successful conclusion, the Belgrade Government was continually in conflict with those powers.

Its relations with Washington were particularly chequered. On January 8, 1946, President Truman had declared: 'As regards Yugoslavia, recognition of the present Government is still subject to certain conditions'. (Moreover, he put Rumania and Bulgaria on the same footing.)

These 'conditions' were the assurance that the new Yugoslavia would recognise the existing treaties and agreements between the two countries (commercial exchanges, extraditions, naturalisations, etc.). Having obtained this assurance on April 18, he recognised Tito and appointed Mr. Richard Patterson ambassador in Belgrade. 'In granting diplomatic recognition', said the *Washington Post* next day, 'the United States are but looking unpleasant realities in the face'.

And when Sava Kosanovich, the representative of Yugoslavia, presented his credentials to President Truman, the latter said to him, with bantering courtesy: 'The United States are following, with interest and sympathy, the efforts of the Yugoslav people . . . to succeed, individually and in harmony with the United

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Nations, in realising the ideals of liberty and democracy which have borne the United Nations to victory'. The history of the relations between the two Governments proves, on the one hand, that in Belgrade very little sense of diplomacy was shown, and, on the other, that Washington was completely misinformed as to the realities of Yugoslav life.

The most serious incident was caused, in August, 1946, by attacks on American aeroplanes in the sky of Slovenia. On the 9th of that month an American plane, forced to land, had crashed; its occupants had been imprisoned by the Yugoslav authorities. On the 11th, the Belgrade Government had protested to Washington against repeated flights over its territory. On the 19th, a transport plane was attacked by a Yugoslav squadron and its five occupants were killed. Whereupon the State Department addressed to the Belgrade Government an ultimatum, demanding an explanation within forty-eight hours, failing which the Security Council would be informed of 'this offence against international law and the principles of humanity'. After having read the text of the ultimatum to the press, the American Ambassador added: 'Eighteen months ago, United States planes were awaited with impatience and greeted with enthusiasm; today they are shot down'.

The Yugoslav press insinuated that the United States had exaggerated the incident, in order to discredit the Belgrade Government in the eyes of the Peace Conference. That Government hastened, however, to release the American airmen as soon as it got wind of the ultimatum, so that this should be without motive by the time it was officially presented. It then undertook to forbid its squadrons to fire on foreign planes, in order to avoid such 'unfortunate accidents'. Nevertheless, on September 3, a fresh note from Washington expressed the surprise felt by the State Department at not receiving from the Yugoslavs either any expression of regret or any offer of indemnity. The Belgrade Government finally granted $30,000 to each of the families of the five airmen shot down on August 19, but refused indemnity for the lost plane, and maintained its attitude of non-responsibility for this 'accident'. America returned to the attack in a note dated Ocober 8, and the matter was only settled in the following month. On November 5 the dockers of the port of New York, who, as a

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648 protest, had refused to load the boat carrying UNRRA supplies
• 175 to Yugoslavia, received instructions from their Union to proceed with the loading.

648 Hardly had this incident been settled when a fresh one arose,
175 provoked by the American notes of July 26, August 10 and 18,
661 and October 18, denouncing the internment in concentration camps, without any legal steps having been taken, of 165 persons entitled to claim American nationality; ten of these, it was alleged, had died as the result of ill-treatment. The Washington Government 'expressed the deep horror it felt at such practices, which are a violation of the principles of international law regarding the protection of foreign nationals, which amount to instances of unwilling or forced labour, in disregard of the natural rights of human beings, and present no feature to distinguish them from slavery'. Belgrade replied that the persons concerned were members of the German minority, were formerly affiliated to the *Kulturbund,* and had formed part of the fifth column, under cover of a borrowed nationality. The Government agreed to liberate the non-Yugoslavs whose American nationality should be recognised by the United States Embassy, on condition that they should leave the country immediately if they were *Volkdeutsche.*

Yugoslavia, in her turn, lodged a complaint against the United States, when she demanded the return of her river flotilla, detained in the upper reaches of the Danube by the American authorities. The latter recognised Yugoslavia's rights to 161 vessels, but contested ownership of sixteen others. It was not until the beginning of November, 1946, that restitution was ordered.

Another incident—omitting the arrests or charging of American nationals or members of the United States Embassy staff suspected of spying*—was caused by the closing, on September, 26, 1946, of the American Information Bureau in Belgrade, accused of circulating information prejudicial to the safety of the State. In this matter, the State Department appeared to disapprove of the zeal of Ambassador Patterson; after an exchange of notes, the Bureau was reopened in the following month.

* Especially in January 1947 in connection with the Trifounovich case.

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These periodical misunderstandings revealed, rather than created, an unfriendly atmosphere. The truth is that the United States had never ceased to regard the established régime in Yugoslavia as a totalitarian organisation, on Russian lines, in which no civil rights or individual liberty existed. And this impression made itself felt in the peace negotiations, without—let us repeat—Tito's diplomacy making any serious effort to dispel it, thereby taking its share in responsibility for the failure of Yugoslav claims on Trieste. 648 175 [829]

The diplomatic tension between Belgrade and Washington was reflected in the recall (in March, 1947) of Mr. Patterson, United States Ambassador in Yugoslavia, when America rejected the demand for cereals formulated by Marshal Tito's Government. Mr. Patterson was replaced, but his severe judgements on the Yugoslav régime fixed the policy of the State Department towards Tito.

Although less full of incident, relations between London and Belgrade were scarcely more gracious. An English note of May 20 protested against the attitude of the Yugoslavs in Julian Venetia and the 'unfriendly policy' of their Government. British newspapers did not conceal their bitterness on finding that, despite Anglo-American sacrifices made in order to assist the populations of the new Yugoslavia to get on their feet again, the press of that country had nothing but suspicious or damaging comments to make on the Western Democracies.

Yugoslavia refused, for instance, to take part in the Victory Parade held in London on June 8, 1946, bluntly stating that the relations between the two countries did not justify such participation.

The attitude of the Yugoslav delegation at international conferences or Commissions, and in the United Nations, was not calculated to dissipate prejudice. This was fostered by exchanges of subacid notes—particularly those of January 10, 1947, in which the Yugoslav Government protested at the slowness of the British authorities in handing over war criminals of Italian nationality, and of January 29 regarding the murder of the Yugoslav consul, who had, on 25th of the same month, visited a *tchetnitsi* camp in the Naples district.

On the other hand, relations between Belgrade and the other Slav States gave rise to demonstrations of confidence and 648 175

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648 .175 enthusiasm. On March 12, 1946, Marshal Tito went to Warsaw, where, on the 17th, he signed a cultural agreement and, on the 19th, a treaty of friendship and mutul aid, valid for twenty years, which was unanimously ratified by the Polish National Council on April 28. Yugoslav and Polish statesmen agreed on a joint line of action in the matter of either country's armed forces abroad, stationed in territories occupied by the Allies.

From Warsaw Tito went, on March 21, to Prague, where, after discussion with MM. Benes and Fierlinger, he announced the conclusion of a pact on similar lines, to be signed on May 10 in Belgrade by the Czech Premier, without reference to the United Nations pact. In accordance with the new line of policy, statesmen and journalists did their utmost to prove that these agreements were not to be regarded as the inception of a bloc of the Eastern European States.[7]

On May 28 Tito was in Moscow, where he remained until June 10. There he worked out the details necessary to bring Yugoslav diplomacy into close harmony with that of the Kremlin. And, as an immediate outcome, economic agreements sealed these exchanges of opinion; one of these agreements covered the arming and equipping of the Yugoslav Army by the Moscow Government.

On October 18 Tito's visit was returned by the President of the Polish Republic, Boleslaw Bierut, who toured Yugoslavia in company with the Marshal. The Premiers exchanged assurances of mutual assistance in their territorial claims. 'I promise you', said Tito, 'that the very utmost shall be done in order that your country may obtain satisfaction. If we don't succeed today, we will do so tomorrow'. President Bierut, in his turn, undertook to back up the Yugoslav attitude in the question of Trieste and the Julian March.

This question of Trieste was for twenty months the stumbling-block in the way of peace negotiations and harmony among the Allies. It gave rise to innumerable incidents, and was the object of keen, bitter discussions. The Yugoslavs maintained their

[7] 'The policy of the U.S.S.R.', declared M. Fierlinger, 'succeeded happily in giving concrete expression to the idea of a community of all the Slav states, which remain entirely free and independent, but are united in a desire for common defence and work for peace in harmony with all the nations'.

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claim with more zeal than skill, threatening at one time not to attend meetings, at others, not to sign, and finally submitting to the *fait accompli,* having presumably over-estimated Russian support, or having forgotten that, for Moscow, Trieste was only one card in a game covering the whole world. It was at one time thought that Yugoslavs and Italians were going to come to a direct arrangement after the visit to Belgrade of Togliatti, the chief of the Communist Party, on November 3, 1946, and his talks with Tito. It would appear that the latter suggested exchanging Trieste (in reality already lost) for Gorizia—a proposal which the Italian Government promptly rejected. Since no arrangement was reached, the Great Powers had to arbitrate; general agreement was concluded between them on November 27.

In reality, it was not a question of deciding whether the Yugoslavs or the Italians should prevail in Trieste; the Russians feared that the Western Democracies would use the town as an economic and political bridge-head for their action in Eastern Europe, while the Anglo-Americans feared that the Stalin-controlled 'Slavonic bloc' would make Trieste the basis for its expansion in the Mediterranean. Such were the real factors in the dispute, notwithstanding the flux of historical, ethnographical, and economic arguments under which they seemed to be submerged.

Yugoslavia abandoned Trieste, but she nevertheless obtained an important part of Istria and Julian Venetia (except the part that was to form the Free Territory of Trieste), as well as Zara and the Isles of Pelagosa and Lagosta. On the other hand, her claims to the Slovene part of Carinthia (which she had lost in the plebiscite of October 18, 1920), as well as to the 'Canal-thal' to the north of Gorizia (region of Tarvisio) were rejected.

On January 14, 1946, she was elected a member of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

* * *

Bulgaria, during the pre-constitutional period, was a prey to the objurgations of the English and the Americans, who reproached her with disregarding the political conditions laid down by the Conference of Moscow in December, 1945, by refusing to call two members of the Opposition to power. Gheorgiev's Government was prepared to accept these representatives, but wanted first to see them adhere to its internal and external policy

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648 •175 —in other words, renounce the very principles for which they would have been elected.

Pressed by solicitations or criticisms from London and Washington, M. Gheorgiev placed himself under the ægis of Moscow. He went to Russia on January 7, 1946. 'I am glad', he said on landing, 'to be within the fortress of the Slavonic peoples, which, thanks to the wise direction of Generalissimo Stalin, has become the hope of the whole of democratic humanity'. And to give a yet more decisive proof of the credit which he enjoyed in Moscow, his visit was immediately followed (on January 10) by that of M. Vyshinsky to Sofia.

[661] These manifestations did indeed strengthen the Bulgarian Government majority, but they disarmed neither the English nor the Americans, who protested, in diplomatic notes, against the police tactics of the régime, and the arrests of politicians.[8] In return, the Russians accused the Western Democracies of giving a false interpretation to Moscow's decisions affecting Bulgaria, and of encouraging subversive elements.

642 175 In Sofia, they showed signs of anxiety over the persistence of this lack of harmony on the eve of the conclusion of the peace treaties, on which the future of Bulgaria was to depend. M. Gheorgiev hoped to clarify the situation by resigning on March 22. But the Opposition imposed, as a condition of its accepting office, the exclusion of any Communist from the Ministry of Justice and the Home Office. Agreement proved impossible; another Gheorgiev cabinet, restricted, like the previous one, to the parties of the Patriotic Front, was formed on March 29, 1946.

A few days later, this Government promulgated a decree convening the National Assembly, charged with revising the Constitution on Republican lines. The monarchical régime was denounced to the country as the cause of all its misfortunes—a statement which could, with greater truth, have been applied to the Treaty of San Stefano and the Macedonian psychosis it had

661 [8] For three months, the arrested men included Assen Stamboliiski, son of the famous Agrarian leader, assassinated in 1923, and a member of the Central Committee of the Agrarian Party. One of the grievances harboured by the Bulgarian Agrarians against the Communists was the attitude of neutrality maintained by the latter at the time of the *coup d'état* of June 9, 1923, which had marked the triumph of 'reaction' over Stamboliiski's régime.

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engendered. For the occasion, they forgot the fact that the monarchy had, more than once, had its prerogatives disputed by dictatorships. Only by assassination did Ferdinand get rid of Stamboulov, and Boris of Stamboliiski. And M. Gheorgiev himself had been able to overthrow parliamentary government only because the army had given him a helping hand. The will of the sovereign had entered little into that event. 642 175 [662]

However that might be, the fate of the monarchy was settled. By doing away with it, the Bulgarian people were convinced that they were clarifying their destiny. The young King Simeon II, then aged 8, was living in Vranja with his mother and his sister, in an isolation which was practically exile, while the royal duties were performed by three regents appointed by the National Front. On September 8, 1946, the Bulgarian nation, by a huge majority (3,800,000 votes to 179,000), voted in favour of the republic, which was proclaimed on the 15th of the same month. The following week Simeon II, under the care of the Queen-Mother, who was dressed in deep mourning, embarked on a Turkish vessel bound for Egypt, where he was to join his maternal grandfather, ex-King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy. One newspaper *Otetchestvene Front* (Homeland Front) published, by way of farewell, an article by General Hristo Stölkov, reproaching the defunct monarchy for having isolated Bulgaria from the other Slavonic peoples. 'It is no accident if, at the time of the first imperialist war, all the Slavs [*sic*] were on the side of the Allies, whilst Bulgaria alone threw in her lot with Germany'. [666]

The convening of the electoral body for October 27[1] gave rise to a diplomatic passage of arms among the Allies. The British Government protested against the obstacles put in the way of the Opposition's campaign, and against the persecution to which the Agrarians were subjected. And Mr. Byrnes asked the Allied Control Commission, sitting in Sofia, to take adequate measures to guarantee the integrity of the poll. Russia's representative on the Commission, General Birousov, opposed the consideration of this request, which he denounced as foreign interference with Bulgarian home affairs. 648 175

The elections gave the anticipated results; the Home Front secured 346 seats (of which 277 went to the Communists) as against the Opposition's 101 seats. It would appear that this 666 175

1 [1946 - Analyst]

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666 result even exceeded the expectations of M. Gheorgiev, who took
•175 fright at the excitement stirred up in the country by the Communists—hence this appeal to the population: 'Victory often intoxicates men, and defeat makes them lose their self-control. Tension resulting from elections, if not rapidly mastered, may help to foster a state of excitement prejudicial to order and tranquillity. The Government earnestly exhorts all citizens strictly to observe the laws'.

Spectacular as was the triumph of governmental coalition, it did not reach the overwhelming majorities of which Russia and Yugoslavia held the secret. In particular, the ministerial fraction belonging to the *Zveno* was beaten, so that the country had modified, to the advantage of the Communists, the relative strengths within the coalition. Now, in a nation which had neither capitalism nor trusts nor large industrial concerns nor *latifundia*, the word *Communist* had a meaning which was much more political than social.* It was above all the victory of the 'Russianisers', long held in check by the official policy.

[563] It must moreover be admitted that, renewing the gesture of the liberating Tsar, the Soviet Union had just saved the Bulgarian people by protecting them from the consequences of their rulers' collusion with the Axis. The question that still remained was whether Russia would not have preferred to be defended in Sofia by traditionally 'national' elements, rather than by a party too openly connected with Moscow, and whose leader, George Dimitrov, the hero of the Leipzig trial, was thought to be a tool of Russia.

642 As a logical consequence of the elections, a new Government
175 was in fact formed by Dimitrov on November 23.[1] It included ten Communists, five Agrarians, two Socialists, two members of the *Zveno* and one Independent. The ex-President, Kimon Gheorgiev, held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. The semi-official press saw it as 'the most democratic Government Bulgaria has ever had', whilst the Opposition emphasised the complete hold on power which the Communists had obtained.

648 This Government's vital tasks were to be signing the peace
175 and voting the Constitution. On February 12, 1947, it secured

[162] * The working-class strengths, on which the Communists rely, are very small; indeed, 80% of the population are engaged in agriculture, not to mention tradesmen, civil servants, and members of the liberal professions.

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from England the legal recognition which she had refused to a non-Communist Ministry. However, the Foreign Office felt bound to state that this recognition 'by no means implied that Great Britain considered the methods previously employed by the Bulgarian Government to consolidate its position, or the conditions under which the elections had been organised, as conforming to the spirit and the letter of the Yalta declaration concerning Liberated Europe'. 648 175

The Bulgarian reply dismissed these objections, but expressed the Sofia Government's satisfaction and its desire to respect the peace treaty.

The Constitution submitted to the Legislature had to reconcile the exigencies of a very Leftist democracy with the specific traits of the Bulgarian nation, and the laws of its historical development. It was not federal, like the Russian or Yugoslav constitutions, but unitary. Bulgaria was to be a parliamentary republic, in which authority belonged to the people, whose will was expressed by means of elections or a referendum. The President was elected for four years (by a two-thirds majority) by the Legislature, plus one representative from each Cantonal Council and five representatives from each Departmental Council. The Legislature was elected for four years, on the basis of one member for every 25,000 inhabitants. 642 175 [182]

The Constitution sanctioned the right to private property and the right of inheritance, but placed in the hands of the State the country's natural resources, its sub-soil, transport, marine and fluvial navigation, communications, radio, and external trade. The new Bulgarian economy was inspired by the co-operative principle as understood in the Slavonic tradition (*mir* or *zadrouga*) rather than by pure collectivism. [181]

In his ministerial declaration M. George Dimitrov had defined friendship with U.S.S.R. as 'the corner-stone of his foreign policy', but promised to endeavour to normalise relations with London and Washington. He expressed his gratitude 'to the sister nations—and particularly the new Yugoslavia[10]—for the help they had rendered to Bulgaria at the Peace Conference'. 648 175

Indeed, Bulgaria had no reason to complain of the Con-

[10] Who, on the previous June 15, had wiped out certain Bulgarian reparations.

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648 ference, which, while treating her as a conquered country,
•175 nevertheless left her Southern Dobrudja which she had obtained from Rumania under a friendly agreement concluded under the auspices of the Axis.

728 By her memoranda addressed to the Four Powers on May 7
175 and June 20, she had asked to be designated in the peace treaties, not as an Axis 'Satellite State' but as a 'Co-belligerent Ally'. Her delegate to the Paris Conference maintained that the moral responsibility of the Bulgarian people had not been involved in the policy of collaboration with Germany,[11] that, moreover, no Bulgarian soldier had borne arms against the Red Army, and that the country's heroic resistance, at the critical moment of the war, entitled her to the Allies' sympathetic consideration.

This request was rejected, however, as well as that which aimed at securing access to the Aegean Sea (the famous 'outlet' of Article 48 of the Treaty of Neuilly) or, more clearly, that part of Western Thrace which had been under Bulgarian sovereignty between 1913 (Treaty of Bucharest) and 1919 (Treaty of Neuilly) and which, at the time of which we are speaking, formed part of Greece. This request, as well as the claim for indemnity for 'investments and improvements' effected by the Bulgarian troops on Greek soil during the occupation, at the Luxembourg Conference provoked vigorous reaction on the part of the Greek Premier, M. Tsaldaris, who reproached the Bulgarians with having attacked his country three times in the space of a single generation.

[648] Much more: Messrs. Byrnes and Bevin took the opportunity of M. Kolarov's visit to Paris to intimate to him the dissatisfaction their Governments felt at the way in which the
[563] Opposition was treated in Sofia. Moreover, the British delegate demanded the insertion of a special clause intended to protect Jewish minorities, although it was well known that—except in the last war, and even then, not without the exercise of great restraint[12]—the Jews had never been the object of discriminating measures.

[11] Almost word for word, this was the thesis maintained at the end of the previous war by M. Mollov, the Bulgarian delegate to the League of Nations: 'Bulgaria . . . was drawn into the war by events contrary to the manifest will of the majority of the people, and of the political parties'.

[12] The opposition of the Bulgarian people to racial laws spared the Jews the atrocities to which they were subjected in other Eastern European countries.

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So the signature, on February 10, of the peace treaty which (except in Dobrudja) maintained the territorial *status quo* of 1919, was made under protest—on the part of the Government, which, in an official note, expressed its hope of a revision of the 'unjust clauses' of the treaty; on the part of the Homeland Front, which invited the population to 'roll up its sleeves' and work to surmount the difficulties inherent in the application of the treaty; on the part of the Opposition parties, which, while they considered the treaty contrary to the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and to the terms of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, yet blamed the Government for not having been willing to apply sincerely the Moscow agreements, nor to follow the advice of the 'democratic Great Powers'. 728 175

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Poland's fundamental problem in 1946 was the reorganisation and repopulation of the western territories taken from Germany and incorporated by Poland in conformity with the decision of the Potsdam Conference of August 2, 1945, and with the Polish-Sovietic treaty of the following August 17. 'Our western frontiers', said Wladislaw Gomulka, Vice-President of the Council, 'are essential to the maintenance of peace in Europe. Any one who opposes us in this respect threatens our most vital interests, and must be considered as our enemy'.

Three million Poles repatriated from Russia were to be settled in the western territories, where they would be joined by a million and a half Poles from the interior, taken from the overpopulated districts, and a million and a half repatriated exiles. Out of four million Germans liable to deportation, 2,400,000 had already been settled in the Russian-occupied zone of Germany, and one million and a quarter in the British zone. So that the total movements of population affected more than seven million individuals.

Within her new frontiers Poland included 195,000 sq. miles instead of 242,875 sq. miles that she covered before the war; her population had fallen from 35,000,000 inhabitants to 23,620,000. She no longer had on her soil any national minorities; Germans, Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians and Lithuanians were to be repatriated, where this had not already been done. As for the Jews, their number dropped from three and a half million to 86,000. Poland, which had six neighbours before the 131 175 [162]

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131 war, now had only three—Russia, Germany, and Czechoslovakia.
•175 One aspect of her new position which represented an innovation was her transformation into a great maritime nation, thanks to the three ports, Stettin, Gdynia, and Danzig, and to her 312 miles of coast-line. Nevertheless, her destiny would henceforth be more closely bound to that of Central Europe, while remaining subordinate to the *entente* with Moscow.

666 The western frontiers were approved by the plebiscite of June 30, which covered not only the frontier-ratification, but also the abolition of the Senate and the economic organisation of the [471] State (Agrarian reform and nationalisation of key industries). [423] The first ballot gave 10,534,697 in favour and 995,584 against; the second gave 7,844,522 in favour and 3,686,029 against; the third, 8,896,106 in favour and 2,634,446 against.

578 This popular referendum did not have the tranquillising
648 effects that had seemingly been expected. Poland continued to
661 be a prey to 'terrorist' agitation, the repression of which, in
175 turn, gave rise to scenes of violence and to exactions. While dissociating himself from the extremists, the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, M. Mikolajczyk, himself protested against the way in which the referendum had been carried out (except in Cracow, where the 'Noes' had been in the majority). So the British Government reserved its opinion on the legitimacy which this poll conferred on the régime, and awaited the general elections before giving legal recognition to the new state of affairs. And the whole of 1946 was taken up with exchanges of subacid notes between London and Washington on the one side and Warsaw on the other. The Anglo-Americans denounced the persecution to which the Opposition was subjected, and considered that the Polish Government was failing in the undertaking given in execution of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, to guarantee the liberty of elections. But the Russians interpreted quite differently both the scope of these agreements and the meaning of the word 'liberty'. And so the most obvious result of the diplomatic offensive on the part of England and the United States was to intensify Polish-Sovietic solidarity.

648 The formation, in June, of a National Unity Government
175 under the Presidency of M. Osubka Morawski seemed, for the
[642] time being, to dissipate the apprehensions of the Anglo-Americans, although the dissident Polish Government in London

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had refused to recognise this new Cabinet. But the truce was a short one. The preparation of the electoral law, voted on September 23, revived the controversy[13] and occasioned a fresh diplomatic assault. The Foreign Office and the State Department sent to Warsaw, on August 19, concerted notes, couched as 'warnings'. They recalled the irregularities known to have taken place on the occasion of the referendum, and suggested a series of measures calculated to prevent their repetition in connection with the elections. When handing over the American note, the United States ambassador felt the need to justify such an unusual step: 'In departing from its traditional policy', he said, 'and in assuming responsibilities in the affairs of another State, my Government is obeying a conviction that its important role in the liberation of the European peoples imposes on it very particularly the duty to assist the Polish people, so sorely tried by the Nazi occupation, to be quite free to elect the government of its choice'.

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M. Osubka Morawski took this double admonition very badly. His embassy in Washington declared to the press that the American note 'constituted a violation of the sovereign rights of Poland and an interference in her internal affairs'; the Warsaw press spoke of 'vassalisation'; and the two notes received no official reply.

A few days later the Polish leaders went to Minsk, where, on August 29, they met Generalissimo Stalin, with whom they discussed the question of the elections. They received assurances which enabled them, thenceforth, to resist the Anglo-American offensive.

Meanwhile a disagreement which had arisen between London and Warsaw a few weeks previously was being settled. This concerned a protest made by the Polish Government against

[13] A memorandum was sent, in August 1946, to the representatives of the United Nations taking part in the Peace Conference in Paris by the 'Polish Socialist and Workers' Associations Abroad'; its authors recalled the sufferings of Poland during the war, demanded the re-establishment of civic liberties, and declared that the Government had against it 'about 90% of the public opinion of the country'. The Conference was also notified of a protest on the part of the Central Union of Poles in France and of the Union of Catholic Polish Societies in France. In the following month, the Congress of Americans of Polish Origin addressed to Mr. Byrnes a memorandum suggesting that the problem of Poland should be laid before the United Nations, and asking for recognition of the western frontiers.

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648 •175 certain items which had appeared in the News Bulletin published by the British Embassy in Poland, and judged by official circles to be tendentious. At the beginning of September the Foreign Office announced that the Bulletin would publish no more reports concerning Poland's internal affairs. But semi-official commentators felt obliged to emphasise that this assurance, at variance with British practice, had not been given without hesitation; it had been largely prompted by fear that the Bulletin's collaborators would be arrested by the Polish authorities. So that the settlement of the dispute, by its very nature, contained the germ of future unpleasantness.

Moreover, Warsaw cherished many other bones of contention as far as the English were concerned. The latter were first accused of wanting to keep the gold belonging to the National Bank, and then reproached with supporting the Polish 'reactionaries', with refusing to repatriate General Anders' army *en bloc,* and with lending too sympathetic an ear to the complaints and recriminations of the Peasant Party. Although it was for Poland that England had entered the war, it may be said that it was against the British cabinet that the most bitter criticisms were directed by the Polish Government and press.

The attacks reached their culminating point in the autumn, after Mr. Byrnes's speech at Stuttgart on September 6, and Mr. Bevin's declaration in the House of Commons on October 22.

648 175 728 Mr. Byrnes had said: 'As regards Silesia and the other Eastern German territories, their allocation to Poland by Russia, for administrative purposes, had taken place before the Potsdam meeting. . . . As the minutes of the Conference plainly show, the heads of the Governments did not undertake to support, on the establishment of peace, the cession of any particular territory. . . . The extent of the region to be ceded to Poland must be determined at the time when the final settlement is made'.[14]

Taken in conjunction with Mr. Bevin's speech, these words could bear the interpretation that Great Britain and America would, at the time of the final Peace Conference, make the

[14] The relevant paragraph of the Potsdam agreement is worded as follows: 'The heads of the three Governments reaffirm the opinion that the final delimitation of Poland's western frontiers must be made at the time of the peace settlement'.

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question of the Oder-Neisse frontiers dependent on that of free elections. M. Molotov at once challenged Mr. Byrnes's declaration, affirming that Russia considered the Polish-German frontiers as definitive. If, on the one hand, this intervention alienated the German Communists from him, and contributed to their defeat at the municipal elections, on the other hand, it secured for him enthusiastic approbation in Polish circles. In most of the large towns popular meetings were held, and the crowds booed the name of Mr. Byrnes, and even of America.

The tension lasted right up to the elections. The arrest of members of the Polish Peasant Party had its echo in the House of Commons, where, on October 22, Mr. Churchill drew a 'sad picture' of the situation in Poland. 'We must', he said, 'take great care to distinguish in our minds between the present Polish Government and the feelings of the Polish nation, whose affliction and sufferings seem to be never-ending'. The Minister of State, Mr. McNeil, emphasised once more the fact that England was a joint signatory to the undertakings given by the Warsaw Government, and thereby bound to see that they were carried out.

So, when the legislative elections had been fixed for January 19, the Governments of London and Washington considered the time had come to repeat their representations on behalf of a free poll. On November 22, they handed over, through their representatives in Warsaw, two simultaneous notes (identical, as regards contents, with those which had been handed to Rumania and Bulgaria on previous occasions). These two documents referred to the previous warnings, and concluded by mentioning that it would be impossible for the Anglo-American democracies to recognise any Government which might be based on elections carried out with violence, or whose results had been falsified.

No reply was made to the American Department of State. That destined for the Foreign Office was delayed for a month. It answered Great Britain's arguments by setting out a complete accusation, intended to show that that Power had herself deliberately violated the Yalta and Potsdam agreements in seven respects, as under :—

1. Role of 'advisers to the British Government' played by Polish exiles in London.

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2. Reorganisation and re-equipment of the Anders Army.
3. Control exercised by the exiled Polish Government in London over property wrongfully left at its disposal, together with that of the Polish Consulates abroad.
4. Retention of the Polish gold deposited in London during the war.
5. Retention of the Polish battle-ships placed at the disposal of the British war-fleet during the occupation.
6. Financing by Great Britain of the campaign to dissuade Polish refugees and deportees from returning to their country.
7. Reduction of the quota of Germans from the western territories of Poland that England had undertaken to admit to her occupation zone in Germany.

This fruitless exchange of notes continued until the eve of the elections. In the end, England realised its futility, whereas, on January 5, 1947, America laid before her two major Allies a proposal for joint supervision of the electoral proceedings. Russia rejected this proposal, once again refuting its motives, and a further American note of January 9, was described by the Polish chargé d'affaires at Washington as 'very regrettable'.

[666] The elections, held on January 19,[1] resulted in 9,003,682 votes for the Governmental bloc (*i.e.*, 80.1 per cent of the voters) as against 1,154,847 for the Polish Peasant Party (*i.e.*, 10.3 per cent).

The comedy of the Anglo-American protests did not end with this poll. It had its epilogue in a note from Washington, dated January 29, affirming that the State Department neither considered the elections to have been free, nor Poland's engagements to have been kept, but did not, nevertheless, intend to break off diplomatic relations.[15] The British Under-Secretary

[15] This did not prevent Mr. Truman from making the following statement to the new Polish ambassador, M. Winieniez, when, on February 4, the latter presented his credentials. 'We, the American people and myself, were very much upset to find that the Provisional Government of Poland had failed to fulfil its undertakings with regard to freedom of elections' —which was contrary to the conventional optimism with which these ceremonial occasions are usually surrounded. And, in the *New York Herald Tribune* (European edition), the ex-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, published this violent commentary: 'The results of the elections in Poland have been even more fantastic than was to be expected. The P.S.L. (Polish Peasant Party) have been allocated one-tenth of the man-

1 [1947 -- Analyst]

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for Foreign Affairs spoke in similar vein in the House of Commons. And the final result of all this fuss was simply that England and the United States were not represented at the inaugural session of the Third Polish Republic, held on February 4. Moreover, that did not prevent those two countries from offering their congratulations, the next day, to M. Boleslaw Bierut, President of the Republic. London and Washington had never had any other concern than that of 'saving appearances'. They knew quite well that these platonic manifestations of displeasure would have no other effect than to consolidate Muscovite influence in Warsaw. 648 175

The Presidency of the new Government was entrusted to a young member of the Cracow bar—M. Joseph Cyrankiewicz, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, and a survivor of the Auschwitz Camp. In May, political life was gradually becoming normal. The President of the Republic compared it to a river 'which, after having been diverted from its bed by a cataclysm, was finding its true course again'. 643 175

To the new Cabinet was to fall the mission of getting the Oder-Neisse frontier sanctioned by the Peace Conference. In its own view, as well as that of the whole of Poland, the question was settled by the fact that transfers of population had already taken place, without any protests from London or Washington. It was difficult to conceive that millions of Displaced Persons would be compelled to undergo a fresh exodus. The Anglo-Americans would therefore be obliged, in Mr. Churchill's phrase, 'to write off Eastern Europe on the Profit and Loss account'. Moreover, France supported the Polish viewpoint; on February 19, 1947, she signed a cultural agreement with Warsaw—the preface to a new political pact, it being understood that Poland would support her claims on the Saar, as she would back up those of Poland to the maintenance of her western frontier. The question of the frontiers gave rise, in April, 1947, to a bitter and sterile passage-of-arms between Americans and Russians at the Moscow Conference. 648 728 175

Another and no less redoubtable motive of discord between 000

dates which fell to the Socialo-Communist bloc which backs the regime of Bierut and Osubka-Morawski. So the Moscow-controlled parties get 400 out of the 444 seats in the Polish Diet. . . . The last vestiges of Polish liberty, for which General Sikorski is still fighting, will tend to disappear'.

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648 Another and no less redoubtable motive of discord between
•125 Poland and the Western Allies was the existence in Italy of an army (the former Second Polish Corps), under the orders of General Wladislaw Anders, who had not recognised the Warsaw Government—because, he said, it had not been freely chosen by the Polish people. His troops did not refuse to enter Poland, but they were not prepared to do so until the Russians had gone. On this question, as on that of the elections, a diplomatic duel took place—the initiative, this time, lying with the Warsaw Cabinet. The incident began with a note, of January, 1946, in which this Cabinet accused England of equipping and supplying these forces, and with a protest to Washington against the functioning, in the American zone, of a liaison between the Anders Army and the secret organisations of the interior. General Anders opposed a categorical denial to this assertion; according to him, it was nothing but a false scent, to divert attention from the political crisis existing in the country.

Yugoslavia intervened abruptly in this affair, by submitting to the General Secretariat of the United Nations, through M. Vyshinsky, a memorandum destined for the Security Council, claiming that the Polish Army in Italy, executing manœuvres which brought it near to the Julian March, and recruiting Yugoslavs, was considered as 'aggressive and manifestly dangerous' for the Belgrade Government.

England, quite justifiably, was surprised to find the Yugoslavs adopting this roundabout method of lodging a complaint directly aimed at her. She immediately denied the allegations.

But thereupon, a communication from the Warsaw Government, February 14, declared that, from that date onwards, it ceased to consider the Polish forces abroad as units of the national army. The Government therefore demanded that such troops should no longer be permitted to wear Polish uniform or badges, and that they should be demobilised. A few days later, Radio-Warsaw broadcast an appeal to Polish soldiers abroad, urging them to arrange for repatriation. And, on March 20, Mr. Bevin submitted to the Commons the text of an Anglo-Polish agreement for the demobilisation of these soldiers (at least 200,000 men), half of whom constituted the total strength of the Anders Army stationed in Italy. No judicial action was to be taken against the returned soldiers, unless they had served in the German Army, or in the Todt organisation. Those who

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were unwilling to go would not be forced to return to Poland, but their right to remain in England would be considered individually. 648 175

It goes without saying that the 'Polish Government in London' protested against this decision, on which they had not been consulted. On June 1 General Anders bade farewell to his troops. 'We must', he said, 'leave Italy on the eve of the peace treaties. We have traversed this country from South to North, waging against Germany a battle for the liberty of the nations. Polish hearts will never forget that we have fought also for the liberty of the Church. . . . Tomorrow, by an unknown road, we shall go to Poland—to a Poland for which we have fought, and which no Polish heart can imagine without Lwow and Wilno'. At the end of October he left Italy for England, where he joined the unarmed Resettlement Corps.[16] Shortly before (on September 28) and as the result of this incorporation, a decree of the Council of Polish Ministers had withdrawn his nationality, as well as that of seventy-four other officers, of or above the rank of general.

The exact figures of those who were voluntarily repatriated have never been given. But it is certain that a large number of Poles, especially among those whose home district had passed under Soviet control, preferred the risks and the misfortunes of exile to returning to their birthplace.

Relations between Warsaw and Moscow were maintained on the lines laid down for them by the Polish-Sovietic pact of August 18, 1945—of which instruments of ratification were exchanged on February 7, 1946.

But, as M. Cyrankiewicz himself had remarked, 'Many Poles still suffered from an anti-Russian complex'. This persistence of hostility towards Russia was, according to him, attributable to the memory of the Tsarist oppression and the anti-Bolshevist propaganda which had been ceaselessly carried out between the two wars. [829]

The visit of President Bierut and the Polish statesmen to

[16] A British M.P. having asked (on February 18, 1947) why the general's salary figured on the army budget, Richard Stokes, a Labour M.P., divulged that the military authorities admitted that, without the collaboration of the Anders Army, the Italian campaign might have ended in disaster.

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648 Moscow (May 23–26, 1946) was due to the necessity for a fresh
175 exchange of views on the international situation, on the strengthening of the Polish Army to protect the rear of the Soviet occupation forces in Germany, and on the conclusion of economic agreements. Arrangements were in fact reached. They stipulated the cancelling of the financial engagements contracted during the war for equipping the Polish Army; the supply of Russian arms and munitions; the opening of a credit and the furnishing of food supplies.[17] On August 16 the U.S.S.R. and Poland signed a frontier treaty, ceding to the Poles the region situated east of the Curzon line, between the Western Boug and the River Solokia, to the south of the town of Krilow, to a maximum depth of nineteen miles, together with a part of the Forest of Bjalowiez, likewise to the east of the Curzon line, to a maximum depth of eleven miles.

A fresh interview between Stalin and MM. Bierut and Osubka-Morawski took place in Minsk on the following August 29. It dealt principally with the Anglo-American notes relating to the elections, and with the relations, on the eve of the poll, between the Socialist Party and the Labour Party. It was a fortnight later that, replying to Mr. Byrnes's Stuttgart speech, M. Molotov reaffirmed the Soviet point of view, according to which the western frontier of Poland was sacrosanct.

On February 24, 1947, M. Cyrankiewicz arrived in Moscow to confer with Stalin on the prospects opened up for Poland by the Peace Conference for Germany, convened in the Soviet capital for March 10.

648 Connected with the question of 'free elections', still
175 further incidents arose between Poland and the Anglo-American
457 democracies. On April 25, 1946, the Warsaw Government had obtained a loan of fifty million dollars under the following double arrangement: Forty million dollars would be supplied by the Export-Import Bank for the payment of purchases effected in the United States; surplus army material, stocked in Europe, would be supplied to the Government on credit, up to a limit of fifty million dollars. America had stipulated, as conditions of her financial aid, that the Polish Government should organise free elections, should inform the people of the terms of

[17] It was only on November 21 that the Polish Minister of Foreign Trade disclosed the tenor of his agreements with Russia.

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the agreement, and should furnish the United States with full details of treaties concluded with other Powers. 648 175 457

Since these conditions had not been fulfilled, America announced, in the month of May, that she was reconsidering the matter. Warsaw then communicated the text of the commercial treaties concluded with the neighbouring countries. The fact that, after this, the United States restored the credit of ninety million dollars shows that they did not consider these treaties as incompatible with their collaboration in Polish economic recovery. In January, 1947, Polish assets in America —including gold—were 'de-blocked', in consideration of an agreement fixing the indemnification of American nationals who owned nationalised Polish concerns.

But the question of the elections remained as a background to the feeling of strain which hung over the relations between Washington and Warsaw. In March, 1947, it came to the fore again, when the United States ambassador, Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane, resigned as an expression of the disapproval he had never ceased to exhibit towards a régime resulting from an electoral consultation which he had designated 'a farce'. Far from disowning him, Mr. Truman, in accepting his resignation, declared his regret that 'his skilful representation of the American Government's views had not attained its object'.

The financial negotiations with England experienced similar vicissitudes. The agreement of June 24, 1946, for the grant of a loan, subject to the repayment of the debts of the former London Government, was at first postponed; official Polish circles accused Great Britain of retaining the greater part of their compatriots' assets as security for her claims, and especially the 4,800,000,000 francs (gold) belonging to the Bank of Poland. On December 19, the English Embassy in Warsaw was obliged to protest against the manner in which these questions were presented by the Polish press, who took pleasure in contrasting the British claims with Russia's gesture in wiping out Poland's war debts.

We have recalled that one of the sore points in Slav solidarity was the question of the allocation of the Teschen Basin, occupied by the Poles since October 2, 1938. The question had already, between the two wars, caused a lot of ink to flow. It had grafted itself on to attacks made by the Polish press against 648 728 175

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Prague's policy with regard to the Slovaks, and by the Czech press against Warsaw's treatment of the Ukrainian minorities.

At the end of 1945 the Polish Government had proposed a general settlement of matters outstanding. Prague had agreed in principle, but excluding territorial questions. Poland rejected this reservation. Negotiations opened in Prague on February 7, 1946. The Czechs again refused to have the question of Teschen reopened; they were anxious not to jeopardise the promise made by the Allies to restore their frontiers as they were before Munich.

So the matter was adjourned. But neither of the two Governments neglected any occasion of reaffirming their country's rights to Teschen.

'The Government of Poland' (said M. Rzymowski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on March 8) 'most emphatically condemns the violence of Munich exercised by Hitler in common with Beck, Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1938–1939, towards Czechoslovakia, a friendly country. I cannot, however, forbear to mention the fact that Silesian Teschen is peopled by a mass of 100,000 Poles who, for some decades, and especially during the six years of the German occupation, by their attitude affirmed their desire to be reincorporated in the mother country'.

To which the President of the Czech Council, M. Fierlinger, replied, recalling that this territory contained the richest coal-mines of Czechoslovakia, that the country's industry had been particularly developed there, large capital sums having been invested, and that along the Polish-Czech frontier passed the most important of the railways joining Bohemia and Moravia to Slovakia. 'So', he concluded, 'any cession of the territory of Teschen to the Poles would prejudice the most vital interests of our country. For these motives, as well as for ethnical reasons, we cannot discuss with the Polish Government the cession of any of these territories. Naturally, we are ready to come to an agreement with the Poles on the most friendly basis, regarding any other arrangement which would suit them, particularly for a reciprocal exchange of population which might finally settle this very complicated problem, to the interest of both countries'.

The most curious part was that the two Governments, equally intractable on this point, showed themselves none the less disposed to conclude an alliance, even a federal pact. Poland would have seen in this a way of submerging the importance of

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the Teschen affair. But Czechoslovakia kept the two matters distinct, and was not prepared to raise the question of the pact until the frontier dispute had been settled.

Marshal Tito was either asked, or was tempted, to offer his mediation. He met with no better success than M. Benes had encountered when, immediately after the previous war, he had tried to intervene between Belgrade and Sofia to appease the Macedonian quarrel. It was obvious, moreover, that the real arbitrator of the dispute could be none other than Stalin. And so the question of Teschen headed the agenda of the conversations that took place in Moscow, in June, 1946, between M. Fierlinger and the Russian and Polish chiefs. The last-named maintained that the territorial sacrifices they had made to Russia should be compensated with the territories partly populated by Poles. The Czechs showed themselves adamant. Had not they, too, ceded Sub-Carpathia to the Russians, and without any compensation? They formulated, or allowed to be formulated, other demands—a frontier-rectification, to do away with the two salients of Glatz and Ratibor, the incorporation of Lusatia with Bautzen, Loebau and Cottbus, and the incorporation of the Austrian town of Gmünd (already occupied).

The Soviet representatives dismissed both parties non-suited. Probably they were not sorry to preserve a possible means of bringing pressure to bear on both sides. They did, however, assure the Czechs that the question would not be settled by Moscow without their consent. As for the Poles, they saw in the Czech claims to Glatz a move to give them a possible basis for bargaining.

The Western Allies prudently refrained from intervening in this dispute, although it affected both the political and the economic balance of the Continent.

Eventually on March 10, 1947, Poles and Czechs concluded a treaty of alliance that stabilised their relations, but, trusting to the effects of time, left them until 1949 to settle the matter of Teschen—the very one whose settlement was of paramount importance for those relations!

The Polish delegation to the Peace Conference expressed very precise views on the fate of Austria and Germany. They demanded guarantees against a fresh Anschluss, the unity of the Reich to be subject to effective demilitarisation and denazifica-

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648 tion, and the reconstruction of German economic life subordinated
728 to the reconstruction of the devastated countries.
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648 On the United Nations' Security Council the Polish delegation
175 fastened on the Spanish problem, displaying all the more energy, inasmuch as none of their positive interests was at stake. They backed the views supported by France and the Soviet Union on rupture with Franco, and decided, on April 5, 1946, to recognise the Giral Government--an eminently platonic gesture, for Franco's Spain and Poland had no diplomatic relations.

*186 The religious question, too, was a serious preoccupation of the
659 Government, which refuted the widespread accusation of wishing to
[798] persecute the Catholic Church. It had, moreover, always included 'practising' Catholics among its members, for Poland is certainly one of the few countries where 'Leftists' are just as good Catholics as 'Rightists'. Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland and Archbishop of Warsaw, himself declared that, in spite of the denunciation of the Concordat of 1925, and the absence of relations between Chruch and State, there was no question of a Kulturkampf in Poland.

[586] There is no doubt; however, that the law (which came into force on January 1, 1946) rendering civil marriage compulsory and authorising divorce conflicted with the consciences of a large section of the population. The education reforms had dealt a death-blow to the religious schools. In the face of these measures, the Church adopted an attitude of restrained disapproval, in order not to make the situation worse; moreover, she had her 'Red Bishops', such as Mgr. Adamski, Bishop Katowice, whose sympathies were known to lie with the Soviet Union.

One of the reasons why the hierarchy avoided clashes was the fear of reviving accusations brought against certain of their members as the result of their attitude during the occupation; this in spite of the courageous conduct of the enormous majority of the prelates, and the murder by the Germans of four bishops and two thousand priests.

*186 It was, moreover, evident that the Warsaw Government's
659 hostility was directed less against the Polish Church than against the
798 Vatican, which they reproached with its policy during the war and its attitude in certain actions brought against agents of the occupying authorities. Yet M. Osubka-Morawski likewise

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accused the hierarchy, in connection with the Kielce pogrom,[18] of not having adopted a sufficiently bold attitude towards anti-Semitism, and of having refused to sign the declaration of all political parties, condemning this racial crime.

The Cardinal addressed to the foreign press declarations in which, while deploring the acts of violence, he attributed them largely 'to the dominant position assumed by the Jews in the Polish Government, and to the efforts made to give Poland a governmental structure that the majority of the country did not desire'. As may be imagined, these words aroused passionate comments. The same remark applies to the pastoral letter addressed to the faithful on the eve of the elections, asking them to vote only 'for persons, lists or programmes in favour of Catholic teaching and morals'. Without mentioning the Marxist Parties by name, the pastoral reminded Catholics that they must not belong to 'organisations whose principles are contrary to this teaching and this morality'. The Cardinal was anxious, he said, to 'reconcile the Christian faith with a sound revolutionary movement'.

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It was in Czechoslovakia that the adaptation of political and social life to the new state of affairs was achieved with the minimum of clashes and the maximum of realism. The Second Republic was stabilised under the form of a 'Socialising Democracy' (according to President Benes's term), half-way between Communism and the Bourgeois State. It no longer had the same exterior structure as Masaryk's republic, having adopted a *sui generis* type of bi-national community, with equal rights for Czechs and Slovaks. There was another innovation—a still more vital one—the elimination of minorities, whose presence and militancy had hindered its development, before contributing to its dislocation under the Hitlerian onrush.

[18] In this locality,[1] on July 4, 1946, there was a pogrom, arising out of a trifling cause, in the course of which 45 Jews were massacred. Nine of the presumed authors of this massacre were condemned to death. The clandestine organisations were accused of having fomented anti-Semite passions, whereas, in reality, the latter had remained very much alive in Poland—as witness the testimony of Dr. Shoskes, South America's representative in the Society for Assistance to Jewish Immigrants, and M. Segal, delegate to the World Jewish Congress of New York. Despite the frightful losses they suffered during the occupation, which reduced them to an insignificant minority, the Polish Jews, for the most part, aspire to leave the country. This is one of the indirect aspects of the Palestinian problem.

1 [in Kielce - Analyst]

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The problem of the relations between Prague and Bratislava was difficult to settle. It had handicapped the political development of the country from 1919 to 1938, and six years of separate life (from 1938 to 1944) had not failed to add fresh grievances to the old ones. In addition to all this, Slovakia herself suffered from an internal crisis—antagonism between a heterogeneous Catholic majority and a united, combative, Communist minority. The Democratic Party, which comprised the Catholics, presented a front only in the struggle against Marxism, the Soviet stranglehold, and Czech Centralism. In the face of constructive problems it was divided. It suffered, moreover, under the suspicion of having owed its electoral triumph only to the Autonomists and to the former 'collaborators'. Here, as elsewhere, the Communist Party sought to monopolise all the merit of the Resistance.

And Slovak particularism had not disarmed. This was made clear when, in the summer of 1946, the central Government ordered exchanges between Czech and Slovak military units; this order met with violent resistance.

However, that is a problem which the Czechs have had time to study, and in which they have acquired bitter, but profound, experience. It is a psychological rather than a political problem, affected by social and religious reactions, not to mention the campaign against the régime carried on by Slovak exiles in America, under the leadership of M. Stephan Osusky, former Czechoslovak Minister in Paris. It is possible that the fundamental difference between the two peoples may lie in the fact that one was under the heel of the German, the other of the Magyar.

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On June 24 was concluded an agreement destined to become the foundation of the new Czechoslovak community, based on a formula which lies half-way between decentralisation and autonomy. This is how it works. Apart from the three reserved departments (Foreign Affairs, National Defence, and Foreign Trade), Slovakia has her own organs of representation and government: a National Council of one hundred members, drawn from the parties, empowered to settle purely Slovak questions; an Executive Council composed of fifteen Commissars appointed by the Czech Government on the nomination of the Slovak National Council. These Commissars are, at one and the same time, real Ministers as far as Slovak affairs are

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concerned, and executive agents for Prague for Czechoslovak affairs. This was the solution found for the dualism previously existing in Czechoslovakia.

In virtue of this system the Slovaks have institutions which enable them to settle their own problems, while at the same time participating in the general control of the country. Hence the current joke about the 'Slovakisation of Czechoslovakia'.

Thus did President Benes succeed in adapting the spiritual heritage of Masaryk, and his own tendencies, to an internal and external situation very different from that which, in 1918, had shaped the rebirth of the Czech nation. And yet Benes took pains to safeguard signs of independence, and to maintain bonds of spiritual solidarity with the West, in order to attest his faith in his country's mission as a mediatrix, her role as a stabilising factor between the East and the West of the Continent. But the new Czechoslovakia no longer reflected the image that Masaryk had popularised—that of a European Slavism formed in the school of the Liberal Democracies.

The first elections carried out after the liberation—those of May 26, 1946—gave a slight majority to the Marxists, who had 153 seats out of the 300 of which the National Assembly was composed.[19]

This shift in the majority had little practical effect. The internal policy, based on nationalisation,[20] and the realisation of a very advanced social programme, underwent the fewer modifications, inasmuch as the Communists, anticipating their electoral victory, had already secured possession of the principal control levers.

[19] The results were as follows:—

	Votes	Percentage
Bohemia-Moravia		
Communists	2,205,658	40.17
National-Socialists	1,298,967	23.66
Populars	1,010,920	20.23
Social-Democrats	855,771	15.59
Slovakia		
Democrats (Christian)	988,275	61.43
Communists	490,257	30.48
Liberty Party	67,575	4.20
Labour Party	49,983	3.11

As will be seen, the majority was reversed in Bohemia and in Slovakia.

[20] The nationalisation programme which took effect on March 13, 1946, placed the majority of the key-industries under State control. Commenting on this event, the Minister of Industry declared: 'This day marks a date in the history of the world's industry'.

186* •175 From the external point of view, Czechoslovakia remained within the orbit of the Soviet power, on which, henceforth, depended her security and her conception of the balance of power in Europe.

But the maintenance of national unity, the agreement of parties, the conciliatory realism which they brought to the control of the State, revealed a spirit of discipline and a maturity such as could not, at that time, have been found in any other Slavonic State. Perhaps we must give equal praise to the clearsightedness with which M. Benes, in his Christmas message for 1946, denounced the weaknesses and the blemishes which still remained to be eliminated from the régime; how many other countries might have profited by his warning!

'In all political parties there lurk elements that are bad, morally tainted; products of the great wars and of the revolutionary periods. Such individuals must disappear from our political life. We must wean our young people from tendencies to indiscipline, to idleness, to immorality in relations between the sexes. We must combat the growing scourge of alcoholism, the black market, and clandestine trade. We must encourage a [163] family policy; whereas, in 1938, the excess of births over deaths was 80,000, in 1945 it is only 7,828'.

642 175 Elected for two years, the new Constituent Assembly met for the first time on June 18.[1] The next day it acclaimed Edward Benes as President of the Republic, in that same Vladislas Hall where he had been elected for the first time, in 1935. The Government, constituted on the following July 2, was presided over by M. Clement Gottwald, Leader of the Czech Communist Party. It included six Czech Communists, three Czech Social Democrats, four Socialists of the Benes Party, four Czech Catholics, five Slovak Democrats.

648 In the next chapter the reader will find an outline of the religious problem, seen from the angle of the Orthodox offensive. Faithful to their pre-war tradition, Czechoslovak official circles renewed with the Vatican relations which they did their utmost to render as trusting as possible, in spite of the agnosticism of the régime and its Hussite sympathies. The first chargé d'affaires to the Holy See, Dr. Schwarzenberg, was appointed in January, 1946. Since the previous autumn, the Vatican had already been represented in Prague; in March, Mgr. Ritter was

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sent as Papal Nuncio. In November, Mgr. Joseph Beran, a Dachau deportee, was appointed Archbishop of Prague. Czechoslovakia was then the only Slav State having accredited diplomatic representation with the Holy See. 648

In Slovakia the clergy had to suffer from the fact that a priest, Joseph Tiso,[21] who succeeded Father Hlinka as Leader of a Peoples' Party, had controlled the so-called 'Independent' State under the Nazi occupation. In some cases, proceedings against 'collaborators' took on the aspect of an anti-Catholic drive; some Associations, and even some religious communities, were dissolved. 798

As regards foreign policy during this period, it was dominated by two questions, the claim on Teschen and the 'liquidation' of the Hungarian minorities. The Teschen problem has been dealt with above, in connection with Poland; we will simply remind the reader that the Prague Government was adamant in its claim. 'Czechoslovakia will not give up one scrap of Teschen', declared President Benes on July 18, 1946. The treaty of alliance of March 10 left the matter in suspense until 1949. 648 563 728 175•

The evacuation of the Hungarian populations raised a bitter and prolonged dispute between Prague and Budapest.

An agreement concluded on February 27, 1946 provided for an exchange between Hungarians in Slovakia and Slovaks in Hungary, on a parity basis, to the number of 150,000 persons. The Government of Budapest was to make this agreement widely known amongst the Slovaks placed under its jurisdiction.

But the intention of the Czechs was to expel from their territory the whole of the Hungarian minority, which was far more numerous than the Slovak minority in Hungary.[22] And so they asked that country to take over 200,000 other members of the Magyar minority, and a further 60,000 Hungarian minority subjects, expelled as war criminals or political offenders. The Hungarians in Czechoslovakia who might escape these various transfers would be 're-Slovacised', and would cease to enjoy any minority privileges. Prague emphatically insisted that

[21] His trial opened on December 2, 194(5?) before the High Court of Bratislava.

[22] Out of the 645,000 Magyars who lived in Czechoslovakia in 1939, 110,000 were in Carpathian Ruthenia, ceded to the Russians. There remained 435,000, more than half of whom were considered to be 'inassimilable'. [728]

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the minorities had been the instrument which had upset and dismembered Czechoslovakia, and that their complete elimination was an essential condition for the security of the new State.

Hungary resisted this claim. Apart from general humanitarian considerations, she maintained that it was economically impossible for her to meet the needs of such an increased population. First she asked for a frontier revision, which was categorically refused by Prague. Later on, the two Governments accused each other of sabotaging the February agreements. A joint commission was set up, to accelerate the exchange. Its work was interrupted in September, when the Czechs presented a demand for the expulsion of a further 70,000 persons. In that same month the matter was taken before the Political and Territorial Commission, charged by the Peace Conference with the preparation of the treaty with Hungary; it was connected with a Czech request for frontier rectification (extension of Bratislava on the right bank of the Danube)—a request which was naturally resisted by the Hungarians. The Commission, setting aside forcible solutions, urged the two countries to come to a direct understanding on the problems of the minorities; should such an agreement not be reached within six months, Czechoslovakia would be authorised to lay the matter before the Council of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.[23]

The dispute broke out again in November, when the Hungarians remaining in Czechoslovakia were requisitioned and transferred, for the most part, to the Sudetenland, in virtue of the law for the mobilisation of man-power. A demand from Budapest for an explanation, dated March 23, was left unanswered by Prague, where it was considered that a general measure needed no justification. On November 21 the Hungarian National Assembly registered a solemn protest against these forcible displacements. This protest was echoed abroad, particularly in London, in the House of Lords, and in a section of the English and American press, which felt obliged to remind

[23] The *Magyar Hirlap*, the organ of the Prime Minister, Nagy, published an article on the Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations containing the following remarks: 'Between the two World Wars, the Government of Hungary considered that it ought to be the ally of the power which was the enemy of Czechoslovakia; but later on, it was realised that this power was the common enemy, and had enslaved Hungary as well as Czechoslovakia'.

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the Prague Government that the sufferings inflicted on the Hungarians did not compensate for those the Slovaks had endured; they simply increased the total amount of suffering. 648 563 728 175

Negotiations between the two Governments were resumed in January, 1947, following the visit of the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Gyöngyösy, to Bratislava, where he met the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, M. Clementis, and had with him a preliminary discussion in view of a general settlement of the problem. At that time a total of 11,655 Slovaks (as against the agreed figure of 40,000) had returned to Slovakia from Hungary; of these 3,535 had not been officially transferred, but had simply fled.

Exchanges of population were resumed from April 11 to 18, but on a very small scale, while settlement was taking place, in Bratislava, of the financial problems raised by these operations.

In the whole matter, Czechoslovakia had had Russia behind her. 'We have the support of the Soviet Union in the question of the minorities', said M. Gottwald. But we should fall short of the truth were we to omit to mention that Czechoslovakia's conduct was rather severely judged in the Anglo-American countries, where people were not very familiar with minority disputes, and attached too much importance to respect for the individual, to approve of these mass exoduses—at least in Europe. [829]

The case of the German minority had been the object of Czechoslovak declarations, even before the end of the war, and on this point the Potsdam agreements had merely had to sanction the decision taken by M. Benes and his Ministers to create a homogeneous national State. Consequently, the expulsion of the Germans from the Sudetenland did not give rise to any disputes —eliciting, at the most, humanitarian recommendations on the part of the Western Allies. The 'ceiling' for the expulsions had been fixed at 2,500,000 by the Potsdam agreements; in October, 1946, 750,000 had been sent into the Russian zone, 1,415,135 into the American zone, and 310,000 were authorised to remain on Czech territory; these were skilled workmen, miners, anti-Fascists, relatives of Czechs, old or sick people.[24] There is no

[24] It should be noted that Czechoslovakia adopted a special treatment for Germans of Austrian nationality residing or temporarily domiciled in her territory. She did not class them with the Sudeten Germans as necessarily to be expulsed, unless they had been members of the Nazi Party.

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648 563 728 176 doubt that, although their departure corresponded to a legitimate policy of internal peace and security, yet it created in Czech economic life a void that was difficult to fill.

648 457 175 The Americans' remarks on the subject of the deportations were not the only cause (and, in any case, they were passing ones) of the frigid relations between themselves and the Prague Government. The latter had negotiated and obtained a loan of fifty million dollars from the Export-Import Bank—a loan which was to help to finance the 'two-year plan' for Czechoslovakia's economic reconstruction. On October 16 the State Department notified that they had blocked this credit for an indefinite period, because the borrowing country had not provided any compensation for American nationals dispossessed by nationalisation. Another argument advanced was the cutting and, at the very least, injudicious tone adopted by certain Czech newspapers which, at the very moment when their Government was seeking financial aid, accused the United States of using credits as an instrument of economic imperialism. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs blamed the Russians for the latter accusation and expressed regret at Washington's decision.

On the other hand, in November, 1946, England granted a loan of two and a half million sterling, spread over four years, to enable Czechoslovakia to buy surplus British materials. So that Prague's fears of a synchronised Anglo-American policy in the matter of loans were allayed.

[186] Like those of Poland, Czechoslovakia's aims in the discussion on the German treaty were chiefly directed towards disarmament and denazification of the Reich. For the Czechs, the problem of their security was partly settled by the presence of Soviet Russia in the Danube Basin. The dream of one of their thinkers had come true: 'The lime, our Slavonic emblem,[25] is supported by the powerful Russian oak'. And, celebrating the anniversary of the pact of December 12, 1943, between Stalin and Benes, the *Nurodni Ozvobozeni* declared: 'Treaties are usually entered into for a fixed period. Afterwards, they are extended, or they lapse. This one must stand for eternity'.

[25] The lime was the emblem of the Slavs. At the time of the riots which took place in Ljubljana at the beginning of this century between German and Slovene students, the former sported a cornflower and the latter a lime-leaf.

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Relations between the two countries, intimate in the political domain, developed mainly in the direction of a closer economic collaboration. To this end, commercial agreements were signed at Moscow in April, and especially in July, 1946, between Gottwald, the Prime Minister, and Marshal Stalin. It was during this interview that the Czech statesmen communicated the text of their proposals for the Peace Conference.

These proposals included demands for frontier rectifications, already formulated on May 31, 1945, and reproduced in a memorandum of January 20, 1947, especially as regards the German districts of Glatz and Ratibor, occupied by the Poles. It was an attempt to do away with the two 'notches' formed in the frontier by the upper valley of the Oder (Moravian Gate) and that of the Neisse (Nahod Gap) which had been used in 1866 by von Moltke's army. Thus the roads of approach from Prussian Silesia towards Moravia would be closed. As seen above, these claims had aroused unfavourable reaction in Warsaw.

A few words on the relations between Prague and Paris. As early as October 7, the Czech Government had been in touch with General de Gaulle, who declared the Munich agreements void . . . on the following September 29. On August 22, 1944, the French and the Czech Governments agreed that, when the time was ripe, they would adapt their former pact of alliance to the needs of the existing situation. A 'joint declaration', communicated to the press on February 14, 1947, announced the early conclusion of the new pact.

The peace treaties signed in Paris on February 10, 1947, established a fresh balance of forces on the Continent.

If, treating the territorial alterations occurring between 1938 and 1944 as accidents, we superimpose the 1947 map on that of 1938 (which resulted from the treaties that settled the First World War), we find that this new balance results much less from territorial changes than from a reconstitution of influence.

The territorial changes are indeed unimportant, in comparison with the transformations which the treaties of 1919–1920 made in the map, when the dislocation of Austria-Hungary resuscitated two historic States in the heart of Europe. It is not impossible that, in times to come, the short period between the

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two wars may be regarded as the golden age of the nationalities —the brief realisation of an age-long dream.

If we take the Continent as a whole, although one independent State (Montenegro) then disappeared, eight new nationalities acquired their sovereignty—Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary. And Yugoslavia formed a unitary monarchy around Serbia.

In 1947 the Baltics disappeared from the map as independent States. No fresh creation arose from the treaties, which were limited, as far as Austria and Hungary were concerned, to restoring the *status quo*.

So we might perceive, cast over the new state of affairs, the shadow of Munich and of the decisions taken at the time when the Axis was all-powerful; the amputation of Poland was provided for by the Moscow Treaty of August 21, 1939, that of Rumania stipulated in the ultimatum of June 26, 1940, and in the Treaty of Craïova of September 7, 1940; Poland had been established in the Teschen Basin since October, 1938.

The only countries to come out of these treaties with enlarged territory were Yugoslavia, who advanced in Istria and in Julian Venetia, and Bulgaria, who, getting out of an unlucky adventure very well for once, annexed Southern Dobrudja.

The other nationalities of Central and Eastern Europe were seriously amputated. Rumania lost, with the Dobrudja, Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, and the Moldavian district of Herzea—at least one-fifth of her territory. She could, it is true, console herself with the thought that Poland—for whom the Allies went to war—lost just as much (her area was reduced from 242,875 sq. miles to 195,000 sq. miles) and that Czechoslovakia, the victim of Munich, found herself, by the loss of Carpatho-Ruthenia, reduced by one-tenth of her pre-war surface.

So that, out of five Slavonic States, three (counting Russia) were enlarged, two others amputated.

In flagrant violation of Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter, no referendum preceded these transfers of sovereignty. In cases where the new state of affairs created or maintained, ethnical pockets, this was remedied by transfers of population. So, hundreds of thousands of persons were 'displaced', in order to achieve a racial unity within the framework of the new frontiers.

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Human exoduses afforded the solution of the minority problems, which the 1919–1920 treaties had endeavoured to settle by the establishment of *ad hoc* international law. In short, it was a return to the policy of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. In this conception of European statics lay the sole innovation brought about by the latest peace treaties. Is it progress or the reverse? Whatever we may think, from the humane point of view, of this over-simplified settlement of a complex problem, we are obliged to admit that, as time goes on, it will consolidate the physical bases of the new order and ensure its duration. 648 728 175 [563]

Let us hasten to add, however, that scarcely were the treaties signed, when a campaign for their revision was launched. For perhaps the first time in history, this campaign included victors and vanquished, victims and beneficiaries of the new state of affairs. The Yugoslavs maintained their claim to Julian Venetia, Carinthia, and, more discreetly (at least before the international forum), to Aegean or Greek Macedonia. The Bulgarians returned to the attack, with a view to obtaining a territorial outlet on the Aegean—a claim they had relentlessly pressed between the two wars. Hungary, who again saw Eastern Transylvania eluding her grasp, maintained her traditional attitude on revision. It was difficult for Rumania to forget that, after Germany, she was the chief victim of the war. If Polish official circles, for reasons easily understood, did not raise their voices, it was not because that country willingly accepted the loss of her Eastern Marches, whose inhabitants had been 'invited' to settle on the evacuated borders of Prussia and Silesia. 648 175

The 1947 treaties settled the two problems on which formerly depended the peace of Europe—the relative strengths of the Germany-Poland-Russia trinomial, and Balkan equilibrium.

Both these problems were settled, without right of appeal, by Russia, the victorious liberator. The axiom formulated by M. Gyöngösy, a Hungarian Minister, applies here: 'In crucial periods of her history, a small nation has no liberty of choice'.

The first of these problems was solved in such a way as to ensure security for Poland, at the price of her diplomatic liberty. It used to be maintained in Warsaw that the Poles could be fully masters of their fate only on condition that Germany and Russia should be neither allies nor enemies—a formula which was as

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648 •175 illogical as it was precarious. Looked at from the historical point of view, Poland's present situation contradicts all the data of her national evolution—which is not to say that it does not offer prospects of stabilisation and duration.

As for the Balkan world, its equilibrium was, for nearly a century, regarded as an essential condition for continental peace. Yet in actual fact, this equilibrium depended far less on inter-Balkan relations than on the balance of strength among the Great Powers in Eastern Europe.

It was first a factor in Russo-Turkish rivalry, then in the antagonism between Vienna and St. Petersburg. The Balkan States only enjoyed real independence after the First World War, when the triumph of the principle of the nationalities ensured for them all the conditions for autonomous development.

With the 1947 treaties, these States entered upon a fresh phase of their history.

186* From the specifically Balkan point of view, this phase is characterised by the abandoning of the ideal of solidarity in which the nations of the peninsula formerly saw the pledge of their liberty, and which used to be expressed in a famous slogan—'The Balkans for the Balkan nations'.

Doubtless this solidarity was never complete. In 1934, Rumanians, Yugoslavs, Greeks, and Turks had concluded an alliance which neither Bulgaria nor Albania had joined. But, in this district, where the diversity of races encourages so many prejudices and atavistic hatreds, it was nevertheless a remarkable progress to find four nations, belonging to four different ethnical stocks, achieving a political and economic *entente*.

Nothing comparable exists today. If Bulgaria and Yugoslavia side with each other, this is obviously the result of similar submission to Russian domination, and we have seen above that their agreement on the Macedonian question was less genuine than was believed. The same may be said of their solidarity with Albania, the main object of which is to make things difficult for Greece.

648 175 Rumania stands aloof from this temporary community of interests. As for Greece and Turkey, they have not relaxed the ties which have bound them since their treaty of friendship of 1932. And their *entente* is the last bulwark of Anglo-American

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influence in Eastern Europe. President Truman's resounding message to Congress on March 12, 1947, marked, in this respect, a decisive attitude in connection with American politics in Europe. This message announced material and moral assistance to the two Balkan countries which eluded Moscow's ascendancy. 648 175

This simple outline of the new situation in the Balkans shows that the peninsula has, in fact, again fallen under the régime of spheres of influence which was its customary status between the Peace of Berlin and the Treaty of Versailles.

Between the Balkan nations and the Slavs of the West, Hungary and Austria gravitate in the political orbit of Russia (Hungary's neighbour for the first time in modern history), but nevertheless see the West as the supreme defence of their historic and cultural individuality, not to mention the opposition movements discernible among the Croats, in whose ears still ring the words of Sufflay, one of their political philosophers—*Occidentem appello!* 186* 829

But it is not from this territorial reshuffling that there emerges the real physiognomy of the Europe of tomorrow.

This results essentially from the division of the Continent into three sectors—the Western world, the Teutonic world, the Slavonic world; the second being doomed to oscillate between the first and the third until it feels it has attained the conditions of its own development.

Assuredly, all the official manifestations of the Slavonic world avoid the words 'race' and 'bloc'. But facts speak more eloquently than men. On the diplomatic plane Slav solidarity is a reality of international life, though on the psychological plane its outline is less clearly defined. In Yugoslavia, the official press regards the new state of affairs as a complete emancipation, and the very role of France in the Balkans, so long considered as liberating and humane, is often referred to simply under the aspect of a defunct 'colonising' enterprise. Yet in Czechoslovakia they take pains to maintain, with the West, those spiritual connections calculated to preserve for the country its role of intermediary between two civilisations. Poland remains bound to the West by powerful historical and sentimental affinities, strengthened by the desire to safeguard her ancient faith. Bulgaria, more subtle in her politics than Yugoslavia, likewise takes great care not to give the impression of a definite rupture with the West.

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186* 659 with Bulgarian national life to be neglected by the new régime, which will continue to subsidise it, and counts upon its co-operation in rallying the masses; in which, moreover, it is assured of the goodwill of Mgr. Stephan and his clergy. On August 28, at the Bachkovo pilgrimage, Mgr. Cyrille, Metropolitan of Plovdiv, made a speech urging the faithful to vote, at the referendum, for the Republic and against 'the abhorred monarchy, whose role', he said, 'has been as fatal in the history of the country as in that of the Church'.

* * *

185 Whereas, in the Balkan countries, the religious problem lay in getting the clergy to forget that they had, for some centuries, been the support of the monarchical institution, it had a quite different aspect among the Western Slavs, where the problem was, first and foremost, the liquidation of Uniatism.

•175 795 648 As the reader will know, the 'Act of Union' (hence the word 'Uniat') was concluded three and a half centuries ago, in 1596, at Brest-Litowsk, where the Metropolitan of Kiev acclaimed the renewal with Rome of the Union of Florence. As a result, since that date there had been flourishing communities 'of the Oriental rite', which recognised Papal supremacy while keeping their national liturgy and their discipline—which, among other regulations, permits (as the Orthodox Church does) the clergy to marry. These communities today number in all about two million followers, especially in territories formerly incorporated in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

[329] Uniatism had always been regarded by the Russians as a 'turning movement' on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, supported first by Poland, then by Austria-Hungary, to detach the Orthodox from their traditional faith. Urban VII's apostrophe: 'Ruthenians, the East will be conquered by you!' has obsessed the Muscovite Church, which has never ceased to endeavour to recapture its positions.

After the fall of the Tsarist régime this Church's efforts were paralysed by the crisis she was herself experiencing, and by the official atheism professed by the Soviet State. The Holy See sought to take advantage of this crisis to restore the 'seamless robe of Christ'. It gave repeated proofs of solicitude, placing the Uniats on a footing of complete equality with their brethren of the Latin rite. It cherished the hope, thanks to these Uniats,

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of one day seeing Slavonic Christianity return to Catholic unity, and the immense flock of all the Russians come back to the Roman fold. As is well known, the critical point in dogma is the divergence between the two Churches regarding the procession of the Holy Ghost. It is the famous 'Filioque' quarrel. Now, in the Liturgy published by the Holy See in June, 1943, for the use of the Russians and Ruthenians, the *Credo* is given according to the version of the early centuries, without reference to the 'Filioque'—in other words, ignoring the chief dispute which separated the Orthodox from the 'Romans'.

In spite of these concessions, Orthodoxy has never given up. In Carpatho-Ruthenia the number of its followers doubled from 1921 to 1930. Moscow had nothing to do with this; at that time it was the Serbian Patriarchate which presided over the destinies of the Russo-Carpathian Orthodox Church.[1]

And, after the incorporation of the Eastern Marches of Poland and of Carpatho-Ruthenia in the Soviet Union, a counter-offensive for the return of the Uniats to Orthodoxy was organised, using the customary resources of Russian political power. On June 18, 1945, a Committee of Initiative was formed, with a view to winning over these Catholics to Pravoslav unity. A 'Council' of the Uniat Church of the Western Ukraine was held in Lwow on March 8, 1946; it proclaimed the dissolution of ties which, for 350 years, had bound that Church to the Vatican,[2] and its submission to the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the name of the delegates of the three Uniat Eparchies which were represented at the Council, a message was sent to Stalin announcing this decision, and the breaking of the spiritual bond between the Eastern Catholics and Rome.

The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate[3] commented on this event as follows: 'So, gradually, day by day, in union and in united prayer, will the breach opened by Rome within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy be closed; the time is not far distant

[1] In 1921 the figures for Ruthenia were: Catholics 55,000; Uniats 332,500, and Orthodox 60,997.

[2] The anniversary of the connection was commemorated by the encyclical letter *Orientales omnes ecclesias*, published on January 19, 1946, in which the Pope accused the Russians of treating the Catholic Ruthenians as enemies of the State and encouraged the latter to persevere in their traditional faith.

[3] February 6, 1947.

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beyond the territories placed within its traditional sphere of influence, and especially in Czechoslovakia.

It is true that the saints given to the Church by the Czech nation in the tenth century appear both in the Orthodox and in the Roman calendars, but Orthodoxy disappeared as an official religion in the twelfth century. However, its influence did not completely disappear; it still had a latent existence in the time of John Huss and his disciples, who established relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1451—which relations were interrupted by the capture of the city by the Turks two years later.

With Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance in 1781, Orthodoxy, previously eliminated by the religious reaction known as the Counter-Reformation, re-established itself in Bohemia. We have related above (p. 24) the enthusiasm with which the people of Prague heard a Serbian prelate conduct an Orthodox service and pray for the soul of John Huss on the Wenceslas Square, on the occasion of the 1848 Slav Congress. In 1874 the use of the Catholic Church of Saint Nicholas was granted to the Orthodox cult, which thereafter worshipped in it concurrently with the National Church. After the Vatican Council, and in spite of the hostility of the Austrian authorities, conversions which created a great stir took place. But it was only after the First World War that the Orthodox Church was organised in Bohemia. Not being able, at that time, to attach itself to Moscow, it placed itself under obedience to the Serbian Patriarchate of Karlovtsi, which, in September, 1921, consecrated the first bishop. This Czech Orthodox Church was itself torn by the current of dissidence created by the 'Czechoslovak National Church', which claimed to be based on the ideas of John Huss, but was in reality far from being so. In 1929 the Patriarchate of Belgrade approved the constitution of an Orthodox Eparchy (Bohemia-Moravia-Silesia) in which divine worship was offered in liturgical Slavon and in Czech.

When the two Resistance heroes who were parachuted to deliver Bohemia from her torturer, the 'Protector', Reinhard Heydrich, had executed the latter,[6] they hid in the crypt of the

[6] The execution took place on May 27, 1942, on the outskirts of Prague, in a street which bore the symbolical name of Strossmayer. The practical details of the murder curiously resembled those connected with the

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*175 779 795 Church of St. Charles Borromeo, assigned to the Orthodox cult. They were discovered, and, after a regular siege, killed themselves rather than fall into the enemy's hands. The Orthodox Bishop Gorazd and his assistants, who had hidden them, were executed. And their church, which had just given marytrs to the national cause, was dissolved, and the cathedral turned into a shop.

After the liberation this church was restored to its rights and transferred (in April, 1946) from the jurisdiction of the Serbian Patriarchate to that of the Moscow Patriarchate, which raised Prague to the rank of an Archbishopric. On the following May 19 there arrived in the capital Mgr. Jelevferij, Exarch of the Patriarch of Moscow and Archbishop of Prague, who was received by the members of the Government and the Russian Orthodox Archbishop, Mgr. Sergej. The first service celebrated by the prelate was offered in memory of Bishop Gorazd.

[659] In the following June Karpov, President of the Soviet's Council of State for Orthodox Affairs, gave a talk on 'Religion in Russia' to officers of the Czechoslovak Army, to emphasise the liberty of divine worship permitted under the Soviet régime, and the clergy's loyalty to the State.[7]

* * *

186* 779 659 As in the time of the Tsars, Catholicism has again become the 'sore point' of the Slavonic community. Soviet Russia, which had so ostentatiously dissociated itself from the religious tradition of the Slavophiles, has rediscovered the latter on its line of expansion. The Kremlin has, by the force of circumstances, been obliged to play the Orthodox card in the regions placed within its sphere of influence. But action is followed by reaction. If Uniatism is retreating before Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism represents, in Poland, in Slovakia, in Croatia, in Slovenia, a basis of resistance to Russian penetration in its twofold aspect of Marxism and schism. With the result that one would need the gift of prophecy to be able to say, today,

assassination of Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914. Bishop Gorazd, Cikli, a parish priest, and Petzek, a curate, who sheltered the two heroes, were discovered on June 18.

[7] The reconstituted Hussite Church aspired to the role of an official Church; it held a Congress at the beginning of January 1946, and its Primate, M. Kovar, presented the new bishops to M. Benes on the 23rd of that month. The President advised him to co-operate with the other Churches of the West and the East, taking care, however, not to mix politics and religion. The Church numbers 850,000 members.

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Chapter Eight

SLAV SOLIDARITY BREAKS UP

186* WE have already spoken of the resurrection of the Slavonic idea during the Second World War—the only European conflict in history which found all the Slavs on the same side of the fence. We reviewed the congresses of 1942–1945 which restated the old themes of Slav solidarity, based on the liberating role of Soviet Russia. Never had such unanimity been shown within the Slav community. For the first time 'Panslavism' could be spoken of as a reality in international life.

186 This 'Panslavism', uniting the oppressed, occupied peoples 728 against Hitler's Reich, was not to last long. It made itself felt •176 again in 1946 and 1947, but in a purely oratorical form, and exclusively in justification of Russian ascendancy over the countries of Eastern Europe. In reality, it was again the Slavs who benefited least from the victory. While it is true that Bulgaria came out of the war with enlarged territory, this was due to an agreement concluded under the auspices of the Axis Powers. Czechoslovakia and Poland suffered the loss of a large part of their eastern territories. Yugoslavia recovered part of Istria, but her claims to Trieste and Southern Carinthia met with opposition from the Western powers, and were backed by the Russians only within the limits of their own interests. The state of affairs created by the Soviet Union within the area subject to its influence failed to reflect any Slavonic trend, or any preferential treatment for the 'sister nations'.

177 The Kremlin is aware that the Slavonic world is an object of ·18 aversion to the Rumanians and the Hungarians. It can retain 186 these in its orbit (into which it will try to attract Greece) only 648 by lulling to sleep the old Slavophile ideology, or by relegating it 175 to the rank of 'romantic values'. It is to the collaboration of Slavs and non-Slavs on the basis of Lenin-Stalinist Marxism that the Kremlin looks, for the creation of an eastern community modelled on its own institutions and obedient to its watchwords. From 1946 onwards its whole policy, in this part of Europe, aimed at directing the guidance of the satellite States more and more into the hands of the Communists. This policy was to be

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pursued on parallel lines, in Slav and non-Slav countries alike. 177 118

On the instigation of Moscow, these countries entered into 186 treaties of friendship and mutual assistance. These were so 648 worded as to give the impression, at first, of being designed to 175 wipe out long-standing heritages of hatred or distrust between peoples hitherto antagonistic to one another. Passed for a period of twenty years, and all on the same lines, these treaties were signed on the following dates:—

November 27, 1947: between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.
December 8: between Hungary and Yugoslavia.
December 16: between Bulgaria and Albania.
December 19: between Yugoslavia and Rumania.
January 16, 1948: between Bulgaria and Rumania.
January 24: between Hungary and Rumania.
February 4: between the Soviet Union and Rumania.
March 18: between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.
April 23: between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

The commentaries which accompanied the signing of these [829] agreements spoke, with ever-growing emphasis, of the 'peril' to the peace of Europe involved in the attitude of the Western powers. Centred at first on the German menace, they subsequently referred to fresh risks, clearly indicated. Thus the Soviet radio declared that the pact between Bulgaria and Moscow acquired significance from the fact that 'certain Western powers have, under the patronage of the United States, taken the creation of military blocs as the basis of their policy'.

Even the idea of a 'Balkan Federation', which in 1944 had found partisans in Moscow, was gradually pushed into the background, for fear that the essential core of this federation, the Bulgarian-Yugoslav bloc, might create a Slav community, which should one day grow strong enough to adopt an attitude of independence in regard to the Soviet Union. So, although it was originally inspired by Russia, this project for a union was later to be denounced by the Kremlin as a ruse of 'Western imperialism', and Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Premier, was to be disavowed by Moscow, in January, 1948, for having made an untimely allusion to it.

* * *

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The standardisation of Soviet policy in Europe was to take its definite shape in the conference held in Warsaw in September,

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177 1947, by the delegates of the Communist Parties of nine
648 European nations. It was then decided to set up a 'Joint
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•175 Information Bureau' (*Kominform*), whose function would be to ensure organic liaison between these different parties, with a view to co-ordinating their activities and pooling their experience. A communiqué was broadcast on October 9 by the delegate of the Russian Communist Party, Idanov, a member of the Soviet Politburo. He contrasted the 'war-mongering' of the Western States with the 'pacifism' of the 'popular democracies' placed
[185] under the influence of the Soviet Union. He affirmed the mission of the Communist Parties to combat 'attempts at enslavement', the most dangerous form of which was, in Moscow's view, the Marshall Plan.

The seat of the new organisation, which was to publish a bi-mensual organ, was fixed in Belgrade. Its activities, in conformity with policy dictated by the Kremlin, aggravated the crisis in relations between East and West, and opened the period of tension to which the name of 'cold war' has been applied.

The Kominform is not a resurrection of the Komintern, dissolved in 1943. It is based, indeed, on the idea that the 'national' Communist Parties have reached a state of maturity and power which enables them to be henceforth regarded as autonomous on the plane of the common struggle against capitalist régimes.

The signatories to the Kominform's declaration were: Idanov and Malenkov (U.S.S.R.), Kardelj and Djilas (Yugoslavia), Tchervenkov and Poptomov (Bulgaria), Gheorghiu Dej and Anna Pauker (Rumania), Farkas and Revai (Hungary), Gomulka (Poland), Duclos and Fajon (France), Slanski and Bastovanski (Czechoslovakia), Longo and Reale (Italy).

The Kominform, controlled from Moscow, was rapidly to exert its activities in a domain which its promoters had not foreseen.

186* Indeed, Slav solidarity, already overtaken and superseded
665 by the watchword of Marxist unity, was to suffer a still more
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175 serious set-back from the rupture between Tito and Moscow. It was in Belgrade that the Kominform had set up its seat; from Belgrade came the blow which was to shake its authority, and the dogma of Muscovite infallibility, in the whole of Eastern Europe.

1 [Delegate of Russian Communist Party, Idanov -- Analyst]

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In a motion published on June 28, 1948, the Kominform, which met in Bucharest from June 16–24, approved the sensational resolution of the U.S.S.R. Communist Party, denouncing the policy of the Yugoslav Communists and the errors of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovitch, 'who have embarked on a road leading to treachery towards the international solidarity of the working classes'. 186* 665 648 175

Thereupon began the struggle between Moscow and Belgrade, which was to grow more acute as the months went by. And the organisation of the offensive against Tito and the progress of 'Titoism'—in other words, 'national Marxism'—in the popular democracies, headed the agenda of all the meetings of the Kominform, especially the one held in Hungary in November, 1949, when a resolution passed at the conference invited even the Yugoslav Communist Party to get rid of the 'spies' and the 'assassins' who were governing the country.

One of the consequences of the Soviet-Yugoslav rupture has been the revival of the old Bulgaro-Serbian quarrel over Macedonia: the Balkans are again being plunged into hatred and irredentism, as we saw them at the end of the nineteenth century, during the Balkan Wars, and in the First World War.

Such were the events which, between 1946 and 1948, transformed the general physiognomy of the Slavonic world. A rapid review of the internal policies of the different countries concerned will show how they evolved.

* * *

Until 1947 the Belgrade Government's policy remained based on complete solidarity with the Soviet Union. The agreements reached on June 10, 1946, during the Stalin-Tito interview, formed the basis for the commercial agreements of July 25, 1947. 648 175

The starting-point of the rupture between Stalin and Tito is to be found in an exchange of letters (in March, 1948), between the (Russian) Bolchevik Party and the Yugoslav Communist Party, regarding the conduct of Soviet officers in Yugoslavia. [665]

But that was only a pretext. In reality, the Soviets could not forgive Tito for being the only head of an Eastern European Government to pride himself on having been an armed leader 186* 648 829 175

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186* 648 829 •175 in the fight for liberation, at a time when Russia could not intervene. His dictatorial attitude, his personal prestige, aroused distrust on the part of the Kremlin. On the Yugoslav side, they were shocked by the conceit of the Russians, who lavished instructions and counsel on a nation which considered its own political experience superior to that of the Russians, and who, in the course of history, had won and rewon its independence entirely by its own efforts. Serbian pride, wounded by the demands made by Moscow, precipitated the rupture.

565 423 175 On the other hand, Yugoslavia is peopled by an emancipated peasantry; it has made its own agrarian reforms, and has not had to suffer the yoke of political dynasties (as has been the case with Rumania), nor (like Hungary) that of a landed aristocracy. Communism could not get a footing there, either in the same form or at the same speed, as in the other 'popular democracies'.

Finally, the systematic enslaving of the economy of Yugoslavia to Russian interests was bound, one way or another, to provoke violent reaction in Belgrade.

186* 665 648 175 687 It was nevertheless a surprise for the world when, on June 28, 1948, the Kominform communiqué pronounced the condemnation of Tito and his collaborators, accused of desiring to establish themselves by a régime of terror, of over-estimating the possibility for their country of safeguarding its independence without the assistance of the other Communist Parties; finally, of seeking the support of the capitalist States.

Dr. Pijade, the theoretician of Tito's régime, felt able to reveal[1] that the Kominform's resolution simply reproduced a text prepared in Moscow: he stated that the hands of waverers had been forced by a lying assurance that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party contained spies on behalf of England and the United States.

175 648 [439] Then began a diplomatic battle between Moscow and Belgrade: at first it took the form of a criss-cross exchange of notes, then that of an economic boycott and, finally, of a vast scheme to detach Yugoslavia from the other popular democracies and reduce her to isolation.

The diplomatic notes at first (July-August, 1948) dealt with the fate of Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia; then (August-

[1] Speech made on July 8, 1949, at Novi Sad.

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September) the role played by the Soviet Union in international conferences regarding Yugoslav claims to Southern Carinthia. In one of these notes (August 11) Moscow accused the Belgrade Government of acting 'not as an ally, but as an enemy of the Soviet Union'.

'We can establish Socialism without the U.S.S.R.', Tito had declared.

For a few months the Belgrade press attacked the Kominform, without going so far as to mention its real promoters. On May 30, 1949, for the first time, *Borba,* the organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party, openly attacked the Soviet Union, which it accused of seeking to foment the Yugoslav people against the Government. And Pijade denounced 'Russian nationalism', cloaked under the mantle of Marxist orthodoxy, 'which does not allow any other Communist Party to consider itself the equal of the Bolchevik Party, or any other State to raise itself above the level fixed for it by Moscow'. He accused the Soviet Union of recruiting traitors to form a 'pro-Stalin, anti-Tito front' in Yugoslavia.

The friendship and mutual assistance pacts concluded by the other popular democracies with the Belgrade Government were denounced during the same week: on September 28, 1949, the Kremlin gave the signal for these notices of termination. On October 1 Bulgaria annulled the pact of November 27, 1947, and was followed by Rumania in respect of the pact of December 19, 1947, and by Czechoslovakia (on October 4) in respect of the treaty of friendship of May 9, 1946, and the cultural agreement of April 27, 1947. The Warsaw Government had anticipated matters by declaring, as far back as September 8, 1949, that Tito's Government had 'trampled on and destroyed' the Polish-Yugoslav pact of March 18, 1946.

The heads of the Yugoslav diplomatic mission in Moscow, and of the Soviet mission in Belgrade, were recalled during the autumn of 1949, and the majority of their collaborators declared 'undesirable', on charges of espionage or sabotage. The cases brought, in Hungary and Bulgaria respectively, against Rajk, ex-minister (September) and Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council (December)—cases involving Yugoslavs—were so arranged as to bolster up the Soviet accusations against Tito and his role in the Balkans.

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648 The Yugoslav Government replied by trying, in Sarajevo,
175 some White Russians, naturalised Soviet citizens, who, after
687 having served the occupying authorities during the war, were said to have become agents for anti-Tito propaganda; on December 9 they were condemned to imprisonment for a term of years.

648 In the shade of Soviet-Yugoslav antagonism, the old quarrel
175 between Belgrade and Sofia over Macedonia was reawakened.

Early in August, 1947, Tito and Dimitrov met at Bled and signed a protocol providing for closer collaboration between the two Governments: this protocol was to find its application in the 'pact of collaboration and mutual assistance' concluded on November 27 following, at Euxinograd.

648 Yet, at Bled, there were signs of disagreement. Tito would
563 have liked to see the formation of a Federation of Southern
175 Slavs. But such a federation would imply the inclusion of
[186] Bulgarian Macedonia in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—which would have the effect of committing the Macedonians in Bulgaria to a policy for the future, on the lines of the old Serbian aspirations. Dimitrov shelved the solution of the Macedonian problem until the federal pact should be concluded. The Yugoslavs then insisted that psychological conditioning for the union should be ensured by the granting of 'cultural rights' to the Macedonians in Bulgaria. Now the Sofia Government refused to consider the latter as a minority, and therein lay the germ of the new Bulgarian-Yugoslav crisis.

Later, on December 20, 1948, after the Soviet-Yugoslav rupture, Blagoje Neskovitch, Vice-President of the Belgrade Government, was to claim that the quarrel unleashed by the Kominform arose simply out of the pressure brought to bear by the Bulgarian leaders, with a view to securing recognition of their territorial claims on Vardar Macedonia.

Then Belgrade reproached the Bulgarian Popular Republic with having refused a statute of autonomy and the designation of a 'nationality' to the Pirine Macedonians.

648 Thereafter the Macedonian Question remained in the fore-
175 front of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations: a Macedonian, Poptomov, became Minister of Foreign Affairs in Sofia and, when Bulgaria denounced the pact of November 27, 1947, Yugoslavia accused her of violating the peace treaty by refusing to pay the repara-

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tions due for the exactions made by Bulgarian troops who occupied Serbian Macedonia during the war. 648 175

Yugoslavia's relations with the other Slav States followed the same lines as her relations with the Soviet Union. In June, 1949, negotiations in view of commercial exchanges with Czechoslovakia came to a standstill. In July, the two Governments exchanged subacid notes: Belgrade accused the Czechs of inspiring a campaign of press hostility towards Tito; Prague replied that any criticism tending to unmask Titoist treachery was 'a mark of appreciation and friendship towards the Yugoslav people'. Such arguments prepared the way for the formal denunciation of the pact of friendship and assistance. The Czechs, like the Poles, accused the Yugoslav diplomats of carrying on subversive activities: there were numerous recalls of diplomatic or consular agents, on the now customary charge of espionage on behalf of the 'capitalist powers'.

On the other hand, Yugoslavia endeavoured to renew commercial ties with the West. Her negotiations with Washington resulted in the agreement of July 19, 1947, liberating 47,000,000 gold-dollars and 220,000 dollars accruing from other Yugoslav credits in America, subject to the settlement of various arrears and repayments under Lend-Lease. The United States granted Yugoslavia the necessary licences for the delivery of materials destined for the equipment of a steel-plate factory; on November 3 they removed the prohibition on the supply of military equipment to that country. 648 457 439 175

And, on December 22, 1949, President Truman, confirming an assurance given by George Allen, his ambassador in Belgrade, declared: 'An act of aggression against Marshal Tito and Yugoslavia would be regarded by the Government of the United States as being just as serious as any act of aggression elsewhere'. [829]

This change of attitude shows the road travelled in Washington since the declarations made, on November 1, 1945, by Secretary of State James Byrne, recognising 'the special security interests' of Russia in Eastern Europe, and affirming that the United States 'would never associate themselves with an intrigue directed against the Soviet Union . . .'.

Indeed, the United States and Great Britain decided to grant economic aid to Communist countries which were 'really independent', and resolved to fight the Kominform. In London,

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648 in August, 1947, a Yugoslav delegation opened negotiations for
457 a commercial agreement. These negotiations were prolonged,
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175 but in September, 1949, the British Cabinet decided to open a credit of £9,000,000 for Yugoslavia.[2]

A parallel change of attitude was shown in the relations between Belgrade and Rome: after rather lively incidents in Julian Venetia, the two Governments drafted, in December, 1948, a reconciliation, which was to be recognised by the commercial agreement of August 4, 1949, in which press commentators saw a political significance. The question of Trieste, which had been settled by the agreement of April 27, 1947, between France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, henceforth became of secondary importance, although Yugoslav claims to the Trieste zone (as to Slovene Carpathia) were never formally renounced.

On October 20, 1949, Yugoslavia was admitted to the Security Council by thirty-nine votes (out of fifty-eight voters) to nineteen for Czechoslovakia.

To sum up: Yugoslavia is seeking to reconcile her fidelity to Marxism with economic collaboration, on a footing of equality, with the Western States. Her attitude is defined in these two declarations made by Tito: 'While remaining solidly in the Socialist camp, Yugoslavia will regard as her enemy any one who interferes with her Socialist construction'. 'With the East we maintain economic relations, without any political set-off. When we sell copper to buy machinery, it is the copper we sell, not our conscience'.

* * *

648 As for Bulgaria, she has maintained with the Soviet Union
696 ties which the Soviet-Yugoslav crisis only served to strengthen.
829 The Government dealt the opposition a mortal blow by con-
175 demning to death the Agrarian leader, Nicolas Petkov, who was executed on September 23, 1947. This execution called forth a declaration of disapproval from the American State Department; on September 29 a speaker on behalf of the Foreign Office

[2] On July 2, 1949, General Ivan Gochniak, Vice-Minister for Defence, affirmed that, in 1944, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had agreed upon their respective spheres of influence in the Balkans: the Russians were to have a 75 per cent predominance in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania; in Yugoslavia they were to be on an equal footing with the English, in whose sphere of influence Greece was left.

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described it as a 'crime against European civilisation', and on October 1 it was brought up at the Security Council by the French delegate, Parodi, during a discussion on Bulgaria's candidature for the United Nations. 648 696 829 175

In January, 1948, on the occasion of the signing of a treaty of mutual assistance with Rumania, the Bulgarian Premier, Dimitrov, risked an allusion to a project for the federation of the Balkan States, but this was immediately disavowed by the Kremlin. [185]

Dimitrov died on July 1, 1949; he was replaced as leader of the Government by Kolarov, and at the head of the Bulgarian Communist Party by his brother-in-law, Valko Tchervenkov.

The sentencing (March 8, 1949) of four Protestant pastors, accused of espionage, to life imprisonment, and the imprisonment of eleven others for a term of years, called forth vehement protests in the Christian world, and justified the sending of a diplomatic note by Great Britain, on March 12, in which these proceedings were described as a violation of Art. 2 of the peace treaty concerning 'fundamental liberties'.

The year 1949 was marked by progressive tension in the relations between Belgrade and Sofia. In September the Bulgarian Government denounced the treaty of friendship and, on October 6, the frontier agreement with Yugoslavia. This antagonism, which revived the Macedonian Question, reached a crisis at the trial of Traitcho Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council. Accused in March, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of 'flagrant errors' (the most serious accusation being that of having invoked the principle of State secrecy in order to withhold information of a commercial nature from representatives of the Soviet Union), Kostov found the charges gradually extended, until he was involved in a plot against the safety of the State, with the complicity of the Anglo-Americans and the agents of Tito. He was condemned to death, and executed on December 16. The Yugoslav press considered this charge as having been trumped up entirely with a view to compromising and discrediting Tito. 648 687 175 [208]

The municipal elections of May 15, 1949, gave the Communist-controlled Government of the 'Homeland Front' 92.1 per cent of the votes cast (370,000 blank votes); the legislative elections of December 18 raised this percentage to 666 175

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666 98.89 per cent (110,180 blank votes), the electors having no other
•175 option than to vote for the 'Front' or to register a blank vote.

185 Faithful to the guidance of Benes, Jean Masaryk and Ripka,
175 the Third National Front Government, presided over by Gottwald, endeavoured to secure the triumph of a policy of equilibrium between East and West, between Liberalism and Marxism. 'In our country', declared Benes, 'under the pressure of the masses, Communism has become national.'

648 The first signs of Soviet pressure were seen when, after the
175 Czech Cabinet had decided, in July, 1947, to accept an invitation to attend the Paris Conference for the application of the Marshall Plan, it was forced, on orders from Moscow, to withdraw its acceptance.

[578] The final crisis was reached in February, 1948. An exceedingly violent press campaign was launched against Vaclav Nosek, Minister of the Interior, as the result of a purge which followed the discovery of illegal arms deposits. The Communist Party accused the National Socialists (Benes Party), the Popular Democrats and the Slovak Democrats of attempting to constitute an 'anti-Communist bloc' within the Government, and of paralysing the legislative power of the National Assembly. Tension reached its peak with the approach of the elections, then fixed for April 11, 1948.

668 The partisans of obedience to Moscow centred their efforts
642 around the nucleus of the police and the trade union organisa-
175 tions. A 'Central Action Committee' was established, to back up, by mass movements, the offensive led by President Gottwald and his Communist colleagues against the moderate section of the Government. On February 20, 1948, the Ministers belonging to the three incriminated parties resigned. The Marxists held demonstrations in the streets; a political strike was declared on February 4, and the Congress of Works' Committees demanded the removal of the 'reactionaries'. President Benes, taken unawares by the suddenness of this attack, rejected the idea of a Government of Civil Servants and, on February 25, he formed a new National Front Ministry, with Gottwald as President, Gapotocki as Vice-President, Jean Masaryk at the head of Foreign Affairs. The Communists secured entire control of this Cabinet, which was in favour of unconditional collaboration with the Soviet Union. The opposition was reduced to

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helplessness; Benes capitulated before Gottwald's ultimatum. It was the end of the Putsch which Hubert Ripka later described as a 'prefabricated revolution'. On March 9[1] Jean Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote a personal letter to Stalin, in which he denounced the intervention of Zorine, the Soviet Ambassador, in the events of February: 'When a time of mortal danger for the country, and for all Slavs, comes, you will have in Prague nothing but a Government hated by the country, despised by the *élite*, and relying entirely on the bayonets of its police organisations'. The next day Masaryk committed suicide: contradictory versions of his death were circulated, although the above-mentioned letter had made clear his intention of ending his life.

Thus the inspirer of two Czech liberations, heir to the thought of Thomas Masaryk, disappeared in shameful oblivion; the commentaries in the Communist press, in which he was later accused of having betrayed the interests of the country, lead us to wonder whether his inglorious end did not save him from an even more tragic fate. Posterity will pronounce a mixed judgment on his political achievement. His tomb might fittingly have been engraved with this epitaph, taken from one of his books (*Whither the Slavs?*): 'The existence and the prosperity of all the Slav States is inseparably bound up with a régime of true democracy, that is to say, a régime in which the elementary principles of individual liberty, liberty of conviction, liberty of religion, liberty of political expression and liberty of public opinion, are guaranteed and fully respected'.

As for Benes, whose authority was henceforth without scope, on June 7, 'for health reasons', he resigned his presidential office, which he had held since June 19, 1946, in a message by which he invited his fellow-citizens 'to encourage liberty and consciously enjoy it'. He died a few months later, on September 3, 1948.

The events of February were to be mentioned at the United Nations Security Council, with a view to appointing a commission of inquiry—which was opposed by a Soviet veto (May 24).

On March 9, 1948, was voted the Constitution which made Czechoslovakia a 'democratic peoples' republic'. It instituted a Single House system, and proclaimed the equality of Czechs and Slovaks: the republic was to be a bi-national State. Unlike

1 [1948 - Analyst]

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642 175 563 the preceding Constitutions, this one contained no clause designed to protect minorities.

[666] The elections, postponed until May 30,[1] gave 88 per cent of the votes (6,429,145) to the National Front, but the figure of 770,100 blank voting slips exceeded that anticipated by the Government. The latter was, however, fully master of the situation. On June 14 Clement Gottwald was elected President of the Republic, on the unanimous vote of the 296 deputies present. Under the chairmanship of Zapotocki, he formed a Cabinet on the lines of the previous one (sixteen Communists or supporters, and six non-Communists); the portfolio of Foreign Affairs remained in the hands of Klementis, who replaced Masaryk. The new Head of the Government announced implacable repressive action against 'those guilty of disorder or confusion, who seek to hinder the reconstruction of the country'.

[661] 659 798 175 Indeed, during the months that followed, there was a vigorous purging of diplomacy, the army, the police. But, in 1949, it was the religious question which was to dominate political life, owing to an offensive conducted against the Roman Church, opposing the old Czech Hussite spirit to Catholicism, the dominant trait in the Slovak national character.

Gottwald and his ministers, relying on this 'religious geography' peculiar to Czechoslovakia, embarked upon a struggle with the clergy in the domain of monopoly of the schools. They pursued the contest by seeking to alienate the Catholic Church from her natural hierarchy, and by encouraging the 'schism' of the Czech 'National' Church. To protest against the obstacles put in the way of the exercise of the cult, the bishops drew up a pastoral letter, setting forth the conditions required in order to regularise relations between the Church and the State. The Government forbade the distribution of the pastoral; infringements of this decree, specially numerous in Slovakia, were warmly repressed. Mgr. Beran, Archbishop of Prague, was detained in his palace; the civil authority created 'Catholic Action', an official organisation placed under the control of priests with Communist leanings. At the head of this movement was the Minister of Public Health, Father Plojhar, suspended by the ecclesiastical authorities for having sought a legislative mandate without his bishop's permission.

Tension rose with the 'resolutions' passed on June 28 by the

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Congregation of the Holy Office, forbidding the publication and diffusion of Communist doctrine.

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So the *Kulturkampf* was waged, now energetically, now quietly. The Prague Government was accused by the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of violating 'human dignity and civilisation'; once more the conflict passed from the national to the international level, symbolising the ideological antagonism which exists between the Soviet world and the Western democracies. Neither the Government nor the clergy showed any signs of weakening. On November 17 the bishops again asked the civil power to abandon the laws relating to religious teaching, as conceived by the State, and the interference of lay authorities in the nomination of priests and the administration of Church property.

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The end of the year 1949 was marked by waves of purges in Communist circles, and by fresh trials on charges of treason, incriminating, like those of Budapest and Sofia, Tito's 'agents' or 'accomplices'.

* * *

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During this period politics in Poland were somewhat less sensational than in the other Slav countries. There again, however, the régime of 'popular democracy' evolved in the direction of Stalin-Marxism. The struggle against the Church was less open, and did not, as in Czechoslovakia, go to the length of making the clergy civil servants. The Government concentrated its efforts particularly on increasing exports, on economic reconstruction, and on exploiting the German lands brought under its control—and these efforts, it must be admitted, were attended with remarkable results.

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The German Question was its chief external problem; in its view, it was France's policy in respect of the Reich which prevented the renewal of the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance. What Warsaw particularly feared was lest a change of attitude on the part of the Allies towards Germany should reopen the question of the Oder-Neisse frontier, which the Poles considered sacrosanct, but which transferred to them territories whose final allocation was, legally, postponed until the making of the peace treaty for the Reich.

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The most sensational event was the nomination (on November 7) of Rokossovsky, the Soviet Marshal (of Polish

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177 origin), as Minister of Defence in the Warsaw Cabinet; he took
.64 as his deputy General Wladislaw Korczye, Chief of Staff of the
• 175 Polish Army. This appointment was naturally interpreted as a further step in the subordination of Poland to the Soviet interests.

648 And the Polish-Sovietic *rapprochement* (at governmental
175 level) had an unexpected result: the expulsion or the trial, on the
696 ritual charge of spying, of French diplomats and nationals (Wroclaw case), thus creating a state of tension between two countries whose friendship had historic and spiritual roots of such strength that no political vicissitudes had hitherto been able to affect them.

* * *

186* Thus the events of 1948–1949 once more disturbed that
648 'Slav solidarity' which had been revived by the Second World
578 War. It cannot be said that there exist, between the Soviet
175 Union on the one side, and Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, on the other, ties which are stronger than, or of any different nature from, those which unite Moscow to Budapest or to Bucharest. The 'collaboration' operates exclusively on the basis of Stalin-Marxism and obedience to Moscow.

On the contrary, the Soviet Union's Enemy Number One is Tito's Yugoslavia. There is violent and complete rupture between the Southern Slavs for the one part, the Bulgarians, Eastern and Northern Slavs for the other.

The historic current which has, periodically, split up the world of the Slavs, has reasserted its mysterious disintegrating force.

Two small but typical facts may serve as a postscript to this study. On Stalin's seventieth birthday the only country which sent no 'homage' to the master of the Kremlin was Yugoslavia. And the President of the Panslav Congress in the United States, George Pirinsky, was imprisoned in Chicago as belonging to an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the American Government by force.

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slavism are well-known in central Europe—a doctrine which could not better have corresponded to its aims."[1] 186* 829

Engels and Marx, to whom I shall have occasion to refer later, fought against this doctrine, led by a clear knowledge of problems connected with international policy. And indeed the time of the Crimean War—the period when Marx wrote his brilliant articles devoted to the Eastern Question—was a time when the Panslavic conceptions became particularly timely. In the definition quoted above one finds the most important characteristics of the Panslavic doctrine. However, this definition does not exhaust the whole of it, and simply in order to be faithful to what we call an objective approach I should like, before showing the actuality of Engels' and Marx's opinions in the light of the Panslavistic trends of our days, to present the genealogy of this movement and some of its most important aspects. 186* 175

Without going as far as Thucydides who, when speaking about the Slavs, whom he designated generally under the name of Scythians, said that "if these peoples ever unite under one chief and one idea, no power neither of Europe nor of Asia will be able to resist them," one may say that, in general, the historians of Panslavism consider the Croatian Jury Križanić (1617-1683) the creator of this doctrine. Whether or not this genealogy is correct is a question in itself, but what remains doubtless is the fact that the Križanić episode has its special picturesqueness and flavor. Indeed that zealous Catholic, carried away by his Slavic sympathies, by the idea of the re-establishment of religious unity, and by admiration for the power of the Muscovite tsar, made his way from Italy via Poland to Moscow. There he tried in vain to organize the Muscovite tsardom against two foreign influences—Greek and German—and to incite Moscow to a struggle for the liberation of the Slavs from under a foreign yoke—a struggle which would unite the Slavic nations under the Muscovite scepter. The enthusiastic propaganda of the learned Croatian did not

[1] Quoted by Vasily Gippius: cf. F. E. Tyutchev, *Polnoe Sobranie Stikhotvorenii*, Leningrad, 1939, pp. 10-11.

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186* succeed in convincing the suspicious Muscovites — they felt a
● 175 Latin and a Catholic in him, and in accordance with an already well-established tradition they deported him to Siberia. However, that poor Panslavic enthusiast somehow escaped from Siberia and reached the more comfortable Wilno, traveled farther in order to volunteer in the army of Jan Sobieski and to die for the defense of Austria in the Battle of Vienna under the Polish banners which he had vehemently insulted during his Muscovite sojourn.[2]

Indeed, in the Križanić *Politica*, a work written in Siberia, it is possible to find several elements which some 200 years later were crystallized in the Slavophil and Panslavistic systems. As I suggested above, it would be possible to find some even earlier manifestations of Panslavic trends. But first of all we should indeed try to define at least in a general form the essence of this
[648] doctrine. I think that by and large Panslavism is a conception which embraces two main, divergent currents: one was connected with the movements of and hopes for regeneration and liberation among the oppressed Slavs; and as such this movement was directed against the two main oppressors of these nations — the Turks and the Germans. Since the Germanization of Bohemia and the disappearance of Poland from the map of Europe there has remained only one independent and powerful Slavic nation—Russia. Therefore one could see quite strong tendencies among Bulgarians, Serbs, some Croatians and Czechs, and a few Poles toward Russia as a possible liberator of the Slavs. On the other hand, among the same nations there developed at certain periods, especially in the nineteenth century, conceptions of a Federation of Slavs around Austria and without Russia.

The other expression of the Panslavic movement is the Russian one. The oppressed Slavic nations were looking for liberation, and their Panslavistic conceptions represented their hopes for freedom. Russia had, of course, a different approach to the

[2] Cf. P. N. Milyukov, *Ocherki po Istorii Russkoi Kultury*, Paris, 1930, vol. 3, pp. 135-155.

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same problem—she was to become eventually *the* liberator, *the* protector, *the* unifier. For this reason these two expressions of the Panslavistic idea differ not only in their aims but also in their historical origins.

From the modern point of view—from the point of view of the political implications which the Panslavistic doctrine contains—the Russian aspect is, of course, much more important. Let us, therefore, devote our attention first of all to Russian Panslavism.

The direct ancestor of the Russian Panslavistic conceptions belonging to the second part of the nineteenth century is to be found in the famous school of the Muscovite Slavophils and Messianists. The formation of this school resulted from different sources, and here again one finds interweaving ramifications of Slavic and Western European thought.

If one were to enumerate the different germs of ideas, programs, currents of thought, sometimes divergent and contradictory, which brought about the actual birth of the Slavophil idea in different Slavic countries, one would be obliged first of all to stress the fact that it took place in the nineteenth century and that it was in harmony with the political atmosphere of the rest of Europe. We find its ultimate sources in a variety of places. There was, for instance, the tenet of universal brotherhood which the Masonic Societies in particular had spread at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. To the same period belong the works of the German-Russian scholar August L. von Schloezer, the philosophies of Herder, Rousseau, and the Romantics. From the Christian standpoint a kind of Messianism came to the fore with the sentimental attachment of the Romantics to the Bible and with Bossuet's reliance upon the Hebrew prophets. Mention must also be made of the German philosophers Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel. Along with the conception of the unity of the Slav world which arose out of the studies of the European ethnographers and philologists, went the demand for the freedom of the oppressed nations—a demand proclaimed and strengthened by the French Revolution. The movement toward

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186* a Slavophil philosophy was fostered by the propaganda of Czechs
829 like Dobrovský, Kollár, and others who championed the claims of
812 freedom for people of good will—propaganda based on affection for the national past and on Catholic conservatism which saw in the Slav world, and particularly in Orthodox Russia, a bulwark against Western Jacobinism. Finally there were many political factors to be taken into account: on one hand, the role of Russia in the Napoleonic Wars and the growing political power of Russia, which was held to be the only power able to win freedom for the Slavic nations; and on the other, the anti-Russian tendencies voiced in the Polish risings, the leaders of which considered the enemy a nest of political reactionaries and a stronghold of violence. All these elements, various and even contradictory though they were, contributed to the establishment of the Slavophil doctrine and at the same time indicated the goal which it might ultimately attain.[3] As far as the purely Russian Slavophil and hence Panslavistic doctrine is concerned, some other factors must also be taken into consideration.

186* I must start *ab ovo*. For several very important historical rea-
●175 sons the Byzantine political influence in Moscow, in the Muscovite ideology, became particularly potent. I have in mind the fall of Byzantium and some other events bound up with this great
[648] catastrophe. In connection with the more and more imminent Turkish menace, in order to save Byzantium, in order to organize a coalition against the Turks, men in the Roman Church began to consider with even more urgency the already existing concept of a possible union of the two churches; and at the Council of Florence in 1439 the union of the churches was accomplished. The whole Greek world accepted this union. The representative of the Muscovite Church at the Council, the Metropolitan Isidor, also adhered to the union; but unfortunately his adherence did not conform to sentiments at home. And when he reached Moscow, after celebrating masses in Cracow, he was confronted by com-

[3] This follows my articles, "Poland and the Slavophil Idea" published in the *Slavonic and East European Review*, London, 1928 29.

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plete disaster. He was imprisoned, and Moscow declined the union. 186* 175

Ever since that time Moscow considered herself as the new and unique center of pure orthodoxy, of pure Christianity. When in 1453 Byzantium was invaded, Moscow's prestige became even greater in her own mind. The Muscovite monks, working out a sort of Muscovite historiosophy and formulating the Muscovite political program, gave a very significant interpretation of that catastrophe: Byzantium had been punished by God for the sin of the Union of Florence. And then came the establishment of the theory of the "Third Rome": "Two Romes have fallen, but the third still remains." This third Rome was Moscow.

Thus was established a Muscovite eastern Messianism. This Messianism became more and more universalistic in its scope. The Muscovite tsars began to consider themselves the representatives not only of their own Orthodox world but of the whole Orthodox community in the world and, even more, of pure, unsoiled Christianity in general. Very soon after the fall of Byzantium and the spread of the Turkish invasion in the Balkans, many Serbian and Bulgarian émigrés, intellectuals of those times, arrived in Moscow with all sorts of Bulgarian and Serbian Messianic and imperialistic conceptions and theories, modeled on Byzantium and on Greek and Hebrew texts. Messianistic honey was collected from these Bulgarian-Serbian-Hebraic-Byzantine hives by various monks and old men like Philotheus. There were fantastic genealogies, orthographical mistakes — consciously or unconsciously committed—daring eschatological solutions of such problems as why the world did not come to an end on March 25, 1492, which escape it was supposed to owe to Moscow for not having acceded to the Florentine union. Greek prophetic legends, exploited by Bulgars as well as by Serbs, legends promising victory for the *rusy* (reddish) race, *xanthos genos*, became *russky* (Russian) race; and so, as Professor Milyukov stressed, "an orthographical mistake became a source of the Russian imperialistic dreams about Constantinople and the Straits." In a word, ortho- 186* 175 668 795

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graphical errors and boundless imagination, fed on Byzantine and autocratic Imperial doctrines, decided for a long time the style of Russian political thought. Hence, practically, the Moscow Tsar and later the St. Petersburg Emperor became the head of the church of a Byzantine Caesaro-Papist type and assumed the position of a Byzantine theocrat. The conception of absolute power coming from God, absolute in the universalistic sense, meaning that the monarch was the ruler of all material goods as well as of human souls, became established in Russia particularly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, after the period of the Mongolian yoke had excellently prepared the ground for such a conception of monarchical power. As the ultimate result of these events Moscow represented the type of an Oriental despotism with a tendency toward state control characteristic of these organizations (especially at the time of the *oprichnina* of Ivan the Terrible and later) and the equally characteristic tendency towards imperialism based on Byzantine religious and historical premises.

These bonds with Byzantium became particularly strong after, and in connection with, the marriage of Ivan III to Sophia Paleologus, the Byzantine princess in exile whom Ivan III received from Italy. This marriage is also an interesting story. Both Rome and Venice were still meditating a war against the Turks in order to liberate Byzantium. For the realization of this new, grandiose enterprise the help of the already developed might of Moscow appeared very desirable. Moscow had succeeded at that time through all sorts of belligerent activities and political manoeuvres in establishing its predominance among Russian princes and was on the eve of liberating Muscovy from the Tartar yoke. Led by western political conceptions, Rome and Venice thought that the good will of Ivan III could be bought by the offer of the title of *king*, and on the other hand by a marriage with a Byzantine princess who after the death of the legitimate heir to the Byzantine Empire would become vested with the right to the Byzantine throne.

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Ivan III was not very much interested in the European title of *king*, which did not mean very much to him. Moscow was so far away from the habits, manners, and international hierarchy of Europe that European distinctions and collaboration with Europe could not awake real interest in the exotic Muscovite state. On the other hand, Sophia Paleologus was considered by the Pope as a zealous Catholic; Ivan III needed a pure Orthodox fiancée. This last thing, however, was settled, and in 1472 Sophia Paleologus, the princess of Byzantium, the presumably zealous Catholic girl, became the Tsarina of Moscow and the most zealous of Orthodox ladies. The offers of the title of *king* interested Ivan, however, from one special point of view, from the very one which caused great discomfort in Cracow. Ivan III was supposed to become king or even emperor of the whole Russian nation *(in tota Ruthenica natione)*. As I have said, Ivan III was not interested in the title, as he was not even very anxious to buy from the direct heir of the Byzantine throne the rights to the throne, and Andrew Paleologus had to sell them elsewhere. But the formula in *tota Ruthenica natione* awakened some interest, curiosity, and appetite in Moscow.

Ivan III had two reasons for being interested in this suggestion. The first one was connected with the fact that some of the lands which belonged to the Polish King and Grand Duke of Lithuania (in one person, as the King of Poland was at the same time the Grand Duke of Lithuania from the time of the union between Poland and Lithuania) represented ancient *votchinas*, appanages, of the Rurikoviches, that is, of the ancestors of Ivan III. Moscow viewed this circumstance as making possible the expansion of the Muscovite Tsardom, and it opened the door to Russian, Muscovite territorial pretensions and demands.

On the other hand the Ruthenians who populated these lands were descendants of people who had been Christianized from the eastern source; therefore, they were Orthodox. The Union of Florence included them, but not to Moscow's thinking. Therefore Moscow saw in them the object of a religious mission, and that

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was the beginning of the Muscovite tendency to establish a protection extending to a great part of the citizens of the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian commonwealth, which meant an interference in the domestic affairs of the Polish state. This state of affairs led in Poland to the Union of Brześć (Brest) in the year 1596, the purpose of which was to assure the Ruthenian church of Poland an independence of Moscow, which had become especially menacing since 1589 when a patriarchate dependent on the tsar was established in Moscow. However the Act of Brest did not settle this problem, because of disagreements among the Ruthenians and mistakes of the Polish policy. (The marriage of Alexander of Poland and Lithuania with Helen, daughter of Ivan III—she was Orthodox—reinforced the Orthodox feelings among the Ruthenians).

Poland was powerful enough in the era of Ivan III to stop the inappropriate Roman schemes connected with the problem of unifying all the lands that could be called Ruthenian. And the court of Cracow received satisfactory excuses from Rome in the matter. But Moscow did not give up, and in spite of the fact that the daughter of Ivan III, Helen, was married to the Polish King and Lithuanian Grand Duke Alexander, of the Jagiellonian dynasty, Ivan III seized every occasion to insist on his views and his territorial ambitions. And we see that ever since then Moscow has constantly spoken of cities and towns situated inside of the Polish commonwealth, constantly augmenting the number of cities mentioned, adding to these formulations the sacramental phrase "and many other cities and towns." . . . It is justly said by Milyukov that "on even the most cold-blooded reader of these dry ambassadorial reports, these heavy rhythmic strides of the Muscovite 'Stone Guest' may produce the impression of some crushing nightmare."[4]

But what were these lands—Kiev, Smolensk, Polock, Witebsk, "and many others," constantly demanded from the time of Ivan

[4] *Ocherki po Istorii Russkoi Kultury*, Paris, 1930, v. 3, p. 48. Cf. for the story of the Union of Florence, of Ivan III and Rome, the brilliant work of P. Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège* (1896-1912).

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III until Russia could be led to the final partitions of Poland? It would be appropriate to stress here that the project of these partitions started even in the time of Ivan III. To the Emperor Maximilian, he made suggestions which later on, after the similar plans of Peter I, were finally realized by Catherine II, Frederick of Prussia, and Maria Theresa of Austria—and were later repeated by Stalin and Hitler. What are these lands? 175

At the time when the Tartars invaded Rus, when they were stopped in the west by the Poles at the Battle of Lignica, 1241, when later on the Muscovite principality was established and before the Polish-Lithuanian union, there arose, spread, and developed between Poland and Moscow, the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, an enormous empire organized by the dynamic, energetic and mighty Grand Dukes of Lithuania. Their ambitions and political horizons were equal to their military prowess. Very often they reached the gates of Moscow, menacing the city itself, and at any rate they had succeeded earlier in seizing from the Tartars all the Kievan Rus, with Kiev and all lands which now are known as White Ruthenia; so that Smolensk, Polock, Witebsk, Minsk, Mohilev, and the whole modern Ukraine found themselves within the borders of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state.

In 1386 this whole enormous state was, after the Congress of Krewo in 1385, united to the Polish kingdom, and the Grand Duke Wladyslaw Jagiello, following Polish suggestions, married the Polish queen Jadwiga of Anjou. These lands obtained, after the Pact of Horodlo, 1413, and later after the Union of Lublin, 1569 (a sort of confirmation and development of the Pact of Horodlo), a complete equality of rights and privileges with those which were established in the Polish Republic. After the Union of Lublin, Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (including White Ruthenia and Ruthenia) had a common parliament. And each successive King of Poland had to be elected by the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as Grand Duke of Lithuania.

While Ivan III and later Basil, and finally Ivan IV (the Terrible) were trying to justify their territorial attempts on Poland,

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175 centuries passed during which these lands were living in completely different political and social conditions. The regime of freedom, religious tolerance, and local autonomy became so strongly and solidly established in the Polish-Ruthenian-Lithuanian commonwealth that even Pskov and Novgorod, those peculiar republics accustomed to their freedom, menaced by the Muscovite despotism, made efforts to join the commonwealth. They paid very dearly for these desires; Ivan III and later Ivan IV uprooted these political dreams by the most terrific terroristic acts.[5]

186* 829 Returning now to the Muscovite Slavophils, one thing must be stressed—that the first period of their activity was connected with more or less Russian historical problems. According to Herzen the moment of the precise formulation of the Muscovite Slavophil doctrine was the year 1836, when the famous *Philosophical Letter* of Chaadaev appeared. Of course it would be possible to find ties between the Muscovite Slavophils and the Shishkovists of the beginning of the nineteenth century, but Chaadaev's Western doctrine, Catholic in its conception, became a kind of catalyzer which crystallized the Slavophil program.

However, it would be difficult to give a precise analysis of the Russian Slavophil doctrine without taking into consideration the so-called *ofitsial'naya narodnost'* (official nationality). This term was originated, I believe, by the famous historian of Russian literature Pypin and applied by him to the official Russian ideology elaborated at the beginning of the reign of Nicholas I by certain high dignitaries, among whom the most prominent was S. S. Uvarov, minister of education. His system was based on three principles: autocracy, orthodoxy, and nationality. Although it is possible that the first two elements of this system may raise no doubts, the third appears less clear. But for Uvarov and his followers it was not so. The concrete significance of the word "nationality" for Uvarov was "reduced," as justly stated by Pro-

[5] Cf. W. Lednicki, *Life and Culture of Poland*, New York, 1944, p. 41.

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of course, at the time of Catherine II when Russia began the "liberation" of White Ruthenians and Ruthenians from the Poles through the partitions of Poland and finally "liberated" the Poles from themselves. At the time of Alexander I the same conceptions reappeared. V. N. Karazin, a well known liberal of the times of Alexander I, wrote in a memorandum: "Is it possible that the sovereign ruler of free Slavs, the unique protector of the Orthodox Church, can look indifferently upon the sorrow of nations close to them by blood and by religion?" "It is true," says Pypin through whom I quote Karazin, "that Karazin suggested cautious action in order not to offend Austria. But his dreams went very far: he dreamed of the establishment of a 'Slavic Empire' with one of the brothers of Alexander at its head: this empire was, with time, to be extended to the Adriatic Sea in Albania and Macedonia, and on the other side to embrace the southern 'Serbo-Croatian' lands of Austria. . . . This Empire, which would very soon develop and organize, would be bound to the Russian Empire by ties of religion, blood, and thankfulness, and would become Russia's 'storehouse' and natural base for all her activities and relations with Europe and Africa."

The same were the conceptions of other political writers of that time—Bronevsky and General Chichagov. (cf. Pypin, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79). These conceptions were also discussed in Masonic lodges and even in several lodges of Slavic Unity which had been established in Kiev and in Petersburg. The Russo-Turkish War of 1828 again galvanized these feelings of Slavic solidarity, but this was the time when there began in Russia the great discussions between the Slavophils and the Westerners—in other words, the time when the Slavophil doctrine started its period of crystallization.

I should like to stress the fact that we must have in mind several important historical dates around which the Panslavistic discussion became especially animated. These historical events and dates are: first of all, the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31, the Cracow Insurrection of 1846, the Slavic Congress in Prague in

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186* 1848, the Crimean War of 1854-56, the Polish Insurrection of
●175 1863, the Slavic Congress in Moscow in 1867, the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the period preceding the World War of 1914-18 with the so-called Neoslavism and finally the recent movements organized by Russia in Moscow and in this country among the American Slavic population and the Congress organized recently, also by Russia, in Belgrade.

2. The Polish Problem

186* The first "set" of the Muscovite Slavophils was composed of
668 well-to-do people, people belonging to the Russian landed nobil-
648 ity; they had estates with serfs, they had fine and rich apartments in Moscow. In the beginning they devoted their time either to discussions on historical, theological, and literary problems in Moscow salons or to writings in which they expressed their views. And they also manifested these views in a special national type of domestic life; they wore peculiar hats and *kaftans*, which very often provoked sensations in the streets of Moscow; they ate Russian meals and drank Russian vodka. All these details concerning their private lives and their naïve manifestations of Russianism are very pleasantly related in the memoirs of Herzen and Chicherin. At this stage of their development they were rather innocent and pacific, but they later became strongly intolerant and aggressive. Chicherin gives some episodes characteristic of this intolerance and aggressiveness. This appears particularly in connection with the great Slavic and European problem which the Muscovite Slavophils, by the very fate of their doctrine, were the first to be called upon to solve. This problem was the Polish one. Slavic reciprocity, Slavic sympathy, harmony, regeneration, wars for the liberation of the oppressed Slavic nations—all these slogans, ideas, and initiatives could mean but very little in the face of the still bloody Polish nation under the Russian regime. How could other Slavs who were outside of Russia trust all the great promises given to them by the Russian Slavophils and later Pan-

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"patriotic syphilis" which was raging in Russia. The whole of reactionary and nationalistic Russia launched its offensive precisely at this point—the slogan was that the Polish Insurrection was not a national one and that presumably the Polish masses had nothing in common with it. This point of view became the leitmotif of all Katkov's writings, but very soon Aksakov's *Den'* (the organ of the Slavophils) joined Katkov's *Moskovskiya Vedomosti*. The Slavophil phraseology followed that of the government, and Aksakov as well as Samarin explained the Russian-Polish War of 1863 as a war of Slavs against Latinism, as a war of Russia against the Polish landlords. We may see that history indeed repeats itself. The same slogans were used during this war when it was necessary to abolish the legitimate Polish government in London. Herzen understood this situation very well. On January 1, 1864 he wrote in his *Kolokol* as follows: "Having grasped here and there some vague ideas about the social mission of Russia and about her lack of any solid aristocratic principle, our sweet dreamers preach that Russia represents some sort of democratic empire, some sort of kingdom of *equality* and masses, that *she* fights with Poland in the name of the freedom of the peasants against the landlords, etc. Do not be mistaken. . . ."[15]

Sumner in his excellent book *Russia and the Balkans* (Oxford, 1937) brings very correct comments to this development: "The Polish revolt of 1863 unleashed century-old hatred and fears. In the years which followed, the old 'Congress Poland' was mercilessly dragooned within the framework of the administration common to Russia proper while the 'Western Lands' Lithuania, White Russia, and the Western Ukraine were subjected to every measure of Russianism. Meanwhile a campaign was initiated of the same nature in the Baltic provinces and Bessarabia; and, to show without mistaking that Russian meant Great Russian alone, the Little Russian or Ukrainian cultural revival of that time was successfully attacked by Moscow, above all by the prohibition in 1876 of the use of the Ukrainian 'dialect' for any academic or

[15] *Istoriya Rossii v xix Veke*, vol. 3, Z. Lensky, "Polskoe Vozstanie," p. 322.

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186* literary purposes. Symptomatically two of the men most actively
175 associated with this denationalizing, Russianizing policy, were
648 among the most prominent Slavophil or Panslav Muscovites of the day: Prince Cherkassky and Yuri Samarin, a close friend of Aksakov."[16]

186* Cherkassky, Samarin, and N. A. Milyutin worked at the agrarian
668 reform in Poland, and Cherkassky "distinguished" himself in the campaign for reuniting the Uniates with the Orthodox Church. "Samarin and Cherkassky are significant in the Panslav movement in that, unlike Aksakov or the earlier Slavophils, and unlike the professorial type, represented by Lamansky, Miller, or Grot, they were active in administration and were well-known public figures. . . . Both men are also, above all, significant as representing the transformation of the idea of Panslavism into that of Panrussianism." (*op. cit., p.* 67) Characteristically enough, Samarin was, besides all the traits mentioned by Sumner, a "considerable theologian," the collaborator of Khomyakov in this field.

186* It is not mere chance that I mention this trait of Samarin's per-
812 sonality. The Slavophil doctrine was from its very beginning deeply rooted in religious thought. The father of the Muscovite school, Ivan Kireevsky, was first of all absorbed by problems of religious and moral categories. Parallel to the pre-Romantics, the Romantics, and the German idealistic philosophers, he was primarily interested in the spiritual structure of the human personality and in the problem of perfecting it. He was fighting for the unity and entirety of the human personality and believed that the superior truth cannot be conceived by rationalism but by the entire spiritual personality in which the factors of feeling and belief were more efficient than reason. M. Gershenzon, in his book, *Istoricheskie Zapiski* (Berlin, 1932), sensationally enough stresses that Kireevsky committed a mistake which became the starting point for the whole Slavophil Doctrine. Milyukov pretends that the century-old Russian trends toward Constantinople and world domination also originated from a mistake—from an orthographic

[16] R. H. Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

the distant aroma of the lemon groves, and the smoky buildings in Cologne. . . . We love the body, the taste and the color of it, and its oppressive deadly odor. . . . Is it our fault if your skeleton cracks in our heavy, soft paws?"

9. Reactions Among the Slavs Toward Panslavic Conceptions

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Southern Slavs attracted no great attention from the world. However, after the Russian-Turkish wars of the time of Catherine II they began to move more distinctly on the political stage of Europe, as Pypin justly says.[61] The fight of Serbia for her independence, the fight of the Montenegrians against the Turks and their resistance against the French (I am still following Pypin), Illyria established by Napoleon—all this revealed the existence of energetic Slavic elements in the Near East. To this should be added facts as Vuk Karadžić's collection of popular songs in which the deeds of Serbian national heroes were glorified. The fights of the Croatians against the Hungarians, the Russian intervention in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, the part which Russia took in the liberation of Serbia, all created an atmosphere in which the Panslavistic conceptions could, of course, count on a sympathetic reaction. However, as far as the final results are concerned, Russian Panslavism was not at all successful even among the Southern Slavs. The Croatians, who in the forties when fighting against the Hungarians were dreaming of Slavic unity, very soon abandoned these dreams and looked more and more toward the West for help against Turkey. The Serbs in spite of their religious ties with Russia were returning closer and closer to the traditions of Obradović and of Vuk Karadžić and his reform which brought the Serbian cultural development away from Russian influences, and to conceptions of a national state, and of the building of a national culture. Russia's tactless approaches to Serbia, the Rus-

[61] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* sian tendency to consider Serbs as merely a new sort of Russians and the Serbian intelligentsia a class which did not represent the real feelings of the people, and facts such as the Russian correspondents calling Serbs "Russians of Belgrade *gubernia*" clarified the situation so that the famous letter of Khomyakov to the Serbs from Moscow published in 1861 created a very unfavorable impression in Serbia; and this found its expression in the answer of the Serbian scholar Daničić.[62]

In Bulgaria the situation has for centuries been even more complicated and dramatic because of the fact that when fighting for their national independence and national culture, the Bulgars had to fight against not only Turks but also Greeks. In spite of the activity of Venelin and the role which Russia played in the restoration of Bulgarian independence and the ties between Bulgarian intellectuals and Russian scholarship, the Panslavistic conceptions could not destroy the existence of strongly nationalistic tendencies.[63]

Among the Czechs and Slovaks, where in spite of their deep and pathetic Germanization there appeared the first great scholars in the field of Slavic philology and history—Dobrovský, Šafařik, Palacký, Havliček, and Jungmann (who, by the way, very often wrote in Latin and in German), the Panslavistic tendencies received a rather cold reception. As I mentioned above, it was only at the time of Jungmann, Rautenkranz, and Puchmajer that the pro-Russian feelings of the Czechs were strong—with Kollár givin the most eloquent expression of these feelings. Palacký, as we know, was an advocate of a Slavic federation but under Austrian leadership. He was too close to the Western traditions to feel any enthusiasm for a conception which would bring all Western Slavs under Russian domination. Such was, by the way, the attitude of the Congress in Prague in 1848. This point of view

[62] Pypin, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[63] Here must also be stressed the religious pressure in Bulgaria coming from Constantinople and the fact that elements of national consciousness were preserved only among the people and the émigrés. Important, too, was the role of the monk, Paisey, his activity on Mt. Athos, and his collection of Bulgarian legends, songs, historical documents, and his *History of Bulgaria*, of 1762.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

was formulated in *The Scientific Dictionary*, a Czech Encyclopedia.[64] The article referring to Panslavism is very reserved. The speculations of the Muscovite Slavophils on the item of Hussism as a purely Slavic movement which presumably had its ties with Slavic Orthodoxy did not appear very convincing to the Czechs.

In general, the Prague Congress of 1848 reduced the Panslavic tendencies to a formula of political organization of Austria which would satisfy the national political demands of the Slavs. In this way was developed a special Austrian Panslavism directed against Russia and later called Austroslavism. The same trends might be discovered in the so-called "Slavic Union" in the Vienna Parliament of 1908. However, under the leadership of the Czech Kramař there developed at the same time the so-called neo-Slavism, which stressed the political solidarity of all Slavic nations on the condition of complete cultural equality, but which certainly contained pro-Russian tendencies. The movement was created in 1908 at the Slav Congress in Prague, followed by a Congress in Petersburg in 1909 and one in Sofia in 1910. There took place only vague and very general formulations of Slavic mutual respect, sympathy, and efforts to calm the inter-Slavic antagonisms —Russian-Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Serbo-Bulgarian, and so on. In spite of the participation in this movement of several important political leaders among the Slavs, it did not reach any concrete results. Most Poles and Russians very soon abandoned it. The War of 1914 brought again to the fore ideas of Slavic union, proclaimed this time by representatives of Russian public opinion and by the Russian government. I should also mention the outstanding activity aiming at spiritual and intellectual collaboration among the Slavs of the brilliant Polish scholar, thinker, and writer Marian Zdziechowski, who established his Slavic Club in Cracow with its review *The Slavic World* before the War of 1914 and who entertained close relations with the Russian sympathizers of these trends, about whom I shall speak below.

[64] Quoted by Pypin, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153.

and shares the fusion of *a* and *o* with the majority of this group. 197
Common isoglosses testify a close and prolonged neighborhood with Germanic, Iranian, probably Thraco-Phrygian and foremost with Baltic, which is tied to Slavic by significant innovations both in vocabulary and in grammatical and phonemic, especially prosodic, features. Old loan-words from Iranian pertain mostly to spiritual, and those from Germanic to material culture. Contact with Altaic and Finno-Ugric languages seems to be confined to the late stage of Protoslavic and has left but scanty vestiges in its vocabulary. The long evolution of Protoslavic, which took around three millennia, can be traced up to its final stage—the entrance of the Slavs onto the historical scene (fifth–sixth centuries), [175] the oldest foreign records of Slavic proper and common nouns (fifth–seventh centuries), the formation of the first hereditary Slavic states (ninth–tenth centuries), the appearance of Slavic [538] written literature (ninth century), and the final dissolution of the Slavic linguistic unity toward the beginning of our millennium.

The territory of present-day Poland, Byelo-Russia, and North- 175
western Ukraine seems to exhibit perceptible vestiges of the oldest Slavic settlements. According to the first detailed literary accounts about the Slavs, the sixth century A.D. witnessed a strong Slavic expansion to the South, West, and East. The Slavs swarmed over the Peloponnesos during the seventh century, but were eventually driven back from Greece. With Charlemagne began the protracted retreat of the Slavs in the West and the gradual Germanization of the Elbe and Oder basins in the Northwest and of the Slavic regions of Bavaria and Austria in the Southwest. In the tenth century the Southern Slavs became separated from the Western because of this continuous German offensive toward and the Hungarian intrusion from the East; later they were cut off also from the Eastern Slavs by the extension of Rumanian. While the expansion of the Western and Southern Slavs was curtailed and even repelled during the early Middle Ages, that of the Eastern Slavs has never stopped and particularly their colonization of the East still continued, checked only in the Bering Sea area in the late nineteenth century.

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

CHAPTER VI

ORTHODOXY IN BONDAGE

THE Sword of Damocles fell at last, and the menace which had hung over Eastern Christendom for centuries became the realized fate of the Orthodox peoples for centuries more. The armies of Islam swept over the Balkan peninsula and submerged it, though the city of Constantinople itself still stood inviolate. 175

In the year 1389 the battle of Kossovo was fought which decided the fate of Serbia, and brought its mediaeval glory to an end. A page of history was turned over. It was a page upon which the name of Sava had been inscribed, the national Saint of Serbia, prince, monk, educationalist and organizer of the Serbian Church, and the names of the saints and leaders of the Serbian Church who succeeded him. Upon it was recorded the achievements of the Serbian Empire in the first half of the fourteenth century, when the warrior Dushan struck terror into the hearts of his neighbours and at their expense brought wide territories under his sway. He was a lawgiver and administrator too, a stern dispenser of justice. On that same page is described the precocious civilization and enlightened culture of Dubrovnik, known otherwise as Ragusa, which in the fourteenth century, Miss Waring tells us,[1] had "a city police and sanitary board", as well as men of letters and exponents of the arts. And Dubrovnik if pre-eminent was not alone, as the mediaeval churches of Serbia and their furnishings testify.

The battle of Kossovo brought the Serbian Empire to an end. But in the minds of the Serbs themselves it also revealed

[1] L. F. Waring: *Serbia*. London, 1917 (Home University Library), p. 154.

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

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the idealism of the Serbian spirit at its highest point. For the night before the battle the Serbian Tsar had a vision in which he was offered the choice between an earthly and a heavenly crown. He chose the heavenly and rode out to the conflict and his own death on the morrow, knowing that from the earthly point of view all was already lost. There is something truly Orthodox here and especially perhaps Slav Orthodox, for Russian religion, too, is permeated by reverence for suffering in body or mind and a sense of its regenerating power.[1] It is this dark day of Kossovo which has become the National Day of the Serbian people. Day of utter defeat and obliteration of earthly hope as it was Kossovo Day has been observed ever since as a yearly memorial of the greatness of the past, and an occasion of self-dedication to the Serbia of the future.

But the new chapter of Balkan history which immediately follows bears the record of the Turk whose rule was marked by casual neglect, haphazard uncertainty and ingenious brutality.

The City of Constantine held fast for another sixty years. Then its walls were breached, and in the breach the last Byzantine Emperor died. Mahomet, the conqueror, rode to Justinian's Church of the Holy Wisdom where he dismounted and entered. He stopped the pillage that had already begun, and caused a passage from the Koran to be read from the pulpit.

For good and evil, Christian Byzantium had played out its part at the meeting place of East and West. Alexander's *Drang nach Osten* had come back like a flowing tide.

198

The story of the Orthodox Church under the Turkish régime is one to excite both admiration and pity. The Turkish point of view must be grasped. They drew no distinction between nationality and religion, to them secular and religious politics were one and the same. This might be said of the Byzantine Empire too, but with a difference. Within the latter, there was a Church distinct from, and it might be, opposed to, the State. The Turkish armies sallied out with the con-

[1] Cf. Gorodetzky: *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought*, London, 1938.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16

III

ELEMENTS OF A FOLK-CHRISTIANITY AND ITS RELATION TO MAGIC

Procopius in describing the manners of the Slavs has a remark to this effect; that while they believed in a supreme God and in many spirits and demons and lesser gods, they neither believed in any fate, nor in any direct influences over human life of a supernatural nature. What the writer meant to convey by this extraordinary statement is not known, unless that at that time the ideas of predestination, the cult of fates, who regularly preside over births, and that of the ancestors, for whose service the most characteristic ceremonies of the peasant are designed, were not in evidence; or that in general the religious attitude of these barbarians differed essentially from that of the Greeks. Procopius goes on to say that, when a man felt himself to be in particular danger, through sickness or through war, he promised gifts to the gods, and, if the situation were grave he made these in fact, hoping therewith to redeem his life. This is still a fundamental element of popular prophylaxis. Apart from such literary curiosities, the early religion of the South Slavs can only be reconstructed from later evidence, from recent folk-lore, and, in this case, not very helpful archaeological study.

For the more northern branches of the Slavic race, there is ample evidence of a pagan priesthood, of a shamanistic type, and of an organised cult, with a foundation of animistic magic, an established ritual, calendar and shrines. There is no conclusive record of anything approaching such a highly organised system amongst the South Slavs, and the traces of idol worship have received no concrete archaeological confirmation up to date. The fuller accounts of Helmoldus amongst the West Slavs, and of Nestor amongst the Russians,

[p. 159]
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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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describe a number of local or tribal cults; nor is it justifiable to imagine a basis of a uniform primitive Slav system.

In the South, that is to say, in the Lower Danube basin and in Illyria, tradition ascribes the first conversions to Christianity to the time of Heraclius, and there seems not to have been the same fierce and prolonged opposition to the new cult, with which it had to contend in Russia and Northern Europe. In Russia and in Poland, a dual confession, and apparently a heathen priesthood, lasted into the later Middle Ages; in the eleventh to twelfth centuries attempts were made to re-establish the old faith on a national basis. True, the rising in Bulgaria against Boris (eleventh century) was led by an anti-Christian element, but we do not know of an active priesthood in this connection, nor whether it was a revival of Slavonic or Asperuh tendencies. Until the final establishment of a national, autonomous Church in Bulgaria, and in fact, until the turning-point of the Synod of Trnovo (seventeenth century), the indecision as to belief was evident not only in the varying allegiance to pope or patriarch, but in the activities of the numberless heretical sects, not merely tolerated, but at times enjoying considerable privileges and influence.

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The presence of these sects, notably of a gnostic character, pre-dates the Orthodox missions of the tenth century, and caused their retreat from Pannonia. The earliest account of the Slav apostles mentions the 'thrice heathen heretics' who were unacquainted with Slavonic; probably referring to that mixture of Paulician and Eulite doctrine, which, since the fourth century, had spread into the Northern Balkans, and remains to this day among the Nazarenes of the trans-Danube. Syrian and Armenian colonies had been established in Thrace during the seventh century in the time of Constantine, still known to M. Psellos and Cedrenos as Massalians. Armenian Monophysites and Paulicians lived in the neighbourhood of Plovdiv, Sofiá, Devol, Rila, Moglena, Kjustendil, etc., from the eleventh to the thirteenth century; the Dragovitci being known in South-east Macedonia as extreme

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

IV

SOURCES OF ANCIENT MAGIC AND MEDICINE

I

During the pagan and semi-pagan period the Slavs lived in small, independent tribes, later forming loose federations within territorial limits. For long the Greeks were unable to negotiate with them, because they did not agree among themselves and had no central authority. The organisation of a united state in Rascia coincided with the establishment of state Christianity, and the pagan empire of Bulgaria was comparatively short-lived.

The tribal religious cult was likely to have been an extension of a domestic cult, probably rarely accompanied by the specialised functions of an official priesthood. The domestic cult lasts to the present day. The head of the household officiates in ceremonial, and the assistance of an outsider is not essential. In ceremonial which involves the whole tribe or village, the heads of households—the tribal elders—are again responsible; but that they have not an entire monopoly of ritual is evident in ceremonies which are performed by a group without a specially chosen leader, particularly those which belong to the younger people, or ceremonies conducted by old women doctors, etc.[1]

[1] The rites of the peasants hint also at an independent development. It is not true only that the non-Christian element enjoyed a revival, tended to revert to type, after the fall of the mediaeval empire. A direction was taken at that time, perhaps, in which the popular religion continued a course of development and adaptation. The popular religion, or sometimes a popular aversion to religion as well as to social forms that flourished under a feudal church, must have sought new outlets much earlier. Local forms of peasant cults must be of comparatively recent growth, and contain more than the survivals of an ancient paganism. The *slava*, for instance, is a typical example of a domestic rite which does not require a special priesthood. It has become perhaps the central

● 175, 113 E16 Slavic Peoples

[For an historical background of the Slavic Peoples, especially concerning their migrations in and to the Ukraine, see 7: Bregy and Obolensky, RD1 Ukraine, category 116, pp. 27-33.]

113, 175

Slavic Peoples E16

[For additional information on the origin and history of Slavic Peoples see: 4: Allen RDl Ukraine, cat. 116, pp. 41-52; 56-58;--Analyst]

4: Cross E16 Slavs E16
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[For information pertaining to the early history of the Slavic peoples, see category 116, pp. 1-2, 11-16, 52-142]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

of the first millennium B.C. The names for gold and silver are identical in all three linguistic branches, while those for iron and lead are common to both Baltic and Slavic, though differing from the German vocable. The common Slavic term for copper has no equivalent cognate in either Baltic or Germanic. Since iron became known on the coast of the Black Sea about 900 B.C., and appears in archaeological finds from the Kuban district of the northern Caucasus fully two centuries before that date, the early transmission of iron technique to the Slavs is beyond question, particularly in view of traces of iron mining and smelting in Poland even in the pre-Roman epoch. The smelting of silver and gold was, however, a post-dispersion development.

In ceramics as in metal working, the Slavs were imitators rather than pioneers. In all areas of pagan Slavic settlement we find well-turned and well-fired vases in the form of pots without handles, showing a somewhat flattened lip and ornamented, sometimes with a wavy line several times repeated, sometimes with simple horizontal stripes, and occasionally with vertical or transverse stripes or simply a series of dots in oblique lines. There is, however, nothing specifically Slavic about this technique, since it is a reproduction of the Roman vase with undulating ornament familiar in the northernmost Roman provinces between Danube and Rhine from the first to the fourth century A.D. The Slavs thus seem to have been in contact with the northern Roman markets in this interval, and gradually to have adopted the new type of pottery in preference to their own previous products of this character: high vases, or lower bowls without a flattened edge and decorated with horizontal stripes or rows of oblique lines, types developed independently of Roman influence.

Among the chief domestic industries were spinning and weaving. Since the primitive Slavs were far from expert bleachers, the resulting fabrics were mostly grayish in color. Not only is the general terminology as spinning and weaving throughout the Slavonic languages so homogeneous as to show that these

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

286 techniques were a matter of common knowledge before the
176 dispersion began, but the absence of foreign borrowings also proves it to have been a native development of very early date. It is significant that this vocabulary was taken over bodily by the Magyars upon their settlement in Central Europe.

241 Just as the primitive Slavs, by the moment of their disper-
231 sion, had attained a respectable technique in metal working,
176 textiles, and ceramics (acquired in part from their neighbors), there is likewise abundant evidence that at an early stage of their existence they also possessed a knowledge of agriculture considerably in advance of what is attributed to them in this connection by frequently cited historical sources. The common Slavic vocabulary pertaining both to agriculture and to cattle-raising is in itself sufficient to vitiate any conception of the Slavs at the dawn of their history as a race of agricultural nomads leading a precarious and unstable life on scanty fare. Nor is there a sufficient number of loan-words in the Slavic vocabulary of these occupations to indicate that any appreciable proportion of the knowledge of agricultural products or livestock which the Slavs possessed was the result of contacts with other ethnic units of more advanced material culture.

241 The common Slavic vocabulary shows that as feed-grains the primitive Slavs knew barley, wheat, millet, rye, and oats. Among fruits they knew apples, pears, cherries, and plums. The Germans themselves knew nothing of grape culture until their migrations took them across the threshold of the Mediterranean world. Hence it is not surprising that the Slavonic words for vine and vineyard derived from the Goths, who also introduced the fig to the Slavs after Gothic settlement on the Black Sea coast. Of vegetables, the primitive Slavs consumed peas, beans, lentils, onions, garlic, and beets. Flax and hemp
231 were familiar textile fibers. Among domestic animals, the common Slavic vocabulary includes homogeneous terms for horse, cow, bull, steer, sheep, goat, pig, and dog and, among domestic fowl, for ducks, geese, chickens, and pigeons. In these phases of culture the primitive Slavs were in no respect inferior to the

1: Niederle--59 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Sorbs

101 At the period for which we possess somewhat more detailed historical data about them, the Polabian Slavs were divided into three great families:

1. The Obotrites in Mecklenburg, Lüneburg and Holstein (as far as the Varnava River), whence they penetrated into the Old Mark;

2. The Luticl or Veletiz between the Oder, the sea, the Varnava and the Elbe;

3. The Sorbs on the middle Elbe between the Verra*, the Havel, and the Bobrawa.

175 177 From the time when history records the presence of the Slavs on the Elbe, their history has been but a long struggle for existence; they carried on this struggle simultaneously against the German Empire and the Roman Church. The campaign undertaken by the Germans against the Polabian Slavs was at the same time of a political, national, and religious character. The Slavs resisted energetically, but the struggle was too unequal. The Germans had as allies the Danes, and upon occasion also the Polish and Czech prines. Furthermore, they were not in agreement among themselves.

Under Charlemagne and his immediate successors, the Germans achieved only insignificant victories.

The Saxon dynasty was more fortunate; the entire country of the Polabians fell into German hands. The conquest was accomplished by the /93/ Margraves. The Slavs were not only conquered, but were in a short time denationalized. Beginning with the twelfth century German colonization penetrated into their country; in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Germans were already superior in numbers, and by the fifteenth century only a few rare specimens of the Slav race were to be found.

On the island of Rugen* (Rouiana* in Slavic) the Slavs disappeared in 1404; on the Elbe towards the middle of the sixteenth century, they occupied only the districts of Luchow* and Danneberg*, the southern part of the district of Blekede*, a third of that of Ulzen*, and the northern section of the Old Mark (Altmark). Further to the east no more than a few remains were to be found in Mecklenburg, which was still rather thickly populated by Slavs in the thirteenth century (between the rivers Elde and Suda), and in Brandenburg in the district of Priegnitz (Brizan). But this rather sizeable group in Luneburg, was completely unable to maintain itself. In 1671 there were still Slavs

175
177 there; about 1700 they were in great measure Germanized; the last Slav group was that of the Dravani (Drawaina) in the district of Luchow which even today is called Wendland, country of the Wends.

1719 The Slavic language disappeared between 1750 and 1766. It was in 1751 that mass was celebrated in Slavic for the last time.[1]

161 In the years 1890-1900 the newspapers reported, according to A. Parczewski, that the census /94/ of 1890 had found 570 Slavs-Wends still in this region. But it was an error. The official census had indeed found in the Luchow area 570 Wends, but they spoke only German.

197 The Slavic tongue in this region has been dead for more than a century, as Mr. Muka reported without hesitation.[1] He was sent out as an investigator by the Academy of Sciences of Cracow.

000 However, the Slavic character is still found in great measure in the type and in the manner of life of the inhabitants of the Wendland.

101 Originally the Sorbs of this region[2] occupied in a compact mass
175 all of the country situated between the Saale, the Verra*, the Fulda, the upper Havel, and the Spree. They extended as far as Frankfort on the Oder, on the Lower Bobra, the Hvizda (Queis). The group included the so-called Sorbs between the Saale and the Elbe (1) then the Lusatians

1. These Sorbs are designated in Latin texts of the Middle Ages by the name Sorabes. (Translator)

on the middle Saale, and the Milczani on the upper Elster, the upper Spree and the Neisse. From the eleventh century on, the Germans began to penetrate into these regions; but they only came there in large numbers beginning with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At this period the Sorb national group began to diminish to the west of the Elbe; it finally succumbed as a result of the Thirty Years War. The situation was better in /95/ Upper and Lower Lusatia, united under the Bohemian crown. Unfortunately, in 1635 the Treaty of Prague ceded
175 the territory to the House of Saxony. The Sorbian national group
668 commenced to decline, especially in Lower Lusatia. Its decadence was not arrested until the nineteenth century by the literary renaissance which restored some energy to this small people.

Thanks to the efforts of a few patriots, the national conscience

[2] [Wendland -- Analyst] [1] [Among the Polabian Slavs - Analyst]

175 was reawakened, literature revived, the Slavic tongue was introduced into the primary schools and the Germans of Saxony granted to their Sorbian fellow-citizens a tolerable modus vivendi. How long will this state of affairs endure? It is difficult to foretell.

177 Germanization is making great progress especially in Lower Lusatia, subjected to Prussians.

101 162 S 17. Boundary of the National Group. ---In 1886 Muka established on his ethnographic map, the best which exists up until the present, this boundary by a line which began to the south of Lubja (Lobau), passed between Rychbach (Reichenbach) and Wosporg (Weissenbach*), ran to Nizka (Niesky*), Reczice* (Rietschen*), went toward Muzakow* (Muskau*) on the Neisse, then following the Neisse reached Barsc (Forst), ran to Gresna* (Griessen*), to Barklawa* (Baerenklau*), to the west of Gubna (Guben*). The line then went straight to the west by Luboraz* (Lieberose*), Mochow*, Waldow*, Bocklin* (Burglehne*) then toward the south through Lubnjow* (Lubbenau*), /96/ through Wotrowce* (Bischofsdof*), Kalama* (Kalan*), Rudna* (Reuden*) and Bukowina; then towards the southwest the boundary ran around Komorow* (Senftenber*), Rolana* (Ruhland*) on the Elster, went through Nadzicow* towards Kamence*, Elstra*, Biskupci* (Bischofswerda*), where it turned sharply to the east towards Velecin* (Wilthen*) on the Lubia*. Such was the outer boundary of the region in which the majority of the people spoke Sorbian; there was in this region an absolutely Sorbian territory in the neighborhood of Chotebuz* (Cottbus*) and of Grodk*. There were also numerous German islands.

On the map drawn up in 1902 by A. Czerny, the territory had diminished and the Germans had gained ground. Today the northern part of Lower Lusatia is separated from the southern part only by a straight line between Grodk* and Chotebuz* on the two banks of the Spree. However, Tetzner in his book wrongly indicates Lower Lusatia as forming only an island.

161 S 18. Statistics. --The figures in effect confirm that the number of Lusatians is diminishing. At about 1880-1884, Muka, travelling from village to village, had set the total number of Sorbs at 175,966. He counted 72,000 in Lower Lusatia and 103,000 in Upper Lusatia. The official statistics for 1900 numbered only 93,032 Sorbs, speaking only Sorbian. If one adds about 23,000 bilinguals speaking both Sorbian and

161 German, one arrives at the figure of 116,810 individuals, and, if this figure is corrected according to the estimates of Parczewski, of Swjela*, and of Muka, about 156,000 persons are obtained, a lamentable total for a people surrounded and penetrated from all sides by the German flood. What favors Germanization is the extent to which the Sorbs [177] are economically dependent upon the Germans: the military service, preaching in German, the absence of an intellectual class, their complete isolation. The Sorbs who resist most energetically are those of Upper Lusatia, whose intellectual center is at Bautzen (Budysin). In Saxony, of 297 communes called Wends (1), according to the census

1. The Sorbs of Lusatia are called Wends in German.

of 1900, there are in all 225 with a Slav majority, and only 7 entirely Slav.

167 We have no other data on the Lusatians or on their emigration. It appears that there are colonies in America (especially in Texas--Serbin (a town), which recalls the name of the nation, Giddingswenden (probably the town of Giddings), West (perhaps the town of West Point) Yewa (not located), Warda (a town), Burleson (a county) whose inhabitants left Europe towards the middle of the last century, and who still preserve the national tradition. There are also some in Australia (at Angerspark, at Adelaide near Melbourne). They are of more recent origin.

795 The great majority of the Sorbs are Lutherans; there are 15,000
162 Catholics, who live for the most part in the neighborhood of Budysin (Bautzen).

197 /98/ S 19. Differentiation.--Even though they are only a small
182 nation, the Sorbs are not unified from the linguistic point of view. The difference between the idioms of Upper and Lower Lusatia is so great that the common people have great difficulty in understanding one another and many linguists have recognized two distinct languages. There are in fact two literary languages founded upon the two dialects which are farthest apart (that of Kottbus and that of Bautzen) and two literatures. This duality creates a grave danger, the much more so as the two fractions are divided from a political viewpoint. Kottbus belongs to Prussia and Bautzen to Saxony. Aside from the language, the
101 two Lusatian groups differ from many viewpoints in matters of domestic
182 life and costume. According to Muka, the boundary between the two

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to the present.

Slovakia, belonging to Hungary, was not spared by the German invasion. Germanization began to penetrate into the northern portion--perhaps Slovak--the Pannonia, beginning in the ninth century, as is attested by a celebrated text of 850: Conversio Bagoiarorum et Carantanorum. In the north of Hungary, from the twelfth century, the regents during the minority of Geza II (1141-1161) called a great number of Germans into the county of Spis to act as /106/ a counterweight to the attraction which Poland was exerting upon the county of Zvolen. Following the example of these first colonists, the Germans, beginning in the thirteenth century, penetrated from the west into the counties of Bratislava and of Nitra, from the south into those of Bars and of Honta where they were not to be found before this period. This immigration increased particularly after the Tatar invasion of 1241. Hungary had been ravaged, and the kings,--notably Bela IV--called for new colonists. Thus, towards the end of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century, there was in Slovak territory no commune in which some German family was not established. The center and the base of German colonies aside from the towns of Spiess, was the association of mining towns with Kremnitz at their head. The sources mention in the first place Krupina, in 1238, then Banska Bystrica in 1255, and Nemecke Pravno in 1267. This state of things lasted until the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Two laws promulgated by the Diet in 1563 and in 1605 put an end to the privileges of the German towns and to the Germanic intrusion. Beginning with this period the Germans in the north of Hungary were Slovakized or Magyarized in turn. (Among the towns which again became Slovak may be cited Pukanec*, Nova Bana, Bela, Lubietova* and, to a considerable extent, Stiavnica and Banska Bystrica).

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Alongside the penetration of the frontier regions /107/ in Bohemia and Moldavia there should be pointed out, the influence beginning with the thirteenth century, of the German element upon the internal economy of the country, the customs, and the language. German almost assumed the role of an official language. German inhabitants received privileges. At court, among the nobility, in the towns, the German tongue played so important a role that some patriots, like Dalimil, (1) began to fear the ruin of the Bohemian language.

1: Niederle--68 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Czechoslovakia EB1

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1. Quite a long time ago I indicated the importance of this chronicler. See my Boheme pittoresque et historique (Paris, 1867).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century matters had gone so far that at the coronation of King John in 1311 the larger part of the people sang in German and the minority in Czech.

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Under Charles IV and his son Vaclav a reaction took place to the benefit of the Slavic element.[1] The nobility and the clergy took an interest in this. This evolution was crowned by the wars of the Hussites, who fought at the same time for Czech faith and Czech nationality. The Germans lost their influence in the towns or were completely driven out; the Czech language reassumed its place. Among the towns which became Slavic may be cited Zatec (Saaz), Litomerice (Leitmeritz), Usti nad Labem (Aussig), Dvur Kralove, Jaromer, Hradec Kralove, Nemecky Brod, Caslav, Kutna Hora, Pelhrimov, Susice, Budejovice, Kaplice, Stribro and Plzen, all of which were already Czech at the end of the fourteenth century.

/108/ At this time, in Bohemia, in Moravia, in Siberia, Czech became an official language. It was proclaimed to be the sole administrative language at Opava (Troppau) in 1431, at Tesin (Teschen) in 1434, in Moravia in 1480, in Bohemia in 1495. In short, in the course of the fifteenth century Bohemia and Moravia rapidly became Czech, the national consciousness grew stronger, all the more because germanization became weaker within the country and in the frontier districts. Nevertheless, this very brilliant period had no enduring results. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a portion of Czech territory was again germanized as a result of the introduction of Protestantism and through the efforts of the new dynasty. Then came a long period of wars and persecutions which desolated entire regions and was followed by the new influx of German colonists from Misnie*, Voigtland*, from Franconia and from the Palatinate. Thus, at the very moment when the Czech language became official within the kingdom, when the Czech literature was flourishing, a great section of Czech soil was lost.

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Then came the defeat of Bila Hora (1620) and the unhappy events which placed the Czech nation in the hands of a dynasty which was German and absolutist. In 1627 a new organization was imposed

1 [Against the influence of the German element upon the country - Analyst]

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upon the country; German acquired an importance which it never had before. Bohemia found herself engaged in a series of wars, of miseries, of sufferings which diminished to the /109/ lowest degree the numbers and the energy of the Czech nation and rendered it a prey to the immigrants whose number increased each day. Many families which were faithfully preserving the national tradition emigrated, many perished, many changed their nationality. Immense domains were confiscated and passed into the hands of foreigners. Many of the most distinguished German Protestant families also left the country.

Thus, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the German population increased and the Germanic belt which surrounded Bohemia became wider. At this moment the Czechs lost in the north the regions of Zlutice (Luditz), of Zatec (Saaz), where, however, the Czech tongue resisted until the end of the seventeenth century, then that of Postoloptry (1) (Postelberg), Teplice (Teplitz), Usti (Aussig), Bilina,

1. This name simply comes from the Latin "Apostolorum Porta." Translator.

Lovosice (Lobositz), (Litomerice was not germanized until the eighteenth century), Ceska Duba, Steti, Mimon, Vartemberk*. To the northeast they lost the districts of Rokytnice, Vrchlaby, Hostinne; to the west, those of Primda, Hostoun, Pobezovice (Ronsperg), Horsova Tyna*, Straze*, Bor, Plane*, as far as Manetin. The German area, as it was described in the years 1699-1701 by the Czech pilgrim Antonin Frozin, is practically identical with the German area of today. According to the studies of Slavik, as much may be said for /109/ Moravia at the end of the seventeenth century. In the last two hundred and fifty years, however, there have been some modifications in northern Moravia. The towns of Usov*, Unczov*, Zabreh and Stity (Silperk) have been germanized.

On the other hand, the national language, and with it the national consciousness of the Czechs, disappeared more and more under the governmental pressure. The nobility, the intellectual class, the bourgeoisie gave in one by one. In the eighteenth century the patriots despaired compaired completely of the future.

In 1790 Pelcel said that in fifty years it would be difficult to find a Czech; in 1810 Dobrovsky wrote to Kopitar the famous letter: "Causa gentis nostrae, nisi Deus adjuvet, plane desperata est". /"The cause of our country is, unless God helps, quite hopeless"/. And

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again in 1827 Jungmann in a moment of discouragement gave vent to this sad cry: "We have had the sad fate of being the witnesses and the accessories of the final annihilation of our mother tongue."

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Nevertheless, certain men succeeded in awakening the nation, in saving what might be saved. The history of the Czech literature since the second half of the eighteenth century shows us in an admirable fashion the work which a little group of men, obscure but impassioned, taken with a great idea, have been able to accomplish.

Aroused by the progress of liberalism in Europe, by the "Josephinism," they succeeded in reviving an interest in national affairs, in shaking the people out of their torpor, at first among the lowly ones who had preserved the language, then in the intellectual class. This Czech people, whose existence appeared doubtful one hundred years ago, of whom the Viennese educator Kindermann von Schulstein, basing himself upon the new scholastic program, had proclaimed the approaching disappearance, this Czech people, is today conscious of itself, it forms a compact mass of six and one-half million persons and constitutes an impregnable citadel against which the powerless efforts of the germanism bent upon the ruin of the Slavs come and break. There is only one thing to regret and that is that political conditions have prevented the union and assimilation of the two million Slovaks settled in northern Hungary.

S.P. c. 101

S 21. National Frontiers.--The compact mass of the Czechs and Slovaks are distributed among six administrative regions: in Austria, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, and the Duchy of Silesia, in Hungary, and, for a few segments, in Prussian Silesia.

The ethnographic boundary which separates the Slovaks from the other Czechs runs across Moravia; but the Slovaks of Moravia are so closely associated with the life of the Czech nation and are drawing so much closer to them each day that one may /112/ consider as the true boundary the political frontier which separates Moravia from Hungary. There, in the Carpathians, a wall stands which separates the two groups, Czechs and Slovaks, and unless unforeseen circumstances intervene, it is to be feared that their former unity will wind up in a dualism: Czechs on the one side, Slovaks on the other.

Thanks to a series of ethnographic studies, and also to the acute

1: Niederle--78 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples E1L
czechoslovakia EB1

S.P. c. 543 162 In Bohemia 50,000 Jews declared themselves to be Czechs, and in Moravia 6,792; 40,521 in Bohemia and 34,261 in Moravia declared that they were Germans. Hungary actually possesses one-tenth of the Jews of the entire world, and they are increasing more rapidly than the other national groups (14.8%). Almost all of them claim that they are Magyars.

S.P. c. 177 668 In studying the history and the ethnography of the Czecho-Slovaks, one sees that the Czechs began by losing much more territory than they gained. But this unfortunate situation has ceased; the national consciousness has developed; the spirit of an entire people has set up a solid barrier against the Germanic invasion. Certain losses are still inevitable, but they can be retrieved. The most threatened section is made up of the frontier of northern Moravia where the Germans today are concentrating their strength. They wish to unite their compact masses with the islands of Lanskroun, Zabreh, Olomouc and to cut Bohemia from Moravia. It is here that the Czech nation should especially think of acting and defending itself.

S.P. c. 161 Moreover, the increase of the Czechs with respect to that of the Germans is good. During the last ten years the Czechs have increased by 8.49% and the Germans only by 1.96%.

/124/ In the German region the Czechs have increased by 0.1% and in the Czech region the Germans gave decreased by 0.5%. The least favored region from a Czech viewpoint is that of Moravska Ostrava (Mochrisch Ostrau), where the Czechs are greatly decreasing.

000 It is important to reinforce the Czech element upon the frontier, to raise Czech capital in opposition to German money, to set up Czech schools as opposed to German schools, and, in order to stand against all assaults, to strengthen the national consciousness. It is necessary to build up the Czech element from an economic and physical viewpoint, to improve the general well-being, to increase the means of exchanging ideas.

In brief, the progress of the Germans upon the frontier has been so insignificant for the past century, that it will still be hundreds of years before it becomes a cause of concern.

What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing

S.P. C. 166 161 What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing population to the profit of the German sections. (In Moravia it is completely the contrary). In 1890 33.46% of the Czechs in Bohemia were living in German areas; in 1900 there were already 34.61% of them. During this ten year period the birth rate in the German sections was 8.1% for the Germans, and only 4.8% among the Czechs of the Czech sections. These phenomena are explained by the importance of German industry which attracts the Czechs into the German areas.

S.P. C. 48 177 Already the Germans--at least /125/ the sensible ones--recognize that it is impossible to Germanize the Czechs. The chauvinists alone still dared to hope for it, especially those who consider Bohemia as a lock which one can burst asunder in order to open to the German race an access to the Adriatic. But they are fooling themselves, as are those who believe that the Poles of the Kindom of Prussia can be denationalized.

S.P. C. 101 The situation of the Slovaks in Hungary is not nearly so good; they are deprived of all political rights and, following the example of what is happening in Prussia, they are being threatened with expropriation. Nevertheless, they continue to stand against the Magyars within their ancient boundaries, they give way only very slightly within these boundaries, and, were it not for the Magyarization which is being energetically imposed upon the nation, especially upon the upper classes, and for a rather considerable emigration, the people would be able to hold their own, all the more since they are constantly assimilating Polish and Russian elements in the north and east of their territory.

ooo When in 1900 I drew up my ethnographic map for the Slovaks, the Russians protested against the figures which the statistics showed to their detriment. It has been demonstrated that the progress of the Slovaks had not been as rapid as I had thought, but it exists nevertheless. All of eastern Slovakia is nothing but Russia which has been Slovakized, and this assimilation is continuing.

S.P. C. 178 [144] /126/ S 24. Differentiation. --The primitive differentiation of the tribes has left no important trace among the Czechs. All of the shades of difference have been leveled off by time and those which relate to the physical aspects, to the languages, to costume in these latter days, have almost entirely disappeared.

S.P. Sl. 101 162 particularly to the north and to the east, numerous German islands; we have already mentioned the German group at Kocevje (Gottschee), which includes a considerable number of localities.

S.P. Sl. 162 177 Furthermore, the northern frontier, and also that which touches Hungary, are gravely threatened. In Carinthia and in Styria the Germans have taken over the official functions and the schools, and, thanks to their efforts, the number of Slovenes is diminishing considerably In Carinthia 101,050 Slovenes were reported in 1890; in 1900 the figure was reduced to 90,495 and it is to be feared that the coming generation will be completely Germanized. In Styria, in 1850, 643,194 Germans were enumerated as compared with 363,750 Slovenes; in 1900 there were 902,343 Germans against 409,521 Slovenes. Thus in a half-century the number of Germans had increased by 40.5% and that of the Slovenes only 12.5%. These figures, as we shall explain farther along, are not completely reliable. However, it is impossible to deny a serious decrease in the number of Slovenes in all the areas in which they live. [1] Refer above in Section 23 to the table of the birth rate of Slav peoples which shows 6.1% for the Slovenes in 1880, 5.23% in 1890, and only 4.65% for the year 1900.

The most threatened frontier is that of /142/ Carinthia and Styria between Arvez* and Radgona (German; Radkersburg) where the Slovenes are withdrawing constantly on the south side and are maintaining themselves only in the mountains. In Hungary they are being rapidly Magyarized, notably in the county of Zelezna (Vas). Furthermore, even in Carnolia, they are increasing very slightly, as will be indicated later.

S.P. Sl. 161 S 27. Statistics.--Along with the Sorbs of Lusatia, the Slovenes constitute the smallest Slavic people and also the most threatened one. They are strangled between the Germans, the Italians, and the Magyars, furthermore, their birth rate is almost insignificant.

In Austria the following figures were counted:

In 1880	1,140,504
In 1890	1,176,672
In 1900	1,192,780

In Hungary, in 1890, there were counted 94,992 (including

[1] [cf. E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, category 116, pp. 75-76, foot note 1 — Analys]

S.P. Sb. 101 make it out, starts from Stara-Moldava and passes through the villages or towns of Kroupica, Subotica, Izbiste, Aulma*, Dolova*, Dobrica, Roudna, Srpski Modosh, Srpska Boka, Srpska-Neuzina, Bokosh, Orlovat (Orlod), Perlez*, Veliki Beckerek (or Zrenjanin or Petrovgrad). Petrovgrad, Melenci, Curug, Nadal*, Turia (Torja), Sentomash, Despot, Sentivan (Szent-Ivan), Paraga*, Tovarichovo*, Deronie*, Vaiska and Sonta (Szond) on the Danube. Then it is necessary to point out a certain number of Serbian islands, especially the rather large group of the county of Torontal, to the east of Senta (Zenta), as far as Velika Kikinda, and a certain number of islands, for example that of Krasso, in the county of the same name, others in that of Timisoara, in Backa, around Sombor (Zombor), and even in the county of Budapest and, beyond the Danube, islands in the outskirts of Mohacs. Here the Croatian domain begins, represented by a few islands in Magyar and German areas, between Pecs and Mohacs. The compact group of Croats starts in the south of the county of Szomod, at Stara (Sztara) on the Drava. At the beginning it forms a group of communes along the river, then another group in the county of Szalad*, where the Croat tongue is spoken to the north of the Mura, and it extends as far as Kanjiza, on the frontier of Styria.

S.P. Cr. 101

/160/ A long chain of Croat villages stretches out in the counties of Vas, of Soprony and of Moson, between the frontier of Hungary and the middle course of the Raab, as far as the Leitha and the Danube. These villages are divided between four principal groups. The Croat colonies have even crossed the Leitha and the Danube and penetrated as far as the outskirts of Pozony, as far as the lower Morava, on the banks of which a few of them have been Slovakized.

S.P. Cr. [177]

In 1900, 1,560 Croats were enumerated in this area. They descend from the colonists brought in by General Christoph Teufenbach.

The Croat boundary then runs down from Kanisza towards the south, the length of the frontier of Styria and Carniola, as far as the northeast corner of Istria, and it rejoins, by way of Podgrad (Castelnuovo), Soczergy and Rakitovicza, the Dragonja (Dragongna) River from which we started a short while ago.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101

We find other Serb and Croat colonies outside of this compact region. In the first place many of them are found in Albanian country, notably in Old Serbia which is becoming re-Serbianized more and

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101

more, and also in Macedonia. Regarding this province, we are unable, because of the contradictory character of our information and of the brevity of this book, to furnish detailed data. Some Serbs live in the regions of Tetovo, of Kumanovo, of Skoplje.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101 167

Aside from the Serb and Croat groups which /161/ may live in the principal cities of Europe, there are also colonies in Italy, in Russia, and in America.

S.P. Cr. 101 167

In Italy, as a result of the Turkish invasions, Croats settled in the Udine area where they became mixed with the Slovenes (see Section 28)[1] and also in the Abruzzi. There they still exist today in the district of Molise and in the province of Campobasso where there are still three villages today: Acqua Viva Colla Croce (Cruc), San Felice Slavo, Montemitro (Mundimitar). There are about 5,000 persons. Italian statistics do not count individuals, but families. The three communes which we have just named are the remains of a large Slavic area which stretched as far as the province of Chieti. These Croats are the descendants of the emigrants who came in the sixteenth century from the seacoast of Dalmatia, between Makarska and the Naretva (Narenta).

S.P. Sb. 101 167

Between the years 1750 and 1752, a great number of Serbs, discontented with the behavior of the Austrian government, migrated to Russia. They settled in the northern section of the gubernia of Kherson, in the districts of Yelizavetgrad (now Kirovograd) and of Alexandrovo, and the city of Yelizavetgrad was their principal stronghold. Founded in 1756, it was at first called Fort Saint Elisabeth. The region was named New Serbia. In the northeast of the gubernia of Ekaterinoslav, another area was called Slaviano-Serbia. It was located between the northern Don, the /162/ Bakhmut (now Artemovsk), and the Lugan. But these Serbs, whose religion was the same as that of the Russians, were completely Russianized and were not reported separately in the Russian statistics. In 1842 Safarik still showed them on his ethnographic map. Mr. Florinskii, in his recent work, estimates their number at 9,000; but he adds that they have almost entirely forgotten their original language.

S.P. Sb. [17]

S.P. Cr. 167

In recent times, many Croats of Austria-Hungary have emigrated to America; American statistics confound them with the Slovenes and give, for example, for the year 1905 a total of 25,000.

1 [cf. E16 Slavic peoples, 1: Niederle, pp. 91-92, category 11C - Analyst]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

turies, the Scythians thus gradually transferred their nucleus from the prairie country between the Dnieper and the Don to the middle course of the Dnieper and the steppes between the Dnieper and the Bug, endeavoring to install themselves as a ruling class in the northern sections of this area and to extend their authority still further northward. This effort was vitiated by hostile contacts with other mobile ethnic units, including the Slavs.

While the Scythians had been able to set up a well-organized and centralized state in which, as their contacts with the Greek world evolved, elements of Greek civilization were grafted upon the nomadic and oriental culture which they had brought with them from Asia, they can hardly have formed at any time a majority of the population on the south Russian steppes. They were only a ruling minority, supported and enriched by the tribute in kind exacted from the subject population whose products they exported. Even the period of the fourth and third centuries B.C., during which the Scythian state was gradually declining, marked an age of great prosperity for southern Russia, since the demand for Scythian merchandise was stimulated by the influx of wealth into the Greek world after the conquests of Alexander the Great and the rise of the Hellenistic succession states.

Though racially related to the Scythians, the Sarmatians lacked their talent for organization, and first appear as a complex of disunited tribes pushed into the steppes by Mongolian movements of the fourth to the second centuries B.C. Their advance guard had penetrated as far as the Bug and the Dniester by the end of the second century. In fact, at the beginning of our era, the Sarmatians were already a menace to the Roman Empire, and their chief element, the Alans, persisted as a dominant force in South Russia till the third century A.D. Such Scythian remnants as remained in this area were absorbed by the new masters, who imitated the Scythian policy of encouraging the commerce of the Greek coastal cities whose culture they emulated. The political evolution of these Iranian

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* residents is, however, less important than the fact that during
177 their early history the Slavs were at least in peripheral contact with Iranian elements which had a high degree of native or acquired civilization. While their influence is reflected in a few items of the Old Slavonic vocabulary, this factor is not *per se* so significant as the continuity of cultural tradition on the southeastern border of the proto-Slavic habitat.

From their neighbors to the northeast the Slavs could derive even less intellectual stimulus. The regions east of the upper Dnieper and northward from the Dvina to the Baltic were occupied by Finnish tribes until, at the beginning of the Christian era, the Slavs, by their northeasterly advance toward the Oka and the Volga, drove a wedge between the Finnish peoples, dividing them into two sections, one of which included the Mordvinians, Cheremisses, and kindred tribes of the Volga basin west of Kazan, while the other comprised the Finnish elements which gradually approached the Baltic in the triangle between the rivers Dvina and Lovat or inhabited the region of the great lakes east of the Finnish Gulf.

It has already been mentioned that the primitive habitat of the Slavs as a whole extended as far west as the middle Vistula. As in modern times, this stream was a line of immemorial contact between Slav and German as far back as even our fragmentary historical knowledge extends. Collisions between German and Slav begin in early classical times, collisions which were usually the result of German migratory movements. The earliest on record was thus caused by the movement of the Bastarnae, who, accompanied by the Sciri, another Germanic tribe, at some epoch between the time of Herodotus (the middle of the fifth century B.C.) and 240-230 B.C., moved from their seats on the lower Vistula, hence west of the Slavs, across the western Bug (now in Polish territory) through Volhynia and Podolia, occupied by Slavs, toward the Black Sea. It is thus likely that the earliest German influences were exerted upon the Slavs by this tribe.

175* After the migration of the Bastarnae, the Baltic coast of east-

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

ern Germany was settled by other Germanic peoples, especially the Goths, who were present on the shoreline as early as the fourth century B.C. At any rate, in the first two Christian centuries, we find them definitely on the lower Vistula north of the Slavs. During the second century A.D. some migratory disturbance, or perhaps even the casual exploration of watercourses followed by a desire for more fertile territory and for commercial relations with the Black Sea littoral once a route thither was discovered, induced a considerable number of the Goths to move out eastward across the Bug to the basins of the Pripet and the Dniester. At some point during this movement, perhaps in Volhynia, one section split off from the main Gothic body and, after passing down the Dniester, subsequently appeared in Dacia as the Visigoths, who fought against Caracalla's troops in 214 and crossed the Danube in 248. According to the tradition preserved by Jordanes, the rest passed over the Dnieper and finally reached the coasts of the Black Sea and the Crimea.

Since the Goths remained masters of the western steppe country from the second century A.D. until 370, when they were overthrown by the Huns, they were thus the Germanic tribe with whom the proto-Slavs had the closest and most lasting relations, reflected in a considerable number of loan words in the common Slavic vocabulary. These words may be classified in groups which clearly demonstrate along what lines Gothic influence upon the Slavs was most incisive. They include an extensive list of military terms (armed band, helmet, armor, sword), commercial words (usury, debt, earring, purse, buy, kettle, plate, sack, camel, vinegar, glass), agricultural items (plow, stall, vineyard, cattle, garden, donkey, fig, bread), and names of learned professions (doctor, scribe). Some of these words point also to the probability that this borrowing either did not take place until, or at any rate was still taking place during, the period when the Germans were in close contact with the Roman Empire and had themselves already borrowed some terminology from the Latin. In any event, these words

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175* must have become ingrained in the Slavic vocabulary before
● 177 400 A.D., and made their entry into the common speech prior
197 to the spread of the Southern Slavs into the Balkans, which began about a century later.

175* While for 200 years the Goths were the dominant ethnic element in southern and western Russia, they constituted only a numerically inferior ruling class which controlled the Slavic natives and such Iranian elements as were left from the period of Scythian and Sarmatian supremacy. It would otherwise be difficult to explain the process by which the Goths disappeared completely from the steppe country during the two centuries after the overthrow of the Gothic kingdom by the Huns in 370. The Huns themselves were a Turko-Tartar tribe whose western movement, begun in the first century A.D. after 300 years of strife with the Chinese in southern Mongolia, brought them to the Caspian Sea in the second. They were a nonagricultural nomadic people possessed of little culture of their own. What civilization they exhibited, and particularly their military organization, they borrowed from their Sarmatian vassals. Some of the Ostrogoths joined the advancing Huns. That portion of the Gothic population which had settled in the Crimea, though also subjected to the Huns, disappeared more slowly, and some small remnants preserved their Gothic identity as late as the eighteenth century. While the authority of the Huns does not appear to have been oppressively exercised in the steppe country, it nevertheless dealt a fatal blow to the flourishing civilization composed of combined Oriental and Greek elements which had adorned the north shore of the Black Sea for nearly a millennium. The Huns were the last Asiatic people to impinge upon the eastern section of the Slavs before their dispersion and expansion.

613 The primitive social organization of the early Slavs is, it must be admitted, a highly controversial subject. An exclusively patriarchal and tribal organization is found, after all, only among purely nomadic peoples, but is immediately re-

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

619 presence of a patronymic suffix in early Russian tribal names
621 indicates that these tribes actually passed through a stage when membership depended on kinship, but the attachment of the same suffix to place names also implies that the original implication had been forgotten before the historical period.

567 Prior to the evolution first of a commercial and subsequently
565 of an official ruling class, the primitive Slavic population was divided into three distinguishable strata. At the lowest point in the scale stood the slaves, composed of captives taken in war, men who had lost their freedom for debt, and descendants of slave parents. At least in their early history, the attitude of the Slavs toward their slaves was exceedingly mild. Above the slaves stood the great group of freemen, governed by the elders of their communities and later by tribal chieftains supported by a council of elders.

581 Polygamy and concubinage were common to all primitive
595 Slavs. In spite of the evidence for considerable promiscuity, a sense of the sanctity of marriage as a permanent tie is also demonstrated by early accounts of pagan Slavic wives who committed suicide upon the death of their husbands, so that the fidelity of the Slavic women was almost universally commented on with favor by foreign observers. Survivals of primitive custom among the Russian peasantry down to modern times indicate nevertheless that great freedom was allowed
462 both sexes prior to marriage. The Slavic women enjoyed no equality in the household, though a surviving widow was authorized to take her husband's place as head of the family.
583 Marriage by capture or by purchase was common Slavic practice.

177 In the course of their history, even before the dispersion, the
326 Slavs were exposed to a series of foreign influences, especially Iranian and Germanic, which rapidly placed at their service the techniques common to adjacent ethnic groups. Linguistic evidence demonstrates that the mass of the Slavs, like the German and the Baltic peoples, was familiar with iron, gold, silver, and lead from the earliest times, at least from the second half

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of the first millennium B.C. The names for gold and silver are identical in all three linguistic branches, while those for iron and lead are common to both Baltic and Slavic, though differing from the German vocable. The common Slavic term for copper has no equivalent cognate in either Baltic or Germanic. Since iron became known on the coast of the Black Sea about 900 B.C., and appears in archaeological finds from the Kuban district of the northern Caucasus fully two centuries before that date, the early transmission of iron technique to the Slavs is beyond question, particularly in view of traces of iron mining and smelting in Poland even in the pre-Roman epoch. The smelting of silver and gold was, however, a post-dispersion development. 177 326

In ceramics as in metal working, the Slavs were imitators rather than pioneers. In all areas of pagan Slavic settlement we find well-turned and well-fired vases in the form of pots without handles, showing a somewhat flattened lip and ornamented, sometimes with a wavy line several times repeated, sometimes with simple horizontal stripes, and occasionally with vertical or transverse stripes or simply a series of dots in oblique lines. There is, however, nothing specifically Slavic about this technique, since it is a reproduction of the Roman vase with undulating ornament familiar in the northernmost Roman provinces between Danube and Rhine from the first to the fourth century A.D. The Slavs thus seem to have been in contact with the northern Roman markets in this interval, and gradually to have adopted the new type of pottery in preference to their own previous products of this character: high vases, or lower bowls without a flattened edge and decorated with horizontal stripes or rows of oblique lines, types developed independently of Roman influence. 177 323 [439]

Among the chief domestic industries were spinning and weaving. Since the primitive Slavs were far from expert bleachers, the resulting fabrics were mostly grayish in color. Not only is the general terminology as spinning and weaving throughout the Slavonic languages so homogeneous as to show that these 286 176

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291 of light material or else of coarse wool, in which case it could be worn over the shirt, and it was usually buckled or pinned at the shoulder or in front of the neck. In cold weather sheepskins or the cheaper pelts (bear, wolf) were worn for warmth. Women of the people were clad in a long shirt of rough linen or hempen fabric, often representing a mere cylinder held up by straps over the shoulders. From the waist down they also wore a double apron attached to a belt, while the upper part of the body might be encased in a coarse woolen jacket, along with a cloak of similar material around the neck and shoulders. Footwear consisted of rough leather slippers held by a thong over the ankle or of slippers made of bast fiber. Men frequently
302 wore wrapped leggings. Married women might wear a kerchief or bonnet on their heads over hair cut short, but maidens habitually went bareheaded, wearing their hair long and braided. Men also wore their hair long in the primitive period.
● [177] Close shearing and shaving, where they occur, are due to foreign influences, and in general it may be said that in matters of attire the Slavs were always prompt to adopt foreign usages.

411 Originally a peaceful race, the primitive Slavs were unskilled
721 in the use of weapons. When they were first noticed by foreign writers they had no offensive equipment except bows and spears, and were unprotected by even the most elementary shields. It has already been noted that in the Slavic vocabulary the words for helmet and sword were taken over from the Goths. In the succeeding centuries, the constant warfare of the migratory epoch and the necessity of defense against successive nomad incursions produced a marked amplification of Slavic military equipment representing a fusion of borrowed alien techniques so that when the southern Slavs invaded Greece at the end of the sixth century, their soldier was considered to be as good a fighter as the Byzantine regular. The Slavs, however, used no mounted troops until well into the historical period.

439 The Slavs were drawn very early into the orbit of European
443 commerce, which in the peripheral areas of European antiq-

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167 steppes to the Danube, they threatened the Greek peninsula,
174 where their first occupation dates from 581.

721 Contemporary chroniclers report that the Slavs had by that
167 time acquired wealth by pillage and fought even better than the regular Greek troops. On the Adriatic, they occupied the districts of Illyria, Dalmatia, and Istria early in the seventh century. Shortly afterward the Slavs on the western front (the Czechs and those on the Adriatic seaboard) overthrew the Avar hegemony and became independent, but after the Avars were thus weakened, the Slavs never menaced Constantinople again. Yet by the end of the seventh century the whole interior of the Balkan peninsula, especially Macedonia and its neighborhood, was populated by Slavs. They even took to the sea and reached Crete in 623. At the height of the Avar expansion, the Slavs had already passed through Thessaly, Epirus, and Attica, and reached the Peloponnese in 588. Here their occupation was so formidable that, for the next two centuries, a Byzantine Greek scarcely dared set foot in the southern portion of the peninsula, while in the north the Danube was never again fixed as the frontier of the Byzantine Empire after 601. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that the Slavs were ever in the majority in Greece proper. Subject Greeks still formed the mass of the population. Were this not the case, it would be difficult to explain the eventual and rather rapid subsequent disappearance of the Slavic element south of Macedonia.

101 Once the Slavs were firmly established in the Balkans, they
177 immediately became exposed to the older cultures they found there. Those on the Adriatic coast and in the western Danube basin felt the impact of Latin civilization transmitted through romanized native populations, through colonial centers, or through the cities of the seaboard. When they settled within the sphere of Greek influence, the dominant cultural pressure was Byzantine. The results of these accidents of location are still discernible in the intellectual orientation of the Balkan Slavs.

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The Slavs were curiously tenacious in retaining their own language, but extremely receptive to manners and techniques transmitted to them through contact with superior cultures. When they were present in a majority, they experienced no difficulty in impressing their language on the indigenous minority, whom they Slavicized rapidly by intermarriage. The Dalmatian coast from Veglia to Ragusa experienced this evolution from the ninth to the last century. On the other hand, remnants of the old Romanized pre-Slavic population, known as Vlakhs, persist in the interior of the peninsula to the present day, especially in southern Macedonia and the Pindus, while the Romanians, in spite of Slavic and Turko-Tartar admixture, are a concentrate of Romanized pre-Slavic native elements. Of the indigenous and un-Romanized population prior to the migrations, the Thracians in the eastern half of the peninsula disappeared altogether, while the Illyrians in the western half survive fractionally as the Albanians. The linguistic differences between Serbian and Bulgarian have sometimes been explained by the existence of an Illyrian substratum in the former, and a Thracian in the latter, since the areas occupied by the new vernaculars correspond roughly to the regions occupied by these two pre-Slavic elements. Of the migrant tribes who preceded the Slavs into the Balkans no trace remains. The Celts had passed from the scene before the Slavs arrived. The Sarmatians, driven into the Balkans from the steppes, were known as early as the fourth century only by scanty place names. A few Germanic islands kept their names until the fifth century. The Huns rapidly dissolved after Attila's death, while the Avars, after the Slavs threw off their yoke, were decimated by their wars with Charlemagne before the year 800, and the remnant was absorbed by the adjacent Slavs.

Though we find in the Balkans an uninterrupted set of Slavic dialects gradually shading into each other, from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, the three basic literary languages (Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgarian) are well-differentiated vernaculars. It is not to be supposed, however, that this

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though in their migrations they left important remnants in Silesia and the Riesengebirge which made their presence felt in local place names before they were assimilated by other Slavic elements of these areas. On the other hand, materials dealing with the early existence of the Serbo-Croats on the Balkan peninsula are strikingly scanty. Both assume historical importance only in the ninth century, when the Serbs collided with the Bulgars and the Croats with other Slavs and with Franks in the middle Danube basin. 167

The destiny of the Slavs in modern Bulgaria was subject to influences differing radically from that of their kindred in the western Balkans. The territory which they had occupied in the sixth century was traversed several times during the seventh century by a nation of Turko-Tartar invaders known as the Bulgars, who had come into the Balkans from across the steppe country, but at first retired behind the Danube after each of their incursions southward. About 670, however, when other powerful Turkic elements began to occupy the south Russian prairies and coastline, they were obliged to seek a residence in the Danube delta and south of it. They thus settled down in Moesia, the flat country between the Danube and the chains of mountains further south. During this process, they seem to have arrived without difficulty at an understanding with the Slavic residents, whose local princes became subject to the Bulgar khan. But here, as elsewhere, it was the invaders who were culturally assimilated. The Bulgars abandoned their own idiom for Slavic, and while Bulgars and Slavs were still differentiated in this area during the eighth century, they were viewed as identical in the ninth. It is thus clear that numerically the Slavs in Moesia must have been more numerous than the energetic and warlike Bulgars whose name they adopted. The new Bulgarian state rapidly expanded its influence to include Macedonia even down to Salonika and the Aegean coast. 167 177

The Slavic flood which overwhelmed the Greek peninsula in the last twenty years of the sixth century lasted until about

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800, but in the next two hundred years Byzantine authority was gradually reëstablished throughout Hellas proper. By the twelfth century, in fact, there were but scattered Slavic remnants to be found south of Epirus and Thessaly. Though place names still yield abundant traces of this Slavic occupation, historians have long since disproved the famous thesis of Fallmerayer that the race of the ancient Greeks had been annihilated in Europe. As a matter of fact, as soon as Byzantine supremacy was restored, what Slavs there were throughout the countryside became assimilated so fast that they disappeared altogether. In Macedonia, on the other hand, though Greek civilization tended to recover and even to dominate as time progressed, the local Slavs were still numerous enough to preserve their ethnic and linguistic identity. In Hellas, however, the native Greek element was too populous and the Slavic colonists too few to make such a survival possible. Somewhat the same situation prevailed further north in Transylvania and Walachia, where the Slavic settlers eventually faded out under Romanian pressure.

While the problems connected with the migrations and the settlement of the Southern Slavs are relatively simple, if we except the alien influences affecting the Bulgarians and the decline of Slavic domination in Hellas, the destinies of the Western Slavs are, for a variety of reasons, infinitely more complex. At the beginning of the Christian era the whole expanse of northern Europe from the Rhine to the Vistula and from the Baltic, first to the Sudetens and later to the Danube, was occupied by Germanic tribes. From the second to the fifth centuries, certain important Germanic units moved out of the basins of the Elbe, the Oder, and their confluents, so that by the fourth century eastern Germany was almost totally evacuated by its Germanic inhabitants. Though German savants have been traditionally loth to admit that there were any Slavs in this area during the first period of German settlement, there are a number of tribal names which the classical historians for lack of accurate knowledge bulked with the Germans,

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but which justify the hypothesis that there were at least some Slavic elements west of the Vistula in classical premigration times. Hence, the westward Slavic drift very likely began sometime before the Slavs actually appear on the Oder and the Elbe in the fifth century A.D. /167 /177

Even with the Germanic tribes present, the area was sparsely enough settled, and it is illogical to suppose that this district was totally denuded of human habitation when they left to pursue their destinies elsewhere. Archaeologically, Germanic civilization comes to an abrupt halt in eastern Germany during the fourth century. Furthermore since the proto-Slavs had a chance to adopt the types of Roman provincial pottery, they must have begun to spread toward the Roman outposts before that date. It would, on the other hand, take us too far afield to belabor the point whether or not the Slavs were in German territory before the Germans descended from Scandinavia. We may thus limit ourselves to the admission that there were some Slavic elements in eastern Germany west of the Vistula even when this area was under German occupation before the migrations began, and the Slavs may well have been the *superiores barbari* who, according to Julius Capitolinus, set so many Germanic tribes in motion during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

But even if we thus suppose that the Slavs crossed the Vistula before 150 A.D., their occupation of Germany to the Elbe and the Oder is not historically confirmed until early in the sixth century. In 512 Procopius mentions that the Germanic Heruli, after defeat by the Lombards, made their way north to Denmark "through all the nations of the Sclaveni," and the Elbe and the Saale are elsewhere mentioned at the same period as the frontier between German and Slav. Apprehensive of Slavic penetration west of this line, Charlemagne in 805 fixed the Slavic boundary, the *limes sorabicus,* running roughly northward from Regensburg to the Saale and from the vicinity of Magdeburg northwestward across country to the estuary of the Elbe and the site of modern Hamburg. The border was later continued on a line roughly connecting the sites of Hamburg

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than 1167, and long before that date the process of extermination or assimilation had set in. 177

In view of the latest developments in modern history, let us pause a moment on the origins of the Czechoslovaks. The primeval habitat of Czechs and Slovaks was located north of the Carpathians between the headwaters of the Oder and the middle Vistula. The Czechs reached Bohemia and Moravia by the upper reaches of the Neisse and Oder and westward through the Sudeten range and between the Gesenke and the Jablunka. The Slovaks, on the other hand, arrived in their present location between the Morava and the Danube by passing the western Carpathians (that is, the Beskids and the High Tatra south of modern Krakow). The western limits of the Czechs were thus the Böhmer Wald and the Erzgebirge, while on the north they enjoyed a good natural frontier in the mountains from the Sudetens to the Carpathians. On the south the Bohemians and Moravians originally extended to the Danube, but were gradually pushed back along the river between Linz and Vienna until the twelfth century, though the Slovaks maintained contact with it at Bratislava (Pressburg). The western Slovak limit is still roughly the river Morava, which joins the Danube about thirty miles east of Vienna. 167

There is no longer much question but that the Czech and the Slovak languages were originally an identical dialect just as their speakers were primitively one group, but even in modern times there is an appreciable diversity of dialect, culture, and character among various sections of even the Czechs themselves, and the present differentiation of the Slovaks was conditioned and intensified by geographical separation from the Czechs and by the long-standing political dominance of the Magyars since 1029. The intellectual gap between Czech and Slovak is also due to the rapid Czech assimilation of German culture. Finally, at the extreme east end of the state of Czechoslovakia is an area known as Subcarpathian Russia. Its inhabitants speak a Ukrainian (Little Russian) dialect per- 197 184

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destined to develop the Khazar state. The advance of the Khazars inspired a wide dispersion of the Bulgars. One branch recrossed the Don and, continuing northward, eventually settled near the junction of the Volga and the Kama, where they appear in later Russian history. The other section moved westward and, after uniting with their tribal kinsmen who had preceded them into the Balkans, carried their standards to Salonika in 675 before they settled in Moesia and fused with the South Slavs already resident there. But the Khazars remained in the steppe country, and gradually spread out across the prairies until they reached the southern Bug.

From such indications as we have that the Eastern Slavs had penetrated as far east as the Sea of Azov in the sixth century, their contacts with the various waves of mobile Asiatic invaders must have been closer than the scanty data of extant sources record though, in view of the infinitely small number of Turko-Tartar loan words which found their way into the Slavic vocabulary prior to the recorded history of the Slavs, it is evident that this contact was productive of little intellectual influence on the Slavs themselves. In fact, thanks to their association with Iranian and Goth, the Eastern Slavs had attained a degree of civilization at least equal and probably superior to that of the series of Turko-Tartar nomads who traversed southern Russia between the fourth and the seventh centuries.

During this interval, in any case, the steppes between the Don and the Dnieper were the scene of constant shifts of population. Fleeing before the Huns, the Goths had moved back into central Europe. Driven by the Avars, the western Bulgars had pushed forward into the Balkans. The Avars themselves were ultimately demolished by combined Frank, Slav, and Bulgar offensives along the Danube, and the eastern Bulgar units were displaced by the Khazars. The period of Khazar expansion westward was thus an epoch peculiarly favorable for the progress of the Eastern Slavs down the valleys of the Dnieper and the Dniester. Traces of this colonization are preserved in the *Primary Chronicle,* which places the Slavic Uli-

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Like the Scythian and Sarmatian kingdoms of which it was the functional successor, the Khazar state rested upon a fusion of agrarian and commercial interests. Its nominal ruler was the *khan* (*Khakan*), who was substantially a religious figurehead. The actual administration was in the hands of the *beg*, who commanded the standing army composed chiefly of mercenaries of Khwarizmian, Slavic, and later even of Scandinavian extraction. The Khazar capital was situated at Itil, near the site of modern Astrakhan, and in the eighth and ninth centuries Khazaria was hardly of less importance to Byzantine foreign policy than the Carolingian Empire. The Khazar domination over their northern tributaries was, however, loosely organized, and the small Khazar standing army was incapable of serious offensive operations, a weakness doubly menacing in view of the fact that the series of nomadic incursions from the plains of Asia was as yet unfinished. About 860 the Khazar state was shaken by the fierce inroads of a new Turko-Tartar tribe, the Pechenegs, who had previously dwelt between the Volga and the Yaik until set in motion by the pressure of other kindred peoples behind them. The Pechenegs drove the Magyars across the Dnieper and on into central Europe, caused a concentration of the Eastern Slavs on the middle Dnieper, and aroused such apprehension among the Khazars that the latter, to protect their interests in the steppe country, sought the aid of Byzantine engineers to construct the new fortress of Sarkel on the lower Don. From this point dates the decline of the Khazar state, which was also hastened by influences emanating from the specifically Slavic areas of the Dnieper valley. In fact the decline of Khazaria stimulated the evolution of the Kiev principate, the economic development of which stamps it as the logical heir of the Khazar polity.

The influence of the Khazars on the culture of the Eastern Slavs at the dawn of their history is greater than usually appreciated, since the Khazar dominance extended over a period of some two centuries and was the bearer of a relatively advanced civilization. In view of the fact that the Khazars are

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known to have kept a garrison at Kiev, it is even probable that the name of that city is of Khazar origin, that is, *küi,* "bank of a river," and *ev,* "settlement," which well accords with the lower part of the city as it still is today.

On the north and the east, the Eastern Slavs were eventually confronted by Finnish tribes. We have relatively little data on the primitive habitat of the Finns, but modern scholarship places it in the extreme eastern section of northern Europe, on the edge of the Ural mountains and even further eastward. They were thus concentrated from earliest times in the basins of the rivers Oka, the Kama, and the middle Volga, and it is from this nucleus that they spread westward to the Finnish Gulf, occupying not only Karelia and modern Finland, but also the southern shore as far as the Gulf of Riga, hence modern Esthonia and much of present-day Latvia. In central Russia their line of settlement extended as far west as modern Moscow, where they were in touch with an original Lithuanian population which has long since disappeared. Indeed, since these Lithuanian elements occupied a line running from the Baltic to the neighborhood of modern Smolensk and Kaluga, the actual contacts of Eastern Slavs and Finns cannot have begun until the Slavs themselves had already crossed the northern Dnieper and advanced toward the head of the Desna, and until the Finns themselves had begun to move westward toward the Baltic. This view is confirmed by the fact that it is only in the extreme north and east of the Russian area that Finnish linguistic influences are perceptible.

While there are some tribes known to Herodotus who may have been Finns, the Finns themselves are first mentioned with certainty by Tacitus, who did not think very highly of them, since he speaks of their remarkable ferocity at once with their sordid poverty, adding that they lived on herbs, dressed in skins, slept on the ground, and defended themselves with bone-tipped arrows. Jordanes, the Gothic historian, knew some identifiably Finnish tribes as subjects of the Goths. Our now familiar source, the Russian *Primary Chronicle,* composed after

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the expansion of the Eastern Slavs was an accomplished fact, 177
shows them in contact with the Finns on a long line from the Baltic to the upper Don. The chronicler distinguishes three groups of Finns: those on the Baltic, those beyond the upper Volga, and those on the middle Volga itself. The Finnish tribes south of Moscow and between Moscow and the Volga have disappeared, though the other groups are still abundantly represented even today.

Whenever the Eastern Slavs encountered the Finns, the latter either retired or remained passive. Though the Finns may have been bellicose in Tacitus's day, Jordanes knew them only as *mitissimi*—extremely pacific. In these early days the Finns showed no tendency toward urban concentration or to union for defense, while the Slavs, during the period in which [721]
their greatest expansion at Finnish expense took place (the ninth and tenth centuries), were already profiting by the military technique and leadership of courageous and enterprising Viking immigrants from Scandinavia.

At this date but one people of Finnish stock undertook an energetic offensive with perceptible historical results. These were the Magyars, who had already been in contact with Turko-Tartar tribes and had thus acquired some warlike talents. The Magyars are related to certain still extant Finnish tribes (the Voguls and the Ostyaks) on the river Ob in Siberia. After splitting off from the ethnic nucleus in about the seventh century, they moved west into southern Russia, where they met the Khazars on the Don. Then, around 860, they pushed on into Moldavia, and finally, after various raids into Pannonia and the Balkans, settled down in the Hungarian plain, where their descendants have lived since about the year 900. Their subsequent contacts were thus largely with the Southern and the Western Slavs.

None of these Finnish tribes have any ethnic or linguistic 177
relationship with the Slavic tribes. But with the Lithuanians the situation is somewhat different. The Lithuanians are an Indo-European people, and their language shows affinity with

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177 Slavonic, although the two idioms have undergone widely
174 variant evolutions over a long period. It is generally held by competent scholars that there was at some early date an epoch of Balto-Slavic unity. Precisely when this unity existed it is not so easy to say. The facts that certain Iranian words appear in Slavic without a counterpart in Lithuanian, and that the Balts borrowed other words from Finnish which the Slavs do not possess, have given rise to the theory that the Balts and the Slavs had separated before the arrival of the Scythians and even early in the bronze age, hence before 1000 B.C. But these are very tenuous proofs, and the most we can say with certainty is that the Balts and the Slavs had been separated for a long time before history knew either of them.

177 The modern extent of Lithuanian (Baltic) territory in Lithuania, Latvia, and their environs is, moreover, much more limited than it was in an earlier age, for before the westward migration of the Finns from the Volga, the Letto-Lithuanian people occupied the Baltic coast from the Vistula to the Gulf of Finland and the interior across White Russia (Byelorussia) to the western limit of the Finns between the upper Volga and Moscow rivers north of the line of settlement of the early Eastern Slavs. There were Lithuanian survivals, a tribe known as the Galindians, near Moscow as late as the thirteenth century, showing that Slavic colonization in central Russia encountered not only Finns, but also Balts. The Russian *Primary Chronicle* thus knows not only the Galindians, but also the Prussians on the coast east of the Vistula, and the Lithuanians (a specific tribal name) and other Baltic units around the Gulf of Riga where the Letts now reside. It should be noted that the German Prussians derive their name from the old home of the Lithuanian Prussians, that is, modern East Prussia, the country south of Danzig and Königsberg. This area was subjugated by the Teutonic knights during the thirteenth century, after which the eradication of the original Baltic inhabitants proceeded so rapidly that the language had died out by the year 1700.

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It was necessary to dwell at some length on the contacts of the Eastern Slavs because the area which they inhabit is, after all, fairly remote, and the process by which they came to occupy it is likewise far from the ken of any but the specialist. As the Eastern Slavs branched out into the steppes toward the Black Sea and the Don and northeastward at the expense of Lithuanian and Finnish tribes, the old unity tended to relax in proportion to their dispersion. New centers of population formed at considerable distances from the old foci. The colonizers underwent new influences which varied with their locations. The southeastern settlers experienced Khazar influence, the northern colonies were close to Scandinavia of the Viking age, and the Slavs along the lower Dnieper were within the cultural sphere of Byzantium. /67 /77

The Arabic geographers who described eastern Europe of the ninth century already noted four centers of Eastern Slavic concentration at that early period: one near Lake Ilmen, another on the Oka River near the city of Ryazan, one at Kiev, and a fourth in Galicia, and more detailed tribal designations among the Eastern Slavs were likewise known to both German and Greek sources of the same period. Finally, the oft-cited Russian *Primary Chronicle* preserves from traditions considerably earlier than the twelfth century not only a list of tribes on Russian soil, but also their locations. These tribes are the Croats, the Polyane, the Volhynians, the Dulebians, the Buzhane, the Dregovichians, the Polotians, the Novgorod Slavs, the Severians, the Krivichians, the Radimichians, the Vyatichians, the Ulichians, and the Tivercians.

The Croats mentioned were a remnant of the tribe of the same name which remained behind in eastern Galicia, Bukovina, and on the Prut and the Dniester rivers after others of their kindred had moved on into the Balkans. The Dulebians, the Volhynians, and the Buzhane (who are connected by their name with the river Bug in Volhynia) inhabited Volhynia in the neighborhood of modern Lutsk. The Derevlians (whose name is connected with Slavic *derevo*, "wood"), occupied the

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167 vast forests south of the Pripet River, and were, on account of their remote location, culturally backward.

●177 In this respect, they contrast with their eastern neighbors, the Polyane, who lived in the prairie country (their name characterizes them as plain dwellers) on the west bank of the Dnieper north and south of the ancient city of Kiev, which had been a point of settlement since far back into the stone age. It is not unlikely that the metropolis mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy in the second century and the *Danparstathir* of Gothic tradition and the Norse *Hervárarsága* were settlements on the site of modern Kiev. Situated on a strategic trade route, the Polyane were exposed to the stimulating influences of both Scandinavian and Byzantine culture as the power of the Khazars waned. It is thus by no means accidental that their chief center became the nucleus toward which adjacent tribes gravitated and that center from which foreign culture radiated throughout the entire period before it was sacked by the Tartars in 1240.

The Ulichians and the Tivercians, the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Subcarpathian Russia, present a more complicated problem. According to the *Primary Chronicle,* they lived on the southern Bug and the Dniester, extending down to the Black Sea coast and as far as the Danube. They [721] are without question the Eastern Slavic tribes which progressed the farthest toward the sea but, because of that same fact, they also occupied a position critically exposed to repeated nomad attacks. They can therefore hardly have moved south until after the departure of the Avars in the sixth century, and they were seriously menaced again by the incursion of the Magyars in the ninth century. We know from Arabic sources that the Magyars even enslaved much of the Slavic population in this area. Then, in the early tenth century, nomad incursions so increased in intensity and frequency that peaceful habitation in the coastal area eventually became impossible. The Ulichians and the Tivercians thus withdrew to the Carpathians and provided an important center of Slavic settlement in Tran-

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sylvania and northern Hungary. This settlement did not take place, however, until after the tenth century, so that the Subcarpathian Russians actually did not come to occupy their present seats until some five hundred years after the dispersion of the proto-Slavs. There are, indeed, numerous place names even in the interior of Hungary which, by their Slavic origin, bear witness to the movement of these tribes.

The easternmost of the East Slavic tribes on Russian soil were the Severians. Though placed by the *Primary Chronicle* on the Desna and its eastern tributaries, they seem to have constituted the Slavic element which pushed as far east as the Don river in the sixth century and are even located by ninth-century Arab geographers on the lower Volga and in the northern Caucasus. But, like the Ulichians and the Tivercians, they too were exposed to Turko-Tartar impacts which drove them back to the region between modern Kursk, in the north-central Ukraine, and the left bank of the Dnieper. Their chief cities were Chernigov, on the Desna, and Pereslavl, southeast of Kiev on the left bank of the Dnieper.

North of the Derevlians, between the Pripet and the Dvina and as far east as the Berezina, lived the Dregovichians. Their area of occupation corresponds fairly closely to the modern White-Russian (Byelorussian) district, and thus would border on the zone of Lithuanian occupation. In fact, they are the Slavic group responsible for the contraction of this zone, since they pushed the Lithuanians back toward the Baltic coast and settled the basins of the Dvina and the Niemen rivers. Their chief cities were Turov, on the Pripet, and Pinsk, east of modern Brest-Litovsk. While their tribal appellation has been quite naturally connected with a word for marsh, it is, because of its termination *-ich*, more likely a patronymic.

To the east of the Berezina and straddling the Dnieper, the Radimichians were an unimportant and backward tribe which fell comparatively early under the sway of Kiev. Further east, even as far as the Oka River and modern Moscow, and thus on the edge of the eastern Finns, lived the Vyatichians, who were

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early colonizers in territory originally Finnish. The same observation applies to the Slovenes or Novgorod Slavs about Lake Ilmen, who thus approach the region of the great lakes. Just why they alone preserved the ethnic name of the Slavs remains an enigma. At any rate, they were, with the Polyane of Kiev, the most progressive of the Eastern Slavs. Located in an area ill-fitted for agriculture, they lived by hunting and trapping, by which they acquired material for barter with Scandinavian traders. Their pioneering spirit gradually carried them still further north toward Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and since only a short portage separated them from the upper Volga, we eventually find them pushing southeastward to insure a food supply from the grain fields of the Moscow district. They founded the city of Novgorod where the Volkhov flows out of Lake Ilmen, and economic and political collisions between this city and Moscow were a familiar feature of later medieval Russian history until the Muscovites emerged as victors.

Just south of the Slovenes lived the Krivichians, who dominated the headwaters of the Dvina, Dnieper, and Volga rivers and extended northwest until they collided with the Balts and Finns in the neighborhood of modern Pskov. Their chief centers, both of which owed their importance to river traffic, were Polotzk on the Dvina and Smolensk on the upper Dnieper. Since Smolensk is situated at an easy portage point between the Dvina, Lovat, and Dnieper rivers, it was one of the earliest points of Scandinavian settlement in the interior of Russia.

It stands to reason that, at the dawn of Russian history, these tribes must have in many instances progressed far beyond any patriarchal organization on the basis of kinship. Essentially an agricultural people, yet living also by hunting and trapping in newly colonized and sparsely settled areas, the Russian Slavs tended to develop beyond a purely patriarchal society as soon as they came to inhabit small farms grouped about a fortified village which served as a focal point for defense and as a rudimentary market for the exchange of their products. Such of these villages as were located on the chief watercourses developed

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797 then applied for aid to the Bavarians. The latter beat off the
721 Avars, but in 750 also seized control of Styria, Carinthia, and
175* Carniola. Then, in 788, when Charlemagne deposed Duke Tassilo of Bavaria, all Bavarian dependencies fell under the sway of the Carolingian realm. Even before this date, some of the local Slovene nobility had been converted to Christianity and consequently intermarried with Bavarian families. A number of churches had thus been founded in this area by missionaries from Salzburg, and a considerable proportion of the local Slovene population had also been Christianized before the epoch of Carolingian sovereignty.

797 When this sovereignty became established, missionary ac-
●177 tivities were intensified. During the reign of Charlemagne
175* there were two centers from which missionary activity reached the Slovenes: the archbishopric of Salzburg and the patriarchate of Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic. The former soon took the lead, and after Charlemagne defeated and dispersed the Avars in 796, the area between the Danube and the Theiss which they evacuated was added to the diocese of Salzburg. Bavarian missionaries accompanied German colonists into this district, where the new Slavic occupants were rapidly converted and Germanized, especially as the Slavic landlords were rapidly eliminated. The first bishop regularly assigned to the Slovenes was Deodoricus, ordained at Salzburg in 799. His diocese extended to the river Drave, which was the dividing line between the sees of Salzburg and Aquileia.

Similar missionary activity was also set in motion among the neighboring Croats south and east of the Slovenes. As the power of the Byzantine empire declined, the Frankish power gradually extended to the Slavs of the Adriatic coastline, so that the Dalmatian Croats were subject to the Franks from 803, and Frankish authority was but little impaired by the revolt of the Croat prince Lyudevit against Louis the Pious from 819 to 822. A few years later, for political reasons, an inland Croat district headed by Margrave Pribina, a Frankish feudatory with his headquarters in Pannonia near Lake Bala-

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175* lish, through Chancellor's expedition to the White Sea in 1553, At the same time the Eng-
721 opened up the northern sea route. Ivan was also conscious of
706 the economic advantages of owning a Baltic port and began
716 operations against the Livonian order of German knights which controlled both the Gulf of Riga and the Gulf of Finland. After capturing Narva, he founded the Russian navy a century and a quarter before Peter the Great by confiscating and arming a number of German merchant vessels, for which he employed German and Swedish officers as commanders. Ivan's early successes proved a boomerang, however, since the Livonian order was dissolved and Esthonia was turned over to Sweden. This event automatically produced a collision with that country, allied with Lithuania, so that war became incessant on the western front until Ivan's death in 1584.

175* By that date the formation and the future policy of modern Russia was clearly defined. It was a foregone conclusion that future Russian sovereigns would extend Russian territory to the Black Sea. It was only a question of time when the weakening of Poland and Lithuania would bring the Dnieper valley and White Russia under Muscovite sway. It had become a cardinal item of Russian policy to control the Finnish Gulf, and maritime commerce with the west would traverse those waters
[177] as soon as ports were either conquered or developed. The long period of Russian isolation from Europe was ended, and the difficult process of acquiring modern European techniques was about to begin. Russia had graduated from oriental domination and was on its way to becoming a major European power, never to approach the East again, save in the hope of conquest.

642 In view of the gradual evolution of Muscovite sovereignty,
632 it is important to understand also the origins of autocracy in Moscow itself. For autocracy was by no means inevitable or universal in medieval Russia, and in the principality of Kiev the early princes had always had to reckon with town assemblies which supervised and even frequently deposed them. The influence of these assemblies was large in any medieval Russian city of which the economic and political status had been deter-

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V

Foundations of Russian Culture

175* Russia makes a relatively late appearance on the stage of
177 European civilization. A specifically Russian culture does not even begin until nearly 1000 A.D. with the conversion of Prince Vladimir I of Kiev in 989. In Western Europe, since the fall of the Roman Empire, a new civilization had by that time evolved from a fusion of Christian ideals with the survivals of classical culture. But medieval Russia derived its faith from Byzantium and from the Eastern branch of the church in which purely Latin culture played a subordinate role, since the dominant elements of Byzantine civilization were Hellenistic and oriental. The tradition of classical Latin culture, the influence of which never died out in Western Europe, was but one of the intellectual factors to which Russia was not exposed until its contact with the West was intensified by Peter the Great at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

178 Another vital agent in Western civilization which never
814 touched Russia directly was the complex of humanistic and renaissance ideals both in life and in literature. During the fourteenth century when the rising tide of humanism in Western Europe had revived the study of philosophy, politics, and science on the basis of classical sources, and when a fresh aesthetic pleasure was found not only in the imitation and the study of the ancients but also in the creation of new and popu-

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lar forms in vernacular letters, Russia was just recovering from 178
the economically destructive and intellectually paralyzing ef- 814
fects of the Tartar conquest which had weighed the nation down since 1240. Medieval Moscow had nothing of the thirst for knowledge and the ambition for culture that inspired the foundation of German universities during the last half of the fourteenth century. It lacked the close contacts with Italy of the sixteenth which meant for Western Europe the infusion of art into literature and bore fruit in France in the works of Ronsard and the Pléiade or in England in the brilliance of Spenser and Sidney. This heritage was transmitted to Russia [177] only in the eighteenth century as an element in the literary models and traditions then taken over bodily from the West.

Apart from the classical tradition of the Middle Ages and the 779
revival of intellectual and artistic creative fervor during the 178
Renaissance, there was a third important element in Western culture to which Russia was not directly exposed: the spirit of the Protestant Reformation. Russia had received the Christian faith from Byzantium. But the Eastern Orthodox and the Western Roman Catholic Churches were split by the schism of 1054, sixty-five years after the conversion of Kiev. The Eastern Church intensified its emphasis on mysticism and asceticism without the balance of social and cultural interests which fertilized the labors of the Roman Church in Western Europe. Then, after the contacts between the Russian Church and Constantinople became difficult because of precarious communication, and still more after the fall of the Byzantine Empire fifty years before Columbus discovered America, the church in Russia became petrified in dogma and sunk in debased formalism. It maintained no such tradition of learning, no such cult of scholastic philosophy as made the Roman Church a nucleus of productive thought even in those periods of European political history in which popular culture was at its lowest ebb. It was incapable of producing such bold and independent thinkers as a Wyclif, a Hus, a Luther, or a Calvin. Indeed, had such thinkers arisen, it is doubtful whether, even in the church or

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among the limited section of the upper class which was literate, there could have been found a receptive public in whom their ideas could have taken root.

Thus, when the Byzantine intellectual influence (such as it was) died away, the Russian Church lost its function as a repository of culture, and never regained it before it was reduced to social impotence in our own day by revolutionaries angered at its pernicious coöperation with the autocracy. Nor had there ever arisen in Russia any fruitful movement of inspired protest on theological grounds which opposed the spirit of individual critical intelligence to the inertia of a dogma-ridden hierachy. All three of these crucial factors in the formation of the Western European outlook (the perpetuation of classical culture in the Middle Ages; humanism and the Renaissance; the Protestant Reformation) fall quite outside the purview of Russian intellectual life until introduced as contributing elements of the Western culture imposed upon Russia by Peter and his successors in the course of the eighteenth century.

When the Swedish warrior-merchants moved down the Russian watercourses, they established themselves as the economic and military ruling class in the small towns which the Eastern Slavs themselves had founded at strategic points for trade and defense. The impulse which first unified the Eastern Slavs into what eventually became the principality of Kiev resulted from the Varangian immigration, and though the immigrants were rapidly Russified by intermarriage with the native Slavs, the princes of Kiev still maintained intimate contact with Scandinavia. At the same time, their economic needs kept them in close relations with the Byzantine Empire for a century before the conversion of Kiev and for two centuries and a half thereafter.

Although Byzantine culture had its weaker aspects, we are too prone to underestimate its level and its service to the world, since nearly five centuries separate us from its collapse before the onslaught of the Turks. For while Western Europe was going through the painful process of civilizing the Germanic

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invaders as they fused with the native stocks, the Eastern Empire had grafted upon the legacy of Rome the picturesque and flamboyant features of oriental Christianity. Its autocratic sovereigns were the agents of God on earth under a system which combined in them the attributes of emperor and pope, and this factor ought especially to be borne in mind, because it not only explains the autocratic tradition later set up by the princes of Moscow but also lies at the root of the Russian tendency to attribute to all their rulers a sort of superhuman status. The superlative adulation showered on Joseph Stalin in our own day is in part a remote reflex of Byzantine influence. Then too, Constantinople before the arrival of the Crusaders was the greatest center of material civilization in the occidental world. Its buildings rivaled Rome in its prime. Its highly organized and stratified society, the splendor of its religious observances, its military prowess under the more gifted emperors, and its general atmosphere of wealth could not fail to create a lasting impression on visitors from less advanced regions.

But Byzantine civilization lacked the punch and the drive which characterized the best days of the Roman Empire or the realm of Charlemagne. In intellectual and literary matters the Eastern Empire was conservative. It studied the past without rivaling it with the products of contemporary creative imagination. It was compilatory rather than original. Byzantine scholars were the most learned men of their day, but their learning was accumulative, not productive. Byzantine historians composed voluminous chronicles without evolving a philosophy of history, while Byzantine theologians dissipated their energy on amenities of dogma argued with a bitterness which we should nowadays associate only with partisan politics. The Byzantine Church was more political than the Roman, more closely affiliated with the state, and hence less fundamentally spiritual in outlook. The literary tradition transmitted by the Byzantine Church was stiff and formalistic. and it was the misfortune of medieval Russia that the Byzantine influence was weakened by political events before it was absorbed by the

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814 younger state in a volume which might have served as a firm
829 basis for the development of a characteristic native culture.
175 The Russians before the Tartar invasion were always pupils;
they originated very little that was independent of Byzantine
models either in literature or in art.

177 In art, however, this imitation was productive and created
341 an architectural and a decorative tradition which lasted down
into modern times. By the date of Vladimir's conversion, the
basilica as a type of church architecture in Byzantium had been
largely replaced by the cruciform church with one or with
five cupolas. This was the type transmitted to Russia and still
worthily represented by the great medieval churches of Kiev,
Novgorod, Vladimir and even Moscow, though in the metropolis the more exotic forms and the onion-shaped dome derived
177 from wooden architecture prevail. The highly conventionalized
532 art of the icon dominated Russian painting until Western influences began to seep in during the seventeenth century, but
this tradition was still vital enough before the first World War
to influence the art of nineteenth-century religious and historical painters. For where the Byzantine tradition had taken
firm root, the aesthetic appeal was long-lived and enduring.

538 In literature, along with lapidary works of religious implica-
186 tion, the Russian national spirit began to manifest itself in
historical compilations during the eleventh century, and literary reflexes of folk poetry had already appeared before the
Tartar conquest. But a truly national literature stems from a
long educative process, and this process was interrupted in
medieval Russia both by domestic politics and by nomadic
inroads.

177 Where domestic disorders merely retarded the intellectual
779 advance of medieval Russia, the Tartar incursion brought it
to a full stop. It has already been noticed what material impoverishment it had caused. But the Tartar domination was a
far more serious factor in the deterioration of cultural and
spiritual values. The church, to be sure, was treated with
tolerance by the Tartars because it preached submission to

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acterize them as well-read and good linguists for their day and time. But during the Tartar hegemony such items are totally lacking. Not only the princes but even the higher clergy were frequently illiterate. Dmitri Donskoi could hardly read, and Basil II, Ivan the Terrible's great-grandfather, could neither read nor write. At the Council of Florence in 1439, Pope Eugene IV was told that the contemporary Russian bishops had little learning, and a feeble light of culture was kept burning in the Russian Church of this period solely by the appointment of Greek metropolitan bishops in Moscow. Only at the end of the fifteenth century do we encounter new interest in the foundation of schools for training the clergy, and considerable pressure in this direction was exercised by the Greek and South Slavic scholars who emigrated to Russia to escape the yoke of the Turks.

The advancement of clerical scholarship during the reign of Ivan III (1462-1505) was accompanied by a characteristic effort to acquire foreign techniques. Here, of course, we have an early example of what was to repeat itself so often in later days whenever the advancement of Russia required new mechanical skills. Under Ivan III Italian specialists were particularly active. The Bolognese architect Rudolfo Fioravanti not only built the Cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin, but also cast cannon, while Alevisio Novi, of Milan, designed and built the adjacent Cathedral of Saint Michael, in which were buried all subsequent Muscovite tsars to the time of Peter the Great. Miners, silversmiths, masons, and even an organist were imported from Hungary. Ivan the Terrible settled on the outskirts of Moscow in the so-called German suburb all German metalworkers who had been captured in his Livonian wars, and in 1567 obtained from England a doctor, an apothecary, and various goldsmiths. The Tsar was interested not only in material progress but also in raising the intellectual level of priests and officials, for it had been noted in the Church Council of 1551 that the opportunities for education were as yet slight. Besides, as the principality of Moscow developed into a

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175* selves in the cities, there was as yet no prospect for the forma-
566 tion of a growing and self-conscious middle class whose aspirations might have sown the seeds of progress. As a result, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all intellectual advance was confined to the aristocratic and ruling minority.

175* In the seventeenth century, however, the door was again
177 opened to Western influence by the need for self-defense. Foreign mercenaries entered the Russian army, which now became a professional force. New mines and arsenals were opened. The foreign colony founded at Moscow by Ivan the Terrible (the German suburb), though scattered during the upheaval of 1598-1612, was soon repopulated with merchants, technicians, and artisans, and their advanced notions of material comfort influenced those Russians who came into contact with them. Artamon Matveyev, the able foreign minister of Michael's son, the Tsar Alexis (in turn Peter the Great's father), married a Scotch lady, and was one of the first Russian nobles to set up his household on a Western scale. Through him notions of contemporary culture penetrated even to the court.
[562] Natalia Narishkina, Peter the Great's mother, was Matveyev's ward, and though Scotch on her mother's side, was probably the first Muscovite lady of her day to receive even a moderate education and to emancipate herself from the seclusion in which noblewomen had vegetated since the Tartar conquest.

177 While material progress was largely implemented by the
871 German technicians resident in Moscow, new theological and
797 literary ideas penetrated the empire by another route. It may be recalled that Kiev and the Dnieper valley were conquered by the Lithuanians in 1363. Then by the fusion of Poland and Lithuania at the end of the fourteenth century, the whole Ukraine became exposed to Polish colonization and cultural influence. By the sixteenth century, Polish intellectual life was entirely under the control of the Jesuits, who developed an intense but largely unsuccessful proselytizing activity among the Orthodox Ukrainians. As a counterpoise against Jesuit influence, the Orthodox clergy of the Kiev area opened schools

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which taught the late renaissance disciplines on which the Poles themselves were fed. This process culminated in the establishment of a college at Kiev which was founded in 1622 by Peter Mogila, the great Orthodox Bishop of Kiev. An alumnus of this school, Simeon Polotski, who was already known to Tsar Alexis as a scholar and poet, migrated to Moscow in 1663, where he founded a small monastery school, and in 1667 became tutor to the Tsar's eldest son. Simeon was the first influential exponent at Moscow of renaissance scholarship on a Latin basis, and from 1667, when the Ukraine was ceded by Poland to Moscow, the impact of Western influences through Kievan channels was immediately intensified. That this infusion of a new spirit did not take place without violent opposition goes without saying, but destiny was on the side of the progressives, even though progress was appallingly slow.

It is apparent, however, that increasingly broader breaches had been splitting the Chinese Wall of Muscovite self-sufficiency ever since the time of Ivan III. But Peter the Great set out to demolish it with one charge. For a prince of Moscow, his upbringing was exceptional. His education had been fragmentary, but his free contacts with foreign technicians while he lived in the country near Moscow during the regency of his sister Sophia embued him with a profound taste for military and naval science and mechanics. Essentially practical and rationalistic, he departed from Muscovite tradition in caring nothing for the church as a vessel of dogma and used it only insofar as it was adaptable to his purposes. His boundless energy strained toward goals far beyond the comprehension of any but an infinitesimal minority of his subjects, the rest of whom he undertook to reform and modernize by brute force. But he knew Russia could not become a major European power without the knowledge by which to use the fruits of modern technique. This knowledge he literally drove into the Russians at the point of the bayonet. Since his eye was permanently fixed on material progress, he cared little for abstract learning. His idea of literature was propaganda, and the for-

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175* eign works translated in his reign were mostly technical hand-
643 books. He insisted on Western European costume, not from
177 any aesthetic consideration, but because it was more practical and more comfortable to work in than the old Muscovite kaftan with its long sleeves. To prosecute his ends, he was obliged to create a bureaucracy whom he recruited from all strata of society, having little regard for origins if they were intelligent and efficient. Russian culture in Peter's day consisted of the tsar and his pathetically small group of specialists working at killing speed and pressure to overcome the national inertia.

484 But Peter abolished previous restrictions on foreign travel,
175* and young aristocrats were sent abroad to study and to learn
643 how the Europeans actually lived. The tsar traveled in foreign
177 countries himself. Foreign specialists entered the Russian service in unparalleled numbers. His reign brought to light no liberal tendencies, however, since the nobility absorbed the new bureaucracy and strengthened its hold on the national substance. Yet the channel was opened for a new complex of ideas. Peter forced his subjects to go abroad to study engineering and anatomy, and they observed humanity and the mechanism of states. Unsuccessful attempts to limit the absolute power of the throne were made immediately after Peter's death in 1725.

175* New notions of the amenities of social intercourse and of the
177 pleasures offered by arts, music, the dance, and literature were
535 added to Peter's more materialistic innovations when his
536 daughter Elizabeth came to the throne in 1741, with the result that French civilization acquired a dominance in Russian intellectual life which it began to lose only at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The origins of the Russian ballet go back to 1735, in the reign of Elizabeth's cousin Anna, who also introduced Italian opera, but the French theater reached St. Petersburg in Elizabeth's reign, which also witnessed the beginnings of the native Russian drama composed in the French pseudoclassic vein of Corneille, Racine, and Molière.

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Russian poets with more form than talent now began to celebrate official occasions and generous donors with ponderous odes. Handbooks of French pseudoclassic literary theory, like Boileau's *Art Poétique*, were translated and annotated. The Academy of Sciences, founded by Peter's widow in 1725, included not only imported German luminaries, but the first Russian natural scientist Michael Lomonosov, sometimes characterized as the Russian Franklin, but whom, on account of the universality of his talent, Pushkin, greatest of Russian poets, called "Russia's first university." He is also notable as the first proletarian in secular Russian letters, for he started his career as a poor fisherman's son far north on the White Sea. The first modern Russian history was composed during the reigns of Anna and Elizabeth by Basil Tatishchev, a former collaborator of Peter the Great. The purely intellectual progress in the thirty years after Peter's death was thus considerable, even though (with rare exceptions) it was confined to the aristocracy.

It is a matter of record that when Catherine II came to the throne in 1762 she was already familiar with the theories of the eighteenth-century French political philosophers and would have welcomed an opportunity to apply them. But her position had been won wholly by the aid of the landed gentry and the aristocratic guard regiments, who were unlikely to surrender any of their prerogatives or to consent to any mitigation of the institution of serfdom on which their economic existence was based. The great empress thus contributed little to social progress, and her educational innovations remained for the most part on paper. Yet through her interest in the satirical journal and in the drama, she stimulated the progress of Russian letters even if her social initiatives were weak. In that field others carried the torch. A Russian customs official, Alexander Radishchev, who had studied at Leipzig and digested the liberal philosophy of the day, in 1780 fired the opening gun against serfdom, and though the exploit sent him to Siberia, its echoes did not die away until the institution was abolished. At the same time, the spirit of social service inspired

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pean campaigns were inoculated with the republican ideas disseminated by the French revolution. Essentially patriotic, they were eager to apply these ideals to their own country, to abolish the autocracy, promote republican government, raise the standard of education, and do away with the abuses of serfdom They continued with greater energy, though often with little judgment, the task begun by Radishchev.

Here the Russian revolutionary movement begins among an enlightened fraction of the ruling class. Great writers like Pushkin and Lermontov, each after brief romantic digressions, grew up to treat the seamy side of reality, both in the tragedy of the humble who are scarcely considered human by those they serve, or the misfortune of the gifted individual denied a chance at productive activity by the contemporary organization of society. Both these talents were suspected and harassed by the autocracy, and though each met his death in a duel, they were as truly victims of official conservatism as those young enthusiasts who had participated in the Decembrist conspiracy in 1825 after the death of Alexander I, and paid for it on the scaffold or amid the snows of Siberia. But from 1825 the cleavage between the government and the thoughtful section of society, once opened, was never bridged again.

This mutual hostility first became acute during the reign of Nicholas I from 1825 to the Crimean War. The Decembrist conspiracy had revealed that the turn to the right by Alexander I after 1815 had created great bitterness. The same judicial and administrative abuses that marred Catherine's reign were still rampant, state finances were disordered, and the peasants were rudely exploited. Nicholas at first had some notion of reform, but his suspicion of extragovernmental initiative was such that he hesitated to take any concrete step. The most pressing problem was serfdom: the landlords were heavily in debt and short of capital to provide employment for a rapidly increasing peasant population. Peasant disorders were menacingly frequent, but only in the western Ukraine and in Poland were reforms introduced. Educational institutions were fettered and

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Passau and Vienna, and the area devastated by the Magyars 000
was largely reoccupied by the year 1000.

At this period,[1] German missionary work in the Slavic dis- 175*
tricts south of the Danube proceeded not from Regensburg or 797
Passau, which were mainly occupied with the German settlements along the Danube, but from Bamberg. Missionaries from this diocese lived among the Slavs of Carinthia which was rapidly settled by colonists from Franconia and the middle Rhineland, as opposed to the predominantly Bavarian origin of the German settlers in Austria itself. While Bamberg was thus active in Carinthia (roughly the valley of the Drave east and west of Villach), Bavarian missionaries from Freising in Bavaria occupied themselves with Carniola (Krain), the region of the Save valley somewhat further southwest (the hinterland of Trieste), and here the colonists were again Bavarian. The Slovene population found by these German newcomers in Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria (originally a portion of Carinthia), was less driven out or exterminated than it was repressed. Documentary evidence reveals German and Slavic personal and place names side by side. The politically and socially [513]
dominant class was everywhere German. In Austria along the Danube, from which the Slavic population had been driven by the Avars before Carolingian times, the peasantry was almost exclusively Bavarian. But in Carinthia and Carniola, German peasants lived in close proximity to the native Slovenian peasantry which remained most numerous southwest of the Mur river in the valleys of the Drave and Save. Peculiar conditions on the right bank of the Danube thus explain the southward contraction of the Slovenes away from this river and their constant subservience in later days to Austrian political influence.

German influences in Moravia and their unfortunate conse- 175*
quences for the mission of Constantine and Methodius have 177
already been mentioned. Even while the brothers were still active, the struggle for Frankish supremacy was going on and

*[10th century -- Analyst]

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175* by 874 the vassalage of Moravia was definitely established. 177 After the epoch of Constantine and Methodius, all prospect of Moravian independence was destroyed by the Magyar invasion of the year 900, and for a century this region remained under Hungarian control until it was acquired by Bohemia in 1003. The decline of Moravia was paralleled by the rise of Bohemia. Early in the ninth century Charlemagne had invaded Bohemia, and in 849 the Bavarian Nordgau was founded as a barrier against the Czechs. This same epoch witnessed a gradual consolidation of the Czech cantons into a single state, as well as the baptism of numerous Czech notables at Regensburg. By the close of the ninth century, Bohemia became a vassal state of Germany and a part of the Regensburg diocese. German colonization into the district of Eger, only recently a bone of contention between the Czechs and Germans, began early in the tenth century, and paralleled Bavarian aggression on the southwestern frontier. The first half of that century was signalized by repeated German invasions of Bohemia from the north, and the situation was not stabilized until 971 when, under Otto I, the first Bohemian bishopric was established at Prague and subordinated to the Archbishop of Mainz. Soon thereafter Benedictine monasteries were founded, and aristocratic Czech circles were rapidly imbued with German culture.

Contacts between Czechs and Germans were intensified all during the eleventh century. German colonists (traders, farmers, technicians) arrived in large numbers. The annual fair at Prague came to be dominated by resident German merchants who occupied a position of virtual extraterritoriality, having their own magistrates and living under German law. Benedictine foundations were supplemented by Premonstratensian and Cistercian religious houses, who competed with their predecessors for privileges and donations. The mountainous parts of Bohemia were not opened to German colonization until nearly 1200 when numerous German settlers moved in through the Eger valley, and during the next century the Germans settled the southern, western, and eastern frontiers of

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Bohemia. Sometimes a Bohemian village received so many 175*
German colonists that it was practically changed into a Ger- 177
man settlement. Czech towns frequently were obliged to alter their traditional character and adopt German images. The nobles began to resurvey and repartition the lands attached to these villages, forcing the Czech peasants to pay rent and to assume all obligations applied to the newer settlers. The Czechs were obliged to accept these innovations for fear of being dispossessed in favor of the German newcomers, and this process continued until the early fifteenth century and the period of the Hussite Wars.

The Germanization of Bohemia progressed most rapidly after the year 1200. King Václav (Wenceslas) I was a great friend of the German colonists, even to the point of driving the Czech peasants out of his native town and settling it with Germans, and his example was eagerly followed by the Bohemian nobility. It even became the custom to rechristen local castles with German names and to give new ones such names to start with, till the country bristled with Löwenbergs, Steinbergs, Rosenbergs, and Rosenthals. New monasteries were 175*
headed by German abbots who systematically forgot the Old 177
Slavonic liturgy and the great tradition of Methodius, though 795
he was buried at Velehrad, from 1201 the site of a Cistercian house. Among the German militant orders, the Knights of St. John were permitted to settle German colonists anywhere upon their lands. These settlers were exempt from local laws and freed from local duties and obligations. Both Templars and Hospitallers had established churches at Prague before 1255. About the same period, Dominicans and Franciscans also founded their first Bohemian houses, including both German and Italian friars. The German colony at Prague was the oldest 175*
and richest foreign group within the country, since all other 177
German settlements were either in rural districts or in the mountainous mining regions.

The favors extended to the Germans at Prague were not dictated by sentiment but by practical interests, since they

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175* 177 insured the commercial and economic prosperity of the country. The section of Prague now known as the Old Town was by the year 1200 almost wholly occupied by Germans, and was fortified by its own wall and moat. German law, craftsmanship, and commercial ability were particularly fruitful in the development of provincial civic centers during the twelfth century, and in the next hundred years they attained a high level of prosperity with flourishing handicrafts and agriculture. [439] Their trade relations extended to Venice, Rome, Hamburg, Brandenburg, and Flanders; the primary article of Bohemian export was textiles. German colonization not only founded [311] towns but also increased the number of free farmers. These German rural colonists were most interested in the settlement of the less fruitful districts, especially in the forests of the western and northern borders of Bohemia. Since the development of this land required much hard work, the native Czech peasantry had never been intensely concerned with it, and it therefore yielded no profit to the landlords until the Germans began to exploit it. Hence the colonists received attractive terms in the guise of local self-government and tax exemptions in order to induce them to take it up. These circumstances thus favored extensive German settlement in the border districts simultaneously with the evolution of a prosperous and wealthy German middle class in the growing Bohemian cities.

175* 177 It is important to dwell on these conspicuous factors in the early development of Bohemia in order to show that the German penetration into this basically Slavic area occurred far back in the Middle Ages and is by no means a situation of recent growth. Since German settlements in the frontier districts actually took up land which the Czechs themselves had never occupied, any attempt to establish the frontiers of Czechoslovakia only on strategic considerations without regard to the conditions under which the country developed simply did violence to history and was inevitably destined to provoke discord. Whatever one may think of Nazi policy toward Czechoslovakia, the fact remains that the Germans had contributed

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just as much to the building up of Bohemia as did the Czechs. 175*
Apart from the early conflicts by which Bohemia became a 177
German vassal, the colonists were brought into the country voluntarily by Bohemian princes and barons, and they could therefore hardly be regarded in our own time as an inferior element with restricted rights in an area to whose economic and cultural development they had been generously contributing for seven hundred years.

It is fair to observe, however, that internal conflict between 175*
Czech and German broke out at the time of the Hussite Wars 721
of the fifteenth century. The radical Hussites bitterly attacked 186
the German population, which was in the main composed of faithful Catholics, and even wiped out the entire German citizenry of numerous cities and towns, while such German residents who compounded with the Hussite extremists were subjected to a violent campaign of Czechization. The results of this epoch of conflict were catastrophic. Most of what the German element jointly with the Bohemian had built up in three centuries of faithful effort was destroyed in less than half a century during which the Czechs split with the Germans on account of their loyal Catholicism. The weakness of the Hussite movement was that, while doubtless promoting a healthy national spirit, it broke down the traditional contacts which in previous centuries had contributed appreciably to the advance of culture and to the international prestige of the nation. The succession to the Bohemian crown first passed to the house of Austria in 1437, and Bohemia subsequently remained under the sovereignty of the Hapsburgs uninterruptedly from 1526 to 1918. During this period of nearly three hundred years there was obviously little doubt of the dominance of German influence.

Before turning to early German relations with the rising 175*
Polish state, let us follow the fortunes of the Slavs who emi- 167
grated westward to the basin of the Elbe. While the burden of German colonization on the Danube front was carried by the Bavarians with some aid from the Franconians, the same

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175* homes after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. In Silesia, how-
798 ever, the persecutions incident to the counter-reformation caused the migration into Poland of some 200,000 Germans, who were responsible for the creation of the textile industry in western Poland. In eastern Poland as well, the German element played a prominent role. In 1648, for instance, when the Cossack Hetman Bogdan Chmelnitski, aided by the Crimean Tartars, threatened eastern Galicia, the German inhabitants of Lemberg paid one third of the ransom by which the city was saved, and German officers and soldiery fought on the Polish side in all the battles of the period.

175* Sweden came out of the Thirty Years' War greatly strength-
131 ened by the momentary possession of the mouths of the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser, and its king, Charles X, thinking to gain the support of the Elector of Brandenburg for further conquests at Poland's expense, recognized him in 1656 as Duke of Prussia, thereby bringing East Prussia under the sovereignty of Brandenburg. Then, by the Treaty of Wehlau, the next year, the Poles surrendered their claims to East Prussia, thereby assuring the rising Prussian state of the undisputed possession of this area until the Seven Years' War, though it was returned to Prussia after the death of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia in 1762. Silesia was regained by Prussia the next year, the Vistula valley south of Danzig fell to the German share by the first partition of Poland in 1772, and the Posen area followed by the second partition of 1793. Such, then, in its broadest outlines, is the process by which the political frontier between Germany and Poland was determined prior to 1914.

● 177 Until the nineteenth century there was little racial hostility
175* between German and Slav. The German expansion eastward
648 during the Middle Ages had been dictated by religious and economic motives, and the conflicts in which Poland, as an independent state, was involved with its neighbors before the partitions were the result of dynastic ambitions and jealousies rather than of any collision of national ideologies. The practical services rendered to the development of agriculture, trade,

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and industry by German immigrants to Bohemia and Poland 175*
require no demonstration. By virtue of its close political asso- 177
ciation with western Europe, Bohemia was speedily drawn into 648
European intellectual life, and as early as the thirteenth century Bohemian authors were reproducing in their own language the forms and content of German medieval literature. International culture was still more widely disseminated after the foundation of the University of Prague in 1348, and the Hussite movement produced a wave of intellectual activity which lasted until the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century.

Poland, because of its comparative remoteness and political 175*
instability, was not subject to the same cultural stimuli, and 177
the services rendered by the German settlers in Polish terri- 517
tory were exclusively practical and materialistic. The influence of the Polish crown was never strong enough, nor were its holders cultured enough, to exert a civilizing influence comparable to that which radiated from Prague. Only in the six- [871]
teenth century do we meet with a striking development of Polish literature, and here the productive influences were more those of the Renaissance than specifically German, especially since local education was dominated by the Jesuits and strictly limited to the classical curriculum. While German economic influence was strong in both the great western Slavic states, it was Bohemia which profited the most from the absorption of German culture, and it was not until the seventeenth century that political events halted the intellectual advance so auspiciously begun.

Yet it was in Bohemia that the first seeds of a new Slavic 182
racial consciousness sprouted early in the nineteenth century. 814
The age of enlightenment had emphasized the ideals of humanity, tolerance, and culture, and these ideals were spread throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy by the reforms of Joseph II. As a matter of fact, the principle of nationality was first formulated by a German, for it was Goethe's great friend and mentor Johann Gottfried Herder, who declared that "the

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in the Russian section, and at a slower rate under the German regime. After 1867, the Poles under Austrian sovereignty enjoyed the greatest relative degree of freedom. The local administration passed entirely into Polish hands, the universities of Cracow and Lemberg were Polonized, and Polish was admitted as the official language everywhere except in the military and the postal services. In the Prussian area, the German administration adopted a liberal policy until 1830, when German became the official language, though the local church and the school system remained Polish.

Before 1848, however, pan-Slavic ideals filtered in from Bohemia, and that year saw open revolt in the Posen area. As the middle class grew in numbers, the influence of the nobility waned, and improved educational facilities favored the dissemination of Polish culture and national ideals among the masses. As industry grew in western Germany, there was also a considerable emigration of German residents from the Polish province. German authorities estimate that this movement shifted some three million Germans out of this area during the last half of the nineteenth century. Their places in the cities, which had hitherto been predominantly German, were taken by Polish workers who came in from the country, with the result that the proportion of German population in the Polish cities under German rule declined. At the same time, the general prosperity of Germany benefited the Polish district, the wealth and productivity of which were greatly enhanced during the nineteenth century, and educational opportunities naturally far surpassed those available in either Russian Poland or Galicia.

This survey of relations between German and Slav from the earliest times to the last century demonstrates with reasonable clarity that once the barbarities of the medieval German expansion period were over, every advance in civilization which the Germans experienced was passed on to such of the Western Slavs as were ripe to receive it. Though the Bohemians lost their political independence in the sixteenth century, they had already acquired such a high degree of culture that they were

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● 177 not likely to lag behind the general movement of European civilization. Though not independent, they nevertheless enjoyed a degree of political stability which the Poles lacked. On the other hand, even if the partitions splintered the Polish state, the material and intellectual progress registered under German rule in Posen and under Austrian sovereignty in Galicia also brought the Poles into closer touch with Western Europe and made them participants in the march of progress.

600 We should not for one moment wish to belittle the Bohemian or the Polish thirst for independent statehood, nor ignore the oppressive measures to which Poles and Czechs alike were frequently subjected by their masters who spoke a different language. But on the record there is no insuperable reason why peaceful coöperation between Slav and German is not possible, and there is no prospect for peace in Europe until this coöperation is reëstablished. Time and the pressure of events will wipe away the official German opinion that the Slavs are an inferior race, just as it has wiped out the brutal German ruling class which holds this opinion. But it is the task of our generation to work out some system whereby political sovereignty is not the ultimate aim of national aspirations, and whereby national units not economically self-sufficient—as none of the Western Slavs are—may join in political associations which guarantee their economic welfare without jeopardizing their characteristic cultures and ideals.

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The material and intellectual contributions of German settlers in Bohemia and Poland, not only during the later Middle Ages but also in more recent times, were a vital factor in the progress of Western Slavic civilization. The very ideals of nationality which inspired modern agitation for the revival of Western Slavic national states sprang from the brains of German philosophers and political theorists. Even the basic concepts on which the dictatorship of the proletariat was erected in the Soviet Union stem from the theories of the son of a converted Jewish family in the Rhineland who was steeped in the philosophy of Hegel. After the kingdom of Bohemia became subject to the Hapsburgs in the sixteenth century, and after the partitions of Poland brought sections of the former kingdom under Austrian and Prussian sovereignty, the dominance of German influence in these areas was still more firmly established, and there can be no question that the Western Slavs, even under alien rule, participated fully in the advance of Western civilization with which they were in close and lasting contact. 175* 177

Nationalist aspirations, as we have seen, developed during the first half of the nineteenth century and, while most keenly shared by the Western Slavs, were also transmitted to their South Slavic brethren by the Serbian and Bulgarian students who studied abroad. These aspirations were natural and logical. On the other hand, there was a marked tendency among the Western Slavs to minimize the economic security they enjoyed as members of larger states and to exaggerate the cogency of such traditions of national independence as they possessed. Their nationalistic sentiments were also stimulated both by the spectacle of the difficulties endured by their kindred under Russian rule and by the assumption of superiority by their German masters. There is no question but that the life of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy would have been prolonged had the constitution of 1867 been so modified as to grant its Slavic elements a degree of autonomy comparable to that possessed by German Austrians and by Magyars, since the Bohemians never secured equal political rights in Austria, 175* 186

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186* 558 of his successor, Cyprien Robert, from Anjou, was scarcely less romantic. After the 1848 rising he was suspected of having left for America, with the followers of Cabet, in search of Icaria. This sufficed to give credence to the idea that Slavology tends to unbalance those who profess it.

186* 814 With Louis Léger, it is true, this science found its equilibrium and its discipline. But under Léger's guidance, Slavonic research tended to centre around Philology, and this orientation seems to have been permanent. The instruction gained in solidity what it lost in breadth; its beneficiaries, necessarily restricted in number, have never succeeded in forming a political team of Slavicisers such as would have given our diplomacy the orientation it lacked at the time of the two great crises of the present century.

Apart from what we may call Germanic interference, the Slavs have done a great deal towards helping to obscure or to emphasise their own characteristic features. What chance was there, in the past, of forming impartial ideas about the Russians from Polish testimony, or vice versa? About the Czechs, from Russian testimony? Or about the Catholic Slavs, from the testimony of the Orthodox? Outside an *élite* of thinkers, poets, scholars, who were the promoters and leading spirits of Slavonic Congresses, there was, between these nations, presumed to be of the same stock, nothing but rivalry, quarrels, and mistrust—piously encouraged, moreover, by their powerful neighbours. Denominational differences were stronger than race-solidarity; the Moujik felt that a Rumanian who made his sign of the cross with three fingers was nearer to him than the Slovak or the Croat who made his with his whole hand, or than the Czech philosopher, persecuted by the Austrian authorities as a 'dangerous Panslavist'.

• [177] The inter-penetration of the different sections of Slavonic culture was so little developed that the great Russian poet, Pushkin, was deceived by Mérimée's literary hoax, when the latter published, under the title of *Guzla,* a so-called translation of Dalmatian songs.

186* 538 When Russian literature was revealed to the West, the latter greeted it with a defiant, or perverse, curiosity. *Monstrum invenimus.* French scholars saw in it less a new philosophy of life than an intellectual or sentimental pathology. De Vogüé, who introduced the Russian novel into France, warned his readers

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no oppressor of the Slavonic race other than the Turk, Krijanich added the German. He was the ancestor of the Russian Slavophiles of the nineteenth century. He was completely out of harmony with his age, which could not understand an argument combining the Slavonic idea with Roman Uniatism. He met the usual fate of a precursor. Having offered his services as Librarian to the Czar Alexis Mikaïlovitch, he obtained from Moscow a mission to reform Russian spelling; the manuscript of this work was recovered at Tver in 1888. But it was not long before he was suspected of being a Papist agent, and was deported to Siberia, in circumstances which have never been cleared up. At Tobolsk he drew up a treatise on 'Politics' which, on the lines of Machiavelli's work, was intended to deduce, from the principles of good and evil, the laws of the art of government. Was Peter the Great acquainted with this treatise, and was he influenced by it? Unfortunately, that is a matter which scholarship has not yet been able to decide. After that we lose trace of Krijanich. A Dutch traveller relates that a monk of that name died under the walls of Vienna, in the ranks of Sobieski's army; such would seem to be the crowning adventure of that strange visionary, promoter of a doctrine which was to be revived two hundred years later by a pleiad of thinkers and scholars and which, freed of its denominational utopianism, will remain the 'credo' of the apostles of Slav solidarity.

After the capture of Azov from the Turks by Peter the Great in 1696, the centre of gravity of Slavonic hopes was fixed in Russia. If we exclude the Polish point of view, it remained there for more than two centuries. The three reigns of Peter the Great, Catherine II, and Alexander I, helped to awaken the Russian national conscience by contact with the Slavs of the Balkans, Austria, and Hungary. This contact set up currents of mutual influence between sister-nations, discovering each other after long centuries of isolation and mutual ignorance. A Serbian Academician, M. Stoyanovich, published a series of testimonies from Serbs who were contemporaries of Peter the Great, from which it appears that, from this time onwards, the Southern Slavs considered Russian successes as their own.

Readers will not be surprised at the omission here of any reference to the 'Will of Peter the Great', which the Chevalier d'Eon, of dubious reputation, was said to have brought from

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A folk-lore, and an historical myth, are not sufficient to create a community of political interests. Nor, even, is a 'Cultural Front'. As Pypine, a Russian Westernist, remarked: 'Before imposing a Slavonic civilisation, this would first have had to be created'. 186*

For, in Russia itself, there were two opposing currents regarding the problem of the destinies of the Slavonic world. One, with Tchadaiev, saw Russia's past merely as a chaos of historical misunderstandings, and events devoid of meaning. Such was the doctrine of the Westernists, whose chiefs, moving in aristocratic or liberal circles, considered Europeanism as the measure of good and evil. The other, with the Slavophile school, refused to acknowledge the European culture as universal, and maintained that the country's future lay entirely in the development of her own values. 181 829

Between the two schools, Danilevsky, a biologist hostile to the Darwinian theories, about 1860 formulated the problem of the relations between 'Russia and Europe', with all its implications.

He began by stressing the anomaly represented by the notion of Europe—a survival of the *orbis romanus*. There was no real separation between the European and Asiatic continents; the Urals were not a frontier. Now the question of a distinction between Europe and Asia was of prime importance to Russia, placed as she was, like a hinge between these two worlds. 181 829 177

This distinction, although a geographical anachronism, nevertheless corresponded to indisputable facts in the domains of history and civilisation—facts which sufficed to demonstrate that Russia had no decisive bonds with Europe. Danilevsky summed them up as follows:—

The Romance and Germanic peoples had a certain number of features in common, none of which was found in Russia's past.

They divided up the heritage of the Roman Empire, in which Russia had no part.

They were influenced by Germanic institutions, around which crystallised the notion of the State. The West was the patrimony of the countries who succeeded to the Empire of Charlemagne. Now Russia remained outside this community, which the Middle Ages designated under the name of 'Christendom'.

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181 829 177 Russia knew nothing of Feudalism. She remained aloof from the intellectual current which began with Scholasticism and ended with scientific investigation. She was untouched by the Reformation. Whenever she entered into conflict with the Holy See, it was simply as a foreign power.

In short, Russia did not belong to the European family. If she was connected with it, said Danilevsky, it was by adoption, in the manner of a wild stock, on which an exotic branch has been grafted.

181 829 771 But had not religion, at least, engendered a spiritual solidarity between her and the West? Was not Orthodoxy a disruption of the Christian community and had not six centuries of Œcumenism forged indissoluble bonds between the Germano-Roman and the Slavo-Greek worlds?

No, replied Danilevsky. The Western Church was the triumph of Rationalism, differentiated by a positive sign among the Catholics, a negative one among the Protestants. Rome sacrificed internal to external unity, the Reformation sacrificed true liberty to the idea of external liberty. The Eastern Church was neither a system nor a hardened doctrine; it was all love and renunciation. Much more than dogmatic opposition was involved—these were two concepts of the spiritual life which were poles apart. That explained why the Orthodox Christians had come to regard Islam as the involuntary and unwitting saviour of Slavism. By tolerating independent churches under her sway, Islam protected them against the assimilating or unifying ascendency of Latin Catholicism. A Patriarch of Constantinople had said that *Providence had chosen the Osmanlis to defend Orthodoxy against the Western heresy.*

186* 829 So that Russia, according to Danilevsky, saw in Europe nothing to give her a feeling of historical or spiritual solidarity. Such was, moreover, the point of view of the great Russian novelist, Dostoievsky; to show oneself a true Russian was, for him, *to place oneself on the battleground of all European hostilities.* It was to constitute a unity, not *in* Europe, but opposed to it.

The thesis of the biologist met that of the novelist. A harmful policy (said Danilevsky in his turn), during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, associated Russia with the European balance of power. Now this balance of power affected only the

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feature which most reveals the Russian exclusivism that animated the Slavophiles is the very fact that their campaign did not succeed in creating a more effective current of intellectual exchanges. In 1850, a young Russian aristocrat asked for a passport to go abroad, in order to study 'Slavonic peoples and ways'. His application was refused, on the grounds that 'between Moscow and Kamchatka there was ample space in which to pursue this branch of study'. 186* 668

Among the Orthodox Slavs there was, moreover, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, only one State exhibiting a certain independence, and that was Montenegro. After a long period of subjection to Venetian influence, it passed entirely under Russian tutelage. Its prince-bishops sent their nephews to study in Russia, to prepare themselves for rule. Many young Montenegrins settled there, and their descendants included several of the Russian generals who opposed the Great Army. [563]

With this exception, intellectual relations between Slavs and Russians were intermittent and restricted. If, once they had regained their independence, the Serbs and the Bulgars sent their statesmen to St. Petersburg, their students went to Vienna, to Leipzig, or to Paris. Even the Orthodox seminarists often preferred the Protestant Faculty of Tübingen to the Russian religious institutions. In short, the ascendency of Western civilisation remained the chief obstacle to an assimilation of Russian culture by the Slavonic peoples. 186* 177•

The Slavophiles, despite the lack of support (and, very soon, the distrust) which their initiative experienced from the Imperial Government, did not allow themselves to be discouraged. The Moscow Slavonic Committee, founded immediately after the Congress of 1867, and its St. Petersburg branch, set up in the spring of 1868, were continually active in the years that followed. Among other activities, they established charitable societies, which educated young Slavs from the oppressed regions, and publishing houses, which produced books, dictionaries, maps, reviews, etc., intended to propagate the common ideal. Between 1875 and 1878 the two organisations were very much in favour in Russian society; millions of roubles flowed into the collections sponsored by them; Aid Committees came to the assistance of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina; arms were sent to the Christians in revolt against Islam; a legion of Russian 186* 668 575

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Chapter Three

THE TRIUMPH OF THE NATIONALITIES, OR SLAVISM WITHOUT RUSSIA

THE 1914–1918 War has often been regarded as a settling of accounts between Slavs and Teutons. And it was certainly the Germans who did the most to popularise this over-simplified viewpoint. At the time of the Balkan crisis, Bethmann-Hollweg, the Chancellor of the Reich, reduced the possibility of a European war to a struggle between Teutonism and Slavism: *Ein Kampf zwischen Germanentum und Slawentum.* For his part, General von Moltke wrote, on February 12, 1913: 'Sooner or later will come the war between Germanism and Slavism, for which all the standard-bearers of Germanic culture and spirit must prepare'.

At the time when it was formulated, this prophecy might have been found surprising. Indeed, in the course of the ages, Teutonism had secured solid positions against the Slavs, whom, in nine centuries, it had pushed back from the Elbe to the Vistula. It had colonised, plundered, or subdued their western tribes. It penetrated into Russia by two means—the Baltic nobility, and dynastic marriages. Eleven Tsars or Tsarinas since Peter the Great were either of German blood or under German matrimonial influence. This fact alone will give an idea of the fatality which, since the eighteenth century, weighed upon the destiny of Russia. In face of this infiltration, we think of the terrible phrase addressed by Skobelev to a delegation of Serbian students in Paris: 'In our own country, we are not at home'. In short, history presented itself to the Teutons as an uninterrupted process of absorption of their eastern neighbours, or of domination over their politics.

Moreover, von Moltke's prophecy implied a Slav solidarity which was then in the realm of conjecture. History offered no recent example of it. In 1848, the Slavs had nearly all fought for a cause which was foreign to, even if not opposed to, Slavism. In 1885, and again in 1913, the Serbs and the Bulgars had cut each others' throats. And twelve months later, in 1914,

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648 to do with the protesting prelates,[11] or openly dissociated them-
793 795 selves from their attitude.

771 By way of retort, the first number of the *Moscow Patriarchy*
626 published a message from the Council of Russian Bishops, assem-
795 bled for the election, inviting Christians to pray for the victory of the Red Army and the fulfilment of the scriptural text invoked by Alexander Nevsky: 'He who strikes with the sword shall perish by the sword'. On September 8, this same Council had excommunicated 'as adversaries of the Cross of the Lord, all who have been guilty of treason to the common cause of the Church and gone over to Fascism'; the bishops and clergy guilty on this head were removed from their sacred office.

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186* To conclude, the only obstacles to a general reconciliation
563 of the Slavonic peoples came from the Poles. To summarise here the vicissitudes of Soviet-Polish relations since the pact of December, 1941, would mean not only relating the most stormy chapter in the Allies' war diplomacy, but also recalling the relations of the various groups among the Polish exiles, the antagonism between the London Committee and that of Lublin, the frontier problem, and also the perhaps more tragic problem of the political, religious, and social concepts on the basis of which the Polish State was to be re-born. Once again it was made very clear that Poland occupied a place apart on the map of the Slavonic world, and formed an obstacle to the realisation of full Slav solidarity.

727 Like the other Slavonic States, however, she had been caught
177 up in the advance of the Russian armies sweeping across Eastern Europe—an onrush which settled the fate of the Slav nations, with or without their consent, as a consequence of their liberation. For three or four years Germany had been the second Slavonic power in the world. She had imposed on her Serbian, Croatian, Slovak, and Bulgarian satellites not only the horrors of the occupation, but also ideologies strongly opposed to their temperaments and their history; an impersonal and tyrannical idea of the State, a 'New Order' which was nothing but a hypocritical subjection, anti-Semitism which—with the exceptions of Poland and Imperial Russia—the Slavonic nations had always regarded
000 with horror. When the collapse came, all these nations turned

[11] Among these, however, we must include the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Argentine.

[J. Poland - Analyst]

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But it goes without saying that it was upon the Churches of the Balkan States that Muscovite influence was exercised most directly and decisively. In Yugoslavia the hierarchy created at Sremski Karlovtsi by Russian exiles, and which Mgr. Antoine, ex-Archbishop of Kiev, had organised immediately after the First World War, was dissolved and had to go into exile. A Russian delegation, presided over by the Metropolitan Serge of Odessa, went to present a mitre to Joseph, Metropolitan of Serbia, in February, 1946. The real object of this mission, which spent a month in Belgrade, was to define the future relations between the Yugoslav Church and the Muscovite Church.

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Then arose the case—a rather complicated one, it must be confessed—of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch, Mgr. Gavrilo. The latter had been accused by the Germans of having hidden part of the Crown treasure; he was interned, then taken to Dachau. When the Allies occupied Bavaria, he preferred retirement to Italy to a return to his country, where he was being begged to resume his duties. He adopted an attitude of opposition towards the régime established by Marshal Tito, as shown [798] by his pastoral letter of Easter, 1946. The Serbian Orthodox Church had been rather badly treated by this régime, for she had been deprived of the education of the young, religious marriage had been declared invalid in law, and she had lost most of her property. It is said that it was under the influence of the Russian clergy that her Metropolitans invited the Patriarch to return. He did, in fact, return on November 14, 1946, and had an interview with Tito, during which 'all misunderstandings were cleared up'. And, as proof of this, at the Slav Congress in Belgrade on December 11, he made a speech in which, after having recalled the sacrifices made for the 'safeguarding of truth, the application of justice, and the defence of liberty', he manifested his joy at finding that the Slavonic peoples 'sorely tried by the bitter experience of their recent and remote past, were expending all their energy in their spiritual unity'. 'Slav solidarity', he concluded, 'is manifested, today more than ever, with the help of our mother, Russia, and of Generalissimo Stalin; it is the surest guarantee of the development of the Slavonic peoples'.

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In Bulgaria the clergy, after seventy-five years of schism, returned to nominal obedience to the Patriarchate of Con-

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pursued on parallel lines, in Slav and non-Slav countries alike. 177 118

On the instigation of Moscow, these countries entered into 186 treaties of friendship and mutual assistance. These were so 648 worded as to give the impression, at first, of being designed to 175 wipe out long-standing heritages of hatred or distrust between peoples hitherto antagonistic to one another. Passed for a period of twenty years, and all on the same lines, these treaties were signed on the following dates:—

November 27, 1947: between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.
December 8: between Hungary and Yugoslavia.
December 16: between Bulgaria and Albania.
December 19: between Yugoslavia and Rumania.
January 16, 1948: between Bulgaria and Rumania.
January 24: between Hungary and Rumania.
February 4: between the Soviet Union and Rumania.
March 18: between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.
April 23: between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

The commentaries which accompanied the signing of these [829] agreements spoke, with ever-growing emphasis, of the 'peril' to the peace of Europe involved in the attitude of the Western powers. Centred at first on the German menace, they subsequently referred to fresh risks, clearly indicated. Thus the Soviet radio declared that the pact between Bulgaria and Moscow acquired significance from the fact that 'certain Western powers have, under the patronage of the United States, taken the creation of military blocs as the basis of their policy'.

Even the idea of a 'Balkan Federation', which in 1944 had found partisans in Moscow, was gradually pushed into the background, for fear that the essential core of this federation, the Bulgarian-Yugoslav bloc, might create a Slav community, which should one day grow strong enough to adopt an attitude of independence in regard to the Soviet Union. So, although it was originally inspired by Russia, this project for a union was later to be denounced by the Kremlin as a ruse of 'Western imperialism', and Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Premier, was to be disavowed by Moscow, in January, 1948, for having made an untimely allusion to it.

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The standardisation of Soviet policy in Europe was to take its definite shape in the conference held in Warsaw in September,

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•177 648 665 175 1947, by the delegates of the Communist Parties of nine European nations. It was then decided to set up a 'Joint Information Bureau' (*Kominform*), whose function would be to ensure organic liaison between these different parties, with a view to co-ordinating their activities and pooling their experience. A communiqué was broadcast on October 9 by the delegate of the Russian Communist Party, Idanov, a member of the Soviet Politburo. He contrasted the 'war-mongering' of the Western States with the 'pacifism' of the 'popular democracies' placed [185] under the influence of the Soviet Union. He affirmed the mission of the Communist Parties to combat 'attempts at enslavement', the most dangerous form of which was, in Moscow's view, the Marshall Plan.

The seat of the new organisation, which was to publish a bi-mensual organ, was fixed in Belgrade. Its activities, in conformity with policy dictated by the Kremlin, aggravated the crisis in relations between East and West, and opened the period of tension to which the name of 'cold war' has been applied.

The Kominform is not a resurrection of the Komintern, dissolved in 1943. It is based, indeed, on the idea that the 'national' Communist Parties have reached a state of maturity and power which enables them to be henceforth regarded as autonomous on the plane of the common struggle against capitalist régimes.

The signatories to the Kominform's declaration were: Idanov and Malenkov (U.S.S.R.), Kardelj and Djilas (Yugoslavia), Tchervenkov and Poptomov (Bulgaria), Gheorghiu Dej and Anna Pauker (Rumania), Farkas and Revai (Hungary), Gomulka (Poland), Duclos and Fajon (France), Slanski and Bastovanski (Czechoslovakia), Longo and Reale (Italy).

The Kominform, controlled from Moscow, was rapidly to exert its activities in a domain which its promoters had not foreseen.

186* 665 648 175 Indeed, Slav solidarity, already overtaken and superseded by the watchword of Marxist unity, was to suffer a still more serious set-back from the rupture between Tito and Moscow. It was in Belgrade that the Kominform had set up its seat; from Belgrade came the blow which was to shake its authority, and the dogma of Muscovite infallibility, in the whole of Eastern Europe.

1 [Delegate of Russian Communist Party, Idanov -- Analyst]

7; Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 829 people is dark; its present is terrible, but it has rights to the future." And he filled that future first of all with the hope that Russia would avoid the poison of Western Philistinism. "Philistinism—this is the last word of civilization, based on the absolute autocracy of property." Russia, by the fact that she knew only communal property, had indeed every possibility of avoiding the poisonous influences of the West.

Certainly Herzen's disgust for European Philistinism was in some degree justified, but the *esprit bourgeois* does not exhaust the content of the Western civilization. It is amazing to see how quickly that former Russian Westerner lost his psychological inclination toward Europe—toward the lights of European thought—toward the intellectual energy of Europe, its philosophy, arts, science, traditions of freedom.

In addition, Herzen had a deep belief in the essentially revolutionary mind of the Russians. "The thinking Russian is the most independent man in the world. What can stop him? Respect for the past? But what is the starting point of the history of modern Russia, if not the negation of nationality and tradition? On the other hand, the past of the Western nations has only a didactic value for us. We in no way consider ourselves the executors of their will. We share your doubts, but your faith does not warm us. We share your hatreds, but we do not understand your attachment to the heritage of your ancestors; we are too oppressed, too unhappy to be satisfied with half-freedom. You are bound by scruples, you are stopped by reservations of mind, we have no scruples, no reservations, we are lacking only in power."[56]

We have here a kind of combination of Chaadaev's pessimism 186* and the Muscovite Slavophils' optimism. The essential idea of 829 Herzen, a very Slavophil and very Russian idea, was that "the ● 177 western fruit will ripen in the Slavic world." Kucharzewski, whom I quote, very justly states: "The West produces thoughts, Russia utilizes them; to the West is alloted the task of creating, to

[56] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 395-396.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Russia—the role of leadership among future mankind, with the help of the ripe fruits of the work of other nations."[57] 186* 829

When dealing with Herzen as well as with Tyutchev and Dostoevsky—but I think with Herzen even more than with the latter, one is really amazed to see how well and deeply he knew Europe. The more astonishing is, then, that lack of attachment and love for European tradition. They understand everything, but they love nothing. 177 ●

All these thoughts were developed in Herzen's work *From the Other Shore* (1849), in his letter to Michelet, and a little later, in 1854, in his letter to Riberol, editor of the review *L'Homme*, and in his letter to Linton, editor of the *English Republic*. In this last publication he develops his Panslavic system in connection with the Crimean War. He states that Poland was the one Slavic country who preserved her independence. "Only Poland remained independent and strong, but this because she was less Slavic than the other nations, she was Catholic, and Catholicism is a flagrant contradiction of the Slavic genius. Hence Poland preserved independence by weakening her racial ties and by coming nearer to the Western states."

One must not, forget however, that in 1863 and in 1864, as I mentioned before, Herzen in his *Kolokol* published the most penetrating articles filled with great sympathy and admiration for Poland and the Poles.[58] He greets the Crimean War as "the beginning of a Slavic era, the Slavs will raise the banner of Socialism, and Constantinople will be the capital of the united Slavs. . . . Constantinople is one real capital of the united Slavs, it is the Rome of the Eastern Church, the center of all Slavo-Greeks—Byzantium, surrounded by a Slavic-Hellenic population . . . In any case this war is the *introduzione maestosa e marziale* of the Slavic world into universal history and at the same time *una marcia funebre* of the old world."[59]

[57] *Op. cit.*, p. 397.
[58] Lednicki, W.: "Russian-Polish Cultural Relations," *New Europe*, 1944.
[59] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* Yes, Herzen was certainly one of the most brilliant and pene-
829 trating singers of the Russian requiem for Europe, but even in
this he was a pupil of the Europeans—of the Saint-Simonists,
●177 Fourier, Cabet, and Proudhon, who violently criticized contemporary European civilization. They did for Herzen what later in the seventies Renan did for Strakhov. Strakhov filled his book *The Struggle with the West in Our Literature* with Renan's criticism. But Renan did even more—he suggested some ideas to the Russians which they didn't forget. Strakhov quotes one of them: "There still exists in the world a reserve of barbarian forces, which are almost all in the hands of Russia. As long as the civilized nations conserve their solid organization, the role of these barbarians will be almost null; but without doubt, if (from which God preserve us!) an epidemic of selfishness and anarchy brings our western states to destruction, the barbarians will accomplish their duty, which consists in raising the many forces in spoiled civilizations, in producing the vivifying current of instinct which was lost when reflection destroyed subordination, to show that readiness to sacrifice one's life for faithfulness to one's sovereign (a deed which a democrat considers low and absurd) is a source of power and leads to the possession of the world."[60]

The case of Herzen is particularly eloquent: it shows how demoralizing were the Slavophil and Panslavistic conceptions if a man of Herzen's caliber, Europeanism, and superior generosity could find himself in such a moral and spiritual impass.

186* The ultimate expression of this eastern Messianism suggested
829 by the Russian Westerners is to be found in the *Scythians*, a poet-
539 ical message which Alexander Blok addressed to the West: "Now rejoicing, now sorrowing, now flowing with black blood, she (Russia) looks at you with hatred and with love. . . . We love everything—the heat of cold numbers and the gift of divine visions, everything appeals to us—the perspicacious Gallic thought and the gloomy German genius. . . . We remember everything—the hell of Parisian streets and the refreshing coolness of Venice,

[60] Strakhov, *Bor'ba s zapadom v nashey literature*, St. Petersburg, 1882, vol. I, p. 324.

7; Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

imperialistic views on Constantinople with a policy which would necessarily favor revolutionary movements among the Slavs and compromise the gospel of his legitimism. Nevertheless, Marx, Pokrovsky and Tarle gave, as we saw, striking examples of this Machiavellism of Russian policy. Let us, however, analyze the doctrine itself and try to see what were the concrete historical and cultural realities which it had to face. We saw that one of the chief problems, that of Russo-Polish relations, has not been and could not have been solved within the frame of Slavophil or Panslavistic schemes. But what was the general picture?

The main argument of unity among the Slavs was of course that of language. The Slavic languages belong to the same family and it is not difficult to prove that certain similar phenomena which appear in different Slavic languages represent not a result of inter-Slavic influences but an independent parallelism of development. For the tenets of the Slavophil doctrine the fact of a common linguistic origin meant very much theoretically. Language is an expression of the relationship between man and the universe, and therefore this expression reveals a—let us say—philosophical outlook. In other words language possesses an [177] ideological value. On the other hand history differentiated the Slavic peoples. During long centuries they went sometimes not only through different but very often even opposite and contrasting cultural influences; and because of that the languages in their turn also differentiated to such a degree that Slavs are no longer able to understand one another. The amusing point here was the fact that the Slavophils of the various Slavic nations used German in order to communicate with each other. This was indeed a paradoxical situation for those who were trying to unite themselves first of all against Germanism. Of course Russia was and still is suggesting that the Russian language be accepted as the common language for the Slavs. But this generous offer has not so far been adopted. The linguistic divergencies become even more salient when we leave the field of language proper and try to apply the methods of unification to the field of belles lettres,

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

especially poetry, even if it be the popular poetry. A synthesis 197
appears absolutely impossible. It would be enough to compare 538
the Czech versification and all the changes it went through with the Russian and Polish to see how great are the differences. Let us take the Russian *byliny* with their assonances, which have no correspondents in other Slavic productions. On the other hand the *Shchedrivky* and the *Koladki* are ritual poems often inspired by historical subjects of a purely Ukrainian character. A quite distinct group is represented by the Serbo-Croatian and Bulgaro-Macedonian popular poetry—heroic rhapsodies which sing of the legendary Serbian hero Kralević Marko, the mother of the Jugović and her sons and many others. This poetry which served the fantasies and mystifications of Mérimée, which enchanted Goethe, Pushkin, Mickiewicz and Nodier, represents a quite special formation and a unique genre in the Slavic world. How different is the medieval Polish poetry, only semi-popular in its most distant origins, with its origin in the Church. Its lyrical starting point is to be found in the *Kyrie Eleison* and *Alleluiah*, refrains of liturgical songs.

Let us abandon for a moment this purely philological state- 795
ment and turn to a more essential factor which determined the 523
historical development of the Slavic nations: I have in mind re- 177 ●
ligion. Religion divided the whole Slavic world into two parts. 538
Bulgarians, Serbians, Great Russians, Ukrainians, and White Ruthenians embraced Eastern Orthodoxy from a Byzantine source. Czechs, Croatians, Slovenes, Slovaks, and Poles embraced the Catholic religion from its Roman Source. And in addition the Czechs went through Hussism; a part of the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians adopted the Union. The Muscovite Slavophils and Panslavists were fighting against Catholicism. By that very fact they were in opposition to the whole Western Slavic world. Religion determined the cultural differentiation, and if we add to that some other historical factors we shall see that at the time when Russia was under the influence of Byzantium, of the Bulgarian and Serbian messianistic literature which formed her

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

795 theory of "Moscow the Third Rome," based on all kinds of im-
563 ported legends and apocryphas, Poland was shining in the sun of
177 the Renaissance. She had her Rabelais—Nicholas Rey, her Ron-
538 sard—Kochanowski, and a wonderfully rich and brilliant political literature connected with Latin republican writers, some of which was soon translated into foreign languages, even English.

The Southwestern Slavs, the Croatians, Slovenes, and Dalmatians also took part in the achievements of the Renaissance. They lived that period in contact with Italy while on the other hand Dalmatia was under the influence of several Byzantines. Let me recall the brilliant Italianism of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the flowering of the Dalmatian literature which followed the songs of the provencals troubadours, and of the *Dolce stil nuovo*. The Dalmatian muses found their inspiration in Petrarch, Boccaccio, Guarini, Tasso, Metastasio; this literature knew all genres from *canzone* to the pastoral drama and *la commedia dell' arte*. The Czechs went through this epoch carrying their religious reform—a heavy burden but rich in immense moral consequences. It is probably this reform that gave the definitive form to the moral and intellectual character of this Slavophil and Slavologist nation, least Slavic in its spiritual physiognomy.

The marvellous flowering of the Russian and Polish literatures in the nineteenth century represents again a kind of exception among the Slavic nations. And in spite of a close parallel development, these two literatures very often, following the same roads of literary evolution, in many ways contrast with each other.[80]

186* So even if one should try to eliminate the purely political bar-
563 riers separating the Slavic nations, such as the political antagonisms existing between Bulgars and Serbs, Serbs and Croatians, Russians and Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Ukrainians and Great Russians, Ukrainians and Poles, etc., the problem of spiritual

[80] I have discussed these problems in a more detailed form in my article, "Existe-t-il un patrimoine commun d'études slaves?" Cf. *Le Monde Slave*, Paris, 1926.

538 nineteenth century, was only sporadically linked with earlier
197 attempts: it raised to literary usage a folk dialect of Herzegovina and emphatically rejected Church Slavonic or Russian ingredients and the influence of any older literary heritage. A similar populist tendency characterized the rise at the same period of modern literary Ukrainian which was first used in the burlesques of the very late eighteenth century, and in its further development oscillated between the Western (Polish-influenced) and the Eastern (Russian-influenced) variants. Both Standard Byelo-Russian and Macedonian modestly entered into literature in the nineteenth century and acquired civil rights—the former after the First, the latter after the Second World War. On the other hand, modern Standard Bulgarian, likewise formed during the nineteenth century after some isolated earlier attempts, strongly and consistently continued to borrow from Russian and particularly from its Church Slavonic stock. Toward the middle of the same century, the Slovaks, who had used literary Czech (somewhat adapted to their own habits), inaugurated their own literary language based on the Central Slovak dialect but patterned after standard Czech.

197 Church Slavonic perseveres as a liturgic language in several
795 slightly distinct variants: Nikon's recension is used by Greek Orthodox Slavs (and—with somewhat stronger orientation toward the old Kievan tradition—by the Greek Catholics); the pre-Nikon, Great-Russian recension is followed by the Old Believers; the Croatian Roman Catholics, in so far as they use Church Slavonic, maintain their own recension, although since the seventeenth century they have incorporated a considerable Kievan strain.

198 In the Slavic standard languages, besides Greek influence, pre-
177 vailing in the area of the Eastern Church, and Latin, predominant in that of the Western, there can be noted a strong Turkic lexical layer in Eastern Slavic and in the majority of Southern Slavic languages, and a German stamp on the vocabulary and phraseology of Slovenian and of Western Slavic languages and on the technical terminology of modern Russian. To some degree all the main Slavic literary languages in their recent phase bear French imprints. Neighboring languages have undergone an appreciable Slavic influence, principally in their vocabulary. This is particularly so

for the Baltic languages, Albanian, Greek, Rumanian, Yiddish (in the syntax of the latter two, as well), for Gipsy in Slavic environment, for most of the Uralic, Altaic, and Paleosiberian languages, and for Aleut and Alaska Eskimo. 198 177

Systems of Writing. In order to symbolize the sovereignity of the Slavic language, St. Cyril invented a quite distinct alphabet, adapting and modifying certain Greek, Samaritan, perhaps Coptic, and other Oriental letters. This alphabet, called GLAGOLITIC, was used in Great Moravia, and then in Bohemia and Croatia, Macedonia, and partly in Bulgaria. In the latter country it met strong competition from the so-called CYRILLIC alphabet which had been created there at the beginning of the tenth century to bring Slavic writing closer to the Greek—both Slavic alphabets occur in the fragmentary inscriptions of Preslava from the early tenth century. Cyrillic won out in all of the Greek Orthodox Slavic countries and is still used there in the Church, while for lay purposes it was refashioned under Peter the Great and the shape of the letters brought closer to the Latin: this modification spread from Russia to all Slavs of the Eastern rite. Since the twelfth century the Glagolitic alphabet has been limited to Croatia, except for isolated attempts of single Czech and Polish monasteries to borrow this Croatian habit in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. With the sixteenth century it began to disappear from secular Croatian writings and the area of its Church usage has become more and more limited, but after the Second World War spadework has been undertaken among Slavic Benedictines for a new extension of the Slavonic liturgy. With these exceptions all the Catholic Slavs now use the Latin alphabet. The fourteenth century Czech system of expressing those phonemes which have no graphic symbols in the Latin alphabet by various digraphs is still the basis for Polish spelling, whereas the Czechs have introduced the diacritic system, first tried by Jan Hus under the influence of the Glagolitic alphabet. This kind of spelling is now general for all Slavs of Western denominations with the exception of Poles and Kashubs. 212 177

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Slavic Peoples E16

present in these practices, I would also ask whether there were not some more tangible cult significance underlying this giving of new vitality to trees. But this possibility and, for the matter of that, this aspect of agricultural activity as a whole, does not seem to have found a commentator, and I myself have not yet sufficient instances to formulate a theory.

The respect for things in general is innate in the peasant, as countless small observances in everyday life show. So long as this recognition persists, any object, however mean and common, can on occasion serve in magic, without being sacred; while if on the basis of special 'taboos' a list of sacred plants and animals were made, it would be far too large to allow of so many special cults or cult usages. Much less extensive would be a corresponding list of cursed things, which cannot under any circumstances be touched.

It must be remembered that the inventory of a peasant household (of the kind still out of touch with urbanism) is not large, while in the mountains or in the hinterland of Dalmatia it may not include all the primary necessities even of a very simple life. In this simpler scheme domestic artifacts and utensils retain something of their primitive significance. In extreme cases domestic tidiness is a minor ritual; every object has its proper place when not in use, and is carefully handled, and put away in a special position, which must not be reversed. The broom, the sieve, the kneading trough, the scoop, the chains of the hearth pot, the gourd, etc., have had their ritual associations amongst every people.

It is not possible to disentangle knowledge of the physical properties of substances from their significance in legend or worship; and it would be equally impossible to trace whether an object, used in divination, or a household utensil, which seems to enjoy special respect, such as a sieve or a wood-block or an axe, has a certain power ascribed to it directly, or through an analogous association with some other category of ideas.

The steam bath is noticed early for East and Northern Slavs, but it is curious that after the Slav invasion, the

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16
Albania E61

SP 515 [177] Roman bath entirely disappears from the North Balkans, although public baths were known to the Avars also. At the present time, the Turkish bath is restricted to a specific cultural region, where a recent Asiatic influence has been concentrated. As it now retreats this excellent institution also falls into decay. But the bath and the use of steam for S [515] [752] sweating, now universal amongst the South Slavs, rubbing and massage, more or less symbolical washing and bathing, and the manipulation of broken limbs and the dressing of wounds, are to be reckoned amongst the oldest of their practices. Archaeological finds witness to healed wounds and S A [752] fractures, but we know nothing of prehistoric trepanation amongst the South Slavs—the only European race, with the Albanians and some Caucasians, which continued the practice almost within living memory.

SP 755 782 Offerings and vows, ritual performances and acts connected with fertility cults, were the basis of mystical healing. Hydrotherapy includes also the worship of water spirits, and, amongst Lithuanians, of a personified watery element. Niederle adds to this list of reconstructed primitive medicine the use of oils or unguents which preserved strength and health,[1] and a number of Eastern aromatics, known in primitive times.

S SP 177 773 789 [372] Plants introduced in historical times have added to the botanical mythology, and enjoy a symbolism of their own; just as field-glasses, pipe-lighters, petroleum, trains, firearms and other more recent gifts of material civilisation, receive their part in contemporary folk-lore, whose incorporating activity is only now beginning to decline, and in some cases, a magico-religious part. Firearms have developed a complete legend of their own; pipe-lighters are sometimes used for producing ritual fire, though matches are universally disqualified; and so on.

S 241 824 798 Wheat, which in the Middle Ages was cultivated only in a very limited area, and, in the early nineteenth century, was still little used in the interior of Serbia, has a universal ritual

[1] Cf. L. Niederle, *Slovanské Starožitnosti*, I, p. 127.

Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44).

B 342 354 C [342] [171]

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuc'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45c and 46).

B [171] SL 342 354 [177] Se [342] [354]

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἔγκιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc.

B 192 342

1) The word **isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105. **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108).

B [192] SL [177]

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

177.10 ---177.88

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

The significance of this reaction was not missed by Moscow 186*
And so, whilst laying aside Panslav phraseology, she 177•
endeavoured to make Russian the sole 'cultural language' of the 19
Slav peoples. Hence the campaign to eliminate the teaching of 191
the French, English, and German languages—a campaign facilitated by the Marxist hold on power in the popular democracies, but combated by the hostility of generations educated on Western lines.

Thus the Soviet Union ensures two lines of penetration into Eastern Europe: Marxism and Russianisation. It used to be said that German was the Esperanto of the Slav peoples. Today the Kremlin dreams of making Russian a universal language.

It cannot be denied that the psychological role played by 186*
Slavism in the struggle which ended in the collapse of Germany was by no means negligible. But the peoples who led this struggle are today forced, by the Soviet Union's exploitation of the principle, to revise its very foundations. What they sought from it was the reconquest of their national independence; it was to this end that Slav solidarity was understood and cultivated amongst them.

Now this solidarity has been exploited by the Kremlin for the opposite purpose: the enslavement or absorption of their brothers in race.

Like causes produce like effects: the old instinct of *rénitence* ooo
which roused the Slavs against Hamidean Turkey, Habsburg Austria, Kaiser William's or Hitler's Germany, will be unleashed tomorrow against the Moscow Dictatorship.

Panslavism is a pre-war legend. It became a political reality in international life only during the Second World War, to give way, in the new organisation of Eastern Europe, to Marxist solidarity.

Thus it lasted for four years only.

A. MOUSSET.

Paris.

January 1, 1950

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Chapter Five

RUSSIA AS ARBITER OF THE SLAVONIC NATIONS

186* 178 IN the conditions under which it was realised, the liberation of Eastern Europe by the Soviet armies radically transformed the factors in the Slavonic problem. All the aims that the feeling of historical and racial solidarity had assigned to the Slavs were suddenly outstripped.

The First World War had resulted in their emancipation. As we have pointed out, this emancipation was due no less to the collapse of Tsarist Russia than to the victory of the Western Democracies. It had 'set up a home' for the Slavonic nations, free of mortgage on their national sovereign rights, without predominance of any one nation over the others. The two tasks imposed on them had been, on the one hand, the creation of inter-Slav ties—political, economic, and spiritual—on the other, a reorganisation of their relations with Russia.

The first of these tasks had been but imperfectly realised. The evolution of the international situation between the two wars was calculated rather to dissociate than to regroup the energies of the Slavonic world. And once again in history the Second World War had found the Slavonic nations in opposing camps.

As for relations with Moscow, they were diffident and inconsistent; where they did issue in positive agreements, these were hedged with cautious circumlocutions, and lacked a well-defined scope.

177 .64 182 177 .18 181 With the liberation, and the presence of the Red armies on their territory, the Slavonic peoples glimpsed a plan of their international life which was very different from the one they had known between 1919 and 1940. The new Governments had been formed under the eyes of the Liberator and, in the majority of cases, from elements devoted to the Soviet ideology. Under colour of 'anti-Fascism' a tidal wave swept away the old groups, accused of having, before or during the war, supported Axis designs. In reality the 'purge' marked an operation of a revolutionary nature, characterised by the rise to power of the

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

'Young Brigade', and by the predominance of the 'social' over the 'political' and even over the 'national'.

This revolution was in the logic of events; was there any need to invoke the ascendancy or the presence of Russia to explain it? On emerging from an upheaval unprecedented in their history, the little nations, stupefied by the blow and completely helpless, saw their recent past only as error or treason.

We cannot even reproach Russia with having bound up her action with a policy of patronage or aimed at an ideological synchronisation of the régimes born on the territories she had liberated. In Hungary, for example, she was very careful not to recreate the atmosphere of the time of Bela Kun, whose sinister memory, she found, was still alive.

But, in the Slavonic countries, the parties of the extreme Left, almost everywhere identified with the Resistance, took advantage of the presence and the prestige of Russia in order to get into power and stay there. This led to a misunderstanding which, by associating the Russian authorities with the Governments which they were believed to favour, risked one day exposing the popularity of the Soviet Union in these countries to a turn in the tide of internal politics.

Obliged henceforth to gravitate in the orbit of the powerful Russian State, the Slavonic nations could not consider the future from the same angle as they had done in 1918. At the conclusion of a devastating war, Russia would never again allow neighbouring States to serve as a diplomatic or military jumping-off ground for a possible adversary. She regarded them as her security ramp.

One might be tempted to see in this Muscovite hold over Eastern Europe a revolution of an international order. In truth it was a revolution only in relation to an abnormal state of affairs—that of the 1920–1940 period, which rested on Russia's inertia in Europe. It could not reasonably be expected that this state of affairs would last indefinitely. The Europe of 1945 was more logical than that of 1918—at any rate, more in conformity with the classic play of international forces.

The slogan of Slav solidarity, which formed the *leit-motiv* of the Moscow Congresses of 1942–1944, had galvanised and co-ordinated the movements for resistance to the invader. In

Chapter Eight

SLAV SOLIDARITY BREAKS UP

186* WE have already spoken of the resurrection of the Slavonic idea during the Second World War—the only European conflict in history which found all the Slavs on the same side of the fence. We reviewed the congresses of 1942–1945 which restated the old themes of Slav solidarity, based on the liberating role of Soviet Russia. Never had such unanimity been shown within the Slav community. For the first time 'Panslavism' could be spoken of as a reality in international life.

186 This 'Panslavism', uniting the oppressed, occupied peoples
728 against Hitler's Reich, was not to last long. It made itself felt
175 again in 1946 and 1947, but in a purely oratorical form, and exclusively in justification of Russian ascendancy over the countries of Eastern Europe. In reality, it was again the Slavs who benefited least from the victory. While it is true that Bulgaria came out of the war with enlarged territory, this was due to an agreement concluded under the auspices of the Axis Powers. Czechoslovakia and Poland suffered the loss of a large part of their eastern territories. Yugoslavia recovered part of Istria, but her claims to Trieste and Southern Carinthia met with opposition from the Western powers, and were backed by the Russians only within the limits of their own interests. The state of affairs created by the Soviet Union within the area subject to its influence failed to reflect any Slavonic trend, or any preferential treatment for the 'sister nations'.

177 The Kremlin is aware that the Slavonic world is an object of
.18 aversion to the Rumanians and the Hungarians. It can retain
186 these in its orbit (into which it will try to attract Greece) only
648 by lulling to sleep the old Slavophile ideology, or by relegating it
175 to the rank of 'romantic values'. It is to the collaboration of Slavs and non-Slavs on the basis of Lenin-Stalinist Marxism that the Kremlin looks, for the creation of an eastern community modelled on its own institutions and obedient to its watchwords. From 1946 onwards its whole policy, in this part of Europe, aimed at directing the guidance of the satellite States more and more into the hands of the Communists. This policy was to be

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

pursued on parallel lines, in Slav and non-Slav countries alike. 177

On the instigation of Moscow, these countries entered into 18 186 treaties of friendship and mutual assistance. These were so 648 worded as to give the impression, at first, of being designed to 175 wipe out long-standing heritages of hatred or distrust between peoples hitherto antagonistic to one another. Passed for a period of twenty years, and all on the same lines, these treaties were signed on the following dates:—

November 27, 1947: between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.
December 8: between Hungary and Yugoslavia.
December 16: between Bulgaria and Albania.
December 19: between Yugoslavia and Rumania.
January 16, 1948: between Bulgaria and Rumania.
January 24: between Hungary and Rumania.
February 4: between the Soviet Union and Rumania.
March 18: between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.
April 23: between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

The commentaries which accompanied the signing of these [829] agreements spoke, with ever-growing emphasis, of the 'peril' to the peace of Europe involved in the attitude of the Western powers. Centred at first on the German menace, they subsequently referred to fresh risks, clearly indicated. Thus the Soviet radio declared that the pact between Bulgaria and Moscow acquired significance from the fact that 'certain Western powers have, under the patronage of the United States, taken the creation of military blocs as the basis of their policy'.

Even the idea of a 'Balkan Federation', which in 1944 had found partisans in Moscow, was gradually pushed into the background, for fear that the essential core of this federation, the Bulgarian-Yugoslav bloc, might create a Slav community, which should one day grow strong enough to adopt an attitude of independence in regard to the Soviet Union. So, although it was originally inspired by Russia, this project for a union was later to be denounced by the Kremlin as a ruse of 'Western imperialism', and Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Premier, was to be disavowed by Moscow, in January, 1948, for having made an untimely allusion to it.

* * *

177 The standardisation of Soviet policy in Europe was to take 648 its definite shape in the conference held in Warsaw in September, 666 175

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tinguishing in that history," says Aksakov, no "beautiful effects," 186*
"bright array," no role for the individual; and because of that, 829
no pride and no memory for individual deeds. Every calamity is considered a punishment of God—every triumph an act of the grace of God. Thus "they do not erect monuments to their heroes, as there are none; but they build churches. . . ." "The history of the Russian people is the unique history in the whole world of a Christian nation which is Christian not only by religion but by its life—at least by the tendencies of its life."[10]

This was the idyllic picture of the Russian past as depicted by the Muscovite Slavophils. They considered that Peter the Great had ruined that beautiful past and brought Russia onto false roads of historical development. They were false first because they betrayed Russian national tradition, and secondly because they brought Russia to the West, which was in a state of decadence. I need not enter into too many details connected with the famous legend about the "rotten West"—a few examples will suffice. One of the leading Slavophils, Shevyrev, compared the West to a man spreading by his breath a terrible contagious disease. For Constantine Aksakov "West" meant violence, hatred, and enslavement; Russia—union, freedom, and peace. In his opinion even Russian paganism had been superior. This was why Russia, deserving it, had obtained a better Christianity; the Russian pagans had a *chayanie* (hope, expectation) of Christianity. The Russians accepted Christianization easily, without any struggle, like a child.

Now and then the Slavophils failed to confine themselves to 186*
Russia. They were looking for regeneration, for the restora- 829
tion of that shining, luminous past, but they were generous enough 177 ●
to spread the benefits of this regeneration outside of Russia too. .18
These benefits should be shared first of all by the blood relatives of Russia, the Slavic nations—and after them by the whole West-

[10] S. A. Vengerov, *Ocherki po Istorii Russkoi Literatury*, St. Petersburg, 1907: chapter on "Peredovoi Boets Slavyanofilstva Konstantin Aksakov," especially pp. 465-469, 470, etc.

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186* ern world. The Slavs, organized around the holy Orthodox faith
829 and under the leadership of Russian autocracy, based on the strong
177 foundations of the Russian land community, would become a
.18 powerful political organization strong enough to bring the Western world to the Russian pale.

186* Here we are already in the center of the Russian Panslavistic
178 doctrine. And this is, by the way, the picture of the whole He-
829 gelian road of the Slavophil philosophy of history: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Chicherin in his profoundly interesting memoirs, mocking the Slavophils and especially Constantine Aksakov, says: "He (Aksakov) conceived Russian history according to all the rules of Hegel's logic; the old Russia represented the statement, the new—the negation, and the future announced by the Slavophils was to be the restoration in a superior form of the original statement. This formula could be successfully applied perhaps only to the beard: the beard existed in old Russia, in the new it was shaved, in the future it would be restored."[11]

As long as the Slavophils were busy with their national costumes, traditions, orthodox theology, and glorification of the Russian past, they might be considered more or less independent, distinguished, and inoffensive satellites or offshoots of the official national ideology—but satellites and offshoots who confined themselves to the worship of what they considered Russian national
186* traditions. But when they extended their love to other people and
829 their hatred embraced not only Peter the Great but the West, they
668 became involved in political problems. And at this point some of them degenerated into Panslavism; besides, some new adherents, acting in the purely political field, joined the Slavophil group. Here again we must take into consideration certain other sources of influence and tradition—this time purely political.

Some of the political conceptions adopted by the Slavophils appeared earlier—even at the time of Peter the Great and Elizabeth. From time to time conceptions of the liberation of the "Slavic brothers" emerged, but they developed especially strongly,

[11] *Vospominaniya B. N. Chicherina*, Moscow, 1926, p. 236.

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Chapter Five

RUSSIA AS ARBITER OF THE SLAVONIC NATIONS

IN the conditions under which it was realised, the liberation of Eastern Europe by the Soviet armies radically transformed the factors in the Slavonic problem. All the aims that the feeling of historical and racial solidarity had assigned to the Slavs were suddenly outstripped.

The First World War had resulted in their emancipation. As we have pointed out, this emancipation was due no less to the collapse of Tsarist Russia than to the victory of the Western Democracies. It had 'set up a home' for the Slavonic nations, free of mortgage on their national sovereign rights, without predominance of any one nation over the others. The two tasks imposed on them had been, on the one hand, the creation of inter-Slav ties—political, economic, and spiritual—on the other, a reorganisation of their relations with Russia.

The first of these tasks had been but imperfectly realised. The evolution of the international situation between the two wars was calculated rather to dissociate than to regroup the energies of the Slavonic world. And once again in history the Second World War had found the Slavonic nations in opposing camps.

As for relations with Moscow, they were diffident and inconsistent; where they did issue in positive agreements, these were hedged with cautious circumlocutions, and lacked a well-defined scope.

With the liberation, and the presence of the Red armies on their territory, the Slavonic peoples glimpsed a plan of their international life which was very different from the one they had known between 1919 and 1940. The new Governments had been formed under the eyes of the Liberator and, in the majority of cases, from elements devoted to the Soviet ideology. Under colour of 'anti-Fascism' a tidal wave swept away the old groups, accused of having, before or during the war, supported Axis designs. In reality the 'purge' marked an operation of a revolutionary nature, characterised by the rise to power of the

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

'Young Brigade', and by the predominance of the 'social' over the 'political' and even over the 'national'.

This revolution was in the logic of events; was there any need to invoke the ascendancy or the presence of Russia to explain it? On emerging from an upheaval unprecedented in their history, the little nations, stupefied by the blow and completely helpless, saw their recent past only as error or treason.

We cannot even reproach Russia with having bound up her action with a policy of patronage or aimed at an ideological synchronisation of the régimes born on the territories she had liberated. In Hungary, for example, she was very careful not to recreate the atmosphere of the time of Bela Kun, whose sinister memory, she found, was still alive.

But, in the Slavonic countries, the parties of the extreme Left, almost everywhere identified with the Resistance, took advantage of the presence and the prestige of Russia in order to get into power and stay there. This led to a misunderstanding which, by associating the Russian authorities with the Governments which they were believed to favour, risked one day exposing the popularity of the Soviet Union in these countries to a turn in the tide of internal politics.

Obliged henceforth to gravitate in the orbit of the powerful Russian State, the Slavonic nations could not consider the future from the same angle as they had done in 1918. At the conclusion of a devastating war, Russia would never again allow neighbouring States to serve as a diplomatic or military jumping-off ground for a possible adversary. She regarded them as her security ramp.

One might be tempted to see in this Muscovite hold over Eastern Europe a revolution of an international order.. In truth it was a revolution only in relation to an abnormal state of affairs—that of the 1920–1940 period, which rested on Russia's inertia in Europe. It could not reasonably be expected that this state of affairs would last indefinitely. The Europe of 1945 was more logical than that of 1918—at any rate, more in conformity with the classic play of international forces.

The slogan of Slav solidarity, which formed the *leit-motiv* of the Moscow Congresses of 1942–1944, had galvanised and co-ordinated the movements for resistance to the invader. In

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Congregation of the Holy Office, forbidding the publication and diffusion of Communist doctrine.

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So the *Kulturkampf* was waged, now energetically, now quietly. The Prague Government was accused by the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of violating 'human dignity and civilisation'; once more the conflict passed from the national to the international level, symbolising the ideological antagonism which exists between the Soviet world and the Western democracies. Neither the Government nor the clergy showed any signs of weakening. On November 17 the bishops again asked the civil power to abandon the laws relating to religious teaching, as conceived by the State, and the interference of lay authorities in the nomination of priests and the administration of Church property.

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The end of the year 1949 was marked by waves of purges in Communist circles, and by fresh trials on charges of treason, incriminating, like those of Budapest and Sofia, Tito's 'agents' or 'accomplices'.

* * *

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During this period politics in Poland were somewhat less sensational than in the other Slav countries. There again, however, the régime of 'popular democracy' evolved in the direction of Stalin-Marxism. The struggle against the Church was less open, and did not, as in Czechoslovakia, go to the length of making the clergy civil servants. The Government concentrated its efforts particularly on increasing exports, on economic reconstruction, and on exploiting the German lands brought under its control—and these efforts, it must be admitted, were attended with remarkable results.

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The German Question was its chief external problem; in its view, it was France's policy in respect of the Reich which prevented the renewal of the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance. What Warsaw particularly feared was lest a change of attitude on the part of the Allies towards Germany should reopen the question of the Oder-Neisse frontier, which the Poles considered sacrosanct, but which transferred to them territories whose final allocation was, legally, postponed until the making of the peace treaty for the Reich.

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The most sensational event was the nomination (on November 7) of Rokossovsky, the Soviet Marshal (of Polish

1 [1949 -- Analyst] 2 [1949 -- Analyst]

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

•177 origin), as Minister of Defence in the Warsaw Cabinet; he took
·64 as his deputy General Wladislaw Korczye, Chief of Staff of the
175 Polish Army. This appointment was naturally interpreted as a further step in the subordination of Poland to the Soviet interests.

648 And the Polish-Sovietic *rapprochement* (at governmental
175 level) had an unexpected result: the expulsion or the trial, on the
696 ritual charge of spying, of French diplomats and nationals (Wroclaw case), thus creating a state of tension between two countries whose friendship had historic and spiritual roots of such strength that no political vicissitudes had hitherto been able to affect them.

* * *

186* Thus the events of 1948–1949 once more disturbed that
648 'Slav solidarity' which had been revived by the Second World
578 War. It cannot be said that there exist, between the Soviet
175 Union on the one side, and Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, on the other, ties which are stronger than, or of any different nature from, those which unite Moscow to Budapest or to Bucharest. The 'collaboration' operates exclusively on the basis of Stalin-Marxism and obedience to Moscow.

On the contrary, the Soviet Union's Enemy Number One is Tito's Yugoslavia. There is violent and complete rupture between the Southern Slavs for the one part, the Bulgarians, Eastern and Northern Slavs for the other.

The historic current which has, periodically, split up the world of the Slavs, has reasserted its mysterious disintegrating force.

Two small but typical facts may serve as a postscript to this study. On Stalin's seventieth birthday the only country which sent no 'homage' to the master of the Kremlin was Yugoslavia. And the President of the Panslav Congress in the United States, George Pirinsky, was imprisoned in Chicago as belonging to an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the American Government by force.

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186* 829 dilection for the Ivans of Moscow and hatred for Peter the Great were not justifiable. As far as the territorial expansion of Russia is concerned, the Russia of the Petersburgian period did not acquire or "liberate" fewer nations and lands than the tsars of Moscow.[30]

177 53 538 Besides, for every unprejudiced historian one thing is quite clear—that the universal achievements of Russia in the field of spiritual culture were genuinely connected with her collaboration with Western Europe. The Russian national genius was silent or inarticulate for centuries, and only when the magic wand of the West touched the Russian soul did the voice of Avvakum become the melody of Pushkin's poetry. How can we imagine all the great accomplishments of Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Tschaikowsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov—in other words the Russian culture of the nineteenth century—without Europe and her inspiration? This point of view has been strongly stressed on many occasions by Russians themselves, first of all by Vladimir Solov'ev.

186* 829 From the moral point of view the ideology of Danilevsky is essentially immoral. Where messianistic arguments are adduced in support love changes quickly and easily into hatred. Danilevsky pays some official tribute to the slogans of "brotherhood" and "Slavic reciprocity" brought to the fore by the first Russian and non-Russian Slavophils. But the essence of his doctrine is pure national selfishness. "Life and theory," says Solov'ev, "somehow very easily and unnoticeably replace the just and human formula of the national idea by the formula of violence and national murder. Not by any means do all the advocates of this idea directly preach subdual and destruction of foreign nations; but there exist roundabout means, softer in appearance although just as murderous in spirit. 'Our nation, by its historical march and by the natural succession of national culture, replaces all other nations who have passed away and are passing away.' This 'replacement' also is not without a cruel, bloody struggle and various national murders, but the final result is attained as if by itself. Such a

[30] This point, by the way, was stressed by Pypin and by Sumner.

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177 there; about 1700 they were in great measure Germanized; the last Slav group was that of the Dravani (Drawaina) in the district of Luchow which even today is called Wendland, country of the Wends.

● 1712A The Slavic language disappeared between 1750 and 1766. It was in 1751 that mass was celebrated in Slavic for the last time.[1]

161 In the years 1890-1900 the newspapers reported, according to A. Parczewski, that the census /94/ of 1890 had found 570 Slavs-Wends still in this region. But it was an error. The official census had indeed found in the Luchow area 570 Wends, but they spoke only German.

197 The Slavic tongue in this region has been dead for more than a century, as Mr. Muka reported without hesitation.[1] He was sent out as an investigator by the Academy of Sciences of Cracow.

000 However, the Slavic character is still found in great measure in the type and in the manner of life of the inhabitants of the Wendland.

101 Originally the Sorbs of this region[2] occupied in a compact mass
175 all of the country situated between the Saale, the Verra*, the Fulda, the upper Havel, and the Spree. They extended as far as Frankfort on the Oder, on the Lower Bobra, the Hvizda (Queis). The group included the so-called Sorbs between the Saale and the Elbe (1) then the Lusatians

1. These Sorbs are designated in Latin texts of the Middle Ages by the name Sorabes. (Translator)

on the middle Saale, and the Milczani on the upper Elster, the upper Spree and the Neisse. From the eleventh century on, the Germans began to penetrate into these regions; but they only came there in large numbers beginning with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At this period the Sorb national group began to diminish to the west of the Elbe; it finally succumbed as a result of the Thirty Years War. The situation was better in /95/ Upper and Lower Lusatia, united under the Bohemian crown. Unfortunately, in 1635 the Treaty of Prague ceded
175 the territory to the House of Saxony. The Sorbian national group
668 commenced to decline, especially in Lower Lusatia. Its decadence was not arrested until the nineteenth century by the literary renaissance which restored some energy to this small people.

Thanks to the efforts of a few patriots, the national conscience

[2] [Wendland -- Analyst] [1] [Among the Polabian Slavs - Analyst]

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186* 829 The final conclusion is that the "immense Russian power pushes ahead, it cannot be quieted, it constantly must look to new arenas for its activity. The Slavic conscience strongly awakens in Russia . . . and it can not longer allow its relative tribes to remain in serfdom and shame. . . . To make of the whole of Slavdom a base is the only natural goal of Russian policy."[24]

4. Danilevsky (1822-1885)

The most radical Russian formulation of the Panslavistic program in its two directions—Constantinople and the Western Slavs—unified by a violent anti-Europeanism, was given by N. Ya. Danilevsky whose book *Russia and Europe* appeared in its first edition in 1871 and in its second in 1888 with a preface by another Panslavist, N. Strakhov. I cannot quote here the five hundred pages of this book in which the most fantastic idealization of the Russian past is married to the most vehement disdain and hatred for Western Europe and finally organized into a cynical political theory whose aim is to elaborate a system which would secure to Russia
186* a permanent political supremacy in the world. Danilesvky's starting
829 point is the denial of the conception of humanity and civilization
814 as a whole, to which he opposes a conception of struggle between different cultural historical types based mainly on language groupings.

This conception of cultural historical types deserves special
[177 .81] attention. Danilevsky combined the theme of Hegel, according to which various nations appear in succession on the historical stage as consecutive and ever more complete incarnations of the universal spirit, with the idea of the German historian Rückert about the existence of separate cultural historical types. "For Danilevsky such a cultural historical type is realized by every tribe or every family of peoples characterized by a separate language or group of languages sufficiently near to each other . . . if that tribe or family of peoples is in general, by its spiritual disposition, capa-

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

S.P. C. 146 161

What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing population to the profit of the German sections. (In Moravia it is completely the contrary). In 1890 33.46% of the Czechs in Bohemia were living in German areas; in 1900 there were already 34.61% of them. During this ten year period the birth rate in the German sections was 8.1% for the Germans, and only 4.8% among the Czechs of the Czech sections. These phenomena are explained by the importance of German industry which attracts the Czechs into the German areas.

S.P. C. 148 177

Already the Germans--at least /125/ the sensible ones--recognize that it is impossible to Germanize the Czechs. The chauvinists alone still dared to hope for it, especially those who consider Bohemia as a lock which one can burst asunder in order to open to the German race an access to the Adriatic. But they are fooling themselves, as are those who believe that the Poles of the Kindom of Prussia can be denationalized.

S.P. C. 101

The situation of the Slovaks in Hungary is not nearly so good; they are deprived of all political rights and, following the example of what is happening in Prussia, they are being threatened with expropriation. Nevertheless, they continue to stand against the Magyars within their ancient boundaries, they give way only very slightly within these boundaries, and, were it not for the Magyarization which is being energetically imposed upon the nation, especially upon the upper classes, and for a rather considerable emigration, the people would be able to hold their own, all the more since they are constantly assimilating Polish and Russian elements in the north and east of their territory.

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When in 1900 I drew up my ethnographic map for the Slovaks, the Russians protested against the figures which the statistics showed to their detriment. It has been demonstrated that the progress of the Slovaks had not been as rapid as I had thought, but it exists nevertheless. All of eastern Slovakia is nothing but Russia which has been Slovakized, and this assimilation is continuing.

S.P. C. 178 [144]

/126/ S 24. Differentiation.--The primitive differentiation of the tribes has left no important trace among the Czechs. All of the shades of difference have been leveled off by time and those which relate to the physical aspects, to the languages, to costume in these latter days, have almost entirely disappeared.

S.P. C. 178

have almost entirely disappeared. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, modern civilization, the school, the obligatory military service, and similar factors have unified them more and more. It is only in Moravia that there still is some slight variety, but it will disappear even there.

S.P. C. 177 101 184

Three principal dialects are recognized in Bohemia: those of the southwest, of the center, and of the northeast. But they do not afford accentuated characteristics which render them immediately recognizable. In contrast, here and there ethnographic islands are met with, which, from the point of view of language and of costume afford special interest and are distinguished by particular names. Thus, not so long ago in the west the area of Plzen and in the east that of Litomysl with the dialect of Orlice had a special physiognomy.

Likewise in the southeast the Blataki (from Blato, swamp, lake, in the area located between Sobieslav* and Trebon*) can be distinguished, and in the region southwest of the Sumava, the Chodes*, the most typical of all of the Czech tribes (1), which were /127/

1. A few notes on the Chodes will be found in my volume, Le Monde slave (2d edition, Paris, 1897, p. 200). Translator.

formerly settled between Domazlice and Tachov, and which are now concentrated around Domazlice, the Tachov area having been partly Germanized. It is in the area of Mount Rip that the true type of Czech peasant is to be found.

The odd character of the Chodes has given rise to the most diverse theories regarding their origin. Formerly Paul Stransky*, and later Ruffer, Erben, Grabowski, suggested that they were Poles settled as colonists by Bretislav I. But their dialect offers not the slightest trace of Polish influence. The uniqueness of the Chodes is explained sufficiently by the mountainous and isolated region which they occupy, by their traditions and the privileges which they have enjoyed since the fourteenth century as guardians of the frontiers.

The origiality of the primitive tribes is better preserved in Moravia. There we may very easily distinguish three different types, not only by dialect, but by physical and ethnographic details, particularly by the costume; even more, the people themselves are conscious of these differences and glad to affirm them. Up until now the things which have been most clearly recognized are the

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

uity depended upon itinerant merchants and traders following strategic watercourses. Even far to the eastward, when the Goths invaded south Russian territory, they maintained the same commercial relations with the Roman Empire which had been established earlier by German settlements along its frontier further westward. Caches of Roman coins, dating chiefly from the interval between Trajan and Septimius Severus (98-198 A.D.), which have been found in great profusion on the west bank of the middle Dnieper, show a remarkable expansion of trade with the Roman west in this area during the second and third centuries, hence under the Gothic hegemony and prior to the Slavic dispersion. Once the Goths had entered into relations with Byzantium and the Greek cities on the Black Sea, their interest in trade with the western Roman Empire waned, and from that point the Dnieprian Slavs largely received products of the so-called Gothic type from the barbarized Pontic workshops. As long as the Goths lived among the Slavs, they exercised a direct economic influence upon them, but once they had withdrawn to the coast of the Black Sea after the fall of Ermanaric before the Huns in 370, they ceased to be a significant commercial factor. Even when Byzantine trade set in during the fifth century, its volume was so restricted that from this point to the eighth century there is actually an interval in which the economic relations of the Dnieper valley with the rest of the early medieval world were in abeyance.

This interval coincides with the epoch of large-scale Slavic migration and dispersion. Its conclusion is marked in turn by the stabilization of the Slavs on the Elbe, on the Danube, and in the Balkans; by the temporary elimination of nomadic invaders from the steppes, the economic advance of the Carolingian period, the beginnings of the Viking Age in Scandinavia, and the establishment of Arab control over Oriental commerce. The period from 700 to 1000, though also initiating the gradual withdrawal of the Western Slavs from the Elbe frontier under German pressure, also saw the evolution of all the medieval Slavic states and their advance to the level of

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

178 contemporary material and intellectual culture which culmi-
439 nates in their conversion to Christianity under Roman or Byzantine auspices. It likewise witnessed an expansion of trade both in Central Europe and in the Orient, and in this commercial expansion the Slavs in general had a definite stake.

764 Though a combined evaluation of linguistic, source, and archaeological data permits a tolerably accurate and convincing appraisal of the material culture of the Slavs during the pagan period, there is no such coherent mass of evidence upon which any wholly satisfactory statement of their religious beliefs, demonology, and eschatology may be predicted. The early Slavs cremated their dead, sharing this custom with their other Indo-European neighbors (Lithuanians, Germans, Celts). Burial was adopted through foreign influence, and before the
774 various conversions both customs existed side by side. The
776 primitive pagan Slavs were animists and attributed a soul to
775 the natural elements in which they lived. They honored a supreme deity and also believed in the existence of wood, water,
[782] and household spirits to which they offered sacrifices. Beside these nature spirits, they also honored the spirits of their an-
821 cestors and thus believed in a future life. They deified the heavenly bodies and the great phenomena of nature (thunder, lightning, wind, rain, fire).

776 Beside these animistic and manistic beliefs, the pagan Slavs also venerated a limited number of gods, some of which were of alien origin. The organization of a veritable pantheon was carried farthest by the Western Slavs who lived along the Baltic coast, a phenomenon perhaps not unconnected with Germanic influences of early date. It is reasonably clear that all the primitive Slavs possessed a god of the thunder and lightning, though this deity, Perun, took on special importance among the Russian Slavs because of special Scandinavian influences and the importance of Thor in the Scandinavian pantheon. Among the Western Slavs, however, Perun was less dominant than the god of the shining sun, Svarog, a name apparently connected with the indo-European base **svar*, signifying "heat,

[THE PERIOD FROM 700 to 1000 A.D. -- ANALYST]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

into genuine trading posts and towns, the importance of which was enhanced by the penetration of foreign merchants at the beginning of the historical period. The rise of trading posts and towns gradually concentrated adjacent agricultural areas under the control of the former, producing at the same time accumulations of wealth in the hands of a new ruling class which appropriated to itself the influence formerly wielded by the elders of family, clan, and tribe. The growing prestige of the towns also broke down the various tribal differentiations, since portions of the same tribal area might fall for reasons of geography and communication under the control of different towns.

In general, the Russian tribes formed three groups distinguishable by their speech, which are reflected in our day by the tripartite division of the Russian language into three basic dialects. The northern group, comprising the Slovenes (Slavs) of Novgorod and the Krivichians, is the forerunner of the modern Great Russian dialect, the standard literary language. The central group, including Dregovichians, Radimichians, Vyatichians, and Severians, divided into two sections, of which the eastern joined the northern, or ultimately Great Russian element, while the western section (Dregovichians, Radimichians) came to form the White Russian element centering around Minsk. The southern group, made up of Polyane, Derevlians, Volhynians, Ulichians, Tivercians, and Croats, evolved into the Little Russian or Ukrainian element. In fact, the term *Ukraina* goes back as far as at least 1187, and means the southern border district. The differences among these three dialects have of course been intensified as time went on by the accidents of political affiliation and by diversified cultural influences. But these three groups are none the less parts of the same nation, so that either a White Russian or a Ukrainian is precisely as much a Russian as the purest Great Russian born in the shadow of the Kremlin.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

III

Conversion and Religious Divisions

175* 186 797 While conversion to Christianity was an inevitable phase of the process by which the Slavs were drawn into the general movement of European civilization, it was by no means an unmixed blessing. When Slavic tribes had evolved to some semblance of national consciousness and even statehood, or were sufficiently remote from the center where religious influence was exempt from political pressure, they were able to retain their independence and to follow a characteristic course of development. But if they lived on the periphery of a powerful and aggressive Christian state, their political independence was frequently threatened, and if this state cherished colonial aims, the convert Slavs were very likely to face the choice between assimilation and enslavement, or, at the very worst, complete extermination.

797 795 178 779 197 175* The section of the medieval church which brought about the conversion was also a factor of durable historical weight. The Western Church was devoted to the tradition of Latin culture. It insisted on the celebration of the Mass in the hallowed language of the Church. Hence it evinced little concern for the creation of any vernacular culture. Though not possessed of the same vitality, the Eastern Church soon found that it could evangelize the various pagans on the long Byzantine frontier more effectively if it allowed them to use their native languages

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in the service. Hence, though much of early south or east Slavic literature is either translated or imitated, the fact remains that the Slavs under Byzantine intellectual and religious influence developed significant national cultures much more rapidly than those under the domination of Rome. That these cultures, after a brilliant initial spurt, were later retarded and even brought to a halt which lasted several centuries is due, not to the source of conversion itself, but to historical accidents which supervened after conversion took place. Had not the Eastern and the Southern Slavs fallen victims, in one case to Tartar invasion and in the other to Turkish conquest, their intellectual lag in comparison with the rest of Europe would not have been so great. The Russians, for example, were completely deprived of all Western stimulation after the middle of the thirteenth century and nearly three hundred years elapsed before they entered upon the difficult process of assimilating the Western culture which had developed during that long and critical interval. The South Slavs, on the other hand, shook off the Turkish yoke only within the last century and thus were even more handicapped than the Russians in their struggle to catch up with the modern world.

Of all the Slavs, the Slovenes in Carinthia and Carniola were the first to encounter missionary activities. Early in the seventh century, they had been temporarily combined with Czechs and Sorbs north of the Danube in the semilegendary kingdom under Samo, who led them victoriously against the Avars and simultaneously offered a temporary barrier to Frankish expansion southward. During his declining years in Switzerland, Saint Columban, the great Irish missionary, had thought, as early as 612, of setting out from Bregenz on a mission to the nearest Slavs, but, finding the task too difficult for his advanced age (he was already sixty-nine), he retired to Italy and ended his days at Bobbio.

After Samo disappeared from the scene and his realm was dissolved, the Slovenes were unable to withstand the Avars, who soon held the Danube as far as the Enns. The Slovenes

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V

Foundations of Russian Culture

175* 177 Russia makes a relatively late appearance on the stage of European civilization. A specifically Russian culture does not even begin until nearly 1000 A.D. with the conversion of Prince Vladimir I of Kiev in 989. In Western Europe, since the fall of the Roman Empire, a new civilization had by that time evolved from a fusion of Christian ideals with the survivals of classical culture. But medieval Russia derived its faith from Byzantium and from the Eastern branch of the church in which purely Latin culture played a subordinate role, since the dominant elements of Byzantine civilization were Hellenistic and oriental. The tradition of classical Latin culture, the influence of which never died out in Western Europe, was but one of the intellectual factors to which Russia was not exposed until its contact with the West was intensified by Peter the Great at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

178 814 Another vital agent in Western civilization which never touched Russia directly was the complex of humanistic and renaissance ideals both in life and in literature. During the fourteenth century when the rising tide of humanism in Western Europe had revived the study of philosophy, politics, and science on the basis of classical sources, and when a fresh aesthetic pleasure was found not only in the imitation and the study of the ancients but also in the creation of new and popu-

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lar forms in vernacular letters, Russia was just recovering from the economically destructive and intellectually paralyzing effects of the Tartar conquest which had weighed the nation down since 1240. Medieval Moscow had nothing of the thirst for knowledge and the ambition for culture that inspired the foundation of German universities during the last half of the fourteenth century. It lacked the close contacts with Italy of the sixteenth which meant for Western Europe the infusion of art into literature and bore fruit in France in the works of Ronsard and the Pléiade or in England in the brilliance of Spenser and Sidney. This heritage was transmitted to Russia only in the eighteenth century as an element in the literary models and traditions then taken over bodily from the West.

Apart from the classical tradition of the Middle Ages and the revival of intellectual and artistic creative fervor during the Renaissance, there was a third important element in Western culture to which Russia was not directly exposed: the spirit of the Protestant Reformation. Russia had received the Christian faith from Byzantium. But the Eastern Orthodox and the Western Roman Catholic Churches were split by the schism of 1054, sixty-five years after the conversion of Kiev. The Eastern Church intensified its emphasis on mysticism and asceticism without the balance of social and cultural interests which fertilized the labors of the Roman Church in Western Europe. Then, after the contacts between the Russian Church and Constantinople became difficult because of precarious communication, and still more after the fall of the Byzantine Empire fifty years before Columbus discovered America, the church in Russia became petrified in dogma and sunk in debased formalism. It maintained no such tradition of learning, no such cult of scholastic philosophy as made the Roman Church a nucleus of productive thought even in those periods of European political history in which popular culture was at its lowest ebb. It was incapable of producing such bold and independent thinkers as a Wyclif, a Hus, a Luther, or a Calvin. Indeed, had such thinkers arisen, it is doubtful whether, even in the church or

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among the limited section of the upper class which was literate, there could have been found a receptive public in whom their ideas could have taken root.

Thus, when the Byzantine intellectual influence (such as it was) died away, the Russian Church lost its function as a repository of culture, and never regained it before it was reduced to social impotence in our own day by revolutionaries angered at its pernicious coöperation with the autocracy. Nor had there ever arisen in Russia any fruitful movement of inspired protest on theological grounds which opposed the spirit of individual critical intelligence to the inertia of a dogma-ridden hierachy. All three of these crucial factors in the formation of the Western European outlook (the perpetuation of classical culture in the Middle Ages; humanism and the Renaissance; the Protestant Reformation) fall quite outside the purview of Russian intellectual life until introduced as contributing elements of the Western culture imposed upon Russia by Peter and his successors in the course of the eighteenth century.

When the Swedish warrior-merchants moved down the Russian watercourses, they established themselves as the economic and military ruling class in the small towns which the Eastern Slavs themselves had founded at strategic points for trade and defense. The impulse which first unified the Eastern Slavs into what eventually became the principality of Kiev resulted from the Varangian immigration, and though the immigrants were rapidly Russified by intermarriage with the native Slavs, the princes of Kiev still maintained intimate contact with Scandinavia. At the same time, their economic needs kept them in close relations with the Byzantine Empire for a century before the conversion of Kiev and for two centuries and a half thereafter.

Although Byzantine culture had its weaker aspects, we are too prone to underestimate its level and its service to the world, since nearly five centuries separate us from its collapse before the onslaught of the Turks. For while Western Europe was going through the painful process of civilizing the Germanic

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pean campaigns were inoculated with the republican ideas dis- 178
seminated by the French revolution. Essentially patriotic, they 177
were eager to apply these ideals to their own country, to abolish the autocracy, promote republican government, raise the standard of education, and do away with the abuses of serfdom They continued with greater energy, though often with little judgment, the task begun by Radishchev.

Here the Russian revolutionary movement begins among an 185
enlightened fraction of the ruling class. Great writers like 538
Pushkin and Lermontov, each after brief romantic digressions, grew up to treat the seamy side of reality, both in the tragedy of the humble who are scarcely considered human by those they serve, or the misfortune of the gifted individual denied a chance at productive activity by the contemporary organization of society. Both these talents were suspected and harassed by the autocracy, and though each met his death in a duel, they were as truly victims of official conservatism as those young enthusiasts who had participated in the Decembrist conspiracy in 1825 after the death of Alexander I, and paid for it on the scaffold or amid the snows of Siberia. But from 1825 the cleavage between the government and the thoughtful section of society, once opened, was never bridged again.

This mutual hostility first became acute during the reign of 175 *
Nicholas I from 1825 to the Crimean War. The Decembrist 642
conspiracy had revealed that the turn to the right by Alexander I after 1815 had created great bitterness. The same judicial and administrative abuses that marred Catherine's reign were still rampant, state finances were disordered, and the peasants were rudely exploited. Nicholas at first had some notion of reform, 175 *
but his suspicion of extragovernmental initiative was such that 185
he hesitated to take any concrete step. The most pressing prob- [566]
lem was serfdom: the landlords were heavily in debt and short of capital to provide employment for a rapidly increasing peasant population. Peasant disorders were menacingly frequent, but only in the western Ukraine and in Poland were reforms introduced. Educational institutions were fettered and

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PREFACE

FEW Westerners, even in the ranks of the cultured, have a precise notion of the historical meaning of the expression 'Slav solidarity'. To most of them, under the influence of pre-war German ideas, it suggests a phenomenon of racial nationalism, tinged with Orientalism.

Yet the idea of Slav solidarity was born, not in Russia, as we are tempted to suppose, but among the oppressed Slav peoples, Catholics by religion. It appeared for the first time in *Osman*, the epic written by the Croatian poet, Ivan Gondoulich, then in the work of his compatriot, Juraj Krizanich, a Catholic priest. It was then invoked in appealing for help with a view to emancipating the Slavs who were still under a foreign yoke: Slovaks, Slovenes, Serbs, Bulgars. (These Slavs were, at the same time, the ones farthest removed from Russia.)

It was only intermittently that the Poles were to be affected by the Slavonic idea, which was to be definitely adopted by the Czechs as soon as they realised that separation from Austria was an essential condition for full national independence.

As for Russia, she used Slav solidarity as a diplomatic card against Turkey, and against Habsburg Austria. She emphasised or brushed aside its manifestations, to suit the changing international situation.

So, in the perspective of history, this solidarity expresses less a racial *mystique* than the feeling of a common misfortune; while the idea of a community of ethnical origin gave it subconscious strength in the eyes of the masses, its value for the *élite* was, for long, only secondary. The conception of a common Slav culture, that of a large State comprising all the Slav peoples, [162] was never envisaged, except by a few visionaries. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that a deep gulf of history and civilisation separated the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, and Slovenes—all Catholics, all steeped in Greco-Latin culture, from the Orthodox Slavs: Russians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Bulgars. Among the first of these, Russian influence was limited to that of her literature—which, moreover, enjoyed no more popularity

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186* than that of France, Germany or England. And even the
• 178 Serbs and Bulgars, while they were affected by Russian influence, yet preferred to go to Western Europe in quest of models for their civilisation and institutions.

Moreover, when their political interests were at variance, the Slavs did not hesitate to make war on each other. Not until the last World War were they to be found in the same camp, during a European conflagration.

That was what gave the Soviet Union an ideal pretext for posing as the animator and leader of Slav solidarity—considered, not as an end in itself, but as the means of creating, in the Slav masses, a wave of feeling favourable to Russian imperialism.

Whilst reviving historical memories well calculated to exalt Russian patriotism, the Moscow Government organised Slav congresses, with united resistance to German oppression as their chief theme: upon the Soviet Union had devolved the role of liberator of the Slavs.

That, again, was only a diplomatic move. Panslav propaganda was the rule from 1942 to 1945. Then Moscow perceived the danger attendant on maintaining a scale of preferential treatment among the various peoples placed under Soviet influence—some of which, such as Hungary, Rumania and Eastern Germany had, in the course of their history, lived in a state of permanent hostility to the Slavs. 'Panslav' slogans disappeared from official oratory. And the 'Titoist' diversion, setting Belgrade in opposition both to Moscow and to Sofia, once more broke Slav solidarity.

[829] With the exception of Poland, all the Slav peoples had desired greatness for Russia, but within certain limits: that of their own independence. When, from being a liberator, Russia became a dominator, the notion of Slav solidarity was purged of its political content, and the ties binding the countries of Eastern Europe to Moscow then depended entirely on Marx-Leninist unity.

[656] The Slav peoples saw the Russians at work in their own countries, replacing the *mystique* of emancipation by a policy of assimilation and force. The progress of 'Titoism' in Bulgaria and in Czechoslovakia is really nothing but a manifestation of the old Slav individualism, rising once more against imperialist hegemonies.

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Chapter One

SLAVISM MENACES THE WEST

•178 THE collapse of Germany inaugurated a revolutionary era in Europe. In the political domain, it was the prelude to transfers of strength whose full consequences cannot yet be gauged, although we can say definitely that it is the Slavs—and primarily the Russians—who will benefit by them.

[162] In this connection, the war has simply hastened a process to which a relentless impulse had already been given by the demographic rhythm of modern Europe. To-day, out of every three Europeans, one is a Slav. In three-quarters of a century from now, with the differing birth-rates in Western and in Eastern Europe, we shall find this ratio reversed.

563 [161] On the eve of the war, our continent had 454,400,000 inhabitants. The Slavs numbered 145,072,000, distributed as follows: Poland, 27,181,000; Czechoslovakia, 13,611,000; Yugoslavia, 12,017,000; Bulgaria (a Slavicised rather than a Slav country), 6,080,000; Great Russia, 55,548,000; Little Russia, 27,664,000; White Russia, 4,204,000.[1] It should be mentioned, in passing, that Russia, which common opinion (by metonymy) considers as the 'Slav country' *par excellence*, is on the contrary the only one which, within its State frontiers, includes at least an equal proportion of inhabitants of other races. For this reason it is also, whatever its political structure, the country where the national problem is at least easily reducible to a concept of ethnical homogeneity. It is as well not to forget this.

As far as any biological factor can do so, this prospect of demographic superiority in Europe gives stability and solidity to the political advantages which the Slavonic world may derive from the collapse of its age-long enemy—Germanism.

563 829 We shall use the term 'Slavonic world' or 'Slavonic community', rather than 'Slavonic race'. It was at the time when science was abandoning its convictions regarding race-discrimina-

[161] [1] Between 1930 and 1939 the population of Russia rose from 138 to 192 million, i.e. an annual increase of 3,700,000 persons—which constitutes a world record.

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Chapter Two

RUSSIA AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE SLAVS, OR THE MYTH OF PANSLAVISM

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IN a Latin treatise, published in 1826 and devoted to the universal Slav language, the Slovak writer, Herkel, uses the expression, 'verus panslavismus'. He was the father of a word which, taken in a political sense, was destined, after 1848, to ring through the world.

If the word was new, what it denoted was old. The notion of Slav solidarity, implying a more or less organic plan for union among Slavs, progressed for three centuries along the paths of philology and literature. It was originated by a poet, the Ragusan Ivan Gondoulich (1588–1638), author of *Osman,* an epic poem in the style of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered.* He formulated the idea of mutual assistance among Slavs, with a view to the redemption of the Turk-oppressed race, by singing the victories of Prince Ladislas, the future Ladislas IV, who routed the infidels on the banks of the Dniestr. It was a hymn of gratitude and hope, offered up by the Catholic Slavs of the Adriatic coasts, and addressed to Poland after her ephemeral successes.

Shortly after Gondoulich, a Catholic priest of Croatia, Youraj Krijanich (1618–1683), spoke in burning accents of the 'Slavonic nation'; his work, a mixture of linguistics, history and politics, bears traces of exalted intellectual and sentimental emotions, influenced perhaps, in a confused way, by memories of Byzantium. In Krijanich is shown, for the first time, a clear consciousness, developed beyond the limits of a poetic formula, of the unity of the Slavonic race. Turning no longer towards Poland, but towards Russia, he had a prophetic conception of that country's rôle as a consolidating factor for Slav energies. [198] Krijanich, a Croat, a Papist and a Russophile, expressed himself in a strange dialect—a mixture of Croatian, Russian, and Paleoslav—in the hope of creating an idiom of intellectual solidarity for use among all Slavs, whom he called 'our people'. The result is that we are uncertain whether to class him with Russian or with Croatian literature. Whereas Gondoulich saw

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no oppressor of the Slavonic race other than the Turk, Krijanich added the German. He was the ancestor of the Russian Slavophiles of the nineteenth century. He was completely out of harmony with his age, which could not understand an argument combining the Slavonic idea with Roman Uniatism. He met the usual fate of a precursor. Having offered his services as Librarian to the Czar Alexis Mikaïlovitch, he obtained from Moscow a mission to reform Russian spelling; the manuscript of this work was recovered at Tver in 1888. But it was not long before he was suspected of being a Papist agent, and was deported to Siberia, in circumstances which have never been cleared up. At Tobolsk he drew up a treatise on 'Politics' which, on the lines of Machiavelli's work, was intended to deduce, from the principles of good and evil, the laws of the art of government. Was Peter the Great acquainted with this treatise, and was he influenced by it? Unfortunately, that is a matter which scholarship has not yet been able to decide. After that we lose trace of Krijanich. A Dutch traveller relates that a monk of that name died under the walls of Vienna, in the ranks of Sobieski's army; such would seem to be the crowning adventure of that strange visionary, promoter of a doctrine which was to be revived two hundred years later by a pleiad of thinkers and scholars and which, freed of its denominational utopianism, will remain the 'credo' of the apostles of Slav solidarity. 186* 178 538 [568]

After the capture of Azov from the Turks by Peter the Great in 1696, the centre of gravity of Slavonic hopes was fixed in Russia. If we exclude the Polish point of view, it remained there for more than two centuries. The three reigns of Peter the Great, Catherine II, and Alexander I, helped to awaken the Russian national conscience by contact with the Slavs of the Balkans, Austria, and Hungary. This contact set up currents of mutual influence between sister-nations, discovering each other after long centuries of isolation and mutual ignorance. A Serbian Academician, M. Stoyanovich, published a series of testimonies from Serbs who were contemporaries of Peter the Great, from which it appears that, from this time onwards, the Southern Slavs considered Russian successes as their own. 186* 175 177

Readers will not be surprised at the omission here of any reference to the 'Will of Peter the Great', which the Chevalier d'Eon, of dubious reputation, was said to have brought from 186*

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186* Russia to the Court of Versailles. This belongs to the prolific family of apocryphal documents in which the presumed projects of deceased monarchs have found an imaginary embodiment. But this forgery has often been invoked as an argument in favour of the existence of 'Panslavism'. Now, it does contain a programme of Russian expansion, and allusions to the Balkan Christians, but nothing more specifically affecting the Slavs. Which proves, at the very least, that his own contemporaries did not regard the founder of Modern Russia as the instigator of a policy of Slav solidarity.

186* 175 648 Under Catharine, every war against the Ottoman Empire was the occasion of levies of Slav contingents. After the failure of their risings, large bodies of Slavs took refuge in the South of Russia, where vast districts were allotted to them. During the Napoleonic wars, Admiral Seniavin's fleet, at the Cattaro Delta, assisted the combined Montenegrins and Serbs. But, at the Congress of Vienna, a failure on the part of Russian diplomacy caused the Cattaro Delta to be handed back to the Austrians. It was alleged that Alexander I had agreed to this betrayal of the Slavs, as the price of a night spent with the beautiful Madame de Metternich. Notwithstanding, Suvorov's victories prepared the way for the Serbian insurrection; when this broke out, the Russian general, O'Rurck, joined Karageorge, to beat the Turkish army at Varvarino, to the north of Nish.

Up to the nineteenth century, the Empire of the Tsars remained aloof from the European concert. When it did join in, through the expedient of the Holy Alliance, it espoused interests which were not its own, and for which, moreover, it showed little concern, by backing up the Balkan risings. In this way it tried its utmost to sponsor solidarity among the absolutist régimes, while at the same time supporting the Orthodox minorities.

186* 178 814 But the movement whose watchword was defence of 'brothers in race', did not arise in official circles. It was a creation of the 'intelligentsia'. It received its first impetus from the immense work of the German historical school in the second third of the nineteenth century. 'Sanctus amor patriae dat animum', the epigraph to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, inspired Chafarik's *Slavonic Antiquities* in 1837, and Palatsky's *History of Bohemia*. The Slavs threw themselves passionately into these

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studies, and allowed themselves to be infected with that racial pride which German science displayed, with a tremendous orgy of texts and compilations. 186* 178* 814

Kollár, a Slovak, Koukouljevich, a Croat, Kopitar and Stanko Vraz, two Slovenes, with Vuk Karajich, a Serb, formed the pleiad of romantic scholars and men of letters who revealed to the Slav peoples the common basis of their culture and their traditions. Their scientific offensive, which Renan was to call, somewhat disdainfully, 'Comparative Philology transplanted to the political domain', was the prelude to an era of ferment, when far-seeing minds could foretell the catastrophe which would abolish the work of the Congress of Vienna. Never had pure learning let loose such a storm. It was destined to pile up, under the throne of the Habsburgs, the explosive forces whose work of destruction has been completed under our eyes.

The movement was precipitated by the recrudescence of racial antagonism in Hungary. The 1848 Revolution had scattered powder-trails throughout Europe. Austria-Hungary found herself, in the years that followed, a prey to two opposing currents, representing the different life-aspirations, rather than political conceptions, of two enemy groups among the nations of this heterogeneous Empire. While the Liberals of Vienna, in revolt against absolute power, marched in unison with the Frankfurt Parliament, and included in their ranks the Germans of Austria; while the Magyar Liberals broke with the Habsburgs and bore Kossuth to power, the Slavs of Cis-Leithania and Trans-Leithania, by a repercussion natural to oppressed races, rebelled against tendencies aiming at the strengthening of the two hegemonies, Germanic and Magyar. The ethnical crisis attained its peak in Hungary, where the Croats marched to the defence of the throne under the leadership of the Ban of Croatia, Jellachich, while the Slavs of Hungary (Slovaks and Serbs) kicked against the persecutions of a régime which Western journalism confused with Parliamentary Liberalism. Russia intervened in 1849 not only, as was long believed, to save the monarchical principle, but also under moral obligation not to let the Slavs of Hungary succumb. By the victory of Vilagos, the Russian armies restored to the Habsburgs Hungary, which they were on the point of losing. Six years later Austria, by her anti-Russian attitude in the Crimean War, was, according to a famous 186* 175 648 668

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186* 668 575 volunteers was armed and sent to Serbia a year before Russia's declaration of war, which was not made until April, 1877.

In the other Slavonic countries, the movement borrowed an ever-increasing offensive power from the general upward thrust of the nationalities. While the Czech deputies refused to sit in the Cis-Leithan Parliament, the Slovenes claimed the rights of their race and their language; the Croats, under the leadership of Mgr. Strossmayer, made of Zagreb a centre of national culture; the Serbs completed their emancipation and the Bulgarians, in two stages (1860 and 1870), secured the creation of the Exarchate. The Slavonic world was in full effervescence. Germanism grew alarmed. 'If necessary, we will put the Slavs up against the wall', Chancellor de Beust had said.

[648] The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 was to some extent the military epilogue of this period of effervescence. The Congress of Berlin supplied Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield with the opportunity of repressing the outbursts of the Slavonic race, and of checkmating ethnical propaganda, under colour of ensuring European peace.

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186* 178 During the years that followed, the interest taken by Russia in the Slavonic countries appeared to decrease. Internal affairs absorbed the attention of the Imperial Government, and the disappointments following the Congress of Berlin kept Russian society of the time of Alexander III in a mood of weariness or of apathy. This disaffection became more marked at the beginning of the reign of Nicholas II. Whilst Europe saw Panslavism as a volcano for ever in eruption, Tsarist diplomacy kept in quarantine the heirs of Slavophile thought. The word *bratouchka* (little brother), coined in 1877, at the time of the liberation of Bulgaria, lost its touching significance, to become a scornful term, synonymous with 'cadger', applied to the Balkan Slavs. German influence, exercised in St. Petersburg by the Baltic barons and the Court, took advantage of the repugnance felt by Liberalism and the Western type of Intellectualism to a movement which claimed to bring the country back to the real sources of its tradition.

186* 668 The Slavonic Congress held in St. Petersburg in May, 1908, was attended by members of the Duma, of *Kolo Polsko* (Polish

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Thus, at the beginning of this century, the Slavonic idea had permeated all the currents of spiritual life of the nations whose historic personality it exalted. In Russia, after having arisen among the intellectual *élite*, it had been relegated to the rank of diplomatic accessories. But it had been rejuvenated by allying itself with Czech Agnosticism, with Croatian and Slovene Catholicism, with the positive sense of the Bulgars, the legendary spirit of independence of the Serbs. It had been an aspect, a 'phase' of the march of the nationalities towards emancipation. From the minutes of meetings of learned societies, it had advanced to the domain of direct action. After having taken stock (academically) of the injustices which formed landmarks in the history of the Slavonic world, it was preparing to achieve reparation for these injustices by conspiracies, acts of violence, war. 186 668 178

While Russia had given the emotional impetus to this movement, and the Czechs had demonstrated the educative elements in a Slavonic science and conscience, it was left to the Yugoslavs to set the ruthless pace which was to precipitate events. It was under their influence that Slavism entered upon its revolutionary phase. In Hungary it found the oppressive atmosphere which provoked this evolution; the beginning of the twentieth century is marked, in Croatia, by a series of trials and acts of violence which revealed to the world the progress of Yugoslav militancy. It was in fact in Bosnia, from a centre of Yugoslav irredentism, that sprang the spark which was to set the continent afire. Starting from the speculative heights of the learned world, the Slavonic idea culminated in shots, fired point blank, by a Herzegovine student, at the heir to the Austrian Empire, in a Sarajevo street. When the President of the Tribunal interrogated the authors of the crime as to the motives for their action, they repeated, with dogged fatalism, 'Francis Ferdinand was the enemy of the Slavs'.

Russian officialdom took fright at this effervescence. It sought excuses for its passive attitude. To explain why they had abandoned the Serbs at the time of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Stolypin stated that Imperial diplomacy had simply had an eye to the future. 'Give the peasants of Kostroma ten more years at the plough'. A second humiliation was inflicted on Russia in April, 1913, when, to please Austria, she 186* 829 648

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be sought in the most remote centuries, in the contact of the Slavs 829
with the Turanian peoples of the Steppes, who were the founda- 167
tion of the so-called 'Scythic' Iranian population. From time 181
immemorial, the Turko-tartar peoples, by their pillaging raids, have borne heavily on the Iranians, their immediate neighbours, and, through them, on the Slavonic peoples. The Iranians have been the victims of the Turkomans of the salt Steppes—and the Slavs, by repercussion, have shared their fate. Having thus exhausted their political and social strength, they have become the chronic prey of the conquerors.

This thesis of an original curse, whatever its scientific value, should be borne in mind, for it justifies a conviction that is widespread among the Germans, *viz.*, the inferiority of the Slavonic race, and its presumed incapacity to develop from the notion of a clan to that of a State. There have been published anthologies of German thinkers and propagandists on this theme, which is summed up in the well-known witticism *Gute Nacht, Russen, nach Asien!*—which the Germans have invoked, even down to our own times, to justify considering Eastern Europe merely as a contemptible suburb of Teutonism.

Such is the background of history on which was projected 829
the 'reckoning' on which Bethmann-Hollweg and von Moltke 721
had banked. Must we, however, go so far as to say that the War 178
of 1914 was a Teuto-Slavonic war? M. Benes considers this thesis as attractive as it is untenable. He regards this war as a struggle between two political and philosophical conceptions, the logical development of the European evolution which, beginning at the Renaissance, culminated in the triumph of political individualism, of parliamentary and constitutional law. The war, he says, was not Teuto-Slavonic in character, nor in aims, nor in results.

Limited to the strict sequence of facts, this judgement is admissible. While Austria-Hungary threw herself into the war to prevent a rupture of her interior balance to the advantage of the Slavs, deeper and more decisive causes armed the Great Powers one against the other.

If, however, we consider the atmosphere that reigned in 186*
Europe in 1914, when the war found so many inflammable 721
substances in a state of suspense, M. Benes's point of view seems more contestable. The interests of the Slavs were neither

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Chapter Five

RUSSIA AS ARBITER OF THE SLAVONIC NATIONS

IN the conditions under which it was realised, the liberation of Eastern Europe by the Soviet armies radically transformed the factors in the Slavonic problem. All the aims that the feeling of historical and racial solidarity had assigned to the Slavs were suddenly outstripped.

The First World War had resulted in their emancipation. As we have pointed out, this emancipation was due no less to the collapse of Tsarist Russia than to the victory of the Western Democracies. It had 'set up a home' for the Slavonic nations, free of mortgage on their national sovereign rights, without predominance of any one nation over the others. The two tasks imposed on them had been, on the one hand, the creation of inter-Slav ties—political, economic, and spiritual—on the other, a reorganisation of their relations with Russia.

The first of these tasks had been but imperfectly realised. The evolution of the international situation between the two wars was calculated rather to dissociate than to regroup the energies of the Slavonic world. And once again in history the Second World War had found the Slavonic nations in opposing camps.

As for relations with Moscow, they were diffident and inconsistent; where they did issue in positive agreements, these were hedged with cautious circumlocutions, and lacked a well-defined scope.

With the liberation, and the presence of the Red armies on their territory, the Slavonic peoples glimpsed a plan of their international life which was very different from the one they had known between 1919 and 1940. The new Governments had been formed under the eyes of the Liberator and, in the majority of cases, from elements devoted to the Soviet ideology. Under colour of 'anti-Fascism' a tidal wave swept away the old groups, accused of having, before or during the war, supported Axis designs. In reality the 'purge' marked an operation of a revolutionary nature, characterised by the rise to power of the

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

659 798 175

Congregation of the Holy Office, forbidding the publication and diffusion of Communist doctrine.

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So the *Kulturkampf* was waged, now energetically, now quietly. The Prague Government was accused by the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of violating 'human dignity and civilisation'; once more the conflict passed from the national to the international level, symbolising the ideological antagonism which exists between the Soviet world and the Western democracies. Neither the Government nor the clergy showed any signs of weakening. On November 17 the bishops again asked the civil power to abandon the laws relating to religious teaching, as conceived by the State, and the interference of lay authorities in the nomination of priests and the administration of Church property.

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The end of the year 1949 was marked by waves of purges in Communist circles, and by fresh trials on charges of treason, incriminating, like those of Budapest and Sofia, Tito's 'agents' or 'accomplices'.

* * *

178 659 686 175

During this period politics in Poland were somewhat less sensational than in the other Slav countries. There again, however, the régime of 'popular democracy' evolved in the direction of Stalin-Marxism. The struggle against the Church was less open, and did not, as in Czechoslovakia, go to the length of making the clergy civil servants. The Government concentrated its efforts particularly on increasing exports, on economic reconstruction, and on exploiting the German lands brought under its control—and these efforts, it must be admitted, were attended with remarkable results.

648 728 175

The German Question was its chief external problem; in its view, it was France's policy in respect of the Reich which prevented the renewal of the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance. What Warsaw particularly feared was lest a change of attitude on the part of the Allies towards Germany should reopen the question of the Oder-Neisse frontier, which the Poles considered sacrosanct, but which transferred to them territories whose final allocation was, legally, postponed until the making of the peace treaty for the Reich.

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The most sensational event was the nomination (on November 7[1]) of Rokossovsky, the Soviet Marshal (of Polish

1 [1949 -- Analyst] 2 [1949 -- Analyst]

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 829 177 .18 ern world. The Slavs, organized around the holy Orthodox faith and under the leadership of Russian autocracy, based on the strong foundations of the Russian land community, would become a powerful political organization strong enough to bring the Western world to the Russian pale.

186* 178 829 Here we are already in the center of the Russian Panslavistic doctrine. And this is, by the way, the picture of the whole Hegelian road of the Slavophil philosophy of history: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Chicherin in his profoundly interesting memoirs, mocking the Slavophils and especially Constantine Aksakov, says: "He (Aksakov) conceived Russian history according to all the rules of Hegel's logic; the old Russia represented the statement, the new—the negation, and the future announced by the Slavophils was to be the restoration in a superior form of the original statement. This formula could be successfully applied perhaps only to the beard: the beard existed in old Russia, in the new it was shaved, in the future it would be restored."[11]

As long as the Slavophils were busy with their national costumes, traditions, orthodox theology, and glorification of the Russian past, they might be considered more or less independent, distinguished, and inoffensive satellites or offshoots of the official national ideology—but satellites and offshoots who confined themselves to the worship of what they considered Russian national 186* 829 668 traditions. But when they extended their love to other people and their hatred embraced not only Peter the Great but the West, they became involved in political problems. And at this point some of them degenerated into Panslavism; besides, some new adherents, acting in the purely political field, joined the Slavophil group. Here again we must take into consideration certain other sources of influence and tradition—this time purely political.

Some of the political conceptions adopted by the Slavophils appeared earlier—even at the time of Peter the Great and Elizabeth. From time to time conceptions of the liberation of the "Slavic brothers" emerged, but they developed especially strongly,

[11] *Vospominaniya B. N. Chicherina*, Moscow, 1926, p. 236.

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section dealt with the "occupied countries" and came partly under the jurisdiction of the Bureau and partly under that of the Committee for Active Struggle Against Fascism. In 1942 the All-Slav Committee's budget amounted to 320,000,000 roubles, in 1943 to 400 million, and in 1944, when the financial division had ceased to come under the control of the Secretariate, the Committee's budget had risen to 550 million roubles. The All-Slav Congress which took place recently in Belgrade has afforded some indications of the place which the All-Slav Committee holds in Russia's post-war political propaganda apparatus. The main speech of the Soviet delegate, General Gundorov, was an invitation to the Slav peoples to ignore "the sinister forces of world reaction" and submit to Communist guidance. Two resolutions passed by the Belgrade Congress deserve attention. The first, which makes Belgrade the center of the All-Slav Committee and Maslavitch its chairman, is an indication of the importance attached in Soviet policy to Slav sentiment in the Balkans, where to some extent it is a substitute for nationalist sentiment. The second resolution provides for the participation in the work of the All-Slav Committee of representatives of "the largest progressive Slav organization from non-Slav countries, with the right to an advisory vote."

In order not to be misunderstood I feel it necessary to stress that in spite of some striking parallelisms in the use of Panslavic conceptions by Soviet foreign policy and by the Russian tsarist governement, the differences remain enormous—but not at all in the sense of Mr. Leonidov's views. As I mentioned before, the Russian tsarist government of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was bound by international and public law; and because of this the fate of the Russian subject of those times cannot be compared to the fate of the modern Russian citizen. Russia was not hidden behind an iron curtain from the world, and foreign travellers could visit Russia and freely observe her life. Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Russians were sent to Siberia, but tsarist Russia did not know concentration camps; and the conditions of

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178 the exiles in Siberia during the time of the tsars could not be compared to the atrocious conditions reigning in Soviet concentration camps. Besides, the number of people sent to Siberia by the tsars during a whole century never reached even the smallest portion of the number deported by Stalin in one year. The tsars sent individuals there; Stalin transfers whole nations. Finally, one has to remember that free speech was not completely non-existent in tsarist Russia; the Panslavistic doctrines could be and were discussed—and even criticised. Nothing like that, of course, is possible under the Soviet regime. It happened that during the tsarist period Russia realized her greatest achievements in every field of her life. From Pushkin to Tolstoy, from Glinka to Rimsky-Korsakov, from Levitsky to Repin, from Lomonosov to Mechnikov one has pleiads of Russian men who created the great Russian culture and its prestige. Therefore, at that time Russia might indeed represent a spiritual attraction. People realized that Panslavism did not mean exactly Tolstoy and Rimsky-Korsakov but rather a Russian gendarme. This is why Engels wrote that behind the Panslavic conceptions "stands the terrible reality of the Russian Empire." But still the power of suggestion and attraction, to say the least, of the great Russian writers was a concrete fact, and even Russian Emperors like Alexander I, Nicholas I, and Alexander II were not deprived of traits which might captivate Europeans.

000 How different is the present situation! Where are the great spiritual achievements of Soviet culture? Even if one admits that there is a Soviet literature, that there is a Soviet science, that there is a Soviet music, what would these achievements mean without the background of the great Russian nineteenth century, and what do they mean in comparison with it? What are the promises and gifts which modern Russia would be able to offer to the Slavs, to mankind? What kind of reality "stands" behind Soviet Panslavism?

When one reads the horrifying, really monstrous reports on the abysmal sufferings and tortures which entire nations are en-

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chestnut, and 2% dark). Among the Great Russians, the following proportions are found: 37%, 41%, 22%; among the Ukrainians, 30%, 42%, 28%. Thus the Ukrainians have a greater leaning towards the darker type; but there are considerable differences within the group; for example, the proportions in Volhynia, according to Kozhukov are, 42%, 29%, 29%.

/49/ Among the Great Russians, the lightest in coloring are those of Tver and of Yaroslavl', the darkest, those of the eastern guberniyas. From the point of view of the cephalic index, there are found among the Great Russians 9% dolichocephalic, 19% mesocephalic, and 72% brachycephalic. The corresponding percentages found among the Ukrainians are: 12%, 16%, 72%. Among the Belorussians there percentages are: 13%, 23%, 64%. There are further important variations. Thus the Ukrainians of the north are mainly brachycephalic; but a very considerable portion of dolichocephalics is to be found at Voronezh, at Poltava, in Volhynia.

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No section of Russia furnishes so many dolichocephalics and mesocephalics as the Volhynia, peopled by Ukrainians (31% and 34%).

S.P. T.R. 144

In the same way the Gorals of the Carpathians present a type very distinct from that of the inhabitants of the plain. But here are the same phenomena which we observe among their neighbors the Poles. A contributing factor to the confusion of types is, among the Great Russians, cross-breeding with the Finns of the Volga; and among the Ukrainians, cross-breeding with the Turko-Tatar peoples.

S.P. T.R. 181

S 10.--All of these groups, large and small, differ from one another. But no difference is more pronounced than that between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. The distinctions between the diverse tribes in the large groups /50/ are really only secondary. They are variations in dialect, in costume, in their manner of living. The difference between the Great Russians and the Belorussians is not more considerable than this, or at least appears not to be; the philologists are in agreement in stating that the Belorussians are a division of the Great Russians, or at least a very closely related branch.

Between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians the difference is greater. It exists not only in their speech, but in their physical and moral constitution, their character, temperament, popular songs,

S.P. T.R. 181 mores and customs. And this difference is further emphasized by their historical careers and in these latter years by their political divergences. These divergences go so far that they sometimes result in a rupture of all of the ties of kinship. The representatives of the intellectual class among the Ukrainians are unwilling to consider themselves as Russians, as a nation of the same origin and of the same character as the Russians. They tear the unity of the Russian world into two segments, into two nations: the one located to the north is made upof the Great Russians, the Russians Kat'eksokhln, /among the foreigners/ otherwise called Rossiani, the Moskali or the Moskvichi. The others, the people of the south, are the Little Russians, the Yugorusi (1), or, /51/ according to a more recent appellation, the Ukrainians.

S.P. T.R. 181 186

1. Russians of the south.

S.P. T.R. 101 Up until now there is no agreement as to the names to be used. The Great Russians and the foreigners, conforming to tradition, most frequently use the expressions: Great Russians, Little Russians, bearing in mind the historic name of Little Russia (excepting Galicia and Vladimir). The appellation of Iugorusi is less frequently encountered (for example in Pypin and in Kostomarov). The Little Russians do not care for these two names and forsome time have preferred that of Ukrainians. The Galicians employ the term Rusin with the adjective 'ruski' opposed to Rossianin, 'rossisky' for the Great Russians. This name has been adopted beyond the Russian borders, but it has not been accepted within them. The Gorals of Galicia willingly call themselves Rusniaks. The Germans, following the Latin, use the form 'Ruthenian' which also has been admitted into French. The conflicts between the two nationalities have engendered ironic and insulting appellations. Thus the Ukrainians call the Great Russians "Katsapy" (Goat-head, because of their beard) or Khazars, and the latter call the Ukrainians "Khokli" (from Khokhol, "top-knot," because of the manner in which the Cossacks formerly dressed their hair).

S.P. T.R. 578 186

Thus there is conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. This interesting conflict has very old and quite /52/natural causes. The differentiation between the Russians of the north and of the south occurred a long time ago; it has developed little by little, but without pause. Furthermore, there have been grievances and misunderstandings for a very long time between Great Russia and the Ukraine, and their entire life has been completely distinct throughout

1: Niederle--91 E-5 1911 E6 Slavic Peoples E16
Slovenes E F7

S.P. Sl. 163 ● 181 167 In the matter of the birth rate, during these latter years it has been very low in Carniola: between 1890 and 1900, 1.84%; the birth-rate for Austria taken all together is 9.44%. Between 1880 and 1890 the coefficient was 9.44%. For all of the Slovenes taken together the coefficient is only 1.37%.

Therefore, the development of the nation appears to be arrested. This phenomenon is due in part to denationalization, in part to emigration, and in part to inexact census figures.

S.P. Sl. 162 [illegible] From the religious viewpoint the Slovenes are almost entirely Catholics (99.9%). In respect to occupations, 75.4% devote themselves to farming, 13.4% to industry, 3.5% to trade, and 7.7% to public services.

S.P. Sl. 197 101 S 28. Differentiation.--From a linguistic viewpoint there are rather numerous differences; but they are not very deep (see what is said further along regarding the dialectology of the southern Slavs). To designate the various groups within the nation, the Slovenes usually give themselves geographic names, borrowed from their political boundaries: Kranjci (Carniolians), Primorci /145/ (people of the seacoast), Korosci (Carinthians), Goricani (Goricians), Styrians, or names of an even more local character, borrowed from the orography and the hydrography. In Styria there are singled out the Pohorianci, the Polianci of the Mura and of the Drava, the Halozanes, in Carniola the Gorenici (people from above), Dolenici (people from below), and the Notranjci who speak different dialects. To the north of the Mura, the Prekmurci (Transmurians) present an interesting type. In the northwest of Istria the Savrini or Bresavi are also pure-blooded Slovenes, as are the Berkini in the north of Istria. On the contrary the Fucki in the outskirts of the town of Buzet (Pinguente) and the Cici are Croats of the kaikavski and cakavski dialects. (1) Likewise, the White Krainici--so called from their costume--who are settled between Kocevje and the Kupa River are also of the kaikavski dialect.

1. Although certain philologists attach the Kaikavci of Croatia to the Slovenes, we relegate them to the next chapter; they consider themselves to be Croats.

A very interesting group, particularly studied by Professor Beaudoin de Courtenay (2), is the group of Resians established in the

S.P. C.M. 648 exaggerated claims, without counting Turkey which is today the proprietor of the contested territory, without speaking of the Great Powers, especially Russia, Italy, and Austria, who have their eye on Macedonia.

000 From all of this whirlpool of literary, political, and scientific endeavors, a disinterested observer can draw today only these obvious conclusions:

S.P. C.M. 181 1). The Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia represent a people whose national consciousness is not yet completely and equally developed, if we compare them with the two neighboring nations. However, it is beyond doubt that the largest portion of this people S.P. C.M. [795] feel themselves and proclaim themselves to be Bulgars, that they belong to the independent Bulgarian Church, whose head is the Exarch resident at Ortakioi. (1) On the other hand, it is certain that the

1. According to Brankov, there are in Macedonia 77% Exarchists and 23% Patriarchists. According to Hilmi, the proportion is entirely different. See above in Section 37.

name Bulgars is an historic name in these regions and that it has not been brought in through the religious propaganda of these recent years. Even though these regions were once annexed to the Serbian State, yet the name Serb has not taken root among the people. This is why in recent times the Bulgarian propoganda, both ecclesiastical and political, has found a very deep response throughout the country; Serbian propoganda has a chance of future success only in the northern region which is in contact with the Serbian Kingdom and has direct dealings with it; this region is Old Serbia.

S.P. C.M. 197 2). From a philological point of view it is true that the language of the Slavs of Macedonia presents an aggregation of local dialects rather distinct from one another. They form a sort of idiom which is intermediate between the Serbian stokavski and the Bulgarian language proper. (1) But taken altogether and in certain details it is much more

1. See Section 32, above.

S.P. C.M. [194] [193] closely related to the Bulgarian than to the Serbian. These special traits are the use of the postpositive article (used after the substantive), the loss of declension and the retention of the nasals. Only the dialect of the northern region is more closely related to the dialect group of Vranje, Nish, Timok, which Professessor Belic assigns to the domain of the Serbian language, but certain philologists do not agree with him.

For these reasons I have, as may be seen above, and on the map which accompanies this book, assigned the Slavs of Macedonia to the Bulgars, while recognizing that there are in Old Serbia a majority of families who claim to belong to the Serbian nations.

S.P. C.M. 181

3). Moreover, it is certain that this question of deciding whether Macedonia is Serbian or Bulgarian cannot be resolved by secondary linguistic and ethnographic indications, /216/ for example the custom of celebrating the festival called Slava (1), but by other

1. A annual festival during which the word slava "glory" is frequently repeated, which gives it its name. Translator.

factors, such as historical tradition, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, political ideas and tendencies. But, even from this viewpoint, Macedonia is not tranquil; it is the scene of incessant agitation. Such agitation is carried on by means of political propaganda, by money, through the school, and through the church by both Bulgar and Serb. At the point to which all of these efforts are concentrated they may make of the least conscientious individual a Serb or a Bulgar, despite the dealect which he speaks. All of these factors continue to operate and they will not stop while Macedonia and Old Serbia are outside of the direct control of either Serbia or Bulgaria. The State which may be the first to occupy the region for a long period will be the first one to give it a character.

Today Macedonia is Bulgarian; but it is still a question of power and of the future, a question whether it will always remain Bulgarian, or will be Serbianized in part. The natural solution would be for Old Serbia to be assigned to the Serbs and Macedonia to the Bulgars. The relations of these two peoples would then be placed in order and their national development assured. But will such a political and national solution be arrived at for the Macedonian problem? It seems very doubtful.

/217/

SUMMARY

Total Figures for the Slavs.

S.P. 161

S 40.---For the year 1900 I have estimated the total figure for the Slavs at 137 or 138 million. After having revised my estimates in 1908, I arrived at a figure of 139 million, the details of which are

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A folk-lore, and an historical myth, are not sufficient to create a community of political interests. Nor, even, is a 'Cultural Front'. As Pypine, a Russian Westernist, remarked: 'Before imposing a Slavonic civilisation, this would first have had to be created'. 186*

For, in Russia itself, there were two opposing currents regarding the problem of the destinies of the Slavonic world. One, with Tchadaiev, saw Russia's past merely as a chaos of historical misunderstandings, and events devoid of meaning. Such was the doctrine of the Westernists, whose chiefs, moving in aristocratic or liberal circles, considered Europeanism as the measure of good and evil. The other, with the Slavophile school, refused to acknowledge the European culture as universal, and maintained that the country's future lay entirely in the development of her own values. 181* 829

Between the two schools, Danilevsky, a biologist hostile to the Darwinian theories, about 1860 formulated the problem of the relations between 'Russia and Europe', with all its implications.

He began by stressing the anomaly represented by the notion of Europe—a survival of the *orbis romanus*. There was no real separation between the European and Asiatic continents; the Urals were not a frontier. Now the question of a distinction between Europe and Asia was of prime importance to Russia, placed as she was, like a hinge between these two worlds. 181 829 177

This distinction, although a geographical anachronism, nevertheless corresponded to indisputable facts in the domains of history and civilisation—facts which sufficed to demonstrate that Russia had no decisive bonds with Europe. Danilevsky summed them up as follows:—

The Romance and Germanic peoples had a certain number of features in common, none of which was found in Russia's past.

They divided up the heritage of the Roman Empire, in which Russia had no part.

They were influenced by Germanic institutions, around which crystallised the notion of the State. The West was the patrimony of the countries who succeeded to the Empire of Charlemagne. Now Russia remained outside this community, which the Middle Ages designated under the name of 'Christendom'.

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*181 829 177 Russia knew nothing of Feudalism. She remained aloof from the intellectual current which began with Scholasticism and ended with scientific investigation. She was untouched by the Reformation. Whenever she entered into conflict with the Holy See, it was simply as a foreign power.

In short, Russia did not belong to the European family. If she was connected with it, said Danilevsky, it was by adoption, in the manner of a wild stock, on which an exotic branch has been grafted.

181 829 771 But had not religion, at least, engendered a spiritual solidarity between her and the West? Was not Orthodoxy a disruption of the Christian community and had not six centuries of Œcumenism forged indissoluble bonds between the Germano-Roman and the Slavo-Greek worlds?

No, replied Danilevsky. The Western Church was the triumph of Rationalism, differentiated by a positive sign among the Catholics, a negative one among the Protestants. Rome sacrificed internal to external unity, the Reformation sacrificed true liberty to the idea of external liberty. The Eastern Church was neither a system nor a hardened doctrine; it was all love and renunciation. Much more than dogmatic opposition was involved—these were two concepts of the spiritual life which were poles apart. That explained why the Orthodox Christians had come to regard Islam as the involuntary and unwitting saviour of Slavism. By tolerating independent churches under her sway, Islam protected them against the assimilating or unifying ascendency of Latin Catholicism. A Patriarch of Constantinople had said that *Providence had chosen the Osmanlis to defend Orthodoxy against the Western heresy.*

186* 829 So that Russia, according to Danilevsky, saw in Europe nothing to give her a feeling of historical or spiritual solidarity. Such was, moreover, the point of view of the great Russian novelist, Dostoievsky; to show oneself a true Russian was, for him, *to place oneself on the battleground of all European hostilities.* It was to constitute a unity, not *in* Europe, but opposed to it.

The thesis of the biologist met that of the novelist. A harmful policy (said Danilevsky in his turn), during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, associated Russia with the European balance of power. Now this balance of power affected only the

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186* the Slavs were to split up between the two camps into which
578 Europe would be divided. So that, except in congresses, where
175 ethnography and philology were discussed, this solidarity remained a myth. Russian egoism bore heavily upon the little 'Pravoslav' countries, in which the Tsarist policy affected to take an interest. Much more than that; certain territories, caught between two Slavonic currents—such as Macedonia, the Ukrainian Marches, the Teschen district of Silesia—kept alive the spirit of dissidence within the Slavonic family.

175 What remained of von Moltke's declarations was the
167 obsession of an inevitable reckoning between the two races. Germany, who, from age to age, had extended her sphere of domination at the expense of the Slavs, dimly felt that, one fine day, the latter would grow tired of the role of 'fertilisers' (*Düngervolk*) to which the Pan-Germanic school condemned them. In Merovingian times, a slow but continuous migration, by easy stages, peopled the Eastern Teutonic states with Slavs. These tribes had reached the Elbe and the Oder by the fourth century. To designate the Teutonic peoples, they forged the collective appellation, *Niemtse,* which has remained in the modern vocabulary of the Slavonic peoples, and signifies 'dumb ones', *i.e.,* speaking a language unintelligible to Slavs. But, little by little, the ebb of the Teutonic tribes pushed them back. With the exception of a few descendants of the Pomeranians (the Kachoubes and the Slovinces) and of the Sorabes (Lusatians), the vast group of Western Slavs of the Elbe and the Baltic disappeared in the struggle waged against them by the Germans in the four centuries from the time of Charlemagne to the twelfth century.

829 This withdrawal is explained by the state of dissension—a
167 hereditary defect with the Slavs—in which these populations
• 181 lived. An Austrian historian of this century, J. Peisker,[1] was so struck by such a large-scale backward drive, that he sought a different explanation for it. The past, he said, shows such a succession of conquests, and establishments of Teutonism in Slavonic territory, that we cannot attribute it to the fortune of war. We are obliged to suppose the existence of some factor which paralysed the resistance of the Slavs. This factor must

113 [1] *Die Älteren Beziehungen der Slawen zu Turkotataren und Germanien.* Berlin, 1905.

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be sought in the most remote centuries, in the contact of the Slavs 829
with the Turanian peoples of the Steppes, who were the founda- 167
tion of the so-called 'Scythic' Iranian population. From time 181
immemorial, the Turko-tartar peoples, by their pillaging raids, have borne heavily on the Iranians, their immediate neighbours, and, through them, on the Slavonic peoples. The Iranians have been the victims of the Turkomans of the salt Steppes—and the Slavs, by repercussion, have shared their fate. Having thus exhausted their political and social strength, they have become the chronic prey of the conquerors.

This thesis of an original curse, whatever its scientific value, should be borne in mind, for it justifies a conviction that is widespread among the Germans, *viz.*, the inferiority of the Slavonic race, and its presumed incapacity to develop from the notion of a clan to that of a State. There have been published anthologies of German thinkers and propagandists on this theme, which is summed up in the well-known witticism *Gute Nacht, Russen, nach Asien!*—which the Germans have invoked, even down to our own times, to justify considering Eastern Europe merely as a contemptible suburb of Teutonism.

Such is the background of history on which was projected 829
the 'reckoning' on which Bethmann-Hollweg and von Moltke 721
had banked. Must we, however, go so far as to say that the War 178
of 1914 was a Teuto-Slavonic war? M. Benes considers this thesis as attractive as it is untenable. He regards this war as a struggle between two political and philosophical conceptions, the logical development of the European evolution which, beginning at the Renaissance, culminated in the triumph of political individualism, of parliamentary and constitutional law. The war, he says, was not Teuto-Slavonic in character, nor in aims, nor in results.

Limited to the strict sequence of facts, this judgement is admissible. While Austria-Hungary threw herself into the war to prevent a rupture of her interior balance to the advantage of the Slavs, deeper and more decisive causes armed the Great Powers one against the other.

If, however, we consider the atmosphere that reigned in 186*
Europe in 1914, when the war found so many inflammable 721
substances in a state of suspense, M. Benes's point of view seems more contestable. The interests of the Slavs were neither

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Russian civilisation is founded on Orthodox Christianity, the Polish on Catholicism. All these theories, among their chief representatives, had no political character; it was a programme of cultural and intellectual solidarity, in no wise a political Panslavism. Slavonic Messianism is, scientifically, as untenable as all Messianic aspirations, the Teutonic included'.[8] 186*

For Edward Benes, the Slavonic aspirations had no practical significance, except inasmuch as they furthered a democratic and revolutionary ideal. 'The new Slavonic idea will consider as definitely buried everything that recalls Panslavism, Slavophilia and Panrussianism. . . . It seems to me simply ridiculous to wish to confine Russia and the Russian people within the limits of the "Slavonic policy", of Slav solidarity in Central Europe, and other conceptions of that kind. The role of Russia and of the Russian people is much more vast; the evolution of the world summons Russia to a more important mission. I reject, and especially in the interest of Russia's great mission, all Slavism, and all Slav solidarity which, whether directly or by their consequences, would prove to be purely and simply Russianism or Russophilia. . . . The new Slav solidarity has no desire to fall into the mysticism of the old. It accepts life and the world as they are, and takes as its essential basis the great victory won by democracy during the European War and revolutions. This new Slavism, freed from all the unacceptable ideologies of the past, . . . borrows two great ideas from tradition and from the principle of all the great spirits and all the heroes of Slavonic culture: the idea of democracy and the idea of humanity'.[9]

Let us say briefly (and with all the reservations implied in a condensed judgement) that the official position of Czechoslovakia was then dominated by a spiritual assumption—attachment to the democratic conceptions of the West—and by the economic exigencies of a new, highly-industrialised State. Politics based on sentiment and ideology were distrusted—which does not mean (as we shall see farther on) that they were entirely excluded. 181 •

In Yugoslavia, on the contrary, they professed, with varying shades corresponding to the different aspects of internal policy, 186+

[8] T. G. Masaryk, *The Resurrection of a State*, p. 398.
[9] Article published in the *Slovansky prehled* (The Slavonic Review) of Prague in 1925, *passim*. 113

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Then there is the 'Balkan fact', with all that it implies of suspicion and particularities. It is commonly explained by the geographic configuration of the Peninsula, furrowed by valleys which have no inter-communication. No doubt the physical relief tends to perpetuate the clan spirit throughout all the various changes of sovereignty. But the ethnical variety does not give an exhaustive image of the Balkan mentality. Nor does the long practice of the *Divide ut imperes* principle, which was the Alpha and Omega of the Habsburg policy in the Balkans. These States, before becoming the successors to Austria-Hungary, were the heirs of Byzantium, and we may wonder whether the passion-charged atmosphere, the complex of distrust and turbulence which characterise them, are not a survival of Byzantine influence, in opposition to that Roman continuity and that tendency to universalism whose determining effects on Western civilisation have been analysed by Fustel de Coulanges, Dopsch and Pirenne.

* * *

An event of incalculable significance for the Slavonic world occurred about the year 1933: the reappearance of Moscow on the European diplomatic stage—coinciding, if not tallying, with the rehabilitation by the Soviets of national values in Russian history.

In its critical years, the Bolshevist régime had relegated the racial idea to the status of romantic nonsense. 'Slavophilia', frowned upon as it was by the last Tsarist governments, still had about it an odour of reactionary and religious mysticism which would have been sufficient to keep it on the black-list, even had the idea of ethnical solidarity found a place in Marxist terminology. On the other hand, the policy of nationalities pursued by the U.S.S.R. had breathed new life into hitherto inorganic or unrecognised ethnical groups. In the time of the Tsars, who would have dreamed that Russia comprised no less than fifty nationalities or ethnical groups? It would have been ill-timed to give these people the impression that there existed in the U.S.S.R. a privileged race, whose traditions or ambitions dominated the life of the country, relegating the allogeneous republics to the condition of satellites. Decentralisation diluted Russian Slavism, and the plurality of tongues favoured by the Socialist Revolution deprived it of its trump card.

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648
175
• 181

There was something else they forgot in Berlin—the fact that the prestige of the Reich, in the whole of this sector, was doubly handicapped—handicapped by a generalised scorn of death and by the state of mind of peasants who, having seen, in one and the same generation, the collapse of Ottoman Turkey, Tsarist Russia, and the Habsburg Empire, instinctively failed to consider any hegemonic experiments as permanent. The majority of these nations have been hardened to defeat, as well as to recovery; consequently they believe neither in lasting adversity nor in the permanence of strength. They are the uncertain factor in the European pattern.

In short, in the brief historical parenthesis represented by the domination of the Axis in Eastern Europe, there was no elimination, but first transfer and then coalition of irredentisms. We may say that the incoherence of the concepts elaborated by the Axis Powers and their inability to remedy it, were the best retrospective justification of the treaties which had put an end to the previous war, though this should not lead us to underestimate their errors and omissions.

The decisive turning-point of the war—Russia's entry into the campaign—will remain a key-event in the history of the Slavonic peoples. At the moment when this occurred, some tens of millions of Slavs were perishing under Nazi oppression. It was impossible for this mortal duel between two giants not to flood their hearts with tremendous hope, replacing the discouragement that the unnatural *entente* sealed in Moscow had caused them. The war of which Russia was, for several years, to bear the heavy burden was a real 'war of liberation'. For the first time, in a political speech, made to the Soviet Assembly in Moscow on November 6, 1941, Stalin used the expression 'Russian people' (*Rouski Narod*) in preference to 'Soviet Union'. 'These people (the Nazis), devoid of conscience and honour, have the cynicism to summon the nations to the destruction of the great Russian nation, the nation of Plekhanovs, Lenins, Bilenskys and Tchernichevskys, Pushkins and Tolstoys, Gorkys and Tchekhovs, Setchenovs and Pvalovs, Rapins and Surikovs, Suvorovs and Kutusovs'. To this panorama of Russian genius he added a solemn pledge, calculated to reassure the nations of Eastern Europe, as to the price of the liberty he promised them and which he was to bring them. 'We have no intention of

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Chapter Five

RUSSIA AS ARBITER OF THE SLAVONIC NATIONS

IN the conditions under which it was realised, the liberation of Eastern Europe by the Soviet armies radically transformed the factors in the Slavonic problem. All the aims that the feeling of historical and racial solidarity had assigned to the Slavs were suddenly outstripped.

The First World War had resulted in their emancipation. As we have pointed out, this emancipation was due no less to the collapse of Tsarist Russia than to the victory of the Western Democracies. It had 'set up a home' for the Slavonic nations, free of mortgage on their national sovereign rights, without predominance of any one nation over the others. The two tasks imposed on them had been, on the one hand, the creation of inter-Slav ties—political, economic, and spiritual—on the other, a reorganisation of their relations with Russia.

The first of these tasks had been but imperfectly realised. The evolution of the international situation between the two wars was calculated rather to dissociate than to regroup the energies of the Slavonic world. And once again in history the Second World War had found the Slavonic nations in opposing camps.

As for relations with Moscow, they were diffident and inconsistent; where they did issue in positive agreements, these were hedged with cautious circumlocutions, and lacked a well-defined scope.

With the liberation, and the presence of the Red armies on their territory, the Slavonic peoples glimpsed a plan of their international life which was very different from the one they had known between 1919 and 1940. The new Governments had been formed under the eyes of the Liberator and, in the majority of cases, from elements devoted to the Soviet ideology. Under colour of 'anti-Fascism' a tidal wave swept away the old groups, accused of having, before or during the war, supported Axis designs. In reality the 'purge' marked an operation of a revolutionary nature, characterised by the rise to power of the

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'Young Brigade', and by the predominance of the 'social' over the 'political' and even over the 'national'. 177 .64

This revolution was in the logic of events; was there any need to invoke the ascendancy or the presence of Russia to explain it? On emerging from an upheaval unprecedented in their history, the little nations, stupefied by the blow and completely helpless, saw their recent past only as error or treason. 177 118 181

We cannot even reproach Russia with having bound up her action with a policy of patronage or aimed at an ideological synchronisation of the régimes born on the territories she had liberated. In Hungary, for example, she was very careful not to recreate the atmosphere of the time of Bela Kun, whose sinister memory, she found, was still alive.

But, in the Slavonic countries, the parties of the extreme Left, almost everywhere identified with the Resistance, took advantage of the presence and the prestige of Russia in order to get into power and stay there. This led to a misunderstanding which, by associating the Russian authorities with the Governments which they were believed to favour, risked one day exposing the popularity of the Soviet Union in these countries to a turn in the tide of internal politics. 662

Obliged henceforth to gravitate in the orbit of the powerful Russian State, the Slavonic nations could not consider the future from the same angle as they had done in 1918. At the conclusion of a devastating war, Russia would never again allow neighbouring States to serve as a diplomatic or military jumping-off ground for a possible adversary. She regarded them as her security ramp. 186* 829

One might be tempted to see in this Muscovite hold over Eastern Europe a revolution of an international order. In truth it was a revolution only in relation to an abnormal state of affairs—that of the 1920–1940 period, which rested on Russia's inertia in Europe. It could not reasonably be expected that this state of affairs would last indefinitely. The Europe of 1945 was more logical than that of 1918—at any rate, more in conformity with the classic play of international forces. 648

The slogan of Slav solidarity, which formed the *leit-motiv* of the Moscow Congresses of 1942–1944, had galvanised and co-ordinated the movements for resistance to the invader. In 186* 668 000

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on the basis of respect for the principle of nationalities'. No reference to a federal system. 642 643 175

He returned to Czechoslovakia early in March, 1945, and, from Kosice, he followed the last stages of the liberation. On May 10 the national flag again floated from Prague Castle and Cathedral; a few days later Benes made a triumphal entry into the city.

The Government (formed on April 5, under the presidency of M. Fierlinger, and composed of twenty-five members, seven of whom were Communists) avoided the mistake made by the majority of the liberated countries, by postponing the elections until passions had had time to subside a little. The authorised [646] political parties, four in number, agreed on the allocation of mandates to the Provisional National Assembly, which numbered 300 deputies, including 100 for Slovakia. On April 14[1] an electoral body chosen by the local National Committees nominated the members of this Assembly. 'The Czechs', Benes said, 'must take radical measures, while at the same time avoiding extremism'. That was the whole programme of the Czechoslovak Popular Front. 181 186 643

In the international order, the Government observed the same prudence. Benes's realistic attitude towards Soviet Russia is well known. 'The Czechs are a Slavonic people, and they are specially drawn towards the Russians, whom they understand better than any other people'. But Czech culture, and the democratic education of the Czech people, are fundamentally Western. The President continually returned to that assumption. Czechoslovakia is an intermediary region between two civilisations; its historical evolution, its psychology, its intellectual and social structure, all have affinities with the Anglo-American and French democracies.

The Soviet orientation was represented by the Communists, under the leadership of the Deputy Prime Minister, M. Clement Gottwald, and the Minister of National Education, Zdenek Nejedly, a celebrated musicographer, who attended the Moscow Panslav Congresses. But their influence was exerted moderately, and solely on the lines of the national interest. In reality, the Czech people, with their habits of thrift, their appreciation of property, their aversion to conformity, are fundamentally opposed to the Marxist ideology.

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

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from England the legal recognition which she had refused to a 648
non-Communist Ministry. However, the Foreign Office felt 175
bound to state that this recognition 'by no means implied that Great Britain considered the methods previously employed by the Bulgarian Government to consolidate its position, or the conditions under which the elections had been organised, as conforming to the spirit and the letter of the Yalta declaration concerning Liberated Europe'.

The Bulgarian reply dismissed these objections, but expressed the Sofia Government's satisfaction and its desire to respect the peace treaty.

The Constitution submitted to the Legislature had to recon- 642
cile the exigencies of a very Leftist democracy with the specific 175
traits of the Bulgarian nation, and the laws of its historical [182]
development. It was not federal, like the Russian or Yugoslav constitutions, but unitary. Bulgaria was to be a parliamentary republic, in which authority belonged to the people, whose will was expressed by means of elections or a referendum. The President was elected for four years (by a two-thirds majority) by the Legislature, plus one representative from each Cantonal Council and five representatives from each Departmental Council. The Legislature was elected for four years, on the basis of one member for every 25,000 inhabitants.

The Constitution sanctioned the right to private property and the right of inheritance, but placed in the hands of the State the country's natural resources, its sub-soil, transport, marine and fluvial navigation, communications, radio, and external trade. The new Bulgarian economy was inspired by the [181]
co-operative principle as understood in the Slavonic tradition (*mir* or *zadrouga*) rather than by pure collectivism.

In his ministerial declaration M. George Dimitrov had 648
defined friendship with U.S.S.R. as 'the corner-stone of his 175
foreign policy', but promised to endeavour to normalise relations with London and Washington. He expressed his gratitude 'to the sister nations—and particularly the new Yugoslavia[10]—for the help they had rendered to Bulgaria at the Peace Conference'.

Indeed, Bulgaria had no reason to complain of the Con-

[10] Who, on the previous June 15, had wiped out certain Bulgarian reparations.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

unity among the Slavs would still appear very difficult. The cultural differentiation in the march of historical development became so deep that the parental affinities in the Slavic family have been completely lost. And today the cultural type of a Russian differs greatly from the cultural Polish type, and this would be true for all other Slavic examples. 186* 563

How significant, although in part paradoxical in the light of the events of this war, are the following remarks of Vladimir Solov'ev: "Poland is in Eastern Europe the representative of the spiritual principle which became the basis of Western history. In its spiritual essence the Polish nation, and with it all Catholic Slavs, belong to the Western world. The spirit is stronger than blood; in spite of a blood antipathy toward Germans and blood nearness to Russia, the representatives of Polonism would accept Germanization rather than a union with Russia. A Western European, even a Protestant, is nearer by spirit to a Catholic Pole than an Orthodox Russian. Being the foremost fighters for Western principles, Poles see in Russia the East, hostile to their spiritual essence, an alien and dark force. . . ."[90] "The East," says Solov'ev, "worked out an order of ideas in which man was subordinated to supernatural power. The West created the ideal of the independence of man. In the East the state enslaved the peoples, while Greece elaborated the ideal of the freedom of the peoples. The supernatural element and the predominance of the state have given rise to the idea of resignation. Greece and Rome with their republics developed the principle of spiritual energy and popular activity." (Cf. *ibid.*) 181

Cultural differentiation represents progress, and the idea of racial unification might be considered as essentially reactionary. And indeed the Panslavistic doctrine is an anti-historical, anti-cultural, and anti-European idea, not only because of its anti-European political implications but because Panslavism refers first of all to theories of racial superiority, supporting them by dubious 000

[90] V. S. Solov'ev, *Velikii Spor i Khristianskaya Politika.* Cf. *Sobr. Soch.* 2, IV, 15.

161 German, one arrives at the figure of 116,810 individuals, and, if this figure is corrected according to the estimates of Parczewski, of Swjela*, and of Muka, about 156,000 persons are obtained, a lamentable total for a people surrounded and penetrated from all sides by the German flood. What favors Germanization is the extent to which the Sorbs [177] are economically dependent upon the Germans: the military service, preaching in German, the absence of an intellectual class, their complete isolation. The Sorbs who resist most energetically are those of Upper Lusatia, whose intellectual center is at Bautzen (Budysin). In Saxony, of 297 communes called Wends (1), according to the census

1. The Sorbs of Lusatia are called Wends in German.

of 1900, there are in all 225 with a Slav majority, and only 7 entirely Slav.

167 We have no other data on the Lusatians or on their emigration. It appears that there are colonies in America (especially in Texas--Serbin (a town), which recalls the name of the nation, Giddingswenden (probably the town of Giddings), West (perhaps the town of West Point) Yewa (not located), Warda (a town), Burleson (a county) whose inhabitants left Europe towards the middle of the last century, and who still preserve the national tradition. There are also some in Australia (at Angerspark, at Adelaide near Melbourne). They are of more recent origin.

795 The great majority of the Sorbs are Lutherans; there are 15,000
162 Catholics, who live for the most part in the neighborhood of Budysin (Bautzen).

197 /98/ S 19. Differentiation.--Even though they are only a small
182 nation, the Sorbs are not unified from the linguistic point of view. The difference between the idioms of Upper and Lower Lusatia is so great that the common people have great difficulty in understanding one another and many linguists have recognized two distinct languages. There are in fact two literary languages founded upon the two dialects which are farthest apart (that of Kottbus and that of Bautzen) and two literatures. This duality creates a grave danger, the much more so as the two fractions are divided from a political viewpoint. Kottbus belongs to Prussia and Bautzen to Saxony. Aside from the language, the
101 two Lusatian groups differ from many viewpoints in matters of domestic
182 life and costume. According to Muka, the boundary between the two

S.P. 101 182 areas formerly ran from Zagan (Sagan) on the Bobrawa through Muzakov, Grodk, Kolany, Kupsk (Muckenberg), Wikow (Elsterwerda) towards Bielagora (Belgern) on the Elbe, and it has remained in conformity with this line in matters relating to the Sorb population.

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V

/99/ THE CZECHS AND THE SLOVAKS

S.P. C. 101 S 20.--Historical Introduction.---The Czechs also belong to the western branch, as well as the Slovaks, who, from more than one viewpoint, may be considered as forming only a single nation with them, even though fate has already separated them to a considerable degree and, judging by all appearances, should further enlarge this separation.

These two branches developed from a common center, which alongside the Polish and the Polabre center, was located somewhere to the north of the Sudeten Mountains and perhaps reached as far as Moravia; it is from this region that the ancestors of the Czechs and the Slovaks came into the regions where history verifies their presence.

S.P. C 174 [172] 101 They came there from the north, perhaps all together in a single move, perhaps at various periods. The texts contain nothing about this; archaeology, while admitting the Slavic and particularly the Czech character of the cinerary tombs of the Lusatian type, can only conjecture that Bohemia and Moravia were occupied before the middle of the first century B.C. /100/ The cradle of the Czechs and the Slovaks is to be found further to the north, but, taking into account archaeological data, one may to a certain degree regard them as being indigenous to Bohemia and to Moravia. The same may be said for the branch settled in Hungary. Dr. Czambel chose to state in recent times that the Slovaks did not come with the Czechs, that they came by themselves and from another region, from the southeast,--all this in order to demonstrate that the Slovaks do not belong to the western group, but to the southern group. But this theory S.P. C. 174 197 101 lacks foundation from the viewpoint of history and of philology. The linguistic kinship shows without argument that the Czechs and the Slovaks belong to the same group as the Sorbs of Lusatia, the

[The Czechs and Slovaks — Analyse]

S.P. C. 184 Slovaks broke away from the Bohemian crown in 1031; despite the relations which they have maintained since that time with the Czechs, and many attempts to bring them more closely together, the separation persists and, except for an unexpected miracle, it will finally lead to the division of the formerly single nationality into two different nations.

S.P. C. 175 182 [197] During long centuries, the Czechs and the Slovaks of Hungary, even though they spoke different dialects, had neither the same costumes, nor the same customs, and were living under different sovereigns and in different states, were nevertheless not conscious of these differences. Their literary representations proclaimed the unity of their language and rejoiced in it.

Attempts have been made in these latter days to demonstrate that the Slovaks were of a non-Czech origin, that they have merely been Czechized by the influence of religious literature, and that the divergences which have recently occurred were only a return toward an ancient state of affairs.

S.P. C. [197] This thesis, which was that of Czambel, recently deceased, is not sufficiently well-founded. What is certain, on the contrary, is that the Slovaks and the Czechs at the outset formed an ethnic and linguistic unit with some /132/ dialectal differences, a unit which occupied the region located to the south of the Sudeten and Carpathian mountains. But this common domain was divided by the Carpathians into two regions, one of which had its center to the west, the other to the east. These geographic conditions gave birth to two political organisms. The Danube, which was their natural bond, fell into the hands of the Germans. In 1631 the Slovak areas were detached from Bohemia and from Moravia. The religious and literary ties between the two groups in no wise succeeded in reuniting the broken bonds.

The differences between the two peoples grew more and more pronounced. Among the upper classes the idea developed that they belonged to different states, to another fatherland, that they had a different ideal of autonomy. These ideas were expressed for the first time in 1787 and towards the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, at the period when the Slovak literature broke away from the Czech literature.

Beginning with this period the Czechs had to reckon with this

S.P. C. 175 182 tendency, which replaced the once purely theoretical unity of the two groups by two units, akin no doubt, but independent of one another, which assigned to the Slovaks a special place in the sequence of Slav peoples.

000 The history, the internal differentiation, the political life had sufficiently prepared the ground /133/ for these events. Have they taken place in a way favorable to the future of the Slovaks? It is difficult and premature to solve this question today. We have only to recognize and to respect the individuality of the Slovaks and to hope that they may remain faithful to the feeling of solidarity and of moral unity of their group with the Czech nation.

S.P. C. 141 From a physical viewpoint, according to the latest research, the characteristic traits of the Czechs are that they are of medium height (169.2 centimeters for the men, 157.3 centimeters for the women) and very well proportioned; a rather large cranial capacity; with a rather round skull (index 83.3); an oval face of average proportions; the hair is brown or dark blond; the eyes usually light in color.

The brachycephalics are in the majority; among 100 skulls, are found 1% subdolichocephalic, 13.5% mesocephalic, 56.5% subbrachycephalic and 29% brachy--and ultra-brachycephalic. Up to the present it has been impossible to demonstrate differences by localities

S.P. C. 142 Statistics drawn up in 1880 showed that among 100 children, 38.17% had blue eyes, 30.86% grey eyes, 30.70% brown eyes; 44.04% blond hair and 55.75% brown or black hair. The light type (blue eyes and blond hair) is represented in Bohemia by 18.3%, in Moravia by 15.9%; the dark type (brown eyes, brown or black hair) /134/ by 23.4% in Bohemia, and 23.6% in Moravia. Moreover, the crossing of types darkens the complexions, as may be verified by the statistics prepared for the ethnographic exhibition of 1895. (1) This indicates among the adults 75% with dark hair.

1. About this exhibition, which I had the good fortune to visit, see my volume Russes et Slaves (2d series, Paris, Hachette, 1896, p. 340 ff.) Mr. Niederle was one of the principal organizers of this exhibition. Translator.

000 The outcome of all of this is that the Czech type does not

S.P. Sl. 161 20,987 for Croatia and Slavonia). In 1900 the statistics omitted them. Between 1890 and 1900 the total increase for all of Austria was 9.4%, while that for the Slovenes was only 1.37%.

The following is the general total of Slovenes for the year 1900:

In Austria	1,199,786
In Italy	35,000
In Hungary and Croatia	102,000
In America	100,000
Other countries	20,000
	1,456,786

/143/ Trsteniak, who lowers the total for Hungary, numbered them at 1,416,580; Klima, at 1,444,364. The figures which we give probably require some corrections for Cisleithania.

Thus, in Carinthia, the specialists count 40,000 more of them than the official statistics. For Trieste and the surrounding area the statistics for 1900 give only 16% Slovenes against 77% Italians. But, at the time of the 1907 elections the Slovene candidates received more votes than the Italians. One of them was even elected. We may venture then to estimate the number of Slovenes at a million and a half.

S.P. Sl. 182 Even though they may be few in number, the Slovenes do not have to fear the loss of their nationality, for they have an entire province to themselves, Carniola; this was sufficient to enable them to succeed in reinforcing their sense of nationality and to develop a public educational system. Their political situation is very important for the Slav race; it is they who prevent the Germans from linking the Adriatic with the North Sea. (1)

1. I have already expressed these ideas in 1868 in an article published by La Revue moderne and reprinted in my volume Le Monde slave (2d ed., p. 43, Hachetter, 1897) Translator.

S.P. Sl. 212 In the matter of education, the Slovenes in Austria are ahead of the Poles, the Russians, the Serbo-Croats. They have only 23.9% illiterates. The ratio of the two sexes is 1,032 women for each 1,000 men (1,098 in Carnolia). From the point of view of age it is figured /144/ that they have only 45.8% below twenty years of age; but in contrast 18.9% are above fifty years of age; the proportion of married persons is 32.2, which is below normal.

S.P. Sl. 162

000 In the matter of thebirth rate, during these latter years it has

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Indeed, Bulgaria had no reason to complain of the Con-

[10] Who, on the previous June 15, had wiped out certain Bulgarian reparations.

S.P. C. 178 have almost entirely disappeared. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, modern civilization, the school, the obligatory military service, and similar factors have unified them more and more. It is only in Moravia that there still is some slight variety, but it will disappear even there.

S.P. C. 177 101 184 Three principal dialects are recognized in Bohemia: those of the southwest, of the center, and of the northeast. But they do not afford accentuated characteristics which render them immediately recognizable. In contrast, here and there ethnographic islands are met with, which, from the point of view of language and of costume afford special interest and are distinguished by particular names. Thus, not so long ago in the west the area of Plzen and in the east that of Litomysl with the dialect of Orlice had a special physiognomy.

Likewise in the southeast the Blataki (from Blato, swamp, lake, in the area located between Sobieslav* and Trebon*) can be distinguished, and in the region southwest of the Sumava, the Chodes*, the most typical of all of the Czech tribes (1), which were /127/

1. A few notes on the Chodes will be found in my volume, Le Monde slave (2d edition, Paris, 1897, p. 200). Translator.

formerly settled between Domazlice and Tachov, and which are now concentrated around Domazlice, the Tachov area having been partly Germanized. It is in the area of Mount Rip that the true type of Czech peasant is to be found.

The odd character of the Chodes has given rise to the most diverse theories regarding their origin. Formerly Paul Stransky*, and later Ruffer, Erben, Grabowski, suggested that they were Poles settled as colonists by Bretislav I. But their dialect offers not the slightest trace of Polish influence. The uniqueness of the Chodes is explained sufficiently by the mountainous and isolated region which they occupy, by their traditions and the privileges which they have enjoyed since the fourteenth century as guardians of the frontiers.

The origiality of the primitive tribes is better preserved in Moravia. There we may very easily distinguish three different types, not only by dialect, but by physical and ethnographic details, particularly by the costume; even more, the people themselves are conscious of these differences and glad to affirm them. Up until now the things which have been most clearly recognized are the

SP. dialect and the costume. The other signs of differentiation have not
C been studied from a scientific viewpoint. We have noted in the first
197 place, that in the mountain regions of Bohemia and of Moravia there
101 exists a purely Czech element which in the south borders upon
184 German territory.

/128/ In the northeast of Moravia and of Silesia the Lasi are met with (their country is called Lassko); they occupy the region of the Opava and the Czech section of the Tesin (Teschen) area, and in Moravia the area in which are situated the towns of Pribor, Brusperk*, Moravska, Ostrava, Frydlant, etc. The name of Lasi, furthermore, is not commonly used among the people. One finds alongside it those of Valasi* and other local names, Horale*, Kozloviane*, Dulani*, etc. The dialect of these Lasi bears strong traces of Polish influence.

The Valasi, properly speaking, are settled to the south of the Lasi in the region of Vsetin. From a linguistic viewpoint their idiom is very close to that of the Slovaks. But the people distinguish themselves very definitely from the latter, and their dress is completely different.

They are a group of purely Slovak origin who have been given the name of the Rumanian Walachians, who from the eleventh to the twelfth centuries moved into the Little Carpathians and were assimilated by the natives.

The most unusual tribe is that of the Moravian Slovaks, formerly identical with the Slovaks of Hungary, but who are today entirely different from them in life and in customs. In Moravia there remains only a small group of 18 villages which preserves the Hungarian character.

C
[292] Among the Slovaks of Moravia, the national costume still per-
sists in all its brilliance; it /129/ is so varied that an ethnographer has been able to distinguish 28 absolutely different types.

SP
C Pure-blooded Slovaks occupy the southeast corner of Moravia.
101 To their groups are attached three former Croatian villages, which they have
184 assimilated.

All the rest of Moravia belongs to the Hanaks*. Just as the Slovaks are lively and cheerful, the Hanaks are calm and apathetic. Their center is located on the river Hana, a tributary of the Morava which gives them their name.

S.P. C. 181 184

Their principal towns are: Prerov, Olomouc (Ollmutz) and Prostejov. They are divided into the Red Hanaks and the Yellow Hanaks, according to the color of their breeches. Various tribes are recognized among them: those of the Baniaks*, of the Blataks*, of the Zabeczaks*, of the Moravicks*, names which refer to certain details of topography.

S.P. C. 101 184 177

The Slovak territory can be divided up only on a theoretical basis. From the dialectological viewpoint, it divides itself into three areas: that of the west on the Nitra and the Vah, that of the center (upon the Hron and upper Vah), that of the east which reaches from Gemer* and Liptov as far as the national frontier. The inhabitants of this area are considered by many ethnographers as Slovakized Russians, and it is a fact that in the counties of Spis, of Sarys*, of Zemplin and of Ujgorod (Ungvar) the Russians are becoming more and /130/ more Slovakized. One of the most remarkable of these groups is that of the Sotaks* in the county of Zemplin.

They are so called because they say so instead of tso /co, what/ and have nothing to do with the Satagues* of Jordanes.

S.P. C. 101 184

Let us also mention as local names those of the Magurani* in the county of Spis, of the Trpaci* in that of Niredhazy*. Among the Slovak groups, the most unusual is that of the Detva, in the county of Zvolen: a Hungarian ethnographer, O. Hermann, chose to see in the Detvanci colonists from Hercegovina, but he is mistaken.

S.P. C 101 184 465

The ancient ethnographers, and, following them, many modern books, indicate as forming special tribes those persons who work as peddlers, broom-makers, galziers, etc., who merely represent nomadic types common to all nationalities.

However, representatives of certain industries are natives of certain regions, for example, the dratenici, sellers of articles made from iron wire, are natives of the county of Trencsin, etc. (1)

1. Likewise in France, certain artisans are especially natives of the Creuse, the Auvergne, of Savoy, etc. Translator.

S.P. C. 184

What is of much greater interest from the Czech viewpoint than these local shades of difference, is the distinction which exists between the /131/ Czechs and the Slovaks of Hungary. This distinction arose a long time ago; it has been sanctioned by a long separation; the

S.P. C. 184 Slovaks broke away from the Bohemian crown in 1031; despite the relations which they have maintained since that time with the Czechs, and many attempts to bring them more closely together, the separation persists and, except for an unexpected miracle, it will finally lead to the division of the formerly single nationality into two different nations.

S.P. C. 175 182 [197] During long centuries, the Czechs and the Slovaks of Hungary, even though they spoke different dialects, had neither the same costumes nor the same customs, and were living under different sovereigns and in different states, were nevertheless not conscious of these differences. Their literary representations proclaimed the unity of their language and rejoiced in it.

Attempts have been made in these latter days to demonstrate that the Slovaks were of a non-Czech origin, that they have merely been Czechized by the influence of religious literature, and that the divergences which have recently occurred were only a return toward an ancient state of affairs.

S.P. C. [197] This thesis, which was that of Czambel, recently deceased, is not sufficiently well-founded. What is certain, on the contrary, is that the Slovaks and the Czechs at the outset formed an ethnic and linguistic unit with some /132/ dialectal differences, a unit which occupied the region located to the south of the Sudeten and Carpathian mountains. But this common domain was divided by the Carpathians into two regions, one of which had its center to the west, the other to the east. These geographic conditions gave birth to two political organisms. The Danube, which was their natural bond, fell into the hands of the Germans. In 1631 the Slovak areas were detached from Bohemia and from Moravia. The religious and literary ties between the two groups in no wise succeeded in reuniting the broken bonds.

The differences between the two peoples grew more and more pronounced. Among the upper classes the idea developed that they belonged to different states, to another fatherland, that they had a different ideal of autonomy. These ideas were expressed for the first time in 1787 and towards the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, at the period when the Slovak literature broke away from the Czech literature.

Beginning with this period the Czechs had to reckon with this

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

than 1167, and long before that date the process of extermination or assimilation had set in. 177

In view of the latest developments in modern history, let us pause a moment on the origins of the Czechoslovaks. The primeval habitat of Czechs and Slovaks was located north of the Carpathians between the headwaters of the Oder and the middle Vistula. The Czechs reached Bohemia and Moravia by the upper reaches of the Neisse and Oder and westward through the Sudeten range and between the Gesenke and the Jablunka. The Slovaks, on the other hand, arrived in their present location between the Morava and the Danube by passing the western Carpathians (that is, the Beskids and the High Tatra south of modern Krakow). The western limits of the Czechs were thus the Böhmer Wald and the Erzgebirge, while on the north they enjoyed a good natural frontier in the mountains from the Sudetens to the Carpathians. On the south the Bohemians and Moravians originally extended to the Danube, but were gradually pushed back along the river between Linz and Vienna until the twelfth century, though the Slovaks maintained contact with it at Bratislava (Pressburg). The western Slovak limit is still roughly the river Morava, which joins the Danube about thirty miles east of Vienna. 167

There is no longer much question but that the Czech and the Slovak languages were originally an identical dialect just as their speakers were primitively one group, but even in modern times there is an appreciable diversity of dialect, culture, and character among various sections of even the Czechs themselves, and the present differentiation of the Slovaks was conditioned and intensified by geographical separation from the Czechs and by the long-standing political dominance of the Magyars since 1029. The intellectual gap between Czech and Slovak is also due to the rapid Czech assimilation of German culture. Finally, at the extreme east end of the state of Czechoslovakia is an area known as Subcarpathian Russia. Its inhabitants speak a Ukrainian (Little Russian) dialect per- 197 184

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

pean campaigns were inoculated with the republican ideas disseminated by the French revolution. Essentially patriotic, they were eager to apply these ideals to their own country, to abolish the autocracy, promote republican government, raise the standard of education, and do away with the abuses of serfdom They continued with greater energy, though often with little judgment, the task begun by Radishchev.

Here the Russian revolutionary movement begins among an enlightened fraction of the ruling class. Great writers like Pushkin and Lermontov, each after brief romantic digressions, grew up to treat the seamy side of reality, both in the tragedy of the humble who are scarcely considered human by those they serve, or the misfortune of the gifted individual denied a chance at productive activity by the contemporary organization of society. Both these talents were suspected and harassed by the autocracy, and though each met his death in a duel, they were as truly victims of official conservatism as those young enthusiasts who had participated in the Decembrist conspiracy in 1825 after the death of Alexander I, and paid for it on the scaffold or amid the snows of Siberia. But from 1825 the cleavage between the government and the thoughtful section of society, once opened, was never bridged again.

This mutual hostility first became acute during the reign of Nicholas I from 1825 to the Crimean War. The Decembrist conspiracy had revealed that the turn to the right by Alexander I after 1815 had created great bitterness. The same judicial and administrative abuses that marred Catherine's reign were still rampant, state finances were disordered, and the peasants were rudely exploited. Nicholas at first had some notion of reform, but his suspicion of extragovernmental initiative was such that he hesitated to take any concrete step. The most pressing problem was serfdom: the landlords were heavily in debt and short of capital to provide employment for a rapidly increasing peasant population. Peasant disorders were menacingly frequent, but only in the western Ukraine and in Poland were reforms introduced. Educational institutions were fettered and

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

national sentiment. It is not irrelevant to mention that the Orthodox Slavs of the Balkans are the least practising of Orthodox Christians, among whom it is the Serbs who have the largest number of unbelievers. It is said that, for a given number of inhabitants, there would be six times as many churches in Greece as in Serbia, four times as many in Rumania, and twice as many in Bulgaria. 186* 771

Muscovite Slavism differed from Czech Slavism not only in its internal tendencies but in its psychological structure. The patient mysticism of the Russians aimed at achievements on the basis of a millenary evolution. The Czechs, of less nebulous mentality and of intense volitional power, sought immediate results. In Moscow they talked of the divine mission of Eastern Christianity; in Prague, of the boycotting of German goods and the disposal of the products of Czech industry. Between two nations with such a differing mental outlook, it was difficult to maintain concomitant moral action for very long. 186* 563 185•

The breach became apparent when the Czech, Karel Kramár, created the 'Neo-Slavism' which held its first Assembly in Prague in May, 1908. A Pole, Roman Dnowski, and a Bulgarian, Stevan Bobtchev, were in agreement with him to rejuvenate the old Slavonic ideal under a new climate. It was a doctrine tending towards cultural unity and the spiritual and economic collaboration of all Slavs, without distinction of religion, and on a footing of perfect equality. An anti-hegemonic conception of Slav solidarity thus replaced 'Russo-Orthodox-Panslavism', relegated to the order of romantic myths. It seemed to provide the positive basis and the practical aims which agreement among Slavs had always lacked. 186* 668

But, among the other Slav peoples, this movement did not meet with the success its founder anticipated. Too many of these peoples still had to contend with foreign domination. Kramár more or less approved the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Dual Monarchy. He saw in it the legalisation of a state of things which implied an increase in the number, and therefore in the influence, of the Slavs within Austria-Hungary; it was for the inverse reason that the German Liberals in Austria had, thirty years earlier (1878), unleashed furious opposition to the occupation of these same provinces. But bound up with this question were the security and the independence of the Serbian 186* 668 648

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Chapter Seven

ORTHODOXY AND PANSLAVISM

IN the renewal of the spirit of Slavonic solidarity an important place must be attributed to the action of Orthodoxy.

The Muscovite Patriarchate, almost as soon as it was reconstituted on new juridical bases and assured of the Kremlin's support, set out to reconquer the communities who had relaxed their ties as a result of the Bolshevist Revolution, thereby renewing a Russian tradition which dates from Ivan III. The spiritual object of this pacific crusade was to restore union and harmony to the Orthodox or 'Pravoslav' world. But its political objective, though not openly avowed, was none the less obvious; the Moscow Government sought to extend its influence by having recourse to the 'armour of light' of which the Apostle speaks.

This campaign met with no canonical obstacle, since, among the Pravoslavs, there is no primacy of jurisdiction. But it *did* meet with resistance from the autocephalous 'national' tendencies of the various Orthodox Churches—tendencies which had been affirmed in the States created or enlarged by the First World War and in which the hierarchy had seized the opportunity of breaking away from the spiritual control of the Phanar (Constantinople Patriarchate).

But the weight of Soviet power enabled the Russian clergy easily to overcome the prejudices felt by the national Churches against any moral control exercised outside their State frontiers. For this purpose the clergy borrowed their arguments from the Muscovite temporal power, that is to say, they posed as champions of proletarian emancipation, and exploited the Orthodox Slavs' old prejudices against the Catholic Church. Whilst the Patriarch Alexis visited the Christian communities of the Middle East to restore the 'primacy of honour' of the Russian Church in the Orthodox Pentarchy (Moscow, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem), the Metropolitan Alexis of Juroslav went to the United States to try to rally the section of Orthodox emigrants who resisted the authority of the Patriarch of Moscow.

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stantinople, in agreement with the Muscovite hierarchy. The thousandth anniversary of the death of the anchorite, Saint John of Rila, restorer of Bulgarian monastic life, was the occasion, in May, 1946, of impressive solemnities which were attended by the Patriarch Alexis. It was the second time in ten centuries that the head of the Russian Church had visited the monastery. He officiated in person. The head of the Communist Party, George Dmitrov, took the opportunity of reminding the Bulgarian clergy that they should no longer look back towards the fallen régime :— 186* 795 648 659

'Today we can ask that our Church shall remain faithful to her millenial traditions and become, in fact, a Republican Church, by ceasing to render homage to the dynasty and the monarchs who have betrayed the Bulgarian nation. Let our Fathers in the Holy Synod and all honest servants of the Church understand that today we are living in new times, that they must on no account thwart the aspirations of the people, and that they may take example from the chiefs of the Russian Orthodox Church'.

We can fully understand this warning only if we visualise the state of latent tension existing in the relations between the Church and the Bulgarian State since the liberation. It had shown itself, since the month of January, 1946, in a protest from the Exarch, Mgr. Stephan, against the prohibition of religious instruction in the schools. Since the new Constitution provided for the separation of the Churches and the State, the Bulgarian Holy Synod announced in December, 1946, that, while remaining hostile to this separation, it would nevertheless accept it if the Charter surrounded the exercise of the Church's spiritual mission with juridical guarantees. Moreover, it demanded that lay instruction should be neither anti-religious nor anti-Christian, but strictly neutral. 659 [871]

At the same time, in order to create conditions facilitating adaptation to the new state of affairs, it announced a programme of reforms destined to 'democratise' the internal régime of the Church and to bring its principles more in line with those of popular power. [785]

So that, in Bulgaria, the separation did not appear as persecution; it was manifested rather by a strengthening of the autocephalous character of the Church, too closely bound up 186* 659

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186* 659 with Bulgarian national life to be neglected by the new régime, which will continue to subsidise it, and counts upon its co-operation in rallying the masses; in which, moreover, it is assured of the goodwill of Mgr. Stephan and his clergy. On August 28, at the Bachkovo pilgrimage, Mgr. Cyrille, Metropolitan of Plovdiv, made a speech urging the faithful to vote, at the referendum, for the Republic and against 'the abhorred monarchy, whose role', he said, 'has been as fatal in the history of the country as in that of the Church'.

* * *

•185 Whereas, in the Balkan countries, the religious problem lay in getting the clergy to forget that they had, for some centuries, been the support of the monarchical institution, it had a quite different aspect among the Western Slavs, where the problem was, first and foremost, the liquidation of Uniatism.

175 795 648 As the reader will know, the 'Act of Union' (hence the word 'Uniat') was concluded three and a half centuries ago, in 1596, at Brest-Litowsk, where the Metropolitan of Kiev acclaimed the renewal with Rome of the Union of Florence. As a result, since that date there had been flourishing communities 'of the Oriental rite', which recognised Papal supremacy while keeping their national liturgy and their discipline—which, among other regulations, permits (as the Orthodox Church does) the clergy to marry. These communities today number in all about two million followers, especially in territories formerly incorporated in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

[829] Uniatism had always been regarded by the Russians as a 'turning movement' on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, supported first by Poland, then by Austria-Hungary, to detach the Orthodox from their traditional faith. Urban VII's apostrophe: 'Ruthenians, the East will be conquered by you!' has obsessed the Muscovite Church, which has never ceased to endeavour to recapture its positions.

After the fall of the Tsarist régime this Church's efforts were paralysed by the crisis she was herself experiencing, and by the official atheism professed by the Soviet State. The Holy See sought to take advantage of this crisis to restore the 'seamless robe of Christ'. It gave repeated proofs of solicitude, placing the Uniats on a footing of complete equality with their brethren of the Latin rite. It cherished the hope, thanks to these Uniats,

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of one day seeing Slavonic Christianity return to Catholic unity, and the immense flock of all the Russians come back to the Roman fold. As is well known, the critical point in dogma is the divergence between the two Churches regarding the procession of the Holy Ghost. It is the famous 'Filioque' quarrel. Now, in the Liturgy published by the Holy See in June, 1943, for the use of the Russians and Ruthenians, the *Credo* is given according to the version of the early centuries, without reference to the 'Filioque'—in other words, ignoring the chief dispute which separated the Orthodox from the 'Romans'.

In spite of these concessions, Orthodoxy has never given up. In Carpatho-Ruthenia the number of its followers doubled from 1921 to 1930. Moscow had nothing to do with this; at that time it was the Serbian Patriarchate which presided over the destinies of the Russo-Carpathian Orthodox Church.[1]

And, after the incorporation of the Eastern Marches of Poland and of Carpatho-Ruthenia in the Soviet Union, a counter-offensive for the return of the Uniats to Orthodoxy was organised, using the customary resources of Russian political power. On June 18, 1945, a Committee of Initiative was formed, with a view to winning over these Catholics to Pravoslav unity. A 'Council' of the Uniat Church of the Western Ukraine was held in Lwow on March 8, 1946; it proclaimed the dissolution of ties which, for 350 years, had bound that Church to the Vatican,[2] and its submission to the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the name of the delegates of the three Uniat Eparchies which were represented at the Council, a message was sent to Stalin announcing this decision, and the breaking of the spiritual bond between the Eastern Catholics and Rome.

The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate[3] commented on this event as follows: 'So, gradually, day by day, in union and in united prayer, will the breach opened by Rome within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy be closed; the time is not far distant

[1] In 1921 the figures for Ruthenia were: Catholics 55,000; Uniats 332,500, and Orthodox 60,997.

[2] The anniversary of the connection was commemorated by the encyclical letter *Orientales omnes ecclesias*, published on January 19, 1946, in which the Pope accused the Russians of treating the Catholic Ruthenians as enemies of the State and encouraged the latter to persevere in their traditional faith.

[3] February 6, 1947.

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785
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when the word 'Uniat' will survive only as a historical idea'.

The Vatican published a note contesting the validity of this Council, recalling that part of the Catholic clergy of the Ukraine had been cast into prison; it saw, in the Lwow decision, the result of political pressure exercised by apostate priests.[4]

Nevertheless, the movement spread. The Patriarch Alexis, addressing the Uniats of Ukraine—formerly Poles or Czechs—put its development in the domain of political realities: 'You have always been united to Russia and her people by ties of language and of customs. Now that Divine Providence has restored to Russia her ancient frontiers, you are with us for ever'.

In any case the role of Uniatism as the vanguard of Catholicism in the Slavonic world seems to be, if not completed, at least paralysed for many a year, despite the resistance of part of the clergy and the support the dissentients can expect from the Catholic Ukrainians of Canada and the United States. The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate[5] defined the lines on which the 'unification' is being carried on, by opposing the 'œcumenical spirit' to the 'imperialist spirit'. 'Universality is of God; Imperialism is of Cæsar. A new Orthodox era has been inaugurated by the rebirth of Western Orthodoxy at the great Council of Moscow; by the renewal of communion between the Russian Orthodox Church and her Eastern sisters; by the end of schisms and discords among the Orthodox (especially the reconciliation of the Bulgarian Church with Moscow, and the restoration of her rights to the autocephalous Georgian Church, brought into subjection to the Moscow Synod by the will of the autocratic Tsarist régime); by the journey of the Patriarch Alexis who, for the first time, went to pray at the Holy Sepulchre in 1945; and by the visit which the Metropolitan Nicolaï made to the Orthodox Christians of Western Europe'.

Indeed, Orthodoxy is driving its offensive towards the West,

[4] Radio-Moscow protested, in its turn, against this assertion, affirming that the Council represented 78% of the whole of the Uniat clergy. As for the bishops incarcerated before the meeting of the Council, these were, they said, traitors or accomplices of the German occupation. Cf., for the Catholic point of view on Moscow's policy regarding the Uniats, Charles Pichon: *Le Vatican*, in the series *Le Monde et l'Histoire* (Editions S.E.F.I.), pp. 396 *et seq.* According to Pichon only 5% of the Uniat priests had obeyed the Soviet injunctions.

[5] Of February 2, 1947.

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beyond the territories placed within its traditional sphere of influence, and especially in Czechoslovakia. 795 185 648

It is true that the saints given to the Church by the Czech nation in the tenth century appear both in the Orthodox and in the Roman calendars, but Orthodoxy disappeared as an official religion in the twelfth century. However, its influence did not completely disappear; it still had a latent existence in the time of John Huss and his disciples, who established relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1451—which relations were interrupted by the capture of the city by the Turks two years later. 175 779 795

With Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance in 1781, Orthodoxy, previously eliminated by the religious reaction known as the Counter-Reformation, re-established itself in Bohemia. We have related above (p. 24) the enthusiasm with which the people of Prague heard a Serbian prelate conduct an Orthodox service and pray for the soul of John Huss on the Wenceslas Square, on the occasion of the 1848 Slav Congress. In 1874 the use of the Catholic Church of Saint Nicholas was granted to the Orthodox cult, which thereafter worshipped in it concurrently with the National Church. After the Vatican Council, and in spite of the hostility of the Austrian authorities, conversions which created a great stir took place. But it was only after the First World War that the Orthodox Church was organised in Bohemia. Not being able, at that time, to attach itself to Moscow, it placed itself under obedience to the Serbian Patriarchate of Karlovtsi, which, in September, 1921, consecrated the first bishop. This Czech Orthodox Church was itself torn by the current of dissidence created by the 'Czechoslovak National Church', which claimed to be based on the ideas of John Huss, but was in reality far from being so. In 1929 the Patriarchate of Belgrade approved the constitution of an Orthodox Eparchy (Bohemia-Moravia-Silesia) in which divine worship was offered in liturgical Slavon and in Czech.

When the two Resistance heroes who were parachuted to deliver Bohemia from her torturer, the 'Protector', Reinhard Heydrich, had executed the latter,* they hid in the crypt of the

* The execution took place on May 27, 1942, on the outskirts of Prague, in a street which bore the symbolical name of Strossmayer. The practical details of the murder curiously resembled those connected with the

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177 648 665 175 1947, by the delegates of the Communist Parties of nine European nations. It was then decided to set up a 'Joint Information Bureau' (*Kominform*), whose function would be to ensure organic liaison between these different parties, with a view to co-ordinating their activities and pooling their experience. A communiqué was broadcast on October 9 by the delegate of the Russian Communist Party, Idanov, a member of the Soviet Politburo. He contrasted the 'war-mongering' of the Western States with the 'pacifism' of the 'popular democracies' placed [185] under the influence of the Soviet Union. He affirmed the mission of the Communist Parties to combat 'attempts at enslavement', the most dangerous form of which was, in Moscow's view, the Marshall Plan.

The seat of the new organisation, which was to publish a bi-mensual organ, was fixed in Belgrade. Its activities, in conformity with policy dictated by the Kremlin, aggravated the crisis in relations between East and West, and opened the period of tension to which the name of 'cold war' has been applied.

The Kominform is not a resurrection of the Komintern, dissolved in 1943. It is based, indeed, on the idea that the 'national' Communist Parties have reached a state of maturity and power which enables them to be henceforth regarded as autonomous on the plane of the common struggle against capitalist régimes.

The signatories to the Kominform's declaration were: Idanov and Malenkov (U.S.S.R.), Kardelj and Djilas (Yugoslavia), Tchervenkov and Poptomov (Bulgaria), Gheorghiu Dej and Anna Pauker (Rumania), Farkas and Revai (Hungary), Gomulka (Poland), Duclos and Fajon (France), Slanski and Bastovanski (Czechoslovakia), Longo and Reale (Italy).

The Kominform, controlled from Moscow, was rapidly to exert its activities in a domain which its promoters had not foreseen.

186* 665 648 175 Indeed, Slav solidarity, already overtaken and superseded by the watchword of Marxist unity, was to suffer a still more serious set-back from the rupture between Tito and Moscow. It was in Belgrade that the Kominform had set up its seat; from Belgrade came the blow which was to shake its authority, and the dogma of Muscovite infallibility, in the whole of Eastern Europe.

1 [Delegate of Russian Commonist Party, Idanov -- Analyst]

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648 The Yugoslav Government replied by trying, in Sarajevo,
175 some White Russians, naturalised Soviet citizens, who, after
687 having served the occupying authorities during the war, were said to have become agents for anti-Tito propaganda; on December 9 they were condemned to imprisonment for a term of years.

648 In the shade of Soviet-Yugoslav antagonism, the old quarrel
175 between Belgrade and Sofia over Macedonia was reawakened.

Early in August, 1947, Tito and Dimitrov met at Bled and signed a protocol providing for closer collaboration between the two Governments: this protocol was to find its application in the 'pact of collaboration and mutual assistance' concluded on November 27 following, at Euxinograd.

648 Yet, at Bled, there were signs of disagreement. Tito would
523 have liked to see the formation of a Federation of Southern
175 Slavs. But such a federation would imply the inclusion of
• 178] Bulgarian Macedonia in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—which would have the effect of committing the Macedonians in Bulgaria to a policy for the future, on the lines of the old Serbian aspirations. Dimitrov shelved the solution of the Macedonian problem until the federal pact should be concluded. The Yugoslavs then insisted that psychological conditioning for the union should be ensured by the granting of 'cultural rights' to the Macedonians in Bulgaria. Now the Sofia Government refused to consider the latter as a minority, and therein lay the germ of the new Bulgarian-Yugoslav crisis.

Later, on December 20, 1948, after the Soviet-Yugoslav rupture, Blagoje Neskovitch, Vice-President of the Belgrade Government, was to claim that the quarrel unleashed by the Kominform arose simply out of the pressure brought to bear by the Bulgarian leaders, with a view to securing recognition of their territorial claims on Vardar Macedonia.

Then Belgrade reproached the Bulgarian Popular Republic with having refused a statute of autonomy and the designation of a 'nationality' to the Pirine Macedonians.

648 Thereafter the Macedonian Question remained in the fore-
175 front of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations: a Macedonian, Poptomov, became Minister of Foreign Affairs in Sofia and, when Bulgaria denounced the pact of November 27, 1947, Yugoslavia accused her of violating the peace treaty by refusing to pay the repara-

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described it as a 'crime against European civilisation', and on October 1 it was brought up at the Security Council by the French delegate, Parodi, during a discussion on Bulgaria's candidature for the United Nations. 648 696 829 175

In January, 1948, on the occasion of the signing of a treaty of mutual assistance with Rumania, the Bulgarian Premier, Dimitrov, risked an allusion to a project for the federation of the Balkan States, but this was immediately disavowed by the Kremlin. [185]

Dimitrov died on July 1, 1949; he was replaced as leader of the Government by Kolarov, and at the head of the Bulgarian Communist Party by his brother-in-law, Valko Tchervenkov.

The sentencing (March 8, 1949) of four Protestant pastors, accused of espionage, to life imprisonment, and the imprisonment of eleven others for a term of years, called forth vehement protests in the Christian world, and justified the sending of a diplomatic note by Great Britain, on March 12, in which these proceedings were described as a violation of Art. 2 of the peace treaty concerning 'fundamental liberties'.

The year 1949 was marked by progressive tension in the relations between Belgrade and Sofia. In September the Bulgarian Government denounced the treaty of friendship and, on October 6, the frontier agreement with Yugoslavia. This antagonism, which revived the Macedonian Question, reached a crisis at the trial of Traitcho Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council. Accused in March, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of 'flagrant errors' (the most serious accusation being that of having invoked the principle of State secrecy in order to withhold information of a commercial nature from representatives of the Soviet Union), Kostov found the charges gradually extended, until he was involved in a plot against the safety of the State, with the complicity of the Anglo-Americans and the agents of Tito. He was condemned to death, and executed on December 16. The Yugoslav press considered this charge as having been trumped up entirely with a view to compromising and discrediting Tito. 648 687 175 [208]

The municipal elections of May 15, 1949, gave the Communist-controlled Government of the 'Homeland Front' 92.1 per cent of the votes cast (370,000 blank votes); the legislative elections of December 18 raised this percentage to 666 175

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666 175 98.89 per cent (110,180 blank votes), the electors having no other option than to vote for the 'Front' or to register a blank vote.

•185 175 Faithful to the guidance of Benes, Jean Masaryk and Ripka, the Third National Front Government, presided over by Gottwald, endeavoured to secure the triumph of a policy of equilibrium between East and West, between Liberalism and Marxism. 'In our country', declared Benes, 'under the pressure of the masses, Communism has become national.'

648 175 The first signs of Soviet pressure were seen when, after the Czech Cabinet had decided, in July, 1947, to accept an invitation to attend the Paris Conference for the application of the Marshall Plan, it was forced, on orders from Moscow, to withdraw its acceptance.

[578] The final crisis was reached in February, 1948. An exceedingly violent press campaign was launched against Vaclav Nosek, Minister of the Interior, as the result of a purge which followed the discovery of illegal arms deposits. The Communist Party accused the National Socialists (Benes Party), the Popular Democrats and the Slovak Democrats of attempting to constitute an 'anti-Communist bloc' within the Government, and of paralysing the legislative power of the National Assembly. Tension reached its peak with the approach of the elections, then fixed for April 11, 1948.

668 642 175 The partisans of obedience to Moscow centred their efforts around the nucleus of the police and the trade union organisations. A 'Central Action Committee' was established, to back up, by mass movements, the offensive led by President Gottwald and his Communist colleagues against the moderate section of the Government. On February 20, 1948, the Ministers belonging to the three incriminated parties resigned. The Marxists held demonstrations in the streets; a political strike was declared on February 4, and the Congress of Works' Committees demanded the removal of the 'reactionaries'. President Benes, taken unawares by the suddenness of this attack, rejected the idea of a Government of Civil Servants and, on February 25, he formed a new National Front Ministry, with Gottwald as President, Gapotocki as Vice-President, Jean Masaryk at the head of Foreign Affairs. The Communists secured entire control of this Cabinet, which was in favour of unconditional collaboration with the Soviet Union. The opposition was reduced to

S.P. T.R. 181 mores and customs. And this difference is further emphasized by their historical careers and in these latter years by their political divergences. These divergences go so far that they sometimes result in a rupture of all of the ties of kinship. The representatives of the intellectual class among the Ukrainians are unwilling to consider themselves as Russians, as a nation of the same origin and of the same character as the Russians. They tear the unity of the Russian world into two segments, into two nations: the one located to the north is made upof the Great Russians, the Russians Kat'eksokhln, /among the foreigners/ otherwise called Rossiani, the Moskali or the Moskvichi. The others, the people of the south, are the Little Russians, the Yugorusi (1), or, /51/ according to a more recent appellation, the Ukrainians.

S.P. T.R. 181 S.P. T.R. 186

1. Russians of the south.

S.P. T.R. 101 Up until now there is no agreement as to the names to be used. The Great Russians and the foreigners, conforming to tradition, most frequently use the expressions: Great Russians, Little Russians, bearing in mind the historic name of Little Russia (excepting Galicia and Vladimir). The appellation of Iugorusi is less frequently encountered (for example in Pypin and in Kostomarov). The Little Russians do not care for these two names and forsome time have preferred that of Ukrainians. The Galicians employ the term Rusin with the adjective 'ruski' opposed to Rossianin, 'rossisky' for the Great Russians. This name has been adopted beyond the Russian borders, but it has not been accepted within them. The Gorals of Galicia willingly call themselves Rusniaks. The Germans, following the Latin, use the form 'Ruthenian' which also has been admitted into French. The conflicts between the two nationalities have engendered ironic and insulting appellations. Thus the Ukrainians call the Great Russians "Katsapy" (Goat-head, because of their beard) or Khazars, and the latter call the Ukrainians "Khokli" (from Khokhol, "top-knot," because of the manner in which the Cossacks formerly dressed their hair).

S.P. T.R. 578 186

Thus there is conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. This interesting conflict has very old and quite /52/natural causes. The differentiation between the Russians of the north and of the south occurred a long time ago; it has developed little by little, but without pause. Furthermore, there have been grievances and misunderstandings for a very long time between Great Russia and the Ukraine, and their entire life has been completely distinct throughout

S.P. T.R. 578 186

centuries. However, formerly the conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, did not exist in its present day sense. On the contrary, the two parts had a sense of kinship, or even of unity, as may be seen in an examination of the motives for which Bohdan Khmelnitskyj gave himself to Moscow and to Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (in 1653), after detaching the Ukraine from Poland.

S.P. T.R. 578 668

The conflict[1] between the two Russian nations did not in fact break out until the Nineteenth Century.

Its basic causes were:

1. The efforts of the Ukrainians to create or to revive a language and a literature of their own.

2. A whole series of scientific discussions upon the question as to what were the connections between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, especially from a linguistic and an anthropological viewpoint.

Finally and above all:

3. The actual political and social status of the Ukrainians in the Empire and the general development in these latter years of social and democratic ideas.

/53/ Thus today the conflict is moving more and more from the literary and scientific field into the political field.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 538

The conflict began in 1798, when J.P. Kotljarevs'kyj published in Ukrainian his Aeneid. From that date on there has been a great effort to create an indigenous literature. But these tendencies were quickly opposed by the government, which feared that this literary separatism might be prejudicial to national unity. And upon various occasions, especially in 1847, 1863, and 1876, it was forbidden to print or publish, save for a few rare exceptions, books in Ukrainian. But the result of these prohibitions was completely opposite from that which was intended. The tendencies toward literary emancipation asserted themselves so much the more strongly as they were more rigorously suppressed, and they found favorable soil in eastern Galicia, which belongs, as we know, to Austria.

S.P. T.R. 197 814 829

On the other hand, the conflict,[1] strengthened by the scientific discussions concerning the ties between the two nations, became aggravated. There were arguments about the antiquity of the Ukrainian idiom, especially in the Kiyev region, about the question of

1 [Between Great Russians and Ukrainians, cf. p. 116, #35-37. Ed.]

S.P. T.R. 814 829 and led to the following conclusion: Of the two nationalities only one, that of the Ukrainians, is purely Slav; the peoples who live to the north and to the east of the Dvina and the Dnepr are not Slavs, but Finns, Tatars, or Turani more or less affected by Slavic influences, whose entire organization, and whose absolutist government in particular, are Asiatic in origin and character.

This conclusion, which the inventors of the theory of the two nationalities had scarcely suspected, found favorable soil, in particular among the Polish victims of the ill-omened revolution of 1863. And it was through their emigration that the doctrine of the two Russias, the one Slavic, the other Turanian, was propagated. Among the propagators of this doctrine, let us mention only the /56/ names of Dushinskii and of his wife Severina Duchinska, of Buszczynski and of the French historian Henri Martin. (1)

1. Several times I have had the opportunity of expressing myself on these theories and on the misuse which Dushinskii and his disciples claim has been made of them. See especially La Revue des Cours letteraires (year 1868) and my Souvenirs d'um Slavophile (pp. 20-25, Paris, Hachette, 1905). Translator.

This theory did not find as favorable soil among the Ukrainians; S.P. but it has been accepted in various ways, and it explains to us the T.R. epithet, Khazars, (2) which is sometimes given to the Great Russians; [186]

2. The Khazars, formerly Kozares, a Scythian people according to the Russian Chronicle said to be by Nestor. See my translation of this chronicle (page 325). Translator.

this epithet apparently came from completely inaccurate ideas as to S.P. the origin of the Great Russians. The anthropologists have treated T.R. the question in a more scientific manner by indicating the considerable 144 differences which exist between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. 829 The Ukrainians are for the most part brachycephalic and of dark complexion, while the Great Russians are generally of light complexion; at the same time it is demonstrated that dark brachycephalic type is the pure Slavic type (Volkov, Taylor). But this theory, although it has a certain amount of data in its favor, cannot be considered as proven. There is another one, which considers the Belorussian and Great Russian type as the true type of the Slavs; and this theory has in its favor at least as many arguments to /57/ make it worthy of belief. And the differences that arise within each of the two groups

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I

p. 1

The Primitive Slavs

121 The object of this study is to provide a fairly detailed account of the Slavs from their first appearance in history to their emergence in modern times as a group of nations akin in race and language, but diversified by the cultural and political influences to which they have been exposed.

[161] Numerically the Slavs are the largest linguistic group in
131 Europe, including some two hundred million people. Located
175* in the eastern section of the European Continent, they were long remote from the civilization which grew up on the northern shore of the Mediterranean, and thus were late in assuming an active political role. In early medieval times their lack of organization made them an easy prey to nations of higher material culture and more intense political aspirations; consequently the hostility between German and Slav is a historical factor of long standing. The geographical situation of the Slavs not only set them as a natural bulwark against nomadic invaders from Asia, but also exposed them to Asiatic cultural influences and to the infusion of alien blood. Their very numbers and their remote habitations retarded their cultural advance, as did also the domination of the unenlightened mass by an intelligent minority touched in varying degree by foreign
•186 civilizations. Hence the absence of any pervasive tradition of
175* native culture has repeatedly prevented the development of

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186 175* ethnic or national self-consciousness and restricted the capacity of Slavic peoples either for self-government or for a resolute national effort in the critical moments of their evolution. Even those Slavs who live closest to the centers of European civilization and who shared its progress for centuries have often been debarred by economic and political factors from the enjoyment of a full national life, and those more distant from these centers have emerged from the Middle Ages only during the last 250 years. In the light of these facts, it is not surprising that the Slavs have often seemed an enigma to the Western world.

101 197 131 By virtue of their geographical distribution, the modern Slavs fall naturally into three distinct groups: Eastern, Western, and Southern. Of these, the Eastern is the most numerous. It embraces the Russians, who comprise two-thirds of the Slavic complex, and subdivide linguistically into three sections: first and most important, the so-called Great Russians, inhabiting the central and northern districts of European Russia; second, the White Russians (and here "White" has no political connotation whatever, but means light-haired) who occupy the area which borders on the northern part of the former eastern frontier of Poland, and, while centering in the neighborhood of Minsk, also run over into former Polish territory as far as Grodno, Bialystok, and Brest-Litovsk; and third, the so-called Little Russians (otherwise known as Ukrainians or Ruthenians), who inhabit the black-earth prairies or steppes north of the Black Sea from the western frontier to the Kuban and Don rivers. The Ukrainians, as present-day newspaper readers know only too well, also inhabit not only Volhynia and Eastern Galicia as far west as Przemysl, but also the extreme eastern tip of the former republic of Czechoslovakia, known as Subcarpathian Russia (now Soviet territory), and likewise make up a considerable part of the population of Bukovina (now also Soviet), an area which formerly belonged to Romania and which lies just south of the former Polish-Romanian frontier.

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III

Conversion and Religious Divisions

175* While conversion to Christianity was an inevitable phase of
186 the process by which the Slavs were drawn into the general
797 movement of European civilization, it was by no means an unmixed blessing. When Slavic tribes had evolved to some semblance of national consciousness and even statehood, or were sufficiently remote from the center where religious influence was exempt from political pressure, they were able to retain their independence and to follow a characteristic course of development. But if they lived on the periphery of a powerful and aggressive Christian state, their political independence was frequently threatened, and if this state cherished colonial aims, the convert Slavs were very likely to face the choice between assimilation and enslavement, or, at the very worst, complete extermination.

797 The section of the medieval church which brought about the
795 conversion was also a factor of durable historical weight. The
178 Western Church was devoted to the tradition of Latin culture.
779 It insisted on the celebration of the Mass in the hallowed
191 language of the Church. Hence it evinced little concern for the creation of any vernacular culture. Though not possessed of
175* the same vitality, the Eastern Church soon found that it could evangelize the various pagans on the long Byzantine frontier more effectively if it allowed them to use their native languages

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175* was the husband of a Greek princess, and the son of this union
643 eventually became the consort of Gytha, daughter of the Saxon
631 Harold who fell at Hastings in 1066. Kiev was thus united with contemporary European states by a series of dynastic alliances foreshadowing the customs of modern times.

175* Yet for all his power and wealth, Yaroslav governed by the
643 same simple mechanism that had prevailed under Vladimir. The prince won his position by force and maintained it by personal supremacy, supported by Varangian mercenaries recruited from Scandinavia whenever domestic levies proved insufficient or disloyal, and consulting with his chief military aides, with the city elders, or with church dignitaries on matters of general
[671] policy. Yaroslav began the codification of customary civil and
[795] ecclesiastical law, encouraged both translations and original literature, and endeavored without success to emancipate the Russian Church from the Byzantine patriarchate. By his crushing victory over the nomad Pechenegs before the walls of Kiev in 1036, he made the marches of his principality safe for thirty-five years.

175* Beside rebuilding his father's Church of the Tithe after it
643 was damaged by fire in 1017, he carried out a large-scale con-
346 struction program which made Kiev one of the most notable
532 medieval cities. His great cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev, with its five apses and thirteen cupolas, still contains the largest extant yardage of eleventh-century Byzantine frescoes and a series of remarkably preserved mosaics of impressive beauty. This is the one medieval Russian church which has been exhaustively studied by American archaeologists in coöperation with native Russian colleagues.

175* The underlying weakness of the Kievan principality lay in
643 the fact that its stability was assured only by the prestige and
186 ability of the ruling prince. There was as yet no sentiment of
631 solidarity, national unity, and group interest which guaranteed that the whole system would not be overthrown by some ambitious and resolute rival from among the kindred princes in outlying cities loosely subject to the authority of the prince of Kiev and envious of his power and wealth.

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814 younger state in a volume which might have served as a firm
829 basis for the development of a characteristic native culture.
175 The Russians before the Tartar invasion were always pupils; they originated very little that was independent of Byzantine models either in literature or in art.

177 In art, however, this imitation was productive and created
341 an architectural and a decorative tradition which lasted down into modern times. By the date of Vladimir's conversion, the basilica as a type of church architecture in Byzantium had been largely replaced by the cruciform church with one or with five cupolas. This was the type transmitted to Russia and still worthily represented by the great medieval churches of Kiev, Novgorod, Vladimir and even Moscow, though in the metropolis the more exotic forms and the onion-shaped dome derived
177 from wooden architecture prevail. The highly conventionalized
532 art of the icon dominated Russian painting until Western influences began to seep in during the seventeenth century, but this tradition was still vital enough before the first World War to influence the art of nineteenth-century religious and historical painters. For where the Byzantine tradition had taken firm root, the aesthetic appeal was long-lived and enduring.

538 In literature, along with lapidary works of religious implica-
186 tion, the Russian national spirit began to manifest itself in historical compilations during the eleventh century, and literary reflexes of folk poetry had already appeared before the Tartar conquest. But a truly national literature stems from a long educative process, and this process was interrupted in medieval Russia both by domestic politics and by nomadic inroads.

177 Where domestic disorders merely retarded the intellectual
779 advance of medieval Russia, the Tartar incursion brought it to a full stop. It has already been noticed what material impoverishment it had caused. But the Tartar domination was a far more serious factor in the deterioration of cultural and spiritual values. The church, to be sure, was treated with tolerance by the Tartars because it preached submission to

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871 entrances in the old imperial days. Linguistic minorities which
658 never even had alphabets, let alone schools, now have both. Their cultural representatives are hailed as contributors to the intellectual life of the nation, which has a chance of not remaining purely Slavic or European, but may instead draw new life and inspiration from the resident Asiatic and other alien stocks. The intermediate and elementary school system has been extended into the most remote districts, and in non-Slavic areas the native tongue has an equal chance with the official Russian.

186 The pressure of doctrine which long lay heavy on literature
[656] and art, however, has been intensified in recent years. The trend of the times is naturally in favor of a somewhat romantic and dogmatic picture of reality, since it would not be in the interest of the prevailing system to admit that its present imperfections are permanent departures from the ideal which has been set up. Present-day Soviet culture is intensely patriotic, not to say nationalistic. But of the great legacy of the nineteenth century surprisingly little has been lost. The classics are the models for present-day writers. But upon the accomplishment of the past have been grafted the materialistic aims of a new society which aims at a degree of organization and technical achievement which even the great progressives of the sixties would not have deemed possible. For though the autocracy of the Soviet State echoes more than once the spirit of the Muscovite Middle Ages and sometimes applies the methods of the Tartars for its self-preservation, the fact still remains that this autocracy is inwardly devoted to a program of national service, the execution of which we may only hope will not be too seriously hampered or interrupted by international factors and power politics which divert national energy and resources from domestic growth and construction to baser military ends.

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just as much to the building up of Bohemia as did the Czechs. 175*
Apart from the early conflicts by which Bohemia became a 177
German vassal, the colonists were brought into the country voluntarily by Bohemian princes and barons, and they could therefore hardly be regarded in our own time as an inferior element with restricted rights in an area to whose economic and cultural development they had been generously contributing for seven hundred years.

It is fair to observe, however, that internal conflict between 175*
Czech and German broke out at the time of the Hussite Wars 721
of the fifteenth century. The radical Hussites bitterly attacked 186
the German population, which was in the main composed of faithful Catholics, and even wiped out the entire German citizenry of numerous cities and towns, while such German residents who compounded with the Hussite extremists were subjected to a violent campaign of Czechization. The results of this epoch of conflict were catastrophic. Most of what the German element jointly with the Bohemian had built up in three centuries of faithful effort was destroyed in less than half a century during which the Czechs split with the Germans on account of their loyal Catholicism. The weakness of the Hussite movement was that, while doubtless promoting a healthy national spirit, it broke down the traditional contacts which in previous centuries had contributed appreciably to the advance of culture and to the international prestige of the nation. The succession to the Bohemian crown first passed to the house of Austria in 1437, and Bohemia subsequently remained under the sovereignty of the Hapsburgs uninterruptedly from 1526 to 1918. During this period of nearly three hundred years there was obviously little doubt of the dominance of German influence.

Before turning to early German relations with the rising 175*
Polish state, let us follow the fortunes of the Slavs who emi- 167
grated westward to the basin of the Elbe. While the burden of German colonization on the Danube front was carried by the Bavarians with some aid from the Franconians, the same

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and industry by German immigrants to Bohemia and Poland 175*
require no demonstration. By virtue of its close political asso- 177
ciation with western Europe, Bohemia was speedily drawn into 648
European intellectual life, and as early as the thirteenth century Bohemian authors were reproducing in their own language the forms and content of German medieval literature. International culture was still more widely disseminated after the foundation of the University of Prague in 1348, and the Hussite movement produced a wave of intellectual activity which lasted until the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century.

Poland, because of its comparative remoteness and political 175*
instability, was not subject to the same cultural stimuli, and 177
the services rendered by the German settlers in Polish terri- 517
tory were exclusively practical and materialistic. The influence of the Polish crown was never strong enough, nor were its holders cultured enough, to exert a civilizing influence comparable to that which radiated from Prague. Only in the six- [871]
teenth century do we meet with a striking development of Polish literature, and here the productive influences were more those of the Renaissance than specifically German, especially since local education was dominated by the Jesuits and strictly limited to the classical curriculum. While German economic influence was strong in both the great western Slavic states, it was Bohemia which profited the most from the absorption of German culture, and it was not until the seventeenth century that political events halted the intellectual advance so auspiciously begun.

Yet it was in Bohemia that the first seeds of a new Slavic 182
racial consciousness sprouted early in the nineteenth century. 814
The age of enlightenment had emphasized the ideals of humanity, tolerance, and culture, and these ideals were spread throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy by the reforms of Joseph II. As a matter of fact, the principle of nationality was first formulated by a German, for it was Goethe's great friend and mentor Johann Gottfried Herder, who declared that "the

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most natural state is a state inhabited by a single nation with a single national character." This principle provoked a grateful echo in the minds of several outstanding Bohemian scholars and patriots. An ex-Jesuit, Joseph Dubrovski, the founder of Slavic philology as a discipline, was the first modern Bohemian patriot of nationalistic stamp, and his works gave to the whole Bohemian literary movement a pan-Slavist direction. He condemned Germanization, but not the Germans, and sincerely believed the Slavs destined to become the bearers of a new civilization. Through Dubrovski, the Czechs began to feel themselves a part of the great Slavic community, and expected to find support for their national aspirations in the new conception of a Slavic civilization.

Contemporary with Dubrovski (who died in 1829) was Joseph Jungmann, translator of *Paradise Lost* and of Châteaubriand's *Atala* who, by his compilation of the first Czech dictionary, revealed the wealth of the mother tongue and by his studies in literary history disclosed the richness and diversity of prior Bohemian literature. Dubrovski's work was carried on by the great antiquarian Paul Joseph Šafařík, a Slovak by birth, whose studies of the origins and expansion of the Slavs constitute a brilliant apologia for the Slavic nations. What Šafařík accomplished in the broad field of philology was duplicated in history by his younger Bohemian colleague, Francis Palacký, and these patriotic and scholarly efforts laid the foundations for a renaissance of Bohemian literature and of general Slavic intellectual life. The first models of the new literature were the products of the romantic movement in German letters, but Bohemian authors soon passed on to independent creation, and it was Joseph Kollár who, animated by his contacts at Jena with the literature of Young Germany, composed eloquent sonnets in which he called the scattered Slavs to solidarity and coöperation in the great work which he, as a disciple of Herder, believed was their destiny. In particular, Kollár preached a community of interests with the South Slavs, a principle which, had it been properly appreciated by

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the Austrian authorities, might have had incalculable consequences for the maintenance of their Empire. [538] [814]

The ideals preached by Palacký, who was as great a journalist as he was a historian, were first formulated in political terms just prior to the revolutionary year 1848, which signalized the end of Metternich's regime and the dawn of constitutionalism in Austria. It was thus Palacký who advocated an autonomous Bohemia including all the lands which had formerly belonged to the Bohemian crown, together with as much of Hungary as was populated by Slovaks: the principle, indeed, upon which the Czechoslovak state was subsequently erected. It is significant, moreover, that the German elements in Bohemia were inclined to support the Czechs in their agitation for autonomy. But the federal idea was never realized in Austria-Hungary before the monarchy dissolved in 1918, and Bohemian hopes in this direction were dashed by the Austrian Constitution of 1867, which gave the Hungarians a preferred position, as compared with the Slavs, by establishing the principle of dualism, by making Hungary practically autonomous, and by settling the Magyar domination upon Slovaks and Croats. This loss was to some extent offset by educational concessions to the Czechs, since in the previous twenty years Bohemian national consciousness had consolidated to an extraordinary degree through the increased use of the native language and the improved status of both peasants and the middle class. The romantic emphasis laid by Palacký on the glorious past of Bohemia thus proved an altogether healthy spur to the national ambition. 186 642 631 175*

Though after 1867 there was never any real reconciliation between Prague and Vienna, the material prosperity of Bohemia advanced rapidly in the next fifty years, and the part still played by the German element in Bohemia before the war of 1914 is evidenced by the fact that, though they comprised only 37 per cent of the population, they paid 50 per cent of the taxes. But while the Czechs never lost sight of the federalist ideal, this principle was looked on with disfavor by the Viennese 186 563

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186 autocrats, who felt that any increase in Bohemia's degree of
568 independence would only weaken the whole structure of the unified Austro-Hungarian state. This difference in political philosophy was aggravated by the fact that there was too little will to compromise and too much reverence for history among the Bohemian leaders. Oppressed nations always overestimate the practical importance of past tradition. The dominant position long occupied by the kingdom of Bohemia in the Holy Roman Empire, if the Czechs had only realized it, was of far less moment than any rational compromise which would have permitted Bohemia to enjoy to the full the material advantages it commanded as the most highly industrialized section of Austria-Hungary and, at the same time, to cultivate a national spirit, language and literature, without making itself obnoxious to its neighbors by always harping on the same string. It is, however, an unfortunate truth that the composition, within a state, of quarrels rising from linguistic differences complicated by racial, temperamental, and confessional motives and by the carefully cherished traditions of the past which are, or suppose themselves to be, oppressed, is a problem of baffling complexity. On the other hand, the experience of the twenty years before 1939 definitely showed that this problem is not solved by merely setting up these disaffected areas as national units.

175* Now while it is true that the Czechs did not find themselves
565 precisely in clover under the Hapsburg monarchy, the fact
186 remains that they achieved a high level of material prosperity and culture during the nineteenth century. They had, to be sure, advanced further along the path of social evolution than the Poles, among whom the middle class had actually contracted when the partitions interrupted the evolution of the nation. When Poland fell there were virtually but two classes in the country, the landowning gentry and the peasants. Serfdom was abolished in the Prussian section in 1821, with a subsequent rapid economic improvement in the peasants' status. After the partitions, the middle class evolved most speedily in the Russian section, and at a slower rate under the German regime.

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in the Russian section, and at a slower rate under the German regime. After 1867, the Poles under Austrian sovereignty enjoyed the greatest relative degree of freedom. The local administration passed entirely into Polish hands, the universities of Cracow and Lemberg were Polonized, and Polish was admitted as the official language everywhere except in the military and the postal services. In the Prussian area, the German administration adopted a liberal policy until 1830, when German became the official language, though the local church and the school system remained Polish.

Before 1848, however, pan-Slavic ideals filtered in from Bohemia, and that year saw open revolt in the Posen area. As the middle class grew in numbers, the influence of the nobility waned, and improved educational facilities favored the dissemination of Polish culture and national ideals among the masses. As industry grew in western Germany, there was also a considerable emigration of German residents from the Polish province. German authorities estimate that this movement shifted some three million Germans out of this area during the last half of the nineteenth century. Their places in the cities, which had hitherto been predominantly German, were taken by Polish workers who came in from the country, with the result that the proportion of German population in the Polish cities under German rule declined. At the same time, the general prosperity of Germany benefited the Polish district, the wealth and productivity of which were greatly enhanced during the nineteenth century, and educational opportunities naturally far surpassed those available in either Russian Poland or Galicia.

This survey of relations between German and Slav from the earliest times to the last century demonstrates with reasonable clarity that once the barbarities of the medieval German expansion period were over, every advance in civilization which the Germans experienced was passed on to such of the Western Slavs as were ripe to receive it. Though the Bohemians lost their political independence in the sixteenth century, they had already acquired such a high degree of culture that they were

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The material and intellectual contributions of German settlers in Bohemia and Poland, not only during the later Middle Ages but also in more recent times, were a vital factor in the progress of Western Slavic civilization. The very ideals of nationality which inspired modern agitation for the revival of Western Slavic national states sprang from the brains of German philosophers and political theorists. Even the basic concepts on which the dictatorship of the proletariat was erected in the Soviet Union stem from the theories of the son of a converted Jewish family in the Rhineland who was steeped in the philosophy of Hegel. After the kingdom of Bohemia became subject to the Hapsburgs in the sixteenth century, and after the partitions of Poland brought sections of the former kingdom under Austrian and Prussian sovereignty, the dominance of German influence in these areas was still more firmly established, and there can be no question that the Western Slavs, even under alien rule, participated fully in the advance of Western civilization with which they were in close and lasting contact. 175* 177

Nationalist aspirations, as we have seen, developed during the first half of the nineteenth century and, while most keenly shared by the Western Slavs, were also transmitted to their South Slavic brethren by the Serbian and Bulgarian students who studied abroad. These aspirations were natural and logical. On the other hand, there was a marked tendency among the Western Slavs to minimize the economic security they enjoyed as members of larger states and to exaggerate the cogency of such traditions of national independence as they possessed. Their nationalistic sentiments were also stimulated both by the spectacle of the difficulties endured by their kindred under Russian rule and by the assumption of superiority by their German masters. There is no question but that the life of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy would have been prolonged had the constitution of 1867 been so modified as to grant its Slavic elements a degree of autonomy comparable to that possessed by German Austrians and by Magyars, since the Bohemians never secured equal political rights in Austria, 175* 186

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while the Slovaks and the Croats were under an obstinately nationalistic Hungarian control. The Austrian opposition to legitimate Serbian economic aims also intensified Serbian agitation among the Southern Slavs within the monarchy, while the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 was a direct challenge to Serbian national sentiment, and tended to make of Serbia a Russian pawn in the game of international politics—a situation the more dangerous because Bulgaria fell increasingly under the sway of German and Austrian diplomacy.

The interplay of foreign diplomatic influences in the Balkans was interrupted by the World War of 1914, and at its close interest naturally concentrated upon Central Europe where the French, with British support, were engaged in erecting a protective cordon of minor states around Germany. It is worth remarking that in 1914 Bohemian ambitions had not extended beyond vague hopes of eventual autonomy within a federalized monarchy, while the utopia of independence was conceived mainly in the minds of émigré leaders like Professor Masaryk and Dr. Beneš. It was not until 1917 that the domestic Bohemian attitude became definitely revolutionary, and Slovak sympathy was not finally secured until May, 1918, through the celebrated Treaty of Pittsburgh, which guaranteed the Slovaks a degree of autonomy which they never attained until just before the Czechoslovak Republic was dismembered by Hitler. As a matter of fact, the relations between Czechs and Slovaks were never so dovelike as Bohemian statesmen would have had us suppose, and at the Armistice, Czech troops had simply marched in and occupied the Slovak section of Hungary.

We now know enough of medieval Slavic history to realize why the process by which the Bohemian border areas were opened to medieval German settlement rendered dangerous in 1919 any boundary adjustment dictated by a spirit of revenge as a consequence of which these districts, for strategic reasons, were turned over to Czech rule. Eloquent warnings against

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A CENTURY OF A PHANTOM
PANSLAVISM AND THE WESTERN SLAVS

by S. Harrison Thomson

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AMONG the gorgeous phantoms of history, none has had a more rich or variously enticing story than Panslavism. It may well be that more literate Europeans have enjoyed the thrill of frightening themselves by it and more designing political manipulators have used it as a stage illusion than would be true of any other fiction. On the other hand there have been published several serious histories of the spectre.

By 1848 Panslavism was already an old and ripe story. To go back to the empire of Samo in the early seventh century is perhaps to be too inventive, but we can certainly trace the idea of Slavic reciprocity in the plans of Boleslaw Chrobry (the Hardy) of Poland, who, around the year 1000, planned a western Slavic empire comprising the Poles, the Czechs, the Moravians, the Elbian Slavs and the western Ukrainians. His obvious purpose was to block further German expansion eastward.[1] Whatever their motivation, those grandiose plans proved ephemeral, as did others conceived by Polish or Czech rulers for centuries thereafter. There is no discernible difference, so far as we can judge, between the territorial and dynastic maneuvering that went on among Slavic princes and that of Austrian, Hungarian and Wallachian rulers in these centuries of the formation of national states. One Slavic people was as likely to be antipathetic to a neighboring Slavic people as to a neighbor who was Germanic or Turco-Ugric. Territorial nationalism or dynastic combination were already the prevailing patterns.

But from the seventeenth century on concepts of a common ethnic and linguistic background begin to grow and take shape. From the Croat Juraj Križanić in the seventeenth century,[2] who spent fifteen years in Siberian exile after proclaiming his Panslav ideas in Russia, to the great Slovak poet, Jan Kollár, in the early nineteenth century, we can trace an unwavering line of western Slavic intellectuals who formulated and reformulated the idea of a glorious Slav race which should of right be united in heart and body, preferably under one paternal Slav ruler.

Somewhat ironically a Baltic German, Johann Gottfried Herder, had contributed much to the most recent upsurge of this Slav feeling by glori-

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[1] On whom the classic study is St. Zakrzewski, *Boleslaw Chrobry Wielki* (Cracow, 1925); and cf. more recently, Z. Wojciechowski, "Boleslaw Chrobry i kryzys stosunków polskoniemieckich" in *Przegląd Zachodni* IV (1948), 369-383.

[2] Smurlo, E., "From Križanić to the Slavophiles," *Slavonic Review* VI (1928), 321-335; of A. Fischel, *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1919), p. 20ff.; P. G. Scalardi, *Krijanich, messager de l'unité des chrétiens et ère du panslavisme* (Paris, 1947).

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fying the Slavic race and treating it as one, from the Moldau to the Urals. He would doubtless have been disturbed to be credited with partial parenthood of both Pangermanism and Panslavism. Early in the nineteenth century most western Slavs were of necessity romantics. Romanticism was the only recourse left them: Poland tragically partitioned, the Slavs of the Austrian Empire barely existing under Metternich, the South Slavs predominantly under the Ottoman Turk. Any voice even faintly suggesting a prouder past, and by implication a comparable future, would be welcome. Their history was their refuge and their hope in time of troubled humiliation.[3]

Philology, poetry and letters, history and the trend of international events in the forties of the nineteenth century all combined to deepen and broaden the feelings but dimly and sporadically aroused a half century before by the wildfire spread of the ideas of the French Revolution. There was now, after decades of scholarship, scientific and historical ground for the concept of Slavic community. The ferment of the Slav Revival, however, romantic it may have been in a technical sense, was a psychological fact of great moment to all the western Slavs, whether living under Magyar repression in Slovakia or Croatia, clumsy Austrian Biedermeier in Bohemia, or awkward Hapsburg pampering in Galicia. The springs of hope and confidence were filling. The single great Slavic state to the east—Mother Russia—was still victoriously radiant from defeating Napoleon, and her very glamor drew irresistibly the yearnings of the Slavic millions enslaved by alien peoples. In many quarters among the western Slavs there was talk of the all-Slavic Tsar, while in Russia there was not infrequently an expression of interest among scholars and publicists as well as among reflective politicians in the possibility of strengthening the natural bonds between Mother Russia and her temporarily estranged children in the west. Pushkin's lines, written after the Polish revolution of 1830-31

> Will the Slavic rivulets pour into the Russian sea,
> Or will it dry up? That is the question.

reflected current Russian thought.[4] A. S. Chomyakov, the Slavophil poet,

[3] See the illuminating discussion of Panslavism by Wacław Lednicki in *European Ideologies* (New York, 1948), pp. 808-951, particularly rich in literary background. His earlier study, "Poland and the Slavophil Idea," *Slavonic Review* VII (1928-29), 128-140, 649-662, can also be consulted with great profit. It is significant that this study of Polish Slavophilism ends about the middle of the nineteenth century. See also W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej w okresie przedbiorowym* I (Lwów, 1913) *passim*. For the echoes of this current of thought in Polish literature, and an explanation of how and why it took a line divergent from that in other Western and Southern Slavic countries see Zofja Klemerowna, *Słowianofilstwo w literaturze polskiej lat 1800 do 1848* (Warszawa, 1926), *passim*.

[4] See Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 168ff., and Lednicki *passim*. The literature on Russian

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in the next year spoke dramatically of "the brothers in fetters, who wait yearningly for thy call and thy protective embrace." There was much more, a good deal of it more effusive, and all of it tinged with theology, from poets, essayists and even historians, but mostly urging the western Slavs, and particularly the Poles, to recognize their divinely appointed lot as part of a great Slavic nation, naturally under Russian leadership. The Slovak Kollár's "On Slavic Reciprocity" was first published in German in 1837, then appeared in Russian in 1838 and a second time in 1840, but the concept of reciprocity was interpreted by the Russian editor and Russian readers in a Russian sense.[5] It would be difficult to determine whether the Russian espousal of Slavophilism was more or less enthusiastic than that of the western Slavs in the period before 1848, but it is certain that Russian Slavophilism could, even at this early date, be more properly called Panrussism than Panslavism.

We can indeed thus early discern a fairly clear and perhaps radical split in the aims of those who supported Slavic unity. On the one hand the western Slavs thought in terms of reciprocal aid, comfort and support, implicitly and explicitly favoring the independent existence of the several Slavic peoples. On the other hand the Russian Slavophils, from their proud vantage-point of an independent state existence, regarded the lesser Slavic peoples beyond their borders as strayed, lost or stolen children who should return to the mother's heart and hearth, the mother of course being Russia. Their principal concern, indeed, was that Russia herself should perceive her providential mission to carry on the torch of the true Christian faith which was visibly falling from the hand of the weakening West. It was taken for granted that the errant western and southern Slav brethren would accept the new situation with appreciation and even enthusiasm.

Decades of Romanticism, the European enlightenment followed by three-quarters of a century of Slavic renaissance in philology, poetry, ethnography, history and science, has made the dispersed Slavic peoples very sensible of their similarities and their differences, and eager to grasp and hold their own future. The events of February 1848 in western Europe only precipitated these feelings into action. German nationalism had found its voice in the Frankfurt Parliament. It was only natural that the western Slavs should answer with a Slavic assembly. In April the Slovak Ljudevit Štur was agitating in Prague for a meeting of representatives of the Slavic

Slavophilism is tremendous. Of the more recent literature in western languages, see Charles Quénet, *Tchaadaev et les lettres philosophiques* (Paris, 1931); A. Gratieux, *A. S. Khomiakov et le mouvement slavophile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939); Alexander von Schelting, *Russland und Europa* (Bern, 1948); and Bernhard Schultze, *Russische Denker* (Vienna, 1950).

[5] Clementis, Vl., *Panslavism Past and Present* (London, 1943), p. 38.

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peoples, and Dr. Fr. Brauner received a letter from Ondrzej Moraczewski in Poznań, dated April 23, inviting the Czechs to initiate a Slavic congress.[6] But the first public suggestion to this effect came from the Croat Ivan Kukuljević in the April 20 issue of the *Narodni Noviny*, and a revised call to meet was published on April 30 in the same paper over the signature of Palacký and 19 other leading Czechs.[7] A public statement was issued on May 5 to "our brothers of the Austrian Empire" inviting them to convene in Prague on May 31, in order "to deliberate on our common interests ... We are resolved to remain faithful to the hereditary house of Habsburg-Lorraine ... and to maintain the integrity and independence of the Empire by all means in our power. We therefore reject all accusations of separatism, of Panslavism, of Russianism, which might be brought against us by ill-intentioned accusers.... Our undertaking is essentially conservative in nature and should in no wise disturb our liberal and justice-loving non-Slavic fellow-citizens." This was the voice of Austro-Slavism.

Of the 340 participants, 237 were Czechs and Slovaks, 42 South Slavs, 60 Poles and Ruthenians, and one Russian. Of the Poles several were from Prussian Poland, and the Russian—Bakunin—did not officially represent Tsarist Russia. The very thought of revolution of any sort was uncongenial to Tsar Nicholas I. The Poles would have preferred to have the Congress declare for a restitution of all of Poland, but there was little support for so revolutionary a concept.[8] The ruling motivation was anti-German and anti-Magyar. It was certainly not pro-Russian. Bakunin, the sole Russian present, a voluble guest, was quite un-Russian in his advocacy of Slavic federation.[9] The enthusiasm was tearful and tremendous, the speeches were moving, the parades, dinners and celebrations were elaborate and mystic. Palacký's speech of June 12, resuming the conclusions of the several commissions, specifically demanded a federalized Empire, with Slavs enjoying equal rights and privileges with the Germans and the

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[6] Tobolka, Zd., *Politické dějiny československého národa od r. 1848 až do dnešní doby*, I (Prague, 1931), 77.

[7] Published in J.M. Černy, *Boj za právo* I (Prague, 1893), 183 and F. Palacký, *Spisy z oboru politiky* (Prague, 1898), p. 24f. See also F. Roubík, *Český rok 1848* (Prague, 1948), p. 199, and K. Kazbunda, *České hnutí roku 1848* (Prague, 1929), p. 182ff.; Albert Pražák, "Slavonic Congress of 1848 and the Slovaks" in *Slavonic Review* VII (1928-29), 141-159.

[8] Batowski, Henryk, *Współpraca słowiańska* (Warsaw, 1946), p. 33. See also W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej* I (Lwów, 1913) 288-291.

[9] *Bakuninovi Zpověď* (Prague, 1926), p. 72ff.; see also B. P. Hepner, *Bakounine et le panslavisme révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1950), pp. 236-284; and on Bakunin's Panslavism and his participation in the Prague Congress see V. Cejchan, *Bakunin v Čechách* (Prague, 1928), pp. 14-30. It seems quite clear that Bakunin had little or no understanding of the orientation of the Slavs of the Hapsburg monarchy.

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Magyars.[10] This was the last plenary session of the Congress. Tumultuous events in Prague, not directly connected with the Slav Congress, made further meetings impossible, and on June 28 it was adjourned *sine die*.[11] An attempt was made to carry on the work of the Congress through a society bearing the name *Lipa slovanská* (the Slavic linden tree), but it did not survive the reaction that set in the next year. There remained, however, for a few years, one insistently free voice. Karel Havlíček, one of Palacký's adjutants at the Congress, refused to be quiet, and through his journal *Slowian* continued, for the two years he was relatively unsilenced, to defend the rights of the Slavs in the Hapsburg Empire, and went so far as to warn Vienna: "If they will not allow the lesser Panslavism in Central Europe they should take care lest the greater crash on their necks."[12] This is especially suggestive in view of the fact that Havlíček had but recently returned from a trip to Poland and Russia completely cured of any pro-Russian sentiments.[13] There was no western Slav who spoke more frankly than this in the early 'fifties.

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Thus as of 1849, Austro-Slavism had apparently had its day within the Hapsburg Empire, and Tsar Nicholas I, after reading the statements written out by Ivan Aksakov in answer to a police questionnaire, wrote in the margin of Aksakov's plaidoyer two comments: "Under the guise of compassion for the pseudo-persecution of Slavic tribes there is hidden a criminal thought about an uprising against the constituted authority of neighboring and partly allied states and about a general unification, which is expected, not from God's will, but from a revolution, which is perilous to Russia." "Only God can determine what is being prepared in the distant future, but if an accumulation of circumstances would indeed lead to such

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10 Palacký, Fr., *Spisy z oboru politiky*, p. 46ff.

11 Roubík, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

12 Quoted in Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 307f. See Karel Tuma, *Karel Havlíček Borovský* (Prague, 1883) who follows the development of Havlíček's thought in these years with extensive quotations from his letters and editorials. In addition to T. G. Masaryk's classic work, *Karel Havlíček* (Prague, 1896), see the more recent work of Jaromír Bílíč, *Karel Havlíček Borovský a slovanstvo* (Prague, 1947), especially pp. 27ff. and 180ff. This latter section is particularly illuminating in its analysis of the changes of attitude Havlíček went through toward the Poles, the Russians and Slavism in general.

13 Jirásek, J., *Rusko a my* II (Prague, 1946), 161f.; Tuma, *op. cit.*, pp. 71fi., 92ff. Havlíček saw no reason to modify his unfavorable opinion of Russia even after the failure of the Congress and the onset of reaction. He wrote in the August 30, 1848 issue of his issue of his *Národní Noviny* (quoted by Tuma, *op. cit.*, p. 234f.): "If Russia were a free constitutional country the Austrian Slavs (in case Austria were to be broken up), could consider a union with their blood brethren like the Germans, the Magyars or the Wallachs. They would then be a part of one of the most honorable, and perhaps leading countries of the world. But Russia is a land of despotism, and the rest of us free Slavs must, unfortunately, consider this our brother as our worst enemy."

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unification, it would be for the peril of Russia."[14] Not only did the Tsar disapprove of Slavophilism, but the presence of Russian armies in Slovakia as allies of Habsburg repression in the same year did not encourage Slavophilism among the western Slavs.

For the better part of a decade, both among the western Slavs and within Russia little is heard of Panslavism or even of Slavophilism. The interest of the Russian intellectuals was taken up, in these years, by the polemics focussed around the question of the relations of the Orthodox to the Roman church. The encyclical of Pius IX to the Eastern Christians set off the sharp dispute.[15] In the Empire the reaction of Bach was severely anti-Slav,[16] and Tsar Nicholas would not hear any talk of Slav federation. But the end of the Crimean war, coinciding with the death of Nicholas I and the end of his absolutism, heralded a change in the Russian attitude toward the lesser Slavic breeds beyond the pale. Russia defeated was more receptive to ideas of Slavic reciprocity than before. But to the western Slavs, for a time at least, the shock of Russia's military vulnerability was a bitter disillusionment.[17] This feeling of despair lasted for a number of years until Austria herself was humbled on the plains of Lombardy. Then hope welled anew. Bach's régime was through and Vienna was a suitor for the support of her Slavic peoples. It is not without interest that at about the same time, 1857 and 1858, a Slavic Benevolent Committee was organized in Moscow,[18] and the Foreign Minister, Prince Gorchakov, gave it his blessing. Its benevolence was preeminently directed toward strengthening cultural and ecclesiastical ties with the southern Slavs, particularly the Bulgars. The Tsarevitch was the patron. The list of the founders of the Committee included all the living Slavophils, of both currents—the romantic Panslavists and those we must henceforth call Panrussians. The significance of the junction of these two currents cannot be missed. This date may in fact be taken as a convenient dividing line between the earlier theoretical, romantic, Muscovite Slavophilism, best represented by the poet Chomyakov, the two Kireyevskys, Samarin and Konstantin Aksakov, and the later political Panslavism which should properly be called Panrussism.[19]

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[14] *Ivan Sergyevich Aksakov v yego pismakh* I, ii (Moscow, 1888), 154-55, 160. I am indebted to Professor Leonid I. Strakhovsky for this quotation.

[15] von Schelting, A., *op. cit.*, p. 147ff.

[16] Denis, Edouard, *La Bohême depuis la Montagne Blanche* II (Paris, 1903), 353ff.; Tobolka, *op. cit.*, I, 187ff.

[17] See chapter VI, "Polonia fará da se (1857-1863)" of W. Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen (1795-1914)*, (Berlin, 1917). This German work is not identical with the previously noticed Polish work of the same author

[18] Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 367ff.; cf. also B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans* (Oxford, 1937), p. 60ff.

[19] Benš, *Úvahy o Slovanstvi* (Prague, 1947), p. 79ff. C. Ouinet, *Tchaadaev* etc., p.

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Theoretical Slavophilism was influenced by poorly understood western thought—Rousseau, Hegel, and Fichte—into paths of unrealistic and unhistorical grotesquerie and then grafted onto Uvarov's threefold motto of nationality, orthodoxy and autocracy.[20] 175 186 668

It is a simple axiom of diplomatic history that a great and powerful state does not interest itself "benevolently" in other and lesser peoples unless it either needs their help or hopes to profit from that "benevolence." The change in the momentum of Russian Slavophilism in the late fifties of the nineteenth century clearly illustrates this axiom. Before 1855 Russia was too strong to need the support or loyalty of the western Slavs, and her leadership reasoned that her strength lay in the centralized autocratic system. As the system was regarded as good *per se* it was proper to support it elsewhere, in Prussia, in the Hapsburg Empire and, with qualifications, even in Turkey. But the Crimean War revealed considerable weaknesses in her state structure, and Vienna's affections had shifted to the enemies of Russia. Under these circumstances help, psychological at least, was welcome. Panslavism, it was obviously reasoned, might actually have its points, particularly since most of the western Slavs were in the Hapsburg Empire anyway, and a little discreet discontent there might pay diplomatic dividends. This period is thus a decisive period in the history of the theatrical property known as Panslavism.[21] 829

The Benevolent Committee actively wooed the South Slavs with appeals to their Orthodoxy, developing the thesis that West and East were irrevocably separate, that Slav, Eastern and Orthodox were and of right ought to be synonymous with Russia. Then came the January 1863 revolution of the Poles, put down by the butcher Murraviev with brutal ruthlessness. The Benevolent Slavic Committee was able to convince Russian opinion that it was all the Poles' fault, that their Catholicism blinded them to the truth of their Slavic heritage and made them guilty of the "great betrayal,"[22] but after Muraviev the western and southern Slavs were farther than ever from accepting the doctrines of Muscovite Slavophilism.[23]

408, would call this movement "the second slavophilism." See also M. Prelog, *Pouť Slovanů do Moskvy r. 1867* (Prague, 1931), p. 4.

20 See T. G. Masaryk, *Rusko a Evropa* I (Prague, 1930), 406ff. The English edition, *The Spirit of Russia* (London, 1919), was based on the German text which Masaryk revised for the 1930 Czech edition.

21 P. N. Milioukov has a chapter in his *Le Mouvement intellectual russe* (Paris, 1918) p. 377ff., entitled "La décomposition du slavophilisme" in which his explanation of the processes of Russian thought from *ca.* 1848 to the publication of Danilevsky's *Russland und Europa* is treated mystically. Any resemblance between his discussion and the realities of Russia's changed position in European politics after 1855-56 is not even coincidental.

22 Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

23 Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen*, p. 223ff., and contemporary literature there cited.

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175 Among the South Slavs a considerable element of enlightened opinion, particularly the younger generation,[24] supported the Polish revolutionaries, and among the leaders there was much openly pro-British and anti-Russian expression. Nevertheless the dominant sentiment, both among Serbs and Croats in the sixties was one of nationalist aspirations and, as between other Slavic peoples, benevolent neutrality.[25]

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Palacký remarked in 1863 that "Russian Tsardom was not based on Slavic principles but upon an amalgam of Mongolian and German principles."[26] The fact that European opinion had largely turned against Russia finally came home to many of the Russian Slavophils and a natural desire to repair the damage by allaying the suspicions of non-Russian Slavs soon made its appearance. In line with this feeling the Slavic Committee and the recently founded (1863) Society of Friends of the Natural Sciences projected an Ethnographic Congress to meet in Moscow in the summer of 1867.[27] Invitations were broadcast to learned societies throughout the Slavic world. Between the invitation in 1866 and the following summer several events transpired to give the Congress more potential significance. Austria had lost another war—this time to Prussia—and, within the Empire, the Compromise *(Ausgleich)* which divided the Empire into two parts, Hungary and Austria, had become law. The Slavs of the Empire were thus not only split, but put under their enemies, Magyars and Germans. Their long-standing aspirations for an equal share in a federative Empire were roughly dashed.[28] The outlook was black for the western Slavic peoples and it is not surprising that, with the exception of the Poles, the invitations to the Ethnographic Congress at Moscow were eagerly accepted.

In the meantime Ivan Aksakov, enthusiastic over the implications of the visit of so many leading personalities among the western Slavs to the Congress, constituted himself the propagandist of the Exposition, and many editorials in his journal *Den*, beginning with February 1867, concerned the Slav question. He emphasized the bonds between the Russians and other Slavic peoples, and expressed confidence that they had only to know each other to reject foreign, non-Slav control and join forces with

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24 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 13ff.

25 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 13ff.

26 Palacký, *Politisches Vermächtnis* (Prague, 1872), p. 26, quoting himself in 1863.

27 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 27ff.

28 Louis Léger recounts the opinion he met on a trip among the South Slavs in 1868, when their participation and hopes in the Moscow Congress were frankly explained to him. See his *La Panslavisme et l'intérêt français* (Paris, 1917), p. 232ff., reprinted from *La revue moderne* of April, 1868.

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their motherland.[29] His line was followed by most of the Moscow journalists.

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In Prague the *Národní Noviny*, the organ of the Young Czech party, avowed openly the political aims in the minds of the Czech representatives:

> "We make not effort to conceal the fact that the Moscow Exhibition has for us who are going not only philological or ethnographic interest, but a significance deeply political. We are not responsible for that significance; rather those who have inaugurated dualism in Austria and have endangered the independence of the Czech crown and even of the Czech people... those who have turned the Slovak nation over to the mercies of the Magyars, those finally who are recklessly sacrificing the heroic Croatian people to the greed of the Magyar magnates."[30]

The majority of the Czech delegates, though men of intellectual and often scientific attainments, were yet men active in political life. The delegates of the South Slavs were exclusively non-political. Bishop Strossmayer and Franji Rački, who were especially invited, did not join the delegation, though the Bishop gave the expedition his active support. Ljudevit Gaj, the leading Croat nationalist journalist, went to Moscow, but was unaccountably quiet.[31]

In the realization that the Poles would not be represented, Palacký and Rieger were anxious to show their consideration of Polish sensitiveness and went to Paris to explain their reasons for making the trip when the Poles refused to go. Prince Adam Czartoryski and Andrew Zamojski urged the Czechs not to go, and the son of Adam Mickiewicz wrote them an impassioned letter begging them not to attend the Congress. Another special delegation of representative Polish emigrés waited on them to the same intent.[32]

Opened by the Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich on April 23, the Congress was ostensibly an academic and scientific meeting, but railway passes had been given the foreign guests. The western Slavs, on their way to the Congress, crossed the Russian frontier at Granice (i. e. in Polish Silesia) on May 16 and on the 20th reached St. Petersburg.[33] On the way receptions and entertainment were provided by a number of municipalities, though the government took no official action in the matter. Enthusiasm was unbounded. The Czechs and the Serbs were received by Gorchakov

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29 Aksakov, I. S., *Slavyanskii vopros* (Moscow, 1886), pp. 117-122.

30 *Národní Noviny*, 1867, no. 11, quoted by Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

31 Fric, J. W., *Die Kehrseite der slavischen Wallfahrt nach Russland* (Prague, 1867), *passim*.

32 A considerable literature has accumulated on Gaj's trip and activities. See Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 43ff. and literature there cited.

33 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 68ff.

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175 in separate audiences and greeted with honeyed and unintelligible words.
186 The Tsar received 20 of the leaders of the various delegations in Tsarskoe
829 Selo on May 26. He is reported to have said to them: "May God hearken
668 soon to all your prayers," a hope which thus relieved the Tsar of any further need for action or hearkening. But he called them his "blood brothers here on native Slav soil" and thereby caused a sensation in western Slav capitals.[84] There were copious banquets and eloquent speeches by learned professors and publicists that left no room for doubt that the messianic hope of close Slavic collaboration was well on the way to realization.[85] They were so busy collaborating that there was barely time to visit the elaborate ethnographic and archeological exhibits for which the Congress had been called. The ghost of absent Poland did discreetly appear at several of the more formal occasions, but it was almost dispelled by confident and urbane diplomacy, which naturally deceived no one. The meeting made a deep impression upon everyone present. The Benevolent Committee was profusely congratulated for its felicitous initiative. But very few felt that much had been accomplished. Gorchakov apologetically stayed aloof, save to opine that the Czechs were apparently working for the King of Prussia. General Peter Suvalov acidly remarked that the pilgrims were pursuing a phantom, and the Austrian minister, Revertera, was told that the Russian court regarded the whole spectacle as foolish.[86] In the western Slavic press reports were, in a slight majority, critical and skeptical. The Moscow Congress may have been the high point in public tribute to the numerous concepts in the center and at the periphery of Slavophilism, but it left much disillusionment in its wake. The Poles were disgruntled at the Czechs for participating against their expressed wishes. The Austrian government had, or affected to have, more than grave doubts of the sincerity of the Czech leaders in their devotion to Austro-Slavism, and even the Catholic clergy saw in the expedition a leaning to Orthodoxy and a defection from Catholicism. Within the Austrian Empire the large Slavic public had lost confidence in the political sagacity of their leaders. There was, of course, after the Congress, not the slightest trace of implementation of all the high-sounding resolutions calling for increased cultural reciprocity between the general Slavic peoples.

About 1870 the vaguely variegated sensitivities and aspirations fo-

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[84] Kazbunda, K., *Pouť Čechů do Moskvy 1867 a rakouská diplomacie* (Prague, 1924), p. 63, and M. D. Miličević, Etnografska izložba a slovenska sastanak u Moskvi 1867 (Belgrade, 1884), p. 18ff.

[85] The classically bitter report on the Congress is that by Julian Klaczko, "Le Congrès de Moscou et la propagande panslaviste" in *Revue des deux mondes* LXI (1867), 132-181. Klaczko, a native of Wilno, had been the editor of the Paris *Wiadomości Polskie*, which ceased publication in 1861. A much more valid short account is that of Louis Léger in *Le Panslavisme et Pintérêt français* (Paris, 1917), pp. 211-249.

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cussing around the two general concepts of Slavism and Russian expansionism began to coalesce and crystallize. In that year there appeared a small book by General Rostislav A. Fadeyev under the title: *Thoughts on the Eastern Question.*[37] It had passed the censor in 1869. Fadeyev, as a soldier, was primarily interested in strengthening Russia's strategic position and in pointing the way to achieving her natural strategic aims—the control of the Straits. To him the Hapsburg Empire was the principal enemy, and not England and France. As the peoples of the polyglot Empire were mostly Slav, Russia should obviously take them under her wing, and eventually head an all-Slav state. This was Panslavism, clearly put, for Russia's political benefit.

A much more radical and thorough treatment appeared by separate chapters in the periodical *Tsarja* in 1869 and, revised, in book form in 1871: Nikolai J. Danilevski's *Russia and Europe.* He was a trained botanist and geographer, and his broad approach covered questions of race, religion, climate, politics, and strategy. Because of its thoroughness and easily comprehensible conclusions, it became immediately the Bible of Panslavism.[38] Danilevski posited a deep-rooted antagonism between West, that is the Latin and the German, Catholicism and Protestantism, commercialism and pointless diversity, and East, that is the Slav, the orthodox and the ordered universal. Russia had a destiny to realize. She should save the smaller and weaker Slavic peoples from the curse of europeanization. The Poles had indeed gone farthest in that sinister direction, hence the great tension between Russia and the Poles. In their case Russia had had to be severe, but it was properly not with their Slavic nature but with its europeanized, Catholic perversion. The Poles should realize that Russia had had to discipline them for their own salvation. To Danilevski Panslavism, so far as it was good, was Panrussism.

It would be difficult to say which of these two works, Fadeyev on the Eastern Question or Danilevski's *Russia and Europe* had the more in-

[36] Revertera, on the other hand, had been instructed by Beust in May to give the whole matter no unnecessary notice. The two governments affected not to count it as of any political significance. See Kazbunda, *Put' Čechů do Moskvy,* p. 57. Revertera was recalled the next year by Beust and the Tsar told his successor, Albin Vetsera, that he disliked the whole incident and regretted that it had occurred. "Russia is large enough for me; I want nothing from my neighbor" and disavowed any slightest desire to entice away from the Emperor any of his Slav subjects. See Kazbunda, *op. cit.,* p. 121f.

[37] English translation by T. Michell (London, 1871), *Opinion on the Eastern Question.* See also Fischel, *op. cit.,* p. 400ff.

[38] German translation by Karl Nötsch (Berlin, 1920), somewhat abridged, *Russland und Europa.* See further Benes, *Uvahy,* pp. 98-107, and the recent study of Alexander von Schelting, *Russland und Europa,* where the focus is on the relation of Danilevski to the church. On p. 238 he calls Danilevski "der eigentliche Systematiker der panslavistischen Weltanschauung."

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fluence. Their arguments were so dynamic in their implications that together they are a landmark in European psycho-political history. Panrussian now had a divinely appointed mission and a program for political implementation.[39] Those whose interests lay in cultural exchange with their western Slav brothers no longer felt unsupported, and those who had before been politically Pan-Russian could not rejoice in the moral support of the intelligentsia. It was a perfect coalescence of ideals and interests. There is no wonder that Gorchakov, the foreign minister, felt very gratified about the jelling of enlightened public opinion. He had shared the distrust felt by the court at cultural Slavophilism, so vocal at the Moscow Congress. It implied equality among the various Slavic peoples. Russian policy would be much happier if Russia's "leadership" and of course "benevolent" hegemony were generally accepted. It is hardly necessary to mention that the acceptance of Russian Orthodoxy—no longer Greek Orthodoxy—was by now assumed as a *sine qua non* of the whole Slavic program. It is not difficult to see how the atmosphere created by the wide circulation of these two sensational books may have convinced Gorchakov and the court that Ignatyev's reports and suggestions from Constantinople correctly represented the proper policy to be pursued—at least in the interests of Russia.[40] We are here far removed from any semblance of the Panslav sentiments of Kollár, or the Austro-Slavism of the Prague Congress of 1848 or even from the implications of Slav cultural reciprocity so fervently expressed by most of the leaders at the Moscow Congress of 1867. We are dealing with realistic political opportunism which makes use of the slogans and stage illusions evoked by romantic or even philosophical Panslavism. Gorchakov and Ignatyev and certainly—and indeed avowedly—Fadeyev, were quite aware of the political semantics fluttering around the words Slavophilism, Panslavism, Slavic solidarity. The fact that the words sent shivers up and down the spines of western diplomats and at the same time thrilled the Russian people and some western Slavs could only please the anti-western party at the Tsar's court.

In 1874 an Archeological Congress was held in Kiev under the auspices of the Moscow Archeological Society. It was sparsely attended by non-Russian Slavs, about a dozen in all, out of a total of 206 delegates. Several unpleasant incidents at this Congress showed that the resentments and tensions between, particularly, Poles, Russians and Ukrainians, were

[39] See Lednicki, *art. cit.*, p. 845ff., and Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 75ff. Feldman, *op. cit.*, says bluntly: "Unter den Russen vollzieht sich nach dem Jahre 1870 eine Umwandlung der alten slavophilenBewegung in einen selbstbewussten politischen Imperialismus."

[40] On Ignatyev see Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 73ff., and his article in *Slavic Review* XI (1932), 343- , 369-

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deep and lasting. Slavic solidarity was certainly not advanced by this meeting.[41]

It is true that the Bulgarian atrocities precipitated a resurgence, in Russia herself, of the emotional index of the Panslav idea, but basic political realities were not thereby at stake. The participation of Russian soldiers as volunteers in the Serbian army could not obscure the fact that Russia already saw clearly that Turkey was no longer a major antagonist. Indeed the Balkan wars of 1876-78 were only an incident which, if anything, confirmed the political Panslavists (*lege* Panrussians) of the necessity to consolidate their political program and its psychological and moral bases for use in a coming struggle with enemies much stronger than the Ottoman Empire. The Russian campaign of 1877-78 could have been lifted bodily from Fadeyev or Danilevski.

The fact that Gorchakov and Ignatyev had to retire from public life after the Treaty of Berlin has several interesting if not ironic aspects. What must have played a large part in their downfall was the fact that their aggressive Panslavism or Pan-Russism or Russian nationalism had gained less for Russia at Berlin than was popularly expected.[42] Yet they themselves, and here lies the irony, were substantially responsible for inducing Russian opinion to expect so much. The significant fact is the generality of the adoption of the Russian nationalistic thesis, and, in retrospect, the large-scale perversion of the thesis of Slav reciprocity. What, less than a half century before, seen from Paris or London, had been a cloud, small as a man's hand, on the eastern horizon, now seemed a swirling thunderhead, about to loose a torrent and a tempest. This menace bore the label Panslavism. No wonder the west shivered at the word. Yet it was by this time in no sense Panslav but pure Russian expansionism.

It would be of interest to examine the trends of thought among the western Slavs in these years. It was among them that the ideas of Slav reciprocity had first arisen. The great Croat leader, Bishop Strossmayer, had not modified his stand in favor of a South Slav federation and cultural reciprocity with the lands of Orthodoxy. Professor Jaroslav Jagić and George Daničić, the renowned South Slav philologists, both advocated a union of the Croats, Serbs and Bulgars. Nowhere among these leaders do we detect any desire to join a larger Slavic world led by Russia, or any urge to make Orthodoxy the common Slav faith.[43] Their insistence on their cultural and political independence constitutes an emphatic rejection of the

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41 Léger, *Le Panslavisme . . .*, pp. 242-249. Léger was present at the Congress.

42 Gorchakov's last years have been frequently discussed. See in brief B. Nolde, *L'Alliance franco-russe* (Paris, 1936), pp. 199ff. and 209ff.

43 Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 347ff.; see also R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question* (London, 1911), p. 126ff.

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so-called Panslavism emanating from Moscow in these decades. The fact that, under Magyar rule, any move by South Slavs or Slovaks to cultivate their native language or culture was proceeded against as "Panslavism" and conseqently regarded as high treason[44] is obviously irrelevant, because erroneous in its factual bases. Palacký in his *Politisches Vermächtnis* observed that he had come to the conclusion that a Russian universal monarchy would mean "violent compulsion, absolute subjugation and enslavement of all civilized Europe, the suppression and suffocation of every free and noble thought and aspiration of the human race." He added that he thought that the enlightened minds of Russia would likewise regard the expansion of Russia westward as a misfortune.[45] He might not have counted Dostoyevski among the enlightened minds of Russia.

The Poles, crushed between Russian and Prussian calculated oppression, sought solace from their dire despair in their own literature and art. It was all that was left them. Memories of the Russian soldiery of Muraviev certainly estopped any warmth of feeling toward the Slavs they knew the most about from personal experience.[46] The less they had to do with the Russians the better. Orthodoxy was Russian and therefore they clung to their Roman Catholicism with deepening gratitude. The Poles were grateful also to Austria for the relative freedom they enjoyed in Cracow and Galicia, and used it to fortify their nationalism in literature and science.[47]

By the end of the century, whether because of absorption into a more potent and definitely programmatic Russian expansionism, or because its vagaries had repelled the western and more rational Slavs, or because the anti-Panslav campaign from Berlin, Paris and London had been effective, or because Russian imperialism was not too successful, the Panslavism of the Prague Congress of 1848, of the Moscow Slavophils, or the Moscow Congress of 1867 or even of Ignatyev, was dead. It might be more exact to say that the ghost had been laid.

The subsidence of the noble sentiments of Slavic reciprocity, of "interslavism," did not mean, however, that the scarecrow of Panslavism was not still usable. Eduard Beneš recently put these developments in urbane terms:

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[44] Cf. the Vakanović memorandum of 1872, quoted by Palacký, *Politisches Vermächtnis* ,p. 13; cf. also Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 353f. It would appear that the Magyars were the most consistently fervent believers in Panslavism. At any rate they thought every Slovak was a Panslav. The record contains many instances of such fantasy almost too ludicrous to believe. The most fantastic aspect of this complex is its literal truth. See, e. g. Thomas Capek, *The Slovaks of Hungary: Slavs and Panslavism* (New York, 1906), pp. 47-52.

[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

[46] Kucharzewski, Jan, *Origins of Modern Russia* (New York, 1948), p. 349ff.

[47] Chlebowski, Bronislas, *La litterature polonaise au XIXe siecle* (Paris, 1933), chs. XXVIII and XXIX; and see Feldman, *op. cit.*, chapter IX, "Aufleben der Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen im Zusammenhange mit modernen sozialen Ideen."

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"Panslavism then, up to 1905, solved no question fully, it failed to attain its aims, and could not be transferred into the field of politics in any concrete form. Finally it became a synonym for Tsarist Russian nationalism and as such, in the form of a political doctrine, could only be prejudicial to all concerned: to the Russians, to the other Slavs, to Europe and to the world. It was harmful to the Slavs because, above and beyond the fact that it was in political fact in great measure a fantasy, it was used and misused against them by their opponents to such an extent that not only the Magyars and the Germans but all of western Europe saw in it a real danger and frequently, because of it, opposed them even where the Slavs were in the right. Against us Czechoslovaks it was for instance used during the first world war and here and there one heard echoes of it even during the second."[48]

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The year 1905 brought a marked change, not only in Russia's external prestige and her internal constitutional structure, but also in the attitude of the western and southern Slavs toward the whole question of their own future and the relations between them and Tsarist Russia. Whereas for over a half century, since at least the Prague Slavic Congress of 1848, they had consciously or unconsciously looked to powerful Russia for moral or physical support, now, that Russia had been militarily humbled and they found their own strength growing and their interests in their western connections in a more satisfactory perspective, the prospect of a future independent of Russia was not unpleasing. The vestiges of admiration for Russia that remained clouded but did not basically alter the vision of the future that opened out before them.

As for the Poles, who had never accepted the thesis of Russian leadership, the harsh campaign for russification under Alexander III only increased their hatred of everything Russia stood for and their determination to maintain their separate polonism.[49] Among the Czechs and the Slovaks the "realism" of Masaryk, by which he had meant simply that they should trust in their own moral strength and the logic of national development in order to win out over an already corrupt, artificial and doomed monarchy, had made much headway and was destined to capture the dominant place in the people's thought. The South Slavs had not forgotten the disillusionment brought by the Congress of Berlin and had quickly adjusted themselves to the thesis that they should and could make substantial gains in cultural and political autonomy on their own initiative in the Balkan ambit.[50] The coup of 1903 in Belgrade furthermore opened vistas of actual independence from the Hapsburg monarchy. All the western Slavs had sensed vividly for a full quarter century that Russia had been increasingly

[48] Benes, *Uvahy o Slovanstvi*, p. 127f.
[49] Cf. M. Zdziechowski, *Wpływy rosyjskie na duszę polską* (Cracow, 1920), p. 53ff.
[50] Cf. E. Denis, *La Grande Serbie* (Paris, 1920), p. 121ff.

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disinterested, indeed bored, with them and their problems. What fleeting political *rapprochements* took place at top levels did not touch real public opinion save to confirm the general belief that arrangements between dynasts, foreign ministers and such like were cynical and opportunistic. In this case at least it would have been difficult to prove this instinctive judgment erroneous.

On a basis of these psycho-political developments among the Slavs within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and along her borders the decade between 1905 and the outbreak of the war of 1914 witnessed the rise to dominance of what is usually described as Neo-Slavism.[51] The leading and best known exponent and expositor of this short-lived but significant movement was the Czech politician, Dr. Karel Kramář. The essence of this movement, fundamentally indigenous and unconnected with Russia or the accidental fact that Russia was largely Slavic, was an effort to counterweight Central Europe and the Balkans against the aggressive expansion of Germany in every field of political, economic and social life in that area. Seeing that Austria-Hungary was weakening in the face of the steady pressure from the north, the Neo-Slavs even advocated support of the Empire on condition that it be federalized. If Austria-Hungary could be weaned away from Germany and the Triple Alliance broken up, Russia and Austria-Hungary could draw closer together. Pan-Germanism would then be blocked and the western Slavs could move and have their being in this larger atmosphere. Along these lines there was even, *mirabile dictu*, talk of a Polish-Russian *rapprochement*. Late in 1905 Swiatkowski, an energetic Russian journalist, proclaimed that the German danger made Slavic cooperation absolutely necessary,[52] and he proceeded to beat the drums for a broad-gauged campaign to bring it about—among the Sokols, in the press, by congresses, by cultural and social relations on every level. He envisaged a political union of some sort, but specifically an economic and customs union to which the non-Slavic states of Central Europe should also be invited. In the next two years the idea grew that it was time for all the Slavs to get together again, as in 1848 and 1867, to further their mutual interests. The leader of the movement in Russia was Lt. Gen. Volodimirov, whose recent retirement left him with time on his hands. He enlisted some publicists and men of letters of a poetic cast of mind, travelled to Warsaw, Cracow and Prague, where he found other optimists.

The second Slavic Congress of Prague, which met in July, 1908, was the result of this agitation. It was attended by representatives of most, though

[51] Benel, *op. cit.*, p. 134ff. The most complete discussion of this movement is the collaborative work, *Slovanstvo. Obraz jeho minulosti a přítomnosti* (Prague, 1912), with a foreword by Dr. Kramář.

[52] Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 307f.

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not all, of the Slavic peoples in Russia, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans.[53] The slogans were unity, solidarity, reciprocity, equality and unification, though few if any of the delegates knew precisely what they meant. Roman Dmowski, the leader of the Polish delegation, ostentatiously shook hands with Krasowski, the head of the Russian delegation,[54] and the whole Congress echoed for days with the miracle that had been wrought. It all sounded like the ominous approach of peace and good will. But the fact is that the whole idea behind the Congress was based on a completely untenable assumption: that the interests of Russia and Austria-Hungary did not conflict.[55] It can only be charitably said that the organizers of the Congress had, in a greater degree and with even less excuse than their predecessors of 1848 and 1867, failed to think through their program, its logic and its practicability. Questions which the literate man on the street in Prague, Belgrade or Warsaw knew had to be faced either did not appear on the agenda or were greeted by bland smiles and silence. Two further facts highlight the absurdity of the meeting. The old Panrussians, now benignly veneered with liberalism, were in control of the Russian delegation and there is not the slightest reason to doubt that all their vocal support of the new Slavism was utterly cynical. Neo-Slavism in general and the Prague Congress in particular never aroused any enthusiasm among the Serbs. Roman Dmowski told Beneš in 1917 that his aims at the Congress of 1908 were solely the independence of Poland, and in no sense Slav.[56]

The roseate aura of Slavic amity and hope engendered by the Congress lasted less than three months. Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina and the hopes of the western Slavs for an acceptable *modus vivendi* within the then political framework were rudely dashed. The next year it became evident that the promises made to the Poles in Russia in 1905 of modest recognition of their nationalistic feelings were valueless and that reaction was again in the saddle in St. Petersburg.[57]

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[53] Léger, *Le Panslavisme . . .*, p. 271ff.; Beneš, *op. cit.*, 139ff. A rich source of documentation is the printed (but not published) record of the trial of Kramář, Alois Rašín, V. Červinka and Josef Zamazal, which went on from Dec. 6, 1915, to June 3, 1916. Letters, documents and testimony of all sorts on the whole movement, including the various congresses, are printed *in extenso*. See further Paul Milyukov, "World War and Slavonic Policy" in *Slavonic Review* VI (1927-28), 268-290, particularly interesting in its critique of Kramář's ideas and Beneš' opposition to them.

[54] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 149. Dmowski published this same year his *Niemcy, Rosja i Kwestja Polska* (Lwów) in which he argued that Poland's principal enemy was Germany and that it was to the interest of the Poles and the other western Slavs to support Russia.

[55] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 155f.

[56] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 154f.

[57] One of the resolutions passed at the Prague congress to which most weight was

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Yet there were still pleasantly optimistic souls among the Slavic intellectuals. Another Congress was called for Sofia in 1910. It makes even more fantastic reading than those that preceded it. Dr. Kramář was frequently eloquent. No Pole was present as a delegate. The Russian delegation was almost exclusively conservative. No Ukrainian representative came and the Bulgarian Tsar was ostentatiously absent from Sofia during the Congress. This was the last Slavic Congress before the outbreak of hostilities in 1914.[58] Almost everybody save the leading Czech slavophil Dr. Kramář left Sofia fully aware that he had witnessed the *rigor mortis* of an ailing phantom—indeed a cooling thought. The Neo-Slav movement had had a short life and an inglorious end. If it accomplished anything it proved that Slavism as a gospel, so long at least as there was an Austro-Hungarian Empire, had insufficient grounding in the tissues of international relations to have the slightest influence upon the trend of events in Central and Eastern Europe.

It is a commonplace among German historians and analysts of the origins of the first world war that it was essentially a defensive struggle by Germandom against Slavdom. Bethmann-Hollweg made the statement early, and so weighty a study as Fischel's *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* is avowedly devoted to this thesis. But it will hardly bear careful examination. There were Germans on one side—there was a majority of Slavs on the other. But that is more accidental than essential. Along with many Slavic-German issues there was in fact a greater number of issues completely unrelated to the Slavic-German question which in the inevitable logic of history would have had to be decided completely regardless of ethnics and culture. After the war, out of which arose three new or revised west Slavic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the principal inter-Slav questions were solved and there was hardly a whisper of Panslavism. Bolshevik Russia, emphasizing its multinationality and its supranational foundations, in the early years at least, had no interest in Slavic countries *per se*, and Panslavism, Slavophilism, Neo-Slavism and even Pan-Russism became historical curiosities, objects of antiquarian research.

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attached was to the effect that St. Petersburg should be the meeting place of the next Pan-Slav conference the following year. Léger (*op. cit.*, p. 278) says: "l'on se sépara en se donnant rendez-vous pour l'année suivante à St. Petersbourg. Ce rendez-vous ne devait pas se réaliser." S. B. Fay, *Origins of the World War* (New York, 1929), 401, and B. E. Schmitt, *Annexation of Bosnia 1908-1909* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 248, mention the congress in the summer of 1909 and the circular letter sent to Slav organizations in the Balkans. The contradiction is only apparent. There was such a conference and such a secret circular, but very few South Slavs attended the meeting. See dispatch from Count Brockdorff-Rantzau (German chargé d'affaires in Vienna) to Bethmann-Hollweg of July 25, 1909, in *Die Grosse Politik*, XXVI, 844f.

[58] See the *Kramář-Prozess*, pp. 402-407, for interesting sidelights on the meeting.

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This should cause no surprise. Whenever in the past these national groups had existed as independent states there had not been any discernible urge for exceptional collaboration on a basis of their consanguinity. They had pursued their particular needs, in the same way as France, Italy and Spain, also related by history, language, religion and ethnic bonds, had, throughout their history, tended toward particularism and strenuously rejected any centripetal pressures. It would seem reasonable to allow Slavic peoples to act according to a pattern assumed to be rational and even enlightened farther west.

The Little Entente was, quite accidentally, two-thirds Slav. Its collapse was precipitated by the early defection of Yugoslavia, one of the Slav thirds. The Balkan Entente followed no noticeable Slavic pattern.

The aggressive war of 1939 was variously advertised. It was directed against any people that objected to being nazified, Slav, Teuton, Baltic or Latin. The fourth partition of Poland, shared in equally by Russia and Germany, made it abundantly clear that it was not a war against Bolshevism or of German against Slav. It would have been difficult to arouse among western Slavs any enthusiasm for the Slav idea from August 23, 1939 to June 22, 1941.

At this point it is possible to draw some deductions from the history of the variations in Slav feeling. The sense of Slavic community weakened, or perhaps more accurately shuffled into the unrealistic or academic empyrean, in times of peace. Under stress and strain or in times of crisis Slavophilism became again, with the limitations of the moment, an active force.[59] But all wars, the ultimate in national interest, have acted as rapid solvents of these fond dreams. This failure of the idea to stand any real test will explain why we use the term phantom or illusion of the whole concept.

From 1941 on one heard much of Slavic solidarity. There were All-Slav congresses at Moscow in August 1941, April 1942 and May 1943. The Russian speakers emphatically repudiated the political Panslavism and Pan-Russism of the nineteenth century and appealed "for the union of all Slav strength in the struggle against Hitlerism."[60] There was to be a unity of equals with equals, all bound together in a happy family of democratic peoples. Thereafter Slavic committees sprang up and Slavic congresses were held in London, Detroit and Pittsburgh, and in 1945 and following years, in Sofia, Belgrade, Bratislava, Prague and Warsaw. The themes of all these meetings followed the same lines: rejoicing in new Slav unity

[59] Cf. A. Mousset, *Le Monde Slave* (2nd. ed., Paris, 1947), p. 385.

[60] Vl. Osmanin, Secretary of All Slav Committee, in May, 1943, quoted by Mousset *op. cit.*

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175 under the leadership of Soviet Russia. Whereas the pre-1914 congresses
186 were usually gatherings of professors and publicists, and the realist poli-
529 ticians generally abstained, the post-1941 gatherings were almost exclu-
668 sively made up of politicians and poets. The trained professorate was in a noticeable minority. It would perhaps be superfluous to quote many of these political leaders on the subject of Slav unity, but it would not be difficult to discover a marvelous, perhaps inspired, unanimity.

There were numerous speeches in all the western Slav capitals which emphasized "the Slavic bloc, directed by the great Russian people"[61] "for the protection of their freedom and democracy."[62] There is no room for question as to what was meant. The signing of every new treaty, of commerce, mutual defense or cultural friendship, was accompanied by headlines, radio propaganda and ministerial banquets, in all of which inter-Slavic devotion was lauded with profound conviction. Ceremonial visits of chiefs of state were exchanged, there were many elaborate parades and happy reunions. In between, naturally, there were visits to Moscow. M. Georgiev, the Bulgarian President, remarked, on landing in Moscow on Jan. 7, 1946: "I am happy to be in the fortress of the Slavic peoples which, thanks to the wise direction of Generalissimo Stalin, has become the hope of all democratic humanity." M. Vishinsky then visited Sofia.

The years 1946 and 1947 brought electoral and diplomatic victories to Russia. As all the Slavs were now safely enjoying their Slavic solidarity, it was no longer necessary to emphasize Slavism. Marxian Socialism was a more comprehensive concept into which Magyars, Rumanians, Austrians, Germans and Balts could conveniently be made to fit. We have therefore to remark upon the relative silence of western Slavic spokesmen on the subject of Slavic solidarity in the years 1947 and 1948. That stage illusion was no longer necessary, at least in so urgent a fashion as before. On the other hand it would be incorrect to say that it had been completely withdrawn from circulation. The enforcement of Russian language instruction in the schools, the extended tours of Russian artists, authors, scientists and athletes throughout all the Slavic countries, the dominant place in areas of cultural expression, education, science, press, radio, screen and stage, given to the products of Russia, all reveal the underlying plan. It should not be overlooked, furthermore, that the Orthodox Church has, with the support of the Kremlin, been incorporated into the program of implementation of the plan with considerable success in at least Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the Ukraine. Whereas under Tsarist rule the trilogy of

[61] Quoted by Mousset, *op. cit.*, p. 257, from Zdenik Nejedlý, Czechoslovak Minister of Education.

[62] Nikolov, President of Slav Committee, at Sofia, quoted by Mousset, *op. cit.*, p 262f.

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175 nationalism, orthodoxy and autocracy was the slogan reserved for Russia
186 herself, one is justified in remarking that Russian nationalism has now be-
come Slavic nationalism or Slavic unity, Orthodoxy is being encouraged
829 outside Russia, and of autocracy throughout the western Slavic states there
668 appears to be quite adequate evidence. We have, on the other hand, little positive proof that thus far the various Slavic peoples love each other more than they did, say in 1860, 1890 or 1935. Titoism rather speaks for itself, and the great popularity of Gomulka in Poland would indicate, if there were any need, the continuity of Polish separatism from time immemorial. A thousand years of determined and consistent western orientation and nationalism are not obliterated in a decade of government by loud speakers, force and fear.

As we look back over the last century of Slav thought, interaction and political mutuality, several broad lines of change strike our notice. In 1848 Slavophil enthusiasm stemmed mostly from within the polyglot Hapsburg monarchy. A century later, not only has this Empire, officially a bulwark of Germanism with all its westward leanings, disappeared, but its place and much more has been taken by the heirs of the Tsars. In 1848 Slavic thought was largely centered on cultural and moral reciprocity. A century later the Slavic nations, under the direction of Russia (excepting, for the moment, Yugoslavia), constitute a solid and ruthlessly integrated political, economic and military unity, more tightly welded with each passing day. But nothing seemed more sure, and indeed necessary, in 1848 than the Hapsburg Empire. Yet that imperial idea was in actuality soon after 1848 rejected by those who had theretofore felt it to be necessary. Under similar circumstances there is every reason to think that the present, stronger than imperial, concept will be rejected. Of their own volition the western Slavs have never in their long history shown any general desire to become part of an inclusive Slav empire. They have at various times experienced the imperial idea only to repudiate it. Nor, in spite of present conditions, is there any evidence that the people of these nations have lost their historic particularism. All the verifiable evidence is in the opposite direction. These peoples have lived long and are wise from bitter experience, a teacher whose lessons last longer than those of ministers of propaganda. Nowhere is the common man more anxious to claim citizenship of the world than in Central Europe, where the western Slavs for much more than this past century have been exposed to the repeated appearances of, only to reject, the phantom of Panslavism.

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6: Mousset
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[For information on the development of Panslavism, see cat. 116, entire source.]

7: Lednicki
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[For data on panslavism and slavophilism see category 116.]

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The significance of this reaction was not missed by Moscow 186*
And so, whilst laying aside Panslav phraseology, she 177
endeavoured to make Russian the sole 'cultural language' of the 19
Slav peoples. Hence the campaign to eliminate the teaching of 191 •
the French, English, and German languages—a campaign facilitated by the Marxist hold on power in the popular democracies, but combated by the hostility of generations educated on Western lines.

Thus the Soviet Union ensures two lines of penetration into Eastern Europe: Marxism and Russianisation. It used to be said that German was the Esperanto of the Slav peoples. Today the Kremlin dreams of making Russian a universal language.

It cannot be denied that the psychological role played by 186*
Slavism in the struggle which ended in the collapse of Germany was by no means negligible. But the peoples who led this struggle are today forced, by the Soviet Union's exploitation of the principle, to revise its very foundations. What they sought from it was the reconquest of their national independence; it was to this end that Slav solidarity was understood and cultivated amongst them.

Now this solidarity has been exploited by the Kremlin for the opposite purpose: the enslavement or absorption of their brothers in race.

Like causes produce like effects: the old instinct of *rénitence* ooo
which roused the Slavs against Hamidean Turkey, Habsburg Austria, Kaiser William's or Hitler's Germany, will be unleashed tomorrow against the Moscow Dictatorship.

Panslavism is a pre-war legend. It became a political reality in international life only during the Second World War, to give way, in the new organisation of Eastern Europe, to Marxist solidarity.

Thus it lasted for four years only.

A. MOUSSET.

Paris.
January 1, 1950

S.P. C. 175 167 and especially Premysl Otakar II (1253-1278) and their successors; the nobility and the clergy, /104/ particularly the monks, followed their example. As a result of this colonization, the Czech element found itself blockaded in the interior of the country by a belt of German cities and towns, a belt which continually drew tighter; at first below the Metallic Mountains and the Boehmerwald, then on the lower Elbe, then in the areas of Liberec (Reichenberg), Trutnov, Kladsko (Glatz) and in the region of the Jeseniky (Gesenke) Mountains. Moreover, German groups settled in the interior of the country. From the thirteenth century Bohemia and Moravia became bilingual countries.

S.P. C. [191]

From the standpoint of area the German zone was neither wide nor compact; it formed itself especially in the clearings of the forests on the west and northwest.

S.P. C. 101 563 In the fourteenth century, according to Professor Sedlaczek, the frontier of the nations in Bohemia ran from Kynwart* toward Zdar*, Kralupy, Chomutov (Komotau) which was German, toward Most, then toward Duchcov and Decin. Bilina and Teplice were still Czech. Then the frontier ran to Benesov* which was German, to Jablonna*, crossed Mount Iestied* and reached the sources of the Jizera (Iser). From the fourteenth century Liberec (in German, Reichenberg) was German. The Germans were settled in the mountains beyond Vrchlaby* (today Hohenelbe) which was still Czech. Pilnikov (Pillnitz), Trutnow, Zacler, Stare Buky* were already German. Starkov* remained Czech, but the region of Brumov*, and the country of Kladsko /105/were Germanized. Olesnica and Rokytnice* were Czech. Beyond Policzka* and Litomysl* the situation was as it is today. At Nemecky Brod there was a German island; Jindrichuv Hradec was mixed, as well as Budejovice (Budweiss). Krumlov and Prachatice were mixed; the Kasperk Mountains were German; in the region of Domazlice the frontier was Czech. Klatovy was mixed, Tachov German.

S.P. C. 175 167 S.P. [565] Less is known about the German penetration into Moravia and into Silesia. From the thirteenth century the greater part of the fortified towns in Moravia have been German. In many of the cities, notably at Brno and at Olomouc, from the thirteenth century on a German bourgeoisie developed. The religious orders and the clergy contributed in summoning the Germans, especially Bishop Bruno who has been called the greatest Germanizer of Moravia. In the Teschen area the Czecho-Polish frontier has been the same from the fourteenth century

S.P. 175 167

to the present.

Slovakia, belonging to Hungary, was not spared by the German invasion. Germanization began to penetrate into the northern portion--perhaps Slovak--the Pannonia, beginning in the ninth century, as is attested by a celebrated text of 850: Conversio Bagoiarorum et Carantanorum. In the north of Hungary, from the twelfth century, the regents during the minority of Geza II (1141-1161) called a great number of Germans into the county of Spis to act as /106/ a counterweight to the attraction which Poland was exerting upon the county of Zvolen. Following the example of these first colonists, the Germans, beginning in the thirteenth century, penetrated from the west into the counties of Bratislava and of Nitra, from the south into those of Bars and of Honta where they were not to be found before this period. This immigration increased particularly after the Tatar invasion of 1241. Hungary had been ravaged, and the kings,--notably Bela IV--called for new colonists. Thus, towards the end of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century, there was in Slovak territory no commune in which some German family was not established. The center and the base of German colonies aside from the towns of Spiess, was the association of mining towns with Kremnitz at their head. The sources mention in the first place Krupina, in 1238, then Banska Bystrica in 1255, and Nemecke Pravno in 1267. This state of things lasted until the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Two laws promulgated by the Diet in 1563 and in 1605 put an end to the privileges of the German towns and to the Germanic intrusion. Beginning with this period the Germans in the north of Hungary were Slovakized or Magyarized in turn. (Among the towns which again became Slovak may be cited Pukanec*, Nova Bana, Bela, Lubietova* and, to a considerable extent, Stiavnica and Banska Bystrica).

S.P. 175 177 191

Alongside the penetration of the frontier regions /107/ in Bohemia and Moldavia there should be pointed out, the influence beginning with the thirteenth century, of the German element upon the internal economy of the country, the customs, and the language. German almost assumed the role of an official language. German inhabitants received privileges. At court, among the nobility, in the towns, the German tongue played so important a role that some patriots, like Dalimil, (1) began to fear, the ruin of the Bohemian language.

S.P. C. 175 177 191

1. Quite a long time ago I indicated the importance of this chronicler. See my Boheme pittoresque et historique (Paris, 1867).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century matters had gone so far that at the coronation of King John in 1311 the larger part of the people sang in German and the minority in Czech.

S.P. C. 175 668 [798]

Under Charles IV and his son Vaclav a reaction took place to the benefit of the Slavic element.[1] The nobility and the clergy took an interest in this. This evolution was crowned by the wars of the Hussites, who fought at the same time for Czech faith and Czech nationality. The Germans lost their influence in the towns or were completely driven out; the Czech language reassumed its place. Among the towns which became Slavic may be cited Zatec (Saaz), Litomerice (Leitmeritz), Usti nad Labem (Aussig), Dvur Kralove, Jaromer, Hradec Kralove, Nemecky Brod, Caslav, Kutna Hora, Pelhrimov, Susice, Budejovice, Kaplice, Stribro and Plzen, all of which were already Czech at the end of the fourteenth century.

/108/ At this time, in Bohemia, in Moravia, in Siberia, Czech became an official language. It was proclaimed to be the sole administrative language at Opava (Troppau) in 1431, at Tesin (Teschen) in 1434, in Moravia in 1480, in Bohemia in 1495. In short, in the course of the fifteenth century Bohemia and Moravia rapidly became Czech, the national consciousness grew stronger, all the more because germanization became weaker within the country and in the frontier districts. Nevertheless, this very brilliant period had no enduring results. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a portion of Czech territory was again germanized as a result of the introduction of Protestantism and through the efforts of the new dynasty. Then came a long period of wars and persecutions which desolated entire regions and was followed by the new influx of German colonists from Misnie, Voigtland*, from Franconia and from the Palatinate. Thus, at the very moment when the Czech language became official within the kingdom, when the Czech literature was flourishing, a great section of Czech soil was lost.

S.P. C. 175 177 167

S.P. C. [728]

Then came the defeat of Bila Hora (1620) and the unhappy events which placed the Czech nation in the hands of a dynasty which was German and absolutist. In 1627 a new organization was imposed

1 [Against the influence of the German element upon the country - Analyst]

000 only upon the internal situation of the two sections originally unified, but also upon their mutual relations.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 668 191 There indeed developed between 1830 and 1840 a movement called Illyrian, which sought to unite them,[1] but it had no other results than to unify the literary language for which the dialect called stokavski was adopted. But from the political viewpoint, each of the two sections, despite the original unity of their language, differentiated only by dialectical shadings, followed its own course.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 175 167 Their[1] development has been particularly hindered by exterior circumstances. At first there were the Turkish invasions and the servitude which followed them. Many of the groups emigrated from their ancient homes to seek a more certain asylum. At the outset, Sb Serbian colonization went upstream on the Morava, towards the south. [361] The first centers, the first /152/ capitals were Novi Pazar, Pristina, Prizren, and Skoplje.

But the arrival of the Turks completely displaced the movement. Beginning with the sixteenth century, the Croats went back towards the north, and the Serbs did so even more. To escape from the Turkish oppression, Croat colonies were established in Hungary, in the region situated between the middle reaches of the Raab, the lake of Ferto-Tava (Neusiedler Lake), Bratislava and Vienna. Some even pushed as far as into Moravia and the interior of Hungary.

S.P. Sb. 175 167 These migrations greatly modified the type of the primitive Serbian population. From the regions which formerly had been the home and center of the nation, from Kosovo Polje, from Old Serbia, hundreds of thousands of men came forth to establish themselves in the relatively peaceful regions of Austria-Hungary.

This movement began at the end of the fourteenth century, after the battle of Kosovo (1389) and the conquest of Skoplje by the Turks (1391), after which the Turks began to march towards the region of Lom, Bosnia, and the country of Khum, and finally towards the north. The Serbs then had to withdraw towards the Danube and move their Sb center towards Krusevac and finally towards Smederevo (Semendria). [682] In 1459, the Turks definitely abolished Serbia, and in 1463, Bosnia. The Serbs then began to cross in great masses to the other side of the

[1] [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Ainslie]

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S.P. C.M. [198] [198] closely related to the Bulgarian than to the Serbian. These special traits are the use of the postpositive article (used after the substantive), the loss of declension and the retention of the nasals. Only the dialect of the northern region is more closely related to the dialect group of Vranje, Nish, Timok, which Professor Belic assigns to the domain of the Serbian language, but certain philologists do not agree with him.

Serbocroatian, and some Bulgarian dialects where ъ and ь in strong position coalesced into *ə* or *a*, the strong ъ in all languages became *e*, while ъ changed to *o* in the whole Eastern Slavic area, in Macedonia, partly also in High Sorbian and Central Slovak; everywhere else it changed to a corresponding unrounded vowel which later in 2 and 3 (but never in 4) coalesced with *e*. The vocalic phonemes of 4 are determined by the opposition of rounded and unrounded; and to the South moreover, the unrounded series splits into front and back: both for the higher and for the lower vowels the Ukrainian and the Bulgarian phonemic pattern distinguishes (a) unrounded front, (b) unrounded back, (c) rounded (back). The change of long vowels into decrescent diphthongs occurs only in the Western borderland of the Slavic world—in Czech, Polabian, and Kashubian.

In various regions of the Slavic world—in some Russian, Polish, Sorbian, and Serbocroatian dialects—the hushing and the corresponding hissing affricates, or generally sibilants, coalesced. A rare phoneme, the sibilant vibrant *ŕ*, formerly common to the majority of the Western Slavic languages, is maintained in Czech and Kashubian.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

THE AUTONOMY of the word and the markedness of word boundaries are preserved both in Protoslavic and in the modern Slavic languages; and there is a clear-cut difference between the treatment of affixes on one hand, and proclitic conjunctions or enclitic particles on the other. The root plus derivational and inflectional suffixes forms a simple word. A root preceded by another root or by a prefix produces a complex word. Prepositions are phonemically treated as prefixes. Derivational suffixes remain an extremely productive means for neology in Slavic languages. Prefixes play only a derivational role but prefixation as such has an important part in the building of Slavic verbal aspects. Alternations of phonemes are relevant auxiliary means in Slavic inflection; pivotal are prosodic alternations both in Protoslavic and in those Slavic languages which maintain in their word structure such

193 distinctive features as pitch, quantity, or place of accent; as a result of the loss of the 'jers' alternations of vowel and zero as well as zero desinences occupy a great place in all Slavic languages. Autonomous alternations of different vowels in the root are in part the residue of Indo-European or Protoslavic processes, and in part essential innovations of separate Slavic languages, e.g., Ukrainian, Polish, Czech. In desinences vocalic alternations conditioned by the stem-end (a characteristic feature of late Protoslavic), remain, in spite of all analogic changes, a pertinent factor in the morphologic structure of modern Slavic languages. Due to various palatalization processes, the alternations of the last stem-consonant are partly inherited from Protoslavic, partly developed in the separate Slavic languages. There is still a pronounced tendency (particularly striking in Russian) to differentiate the alternations used in declension and those used in conjugation.

193 Protoslavic preserved the Indo-European system of cases (Nom.,
197 Acc., Instr., Dat., Gen., Loc.), losing only the ablative which merged with the genitive—the latter took over the ablative desinence for *o*-stems. The use of *m* in the Instr. and Dat. desinences links Slavic with the Baltic and Germanic area. The nominal declension exhibits a strong influence from the pronominal, an interaction of different paradigms, and a tendency to identify paradigms with genders. The impulse to unify the declension continues in separate Slavic languages. All of them tend to eliminate the prepositionless use of the Loc. and of the Dat. of destination. The substitution of the possessive Gen. for the original possessive adjective is widespread. Western and Eastern Slavic languages developed a predicative Instr. Bulgarian and Macedonian, for the most part, have lost declension (as well as the suffixal comparative forms of the adjectives) and developed instead a postpositive article. Distinction of single cases, weakened both formally and functionally in Sorbian, Czech, Slovenian, and Serbocroatian, is firmly held in the other Slavic languages and even enriched by two new cases (Gen. 2 and Loc. 2) in Russian, and the general meanings of the cases remain here distinctly delimited (e.g., the persistence of the Gen. of negation perfectly fits the general meaning of the genitive

as a purely restrictive case). The vocative form is preserved in all Slavic languages except Russian and Slovenian. 193 197

A sharp distinction between the singular and the plural unvaryingly goes through the whole Slavic inflection, whereas the dual, still vital in the Slavic medieval world, died out but for Slovenian, Sorbian, and Slovincian. Residues of the old nominal dual serve to denote nouns after numerals from 'two' to 'four' in Russian and Serbocroatian, and after all numerals in Bulgarian which, along with declension, lost the clear-cut Slavic difference between the substantivized numerals from 'five' and the lower numerals consistently adjectivized. Slavic substantives and adjectives still strikingly distinguish masculine, feminine, and neuter in the singular; in the plural, however, these distinctions are lost by Russian and Bulgarian and tend to weaken as well elsewhere. The difference between the animate and inanimate started for the Acc. Sg. M. in late Protoslavic and became generalized for some other cases in Western Slavic languages, and for the Acc. Pl. in Russian. Bulgarian, Western Slavic languages (particularly Polish and Sorbian), and Ukrainian tend to promote a new, personal gender.

For the adjectives Protoslavic developed a new, definite form which distinguishes more clearly their declension from that of the substantives. In Serbocroatian and Slovenian the difference between the definite and indefinite forms is more or less preserved and marked by prosodic alternations; Bulgarian and Macedonian have reduced the use of the definite form, whereas Byelo-Russian, Ukrainian, and Western Slavic languages tend to eliminate the indefinite doublet; Russian has changed it into a purely predicative, indeclinable form.

The Protoslavic verb had been more essentially reshaped than the noun. Only the forms of the present tense continue closely an Indo-European prototype; the forms of the aorist are perceptibly refashioned, while the forms of the Slavic imperfect have nothing in common with the Indo-European stock. Neither the form nor the function of the Indo-European perfect find correspondence in the Slavic. Besides two sets of simple forms—the sequential past (the so-called 'aorist') and the synchronic past (the so-called 'imperfect'), Slavic created new, compound pasts: the retrospective

193 197 past (inadequately called the 'perfect'), and three pluperfects corresponding to the aorist, the imperfect, and the perfect. Protoslavic abolished the Indo-European subjunctive and innovated a compound conditional. The Indo-European optative was re-formed into an imperative, whereas the old imperative disappeared completely. The middle voice became obsolete and its functions were partly assumed by the Slavic (and Baltic) construction with the enclitic Acc. of the reflexive pronoun which had been generalized for all persons; besides, a periphrastic passive was developing with verbal adjectives changed into participles. The nominal forms of the verb, the infinitive and supine, are due to a convergent development in the Slavic and some other Indo-European dialects. Partly paralleled by the Baltic, Protoslavic developed a system of coupled verbs of perfective (denoting the completion of a process) and imperfective (without such denotation) aspect; of the imperfective verbs a few couples denote the opposition of determined (characterizing the process as an uninterrupted whole) and undetermined aspect. The future was usually expressed by either the present of perfective verbs or different periphrastic constructions with imperfective verbs. Various types of impersonal constructions were developed with a zero-subject and a verb in 3rd pers. Sg. or Pl. as predicate. Conjugation drew upon two stems, one full and another truncated, chiefly regular in their alternation (depending on the vocalic or consonantal onset of the desinence)—a feature which has persisted for the most part to the present time.

This rich set of verbal forms (in Old Church Slavonic an imperfective verb had up to 236 forms, without counting the compound ones) persisted fundamentally through the Middle Ages. Later, most of the Slavic languages generalized the original 'perfect' as the only past; the imperfect and the aorist have been kept only in Sorbian on the one hand, and in Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbocroatian on the other. These same Southern Slavic languages stabilized the use of the verb *xotěti* 'want' for the compound future and generalized this construction for the perfective verbs as well, somewhat dampening (as Sorbian also does) the opposition of the aspects. Bulgarian and Macedonian have developed the richest

9: Jakobson L-4 (no date) 1955 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

pattern of finite forms with a consistent opposition of direct and indirect narration. Fundamentally, the Protoslavic pattern of aspects, voices, and moods is preserved in all Slavic languages. The imperative becomes (especially in Russian and Ukrainian) a bare stem, agglutinating autonomous suffixes phonemically treated as particles. The supine remained only in Low Sorbian and Slovenian. The infinitive is lost in Bulgarian and Macedonian. Participles tended at an early date to do away with declension and to become gerunds—in the Eastern and partly also in the Western Slavic area they even lost gender and number.

Enclitics traditionally followed the first accented word, but in languages with free stress the inflected enclitics were attracted by the governing word and then completely eliminated in the whole Eastern Slavic area, except for Western Ukrainian dialects: in the reflexive verbs the pronoun became an inseparable suffix; the other pronominal enclitic forms, richly developed in Protoslavic, were lost; the auxiliary verb as used in the 3rd pers. Sg. Neutr. of the compound forms was generalized (in the conditional *by* and in the pluperfect *bylo* became mere particles); in the 'perfect' the pres. 3rd pers. zero-form of the auxiliary verb *byti* 'be,' when used for all persons, changed the 'perfect' into a simple form. Subsequently the present of *byti* was likewise omitted in its other functions and the use of the correlative verb *iměti* 'have' essentially reduced; the abolishment of the copula favored asyndeton; finally, in personal constructions the use of pronouns, which was pleonastic for the Slavic pattern, became normal and their omission, which was normal for the Slavic pattern, became elliptic.

Word order underwent some alterations in the separate development of the Slavic languages. Particularly the verb tends to a medial position in the sentence and the place of attributes depends on regional changes in the system of definite and indefinite adjectives. Generally, word order is still based on the same principles as in Protoslavic: there is one basic pattern and a set of usual deviations each of which possesses a distinct semantic or stylistic value. In the spoken Slavic languages hypotaxis is weakly developed and less used than parataxis. The evolution of Slavic languages shows an extreme instability of conjunctions and relative pronouns.

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Macedonian: Zagriži se za nego, i što ke izarčii ke ti platam koga ke se vratam. 198

Bulgarian: Pogriži se za nego; i kakvoto poveče iždiviš, na vraštane az ište ti zaplatja.

COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

THE CHARACTERISTIC tendencies of Slavic evolution before the dissolution of unity are: (A) the complete abolition of aspiration (a loss common to all those Indo-European branches which did not set up a new *h* phoneme), and the persevering clear-cut opposition of voicing and voicelessness; (B) the consistent opposition of front and back vowels and accordingly that of 'soft' and 'hard' syllables, achieved by all kinds of mutual adaptation between vowels and adjacent consonants; (C) the recasting of prothetic semivowels (at the beginning of the word certain vowels require either the presence or the avoidance of an initial *v*, while other vowels that of an initial *j*); (D) the change of the short *u* and *i* into reduced vowels ('jers,' according to their Church Slavonic spelling name), the back ъ and the front ь; (E) the gradual elimination of closed syllables: loss of final consonants, simplification of consonantal clusters, reshaping of all diphthongs ending in *u* and *i* (*ou* > *ū*; *ei* > *ī*; *oi* > *ē*, but in final position *oi* is represented either by *ē* or by *ī*, going back to a difference in quantity), suppression of tautosyllabic groups 'vowel (dialectally only the non-reduced one) plus liquid or nasal': in initial position the group *ŏr** > *ra*; *ŏr* > *ra* only in the South Slavic area and Central Slovak, and > *ro* elsewhere; between consonants the groups *ŏr* and *ŏr* (1) changed into *ra* in the South Slavic and Czechoslovak area (with a parallel mutation of ъr into *ŕ*), (2) dissolved into a disyllabic sequence—Polish-Sorbian *tъrot* (with a metathesis) and East Slavic *torot* (without a metathesis), (3) merged with ъr in North-Lekhitic; in those Slavic dialects where the groups *on*, *en* preserved the nasal, they were changed into ъn, ьn; (F) substitution of qualitative for old quantitative distinctions and development of new quantitative vocalic oppositions; 194

* *r* in these formulas stands for any liquid, *o* for any open non-reduced vowel, *ъ* for any reduced vowel, *t* for any consonant.

194 (G) a prosodic pattern based on opposition of rising and falling pitch both in long and short syllables, with word-accent appended to the rising pitch and, in its absence, to the initial syllable (while the Balto-Slavic prosodic pattern had tolerated the word-accent on the second mora of any long syllable and on the initial or final mora of the word).

194 During the second half of the first millennium A.D., the diffusion
197 of innovations within the vast Slavic area became slower, and in particular regional divergences in their temporal order gave rise to certain dialectal features. Differently treated are: prothetic semivowels; vowels plus tautosyllabic liquids and nasals; *ě* (called *jat'*, the reflex of *ě* and *oi*); on the one hand the clusters *tj* and *dj*, and on the other, the fricative *x* when preceded by certain front vowels and followed by certain back vowels ('progressive palatalization') and furthermore, *x* before the reflexes of *oi* ('second regressive palatalization'): either only this *x* or only *tj*, *dj* become hissing sounds; *j* after non-initial labials; *t*, *d* before *l* and nasals; velars before the reflex of *woi*; front vowels before dentals followed by back vowels; the prosodic variety of the accented syllables (long and short, both either falling or rising) which underwent diverse regional modifications and limitations.

Some of the local innovations within the final Protoslavic period serve (1) to distinguish Eastern Slavic (*tort* > *torot*, ъ in *tъrt* had the same treatment as the strong ъ before obstruents, *dj* > *ž*, *bdm* > *m*, initial *j* disappeared before *u* and under certain conditions before *e* becoming *o*), and (2) to divide it into two dialects—Northern (the affricates *č* and *c* coalesced) and Southern (*g* became fricative): North Russian derives from the former, and the other Eastern Slavic speech-varieties from the latter dialect. The difference between Russian and Ukrainian will come later, in the twelfth–thirteenth century, when the tendency to use a common phonemic pattern still persists, but the etymological distribution of these phonemes is already somewhat different (e.g., both Russian and Ukrainian at that time developed the same diphthong *uo*, with the same prothetic *v* in initial position, but in Ukrainian, *uo* originates from *o* before a dropped 'jer,' and in Russian, from *o* under a rising accent). The formation of Byelo-Russian as a

9: Jakobson L-4 (no date) 1955 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

whole will not start until the fifteenth century with its strengthening Polish influence. 194 197

Some dialectal innovations within the final Protoslavic period are common to the whole Western Slavic group (*tj*, *dj* changed to hissing sounds; all the palatalizations of *x* gave *ś*). Except the change of the final group *jōns* into *en* in the Slavic South, and *ě* in the West and North, there are no common, exclusively Southern Slavic innovations: some changes link Southern with Eastern Slavic (velars undergoing the second palatalization were changed into hissing sounds; after labials *j* gave a palatal *l*; *d*, *t* were los before *l* and *n* except in some marginal Slovenian dialects and in Pskov-Russian); some other changes link the Southern group with Czechoslovak or at least with its eastern variant now represented by Central Slovak. Certain mutations were undergone by the whole central Slavic area (e.g., change of *g* into a fricative, attested in Czech, Slovak, High Sorbian, Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, South Great-Russian, and part of Slovenian). A wider spread of central isoglosses as opposed to a marginal pattern is the oscillation of 'ě' between *e* and *i* and the connected change of the tautosyllabic groups *on*, *en* to the back and front vowels of the lowest timbre (*u* and mostly *æ*) everywhere except in the Lekhitic, Bulgaro-Macedonian, and in a part of the Slovenian area: here 'ě' oscillates between *e* and *a*, while *on*, *en* became *ъn*, *ьn*; still preserved is the nasal component in the Lekhitic languages and in some border dialects of Slovenian and Macedonian.

The loss of the 'jers,' a feature which expanded slowly in the tenth–twelfth centuries from the Southwest to the Northeast of the Slavic world, was the last common Slavic mutation. Throughout the whole of the Slavic area the 'jers' were lost with one essential limitation: of the two 'jers' in the neighboring syllables, the last (called 'weak') was dropped but the preceding (called 'strong') changed into an unreduced vowel. The loss of the 'jers' destroyed the uniformity of the Slavic syllable—its openness and the harmony of its constituents—and therewith forced the prosodic reshaping of the Slavic languages. (1) *A*. Serbocroatian and Slovenian, and *B*. North Kashubian maintained or partly restored both distinctive features of Protoslavic word-prosody—pitch and quantity: type *A*

194 maintaining and *B* eliminating the quantitative opposition under
197 accent. (2) Having abolished the rising pitch, Czech and Slovak, except for some transitional dialects, automatically fixed the accent on the initial syllable and maintained free quantity. On the contrary, the Eastern Slavic area and Bulgarian, with the adjacent Macedonian strip, abolished quantity in favor of free stress (this evolution is bound up with avoidance of vocalic contraction, whereas the maintenance of quantity implies new long vowels due to contraction). The intermediary zone between the languages with free quantity and those with free stress now presents neither quantity nor free stress—the latter is stabilized on the penult in Polish, Eastern Slovak, and Rusnak, on the first syllable in Sorbian and Southern Kashubian, on the antepenult in Western Macedonian. Thus we distinguish languages (3) without free stress and quantity and (4) with free stress.

The latter two types have a higher number of consonantal phonemes and clusters, the former two, especially the first one, a greater number of vocalic phonemes. The liquids assume a syllabic function only in the phonemic patterns of types 1A and 2; Czech excepted, they participate in the quantitative opposition. Type 4 tends to reduce the number of vocalic phonemes in unstressed position (e.g., to four in North Russian, to three—*u*, *a*, *i*—in South Russian and Byelo-Russian); type 1A reduces the phonemic inventory of velar consonants (mostly losing *x*, and in some Slovenian dialects even *k* and *g*). Only types 3 and 4 tolerate double consonants. Before losing the weak 'jers,' all Slavic dialects, except 1A, maintained the difference between ъ and ь and between the preceding consonants—palatalized before front vowel but not before back vowel. With the loss of the weak 'jers' this consonantal difference became phonemic, but in various ways was then gradually eliminated by 1B and 2, whereas the whole area 4 and most of the intermediary area 3 preserved or even strengthened this opposition. Except Slovenian and Kashubian, the languages which either did not develop or lost palatalization (softness) as a distinctive feature, acquired in different ways a fourth, palatal series of stops besides the labials, dentals, and velars (particularly so in Serbocroatian, Czech, and Slovak). Except for Slovenian,

9: Jakobson L-4 (no date) 1955 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Serbocroatian, and some Bulgarian dialects where ъ and ь in strong position coalesced into *ə* or *a*, the strong ь in all languages became *e*, while ъ changed to *o* in the whole Eastern Slavic area, in Macedonia, partly also in High Sorbian and Central Slovak; everywhere else it changed to a corresponding unrounded vowel which later in 2 and 3 (but never in 4) coalesced with *e*. The vocalic phonemes of 4 are determined by the opposition of rounded and unrounded; and to the South moreover, the unrounded series splits into front and back: both for the higher and for the lower vowels the Ukrainian and the Bulgarian phonemic pattern distinguishes (a) unrounded front, (b) unrounded back, (c) rounded (back). The change of long vowels into decrescent diphthongs occurs only in the Western borderland of the Slavic world—in Czech, Polabian, and Kashubian. 194 197

In various regions of the Slavic world—in some Russian, Polish, Sorbian, and Serbocroatian dialects—the hushing and the corresponding hissing affricates, or generally sibilants, coalesced. A rare phoneme, the sibilant vibrant *r*, formerly common to the majority of the Western Slavic languages, is maintained in Czech and Kashubian.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

THE AUTONOMY of the word and the markedness of word boundaries are preserved both in Protoslavic and in the modern Slavic languages; and there is a clear-cut difference between the treatment of affixes on one hand, and proclitic conjunctions or enclitic particles on the other. The root plus derivational and inflectional suffixes forms a simple word. A root preceded by another root or by a prefix produces a complex word. Prepositions are phonemically treated as prefixes. Derivational suffixes remain an extremely productive means for neology in Slavic languages. Prefixes play only a derivational role but prefixation as such has an important part in the building of Slavic verbal aspects. Alternations of phonemes are relevant auxiliary means in Slavic inflection; pivotal are prosodic alternations both in Protoslavic and in those Slavic languages which maintain in their word structure such 193

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heirs of Charlemagne. It had no meaning for Russians, who must reject any permanent agreement with the States of the Continent, and keep her hands free, paying no attention to the doctrines by which other governments are inspired. 186' 829

These ideas found fuller development in the well-known speculations of the Slavophile schools on the decadence of the West. Each civilisation, said Danilevsky, slowly exhausted the sap which had nourished it. There was the time of flower and the time of fruit, and Europe had flowered two centuries ago. She had then passed her maturity, and could but degenerate—so the Russian nation had nothing to expect from her. History, added Danilevsky, showed that spiritual supremacy tends to function 'spirally'; to pass from one human group to another; China, India, Egypt, Greece . . . Europe's mission was completed, he concluded.

These long quotations were necessary, in order to establish the starting-point of the Slavophile movement, and its anti-European aspect, manifesting itself at the very time when one section of Russian thought, and the whole of the other Slavonic peoples, were expecting 'light' from the West alone.

The word 'Slavophile' itself, to designate this specific form of Russian nationalism, was originally a derogatory nickname, given to Chichkov and his partisans, who were taxed with Obscurantism. In fashionable society, it was always to have an unpleasant ring about it. When Dostoievsky makes the hero of his novel, *The Idiot,* enter a drawing-room, people excuse his strange behaviour by saying, 'He's a Slavophile, or something very like it, but not a dangerous case'. [196]•

This movement did not monopolise all the appeals to collaboration among Slavs. There existed a counterpart, of opposite and revolutionary tendency. In the Polish section of the Congress of 1848, Bakunin had denounced the illusions fostered by Tsarist propaganda. 'I have no doubt they anticipate the time, in a distant, very far distant future, when all the Slavonic peoples will form part of the Russian Empire. Before that happens, all the Slavonic peoples will have fallen into decrepitude. . . . Without Russia, Slavonic unity is incomplete; without her, Slavonic strength is non-existent. But it would be madness to expect help for the Slavs and their salvation from contemporary Russia. . . . Be the liberators of the Russian people 186* 668

B. S. S.P. 101 time to determine the facts and here are the terms in which Mr. Florinskii worded his decision in 1908:

B. S. S.P. 197 101 "It seems to me," he said,[1] "that there is no valid reason at all for making the Macedonians a special ethnographic group. The principal criterion is deciding upon the division of this group between the Bulgarian and Serbian nationalities is established by the linguistic data. According to these, insofar as they are known at present--it has been determined that the majority of the Macedonian dialects have the fundamental characteristics of the Bulgarian language. It is only in northern Macedonia, in the districts of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Kratovo that the peculiarities of the Serbian language appear clearly in the Slavic idioms, through they are with certain peculiarities of the Balkan tongue."

Mr. Florinskii concludes by awarding the north /ix/ of Macedonia to the Serbs, and the remainder to the Bulgars.

000 "I do not know," I wrote in 1908, in connection with the publication of Mr. Florinskii's book (1), "if this judgment of Solomon

1. In l'Energie francaise, issue of 29 February.

will satisfy the two parties. In any case one may be certain that the Greeks will make fierce outcry. Be that as it may, I cannot urge the Serbs and the Bulgars too strongly to find a definitive modus vivendi. The Slavs could not possibly make too many concessions in order to unite themselves against the eternal enemies of their race: the Germans, the Magyars, the Greeks, the Turks."

In those matters which relate to the Slavs of Macedonia, Mr. Niederle has arrived at almost the same conclusions as Mr. Florinskii; but he has supported them by other arguments.

III.

S.P. 114 In writing the article "Slavs" for the Czech Encyclopedia, Mr. Niederle found it necessary to study certain problems of demography and anthropology. At that precise moment the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg proposed the publication of an Encyclopedia of Slavic Philology under the direction of Mr. V. Jagic (1), the eminent /x/

1. See my article about Monsieur Jagic in the Journal des Savants, (Year 1908).

professor at the University of Vienna. Probably at the instigation of this distinguished scholar, they requested Mr. Niederle to write for this collection a volume upon the Slavic race. This volume written

1 [Mr. Florinskii, professor in the University of Kiyev, 1908 - August]

But alongside these external modifications,[4] great changes were taking place in the internal life of the Russian people; tribal life was being replaced by provincial life. The ancient tribal units were being dislocated and were disappearing little by little into the new provincial organizations which formed themselves around the princes, and little by little a new division of the Russian people could be seen establishing itself, whereby the old tribal units were replaced by three large groups, differing with respect to language, internal organization and, in certain ways, to political life. Mr. Shakhmatov, in a remarkable essay published in 1899 by the Russian Review of Public Education, has not yet spoken science's final word. We must restrict ourselves to this simple statement. Already at the time of the Tatar domination, the old tribal units had grouped themselves, either as a result of their internal development, or as a result of external causes, into three groups:

H.R. 101 S.P. 175

In the south (between the San, the Pripet, and the Dnepr) the Ukrainian group which obviously was made up of the former Poliani, Drevliani, Volhynians, Dudlebi, Tiversti, Ulichi, a portion of the Severiani, and the remains of the Croats and the Serbs from the Carpathians;

In the north the Great Russians, made up principally of the Slavs from Novgorod, the Viatichi, the Krivichi, and a portion of the Severiani;

/16/ In the west the Belorussians or White Russians (including principally the former Dregovichi, the Radimichi, a portion of the Drevliani and Krivichi, and the remains of the Lithuanians).

At this period appeared the expressions Great Russia, Little Russia (Ukrainia) and White Russia (it is not known what this last epithet signifies).

The Little Russian (Ukrainian) group is the one which has remained the purest from the language viewpoint; the White Russian group is less pure, as it has been affected by the political union with Lithuania from the end of the thirteenth century and, later on, from the sixteenth century, by a strong Polish influence. The basic elements of the Great Russian group were extremely varied; but the one which was most influential of all was the city which was to become the center of the Russian world, namely Moscow.

S.P. H.R. [147]

Despite this division, the three groups remained three branches of the same nation. The languages were closely related; close ties bound them together from a political viewpoint (at the beginning the common struggle against the Tatars, later the union under the Muscovite

4 [Migrations and colonizations: cf. cat. 116, pp. 11-14 - omitted]

S.P. T.R. 191 162

section of the guberniya. Estimates are not in agreement. Chubinskii in 1872 figured that in all of Bessarabia there were 100,000 Ukrainians. Nestorovskii in 1905 guessed at 250,000. The latest statistics have figured that the Russians comprised 27.8 % of the total population, or 540,000 (of whom 380,000 were Ukrainians).

Beyond the Dnestr, to the east, it is not easy to trace the boundary exactly. Retailed maps are lacking. The ethnographical maps which I have used extend the Russian domain as far as the Black Sea. But to the south of the line of Yampol, Balta, Olviopol (now Pervomaisk), Elizavetgrad (now Kirovograd), Slavyanoserbsk, and Novocherkassk, this domain is pervaded by so many islands of foreigners (Germans, Bulgars, Rumanians, Tatars, Greeks, Jews, Armenians) that the Russians in the south cannot be considered as forming a compact population. It would be impossible to delimit their territory exactly until after the most minute ethnographic examination. To date we do not have a sufficiently detailed study. According to /24/ Derzhavin the latest statistics have enumerated in the guberniya of Kherson 57 linguistic groups, in Bessarabia, 41, and in the guberniya of Tavrida, 39. The dominant element, nevertheless, is Ukrainian.

S.P. T.R. [197]

We reach the same conclusions for the provinces beyond the Dnepr, the Don, and the Volga. There are also many non-Russian elements and exact data and good ethnographic maps are lacking. On Russian maps--which are usually on a small scale--the Russian domain comprises the area between the Dnepr and the Don and stops at the Kuban (the Crimea being Tatar). In general the border begins on the shores of the Black Sea, at the town of Gagri below the Caucasus, crosses the mountains, curves around Pyatigorsk and Stavropol, draws near the left bank of the Don (there are 33.7 % Russians in the province of Terek), then skirts the Steppes of the Kirghiz and of the Kalmyk, and comes to the lower Volga, to the shores of the Caspian Sea and of the Terek. All along the Volga, from its mouth upwards, are situated numerous Russian towns and villages, cut off from each other by German, Finnish, and Tatar areas.

The Russian domain of the Volga cannot be delimited by a line; it is full of islands of allogenes which often interect one another These allogenic groups occupy a territory which extends approximately from the spot where the Volga bends towards the south from Saratov through Serdobsk, Morshansk and Murom to Nizhnii Novgorod (now Gor'kiy). To the north of the Volga the Russian population is compact;

S.P. T.R. 212 If one eliminates from the population the children below the age of nine, the number of literates rises to 41% for Poland and 30% for Russia. In 1897, in the area where Russian is spoken, 29.6% literate men and 9.34% women were estimated, which gives an average of 19.78%. In Austria, the Russians are also very poorly educated. The Austrian statistics of six years ago figured that there were only 21.8% literate persons among the Russians and Ruthenians. They, therefore, occupy the lowest rank among the Austrian Slavs, just as the Russians do among the civilized peoples of their Empire.

S.P. T.R. 619 S. 6. Differentiaton Within the Nation.--

The Russians, like the other great nations, have never formed a completely homogeneous people. From the first centuries of their history, a series of distinct and more or less divergent units appear, and, even after their grouping into a single political nation under the name of Russia, the former shadings of difference did not disappear. In part they cancelled each other out, they assumed new forms, a new development, /39/ and in some instances they became even more pronounced. This sharpening of differences became so pronounced during the last century that many people were unwilling to recognize a single Russian nation, but insisted that there were two nations: the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, and alongside them, a third national unit, less distinct it is true and less developed, the Belorussians.

000 I have explained above (S. 3)[1] how this tri-partition of the Russian realm took place. Putting aside for the moment the question of linguistics, I shall content myself with pointing out only what are today the internal and external affinities of these groups, wherein today lie the tendencies which, for political or scientific reasons, claim to make of them, instead of a single Russian nation, two peoples, the Great Russian and the Little Russian, otherwise called Ukrainian.

S.P. T.R. 197 The relationships of the three Russian groups have been studied particularly from a linguistic viewpoint. But it would be an error to believe that it is only a question of shades of dialect. There are verified differences in the domestic life of the people, in character and physical appearance, in historic traditions. However, language affords us with the element most susceptible of analysis, and it is from a linguistic point of view that the three groups may thus be distinguished:

[1] According to Sobolevskii and Karskii, the territory of Great

[Cf. cat. 116, pp. 11-17 -- Analyst]

S.P.
T.R.
197

Russia is separated from the Byelorussian area by a belt of intermediate dialects which /40/ runs across Opotchka and Velikye Luki in the gubernia of Pskov, passes through the gubernias of Tver, Smolensk, and Chernigov; the southern portion of the gubernia of Tver, practically all of the gubernia of Smolensk, and the northern portion of the gubernia of Chernigov, bounded by the line of Rzhev, Briansk, Novgorod Seversk, and Chernigov, are purely or primarily Belorussian.

At Novgorod Seversk is located the junction, the point of contact where the Great Russian and Belorussian dialects meet the Ukrainian.

The Ukrainians and the Belorussians are separated by a line which runs from the Narev through Proujany, Luninets, to the Pripet River, and then follows this stream, except in the Mozyr area inhabited by the Belorussians, to the junction point which we just mentioned.

It is rather difficult to determine with precision the boundary between the Ukraine and Great Russia. It runs, roughly speaking, from Krolovets, crossing the southwestern portions of the gubernias of Chernigov and Kursk in the direction of the city of Soudja; passing through Oboian and Stary-Oskol, it goes towards Korotoyak on the Don, runs along the Don, and then turns towards the Donets. The northern portion of the territory of the Don is inhabited by Great Russians, the southern portion is mixed. In the eastern part of the gubernia of Khar'kov there is a Great Russian island.

The Caucasus region is extremely variegated; the /41/ Great Russians occupy the territory of the Cossacks of the Terek and the basin of the Volga; they also colonized the greater part of Siberia where other nationalities may also be found. Besides, Great Russian colonies are scattered throughout the Ukraine; in turn, colonies of Ukrainians are to be found in the gubernias of Saratov, Samara, Astrakhan, Vologda and beyond the Ural.

The Great Russians are advancing particularly in the direction of Khar'kov. This city belonged to the Ukrainians at the beginning of the nineteenth century; today it numbers 58% Great Russians and 25% Ukrainians.

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S 7.--It is extremely difficult to estimate the strength of the three groups, considering the manner in which the censuses have previously been made in the Russian Empire. According to the census of 1897, 55,667,469 inhabitants stated that they spoke Great Russian (but in what geographic areas?), 5,885,547 Belorussian, and 22,380,551

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Ukrainian. If we take into account the annual increase of 1.5% during the four following years, we will then obtain the following figures for the close of the year 1900:

Great Russians	(approx.)	59,000,000
Belorussians	(approx.)	6,200,000
Ukrainians	(approx.)	23,700,000

To the latter, one must add almost all the Russians /42/ of Austria-Hungary, that is 3,805,023 (leaving out the 40,000 Jews who state that they are Ukrainians), and 500,000 who live in foreign countries. We will then have for the close of the year 1900 a total of 28 million. But the Ukrainian statisticians declare that this figure is too low and estimate that it should be much larger. Thus, very recently, for the year 1905, Mr. Nechuj-Levitskyj figures--for the entire world--37,206,000 Ukrainians, 31,174,000 of whom are in European Russia. We cannot accept these figures, but will admit of a total of 30 million.

Gnatiuk, at the end of the last century, estimated 30 million; Hrushevskyj, in 1906, 34 million; Karsky, for 1903, conceded about 8 and a half million Belorussians.

S 8.--The dialectal and ethnographic differentiation is not confined to these three principal groups. Within each of them there are to be found smaller groups which bear historic names or popular nicknames.

S.P.
T.R.
101
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These differences appear especially among the Ukrainians, where not only do the philologists find new dialects, but where history and the people themselves mark out a whole series of names, where certain peoples (as for example the Gorals of the Carpathians) have so unusual a physiognomy that one asks oneself if they do not have a peculiar origin, perhaps non-Slavic.

Chubinskii, in his extremely valuable collection /43/ of ethnography, recognizes three types among the Ukrainians of southern Russia: the Polesian, the Ukrainian, the Podolo-Galician.

The first, that of the Poliechouks (Polexiani of the ancient chronicles), inhabitants of the Polesie (1), in the southern portion of the

1. Polesie, the region which skirts the forest. Tr:

districts of Kiyev, of Radomysl, in the Volhynia from the northeast to the river Goryn', in a portion of the gubernyas of Siedlec and of Grodno which make up the Podlasie.

S.P. T.R. 101 197 The inhabitants of the district of Pinsk call themselves the Pintchouks. They live to the north of the Goryn' River, on both banks of the Styr', beyond the Turya and the Pripet, and to the north of the Pina connect up with the Podliachiens of the gubemiya of Grodno.

S.P. T.R. C. 101 We find another Ukrainian type west of the Dnepr, in the guberniya of Kiyev, the central region of the Volhynia and the southwest of the Podolia. It is that of the Cossacks or Zaporozhians.

S.P. T.R. 197 They have presented and still present today an ethnographic oddity. There has been much discussion as to the origin of those fighting and trading associations which in the constant warfare against the Tatars and the Turks developed an ethnic individuality, especially from the point of view of their domestic life and social organization.

/44/ The ancient theories which represent them as being of foreign origin are certainly incorrect; it is certain that the Cossacks are of Russian origin. In accordance with the region in which their associations were founded and set up, they are distinguished today as Cossacks of the Kuban, of the Don, of the Terek, of the Ural, etc. Their types are different. Thus the Cossacks of the upper Don who speak Great Russian are blond, the Cossacks of the lower Don who speak Ukrainian [C [16]] are, in great majority, very dark. The census of 1905 reported, for European and Asiatic Russia, 3,700,000 Cossacks who live in the Cossack provinces of the Don, of Orenburg (Chkalov), of the Kuban, of the Terek, of Astrakhan, of the Amur, of Transbaikalia, of the Seacoast, of Akmolinsk, of Semipalatinsk, of the Ural. Aside from the Russian Cossacks, there are also allogenic Cossacks, for example the Buriat Cossacks of Transbaikalia, the Kalmuk Cossacks of the Don, the Turkish Cossacks of the territories of Orenburg (Chkalov and of the Ural, the Mordvinian Cossacks of the territories of Akmolinsk and of Orenburg (Chkalov).

S.P. T.R. 101 197 In addition to the names of Cossacks and of Zaporozhians, one could come across not so long age the names of Stepoviks for the inhabitants of the southern steppes, of Poberezhtsi (river-dwellers) for the inhabitants of the southern part of the present Podolia, and of Volyntsi for those of the western portion of the district of Berdichev (guberniya of Kiyev) and of certain sections of Podolia.

/45/ To a third type belong the inhabitants of western Volhynia and of Galicia: on the frontiers of Galicia and of Poland they are called Rusini or Rusniaks. In the region of the Carpathians they also have a multitude of local names: Bukovinians, Krainians, Hrivniaks, Opolanes,

S.P. T.R. 101 197 Galicians, L'vovians and others, derived from the names of the locality which they inhabit. The principal element are the Gorals (mountaineers, from the word gora, mountain) of the Carpathians, who are also called Verkhovintsi (from verkh, summit). Four principal tribes are distinguished among these Russians: in the west, the Lemki, on the two slopes of the Beskid mountains, especially in the districts of Sandets, Jaslo and Sanok; the Boiki, neighbors of the former, to the west of the San; the Tukholtsi, farther to the south, from the district of Sambor to the district of Stanislavov; and still further in the mountains, in the district of Kolomyja, of Stanislavov, in Bukovina, and in the Hungarian county of Marmaros, the Hutsuli (Huculi) are met with, who call themselves Christians, Rusniaks, or Russian people.

S.P. T.R. R. 101 197 Among the Russian population of the Bukovina, three types may be distinguished: the Podolians or Polianes, the Hutsuli and the Lipovani. The latter are religious heretics who left Russia in the eighteenth century.

S.P. T.R. R. [144] The Hutsuli are a very peculiar and interesting tribe, an enigma of Slavic ethnology. /46/ They have given rise to all sorts of hypotheses. Ivan Vagilevitch links them with the Turkish Ouzes, Koshkov to the Thracians or to the Scythians; more recently Volkov looked for their origins in the Caucasus. Some accept a strong intrusion of foreign elements into the primitive Slavic element, while others consider them to be Slavs of pure blood. They are remarkable for their fine stature, for the antiquity and the richness of their customs, for their artistic sense, for their picturesque costume, but also for their lack of intellectual culture which places them in the lowest rank among the Slavs. It is estimated that 93% of them are still illiterate. The name Hutsuli is probably of Rumanian origin (goc, plus the Rumanian article ul). The names Boiki and Lemki are surnames given by their neighbors because of their use of the words lem and boi. Vagilevitch has seen in the Lemki--without good reason, however,--the remains of vanished Celts. In 1890 Shukhevych estimated their number at 60,000. (1)

S.P. T.R. R. [212]

S.P. T.R. R. [161]

1. A. Sobolevsky found the names Hutsuli and Boiki again in the Gulatsi and the Butsi of the guberniya of Kiyev (district of Tcherkassk). And he used this connection to support his theory on the arrival of Carpathian Russians at Kiyev after the Tatar invasion.

S.P. T.R. 101 ●'97 Among the Belorussians dialectical shadings and local names of tribes can also be found; for example, the Polianes in the district of Slonim, the Siekals or Sakals in that of /47/ Wolkowysk. Among the Great Russians, despite the immense size of the space occupied by them, intercourse has always remained easy because of the evenness of the ground; no considerable differences in speech nor types, as pronounced as among the Ukrainians, have established themselves. However, there are to be found among them also local names due most frequently to differences in dialect. Thus, in the guberniya of Voronezh one finds the Iaguny, the Kaguny*, the Tsukany*, the Shchekuni*, the Talagai*; in the government of Kursk, the Saiany. In the government of Kaluga, the inhabitants of the western section of the district of Mosal'sk and of the districts of Bryansk and of Trubchevsk (guberniya of Orel) call themselves Polieshi*, and the inhabitants of the eastern section of the district of Mosal'sk, the Polianes. The inhabitants of the north bank of the Desna are called the Zadesentsy (Transdesniens) by the Ukrainians. Likewise, many names are used which are derived from those of cities, Muscovites, Novgorodians, etc.).

S.P. T.R. 141 S 9.--This differentiation of types is partly confirmed by the anthropological method. The Ukrainians of the south, indeed, set themselves off from the Belorussians and the Great Russians, not only by their manner of wearing their hair and their beard, but even by their bodily structure. Thus, we find in the south more brachycephalics, with darker coloring and taller stature than among /48/ the Great Russians and the Belorussians. But, on the other hand, these groups themselves are of far from perfect uniformity. Quite the contrary. What is known up to the present in the matter of the physical study of the Russian types shows rather outstanding variations among local groups, variations which are greater than, for example, the average difference between the Great Russian, the Ukrainian, and the Belorussian groups.

In general, if we refer to the anthropological signs gathered by A. Ivanovsky, here is what we can ascertain:

Among the Russians, the average height is about 1.65 meters. Among the Great Russians, 51% are found to be shorter, and 49% taller than this; among the Belorussians, 36% shorter, 64% taller; among the Ukrainians, 47% shorter, 53% taller.

S.P. T.R. 142 In the matter of the color of the eyes and the hair, the Slavs of Russia belong for the most part to a mixed type. It is only among the Belorussians that the pure blond type dominates (48%, against 31%

S.P. T.R. 578 186 centuries. However, formerly the conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, did not exist in its present day sense. On the contrary, the two parts had a sense of kinship, or even of unity, as may be seen in an examination of the motives for which Bohdan Khmelnitskyj gave himself to Moscow and to Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (in 1653), after detaching the Ukraine from Poland.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 The conflict[1] between the two Russian nations did not in fact break out until the Nineteenth Century.

Its basic causes were:

1. The efforts of the Ukrainians to create or to revive a language and a literature of their own.

2. A whole series of scientific discussions upon the question as to what were the connections between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, especially from a linguistic and an anthropological viewpoint.

Finally and above all:

3. The actual political and social status of the Ukrainians in the Empire and the general development in these latter years of social and democratic ideas.

/53/ Thus today the conflict is moving more and more from the literary and scientific field into the political field.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 538 The conflict began in 1798, when J.P. Kotljarevs'kji published in Ukrainian his Aeneid. From that date on there has been a great effort to create an indigenous literature. But these tendencies were quickly opposed by the government, which feared that this literary separatism might be prejudicial to national unity. And upon various occasions, especially in 1847, 1863, and 1876, it was forbidden to print or publish, save for a few rare exceptions, books in Ukrainian. But the result of these prohibitions was completely opposite from that which was intended. The tendencies toward literary emancipation asserted themselves so much the more strongly as they were more rigorously suppressed, and they found favorable soil in eastern Galicia, which belongs, as we know, to Austria.

S.P. T.R. 197 814 829 On the other hand, the conflict[1], strengthened by the scientific discussions concerning the ties between the two nations, became aggravated. There were arguments about the antiquity of the Ukrainian idiom, especially in the Kiyev region, about the question of

[1] [Between Great Russians and Ukrainians, cf. ch. 116, pp. 35-37. Ax. -]

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determining who had produced the earliest Russian annals and the first Russian literature in the State of Kiyev. These polemics took place especially between 1850 and 1860; they were marked by the works of Sreznevskii, of Lavrovskii, and particularly of Pogodin, who pretended to demonstrate that up to the fourteenth century /54/ Kiyev had been occupied by the Great Russians, the initiators of the history and the literature of the region, and that the Ukrainians had not come from the Carpathians until after the Tatar conquest. This theory found opponents among the historians of the Ukraine; it was revived later with much greater energy (in 1883) from a linguistic point of view by Sobolevskii, and refuted with no less vigor by the historians Dashkevich, Antonovitch, Grouchevsky, A. Iablononskii, and the philologists V. Jagić, A. Shakhmatov, A. Krymskyj, A. Kolessa, A. Loboda, etc.

Naturally, no one limited himself to the question of discovering when the Ukrainians first settled in Kiyev. They also studied the degrees of kinship of the two idioms. Was there only a single Russian language with two dialects, or must two different languages be recognized? These debates, in which the principal Russian and Slavic philologists participated, oddly favored the theory which tended to separate the two groups and to widen the chasm which was being dug between them.

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But these theoretical polemics were not confined to the linguistics with which they dealt more and more frequently, and with a constant recourse to scholarly apparatus. Maksimovich had already declared that not only two languages, but two national types must be recognized in Russia; but he did not clearly formulate his doctrine. It was Kostomarov who ventured to do this and /55/ who produced a veritable revolution. He was followed by an entire series of anthropologists.

Maksimovich had not succeeded in formulating a precise distinction: Kostomarov succeeded in this in the article entitled: "The two Russian nationalities" published by the review Osnova (the Basis) in 1861. In this he pointed out the differences of history, of language, of customs, of character, of physical appearance, and he laid down this theory: that there are not only two Russian languages, but also two nationalities which differ completely the one from the other, and which history alone has united into a single unit.

This theory of Kostomarov had great success; it was developed

000 Of course this unity must be the product of reciprocal agreement, of a mutual understanding, and not of constraint or of force. The form of this agreement will be discovered by the leaders of the two parties when the memory of oppressions and persecutions is erased. And then,--as we like to hope--a ground for agreement will be found for a union both internal and /59/ towards the foreigner, while the two individualities will be preserved, as Kostomarov already hoped for. Then perhaps the apt words of Gogol will be realized. He wrote in 1844 to Mrs. Smirnov: "May the different strengths of the two races develop in such a manner that, when unified, they may produce something exquisite for humanity.".

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/61/

II
THE POLES

S.P. P. 101 § 11. Historical Introduction--The Poles constitute today the most important portion of the western group. They are the only people of whom it may be said that they have been established from time immemorial in the same region (between the Oder, the Carpathians, and the sea) and that they are the least remote from their cradle. They S.P. have always occupied a central position from a geographic point of [197] view, among the other Slav peoples, and the philologists assert that their language holds an analogous place among the Slavic idioms.

We know hardly anything about the ethnography of present-day Poland in antiquity. Even Ptolemy scarcely sheds any light upon the Poles. Many people would like to see the Poles in his Boulanes (Boulanes, but the preferable reading is Poulanes). Beginning with the ninth century of the Christian era, we have a little more light; but for want of documents we are unable to determine the boundaries of the Polish domain; on the other hand, we are not sufficiently informed /62/ of the character of certain tribes living upon the shores of the Baltic or to the southwest. At this period the Polish nation was probably not united; but it already stood out from the other Slavs and was designated by the name of Liakhs (or Lekhs). This is the name which they bear in the Kiyev Chronicle (1). Today,--if we lay aside the literary use of the

1. See my Chronique de Nestor, p. 328. Translator.

word Lekh,--it is used in practice only for the people who are settled in the plain of western Galicia, between the Biala, Vistula, and San

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that up to the present all of these efforts have failed. At least, the results obtained are not in any manner in proportion to the pecuniary sacrifices. The law of expropriation voted in 1908 succeeded no better, and there is room to believe that all the efforts of the German "hakatists" (1) will break against the energetic resistance of the Polish people.

1. This name of Hakatists is given to a Prussian association founded in 1891 to colonize the routes to the east. This association was founded by Hansemann, Kennemann, and Tiedeman. It is from the initials of these three persons, H, K, T, that the word "hakatists" has been formed. (Translator).

Nevertheless, the situation of the Poles of Poznan and of Silesia remains a difficult one and there is no reason to hope that it will improve. The Prussian minister Von Arnim clearly stated in 1907 that they cannot be Germanized and that this is not being thought of. However, it is the goal towards which Prussia is steadily striving. And naturally the struggle /70/ of three and a half million souls against sixty million Germans can only be looked upon with anxiety.

And in fact Germanization is making serious progress among the Mazuri, in Silesia and Poznan, even though in certain places the Poles succeed in gaining the upper hand.

It is in Austria that the condition of the Poles is the most bearable. For the past forty years the former system of Germanization has been abandoned and the Polish nationality has developed in complete liberty; it even exercises a certain influence upon the destinies of the Empire and of the other nationalities.

000 S 12. The Domain of the Polish National Group.

We do not encounter as many difficulties in outlining this domain as we did in the case of the Russian domain. However, we do run into certain difficulties.

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Here again our principal criterion is the language.[1] It is upon the basis of the language that certain ethnographic maps have been drawn up in Prussia and in Austria. But the work has not always been done correctly. The latest census carried out in Prussia, has been based upon the mother tongue; but it is known that a great number of persons on the side of both the Poles and Germans have declared that they spoke

1 [i.e. to determine the domain of the Polish national group.. Analyst]

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the two languages. In such a case how can the majority be determined? And how can the nationality be determined in /71/ the localities in which these belinguals must decide which group is in the majority? In Austria, in place of the mother-tongue, the habitual language (Umgangsprache) has been taken as the criterion. I do not believe, however, that this process has caused any serious injustice to the Poles.

In Russia the results of the linguistic census have not been used to draw up the ethnographic map, and we are reduced to individual guesses. The first ethnographic map of Poland was drawn up by Safarik for his general map published in 1842. Since that time a certain number of attempts have been made; but the Poles do not yet have a good, complete ethnographic map. Only a few frontier areas which have been the object of a detailed investigation are known in detail.

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The Polish domain constitutes in its entirety an irregular square included between Jablunkov, (1) in the Carpathians, Ujscie on the

1. In Silesia.

Notec, Suwalki and Sanok. In the north it is penetrated by a Kashub enclave along the left bank of the Vistula, between Danzig and the lake of Leba.

The frontier line begins in the southeast at the sources of the Moravka, a tributary which flows into the Ostravica at its right bank, and reaches the Oder near Bohumin. This line is disputed by the Poles and the Czechs in the area of Teschen, which the Czechs call /72/ Tiesin and the Poles Cieszyn. The localities of this region are in dispute between the two nationalities (1) and the question of the

1. We here suppress the names of localities which have no interest at all for the French reader. (Translator).

schools gives rise particularly to conflicts of a purely local character. According to the latest statistics, the Czechs are diminishing in this region, while the Germans and the Poles are increasing. The mingling of Czech and of Polish produces a sort of mixed dialect; it is only to the west of Ostravica that pure Czech is spoken.

In the German Empire the Poles are settled partly in Silesia, but especially in Poznan (in the districts of Poznan-Posen, and of Bydgoszcz, in German Bromberg), in East Prussia (in the districts of Danzig-Gdansk and of Kwidzyn-Marienwerder) and in Prussian

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177 there; about 1700 they were in great measure Germanized; the last Slav group was that of the Dravani (Drawaina) in the district of Luchow which even today is called Wendland, country of the Wends.

172A The Slavic language disappeared between 1750 and 1766. It was in 1751 that mass was celebrated in Slavic for the last time.[1]

161 In the years 1890-1900 the newspapers reported, according to A. Parczewski, that the census /94/ of 1890 had found 570 Slavs-Wends still in this region. But it was an error. The official census had indeed found in the Luchow area 570 Wends, but they spoke only German.

197 The Slavic tongue in this region has been dead for more than a century, as Mr. Muka reported without hesitation.[1] He was sent out as an investigator by the Academy of Sciences of Cracow.

000 However, the Slavic character is still found in great measure in the type and in the manner of life of the inhabitants of the Wendland.

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175 Originally the Sorbs of this region[2] occupied in a compact mass all of the country situated between the Saale, the Verra*, the Fulda, the upper Havel, and the Spree. They extended as far as Frankfort on the Oder, on the Lower Bobra, the Hvizda (Queis). The group included the so-called Sorbs between the Saale and the Elbe (1) then the Lusatians

1. These Sorbs are designated in Latin texts of the Middle Ages by the name Sorabes. (Translator)

on the middle Saale, and the Milczani on the upper Elster, the upper Spree and the Neisse. From the eleventh century on, the Germans began to penetrate into these regions; but they only came there in large numbers beginning with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At this period the Sorb national group began to diminish to the west of the Elbe; it finally succumbed as a result of the Thirty Years War. The situation was better in /95/ Upper and Lower Lusatia, united under the Bohemian crown. Unfortunately, in 1635 the Treaty of Prague ceded
175 the territory to the House of Saxony. The Sorbian national group
668 commenced to decline, especially in Lower Lusatia. Its decadence was not arrested until the nineteenth century by the literary renaissance which restored some energy to this small people.

Thanks to the efforts of a few patriots, the national conscience

2 [Wendland -- Analyst] 1 [Among the Polabian Slavs - Analyst]

161 German, one arrives at the figure of 116,810 individuals, and, if this figure is corrected according to the estimates of Parczewski, of Swjela*, and of Muka, about 156,000 persons are obtained, a lamentable total for a people surrounded and penetrated from all sides by the German flood. What favors Germanization is the extent to which the Sorbs [177] are economically dependent upon the Germans: the military service, preaching in German, the absence of an intellectual class, their complete isolation. The Sorbs who resist most energetically are those of Upper Lusatia, whose intellectual center is at Bautzen (Budysin). In Saxony, of 297 communes called Wends (1), according to the census

1. The Sorbs of Lusatia are called Wends in German.

of 1900, there are in all 225 with a Slav majority, and only 7 entirely Slav.

167 We have no other data on the Lusatians or on their emigration. It appears that there are colonies in America (especially in Texas--Serbin (a town), which recalls the name of the nation, Giddingswenden (probably the town of Giddings), West (perhaps the town of West Point) Yewa (not located), Warda (a town), Burleson (a county) whose inhabitants left Europe towards the middle of the last century, and who still preserve the national tradition. There are also some in Australia (at Angerspark, at Adelaide near Melbourne). They are of more recent origin.

~~195~~ The great majority of the Sorbs are Lutherans; there are 15,000
162 Catholics, who live for the most part in the neighborhood of Budysin (Bautzen).

● 197 /98/ S 19. Differentiation.--Even though they are only a small
182 nation, the Sorbs are not unified from the linguistic point of view. The difference between the idioms of Upper and Lower Lusatia is so great that the common people have great difficulty in understanding one another and many linguists have recognized two distinct languages. There are in fact two literary languages founded upon the two dialects which are farthest apart (that of Kottbus and that of Bautzen) and two literatures. This duality creates a grave danger, the much more so as the two fractions are divided from a political viewpoint. Kottbus belongs to Prussia and Bautzen to Saxony. Aside from the language, the
101 two Lusatian groups differ from many viewpoints in matters of domestic
182 life and costume. According to Muka, the boundary between the two

S.P. 101 182 areas formerly ran from Zagan (Sagan) on the Bobrawa through Muzakov, Grodk, Kolany, Kupsk (Muckenberg), Wikow (Elsterwerda) towards Bielagora (Belgern) on the Elbe, and it has remained in conformity with this line in matters relating to the Sorb population.

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V

/99/ THE CZECHS AND THE SLOVAKS

S.P. C. 101 S 20.--Historical Introduction.---The Czechs also belong to the western branch, as well as the Slovaks, who, from more than one viewpoint, may be considered as forming only a single nation with them, even though fate has already separated them to a considerable degree and, judging by all appearances, should further enlarge this separation.

These two branches developed from a common center, which alongside the Polish and the Polabre center, was located somewhere to the north of the Sudeten Mountains and perhaps reached as far as Moravia; it is from this region that the ancestors of the Czechs and the Slovaks came into the regions where history verifies their presence.

S.P. C 174 [172] 101 They* came there from the north, perhaps all together in a single move, perhaps at various periods. The texts contain nothing about this; archaeology, while admitting the Slavic and particularly the Czech character of the cinerary tombs of the Lusatian type, can only conjecture that Bohemia and Moravia were occupied before the middle of the first century B.C. /100/ The cradle of the Czechs and the Slovaks is to be found further to the north, but, taking into account archaeological data, one may to a certain degree regard them as being indigenous to Bohemia and to Moravia. The same may be said for the branch settled in Hungary. Dr. Czambel chose to state in recent times that the Slovaks did not come with the Czechs, that they came by themselves and from another region, from the southeast,--all this in order to demonstrate that the Slovaks do not belong to the western group, but to the southern group. But this theory lacks foundation from the viewpoint of history and of philology. The linguistic kinship shows without argument that the Czechs and the Slovaks belong to the same group as the Sorbs of Lusatia, the

S.P. C. 174 197 101

* [The Czechs and Slovaks — Analyse]

S.P. 172 [177] 101

Poles, the Polabes, and that they carried out their migration at the same time as these.

The Czecho-Slovaks, after having crossed the Sudeten and the Carpathians, settled at first in the north of Bohemia, of Moravia, and of Slovakian Hungary; to the south there were settled Gallic, Illyro-Thracian tribes, later on also the Germanic peoples of the Marcomani and the Quadi. After the departure of these allogenes, the Slavs spread not only over the territory on which they are established today, but even much farther to the south. This applies to the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia and also to the Slovaks of Hungary; the latter still have numerous islands /101/ in the counties of Esztergom, of Budapest, to the south in those of Bars* and of Nograd, and positive indications prove that formerly they extended much farther toward the south in the areas in which they encountered colonies of Slovenes and Bulgars.

To the east, it is difficult to determine the ancient frontiers. Their delimitation by the Vah, the Hron, and the Tepla rests only upon hypotheses. However, we do know that the frontier in those days did not extend as far as today, --that is, almost as far as the Tisza. For the greater part of the western Slovaks are made up of Russians assimilated during the historic period. To the north the Polish Gorals (Mountaineers) had penetrated across the mountains in the regions of Trencin, of Orava and of Spis. In the north the frontier followed the Sudeten Mountains (the regions of Sluknov and Friedland were Sorbian (1)

1. Of course this refers to the Sorbs of Lusatia; see the preceding chapter 1 (Translator).

and composed the district of Zagozd*). In Silesia, the region of Opava was Czech. In the west, the Czechs, in the twelfth century, when their written history began were beginning to penetrate across the Bohemian Mountains (Boemerwald, in Czech, Sumava) as far as Bavaria and in the south even beyond the Danube. How far did they go into Pannonia? Did they indeed settle there, they or the ancestors of the Slovaks? This cannot be ascertained with certainty. /102/ In all likelihood, they went at least as far as Lake Balaton, as is vouched for by the history of the princes Pribina, Kocel, and Svatopluk. (1)

1. About these persons, consult my work on Cyrille et Methode (Paris, librairie Franck, 1868).

Like the other Slavic peoples, the Czechs at first did not form a single nation. We know little of the internal situation in Hungary

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 58-63 -- Analyst]

S.P. C. 178

have almost entirely disappeared. Since the second half of the nineteenth century, modern civilization, the school, the obligatory military service, and similar factors have unified them more and more. It is only in Moravia that there still is some slight variety, but it will disappear even there.

S.P. C. 177 101 184

Three principal dialects are recognized in Bohemia: those of the southwest, of the center, and of the northeast. But they do not afford accentuated characteristics which render them immediately recognizable. In contrast, here and there ethnographic islands are met with, which, from the point of view of language and of costume afford special interest and are distinguished by particular names. Thus, not so long ago in the west the area of Plzen and in the east that of Litomysl with the dialect of Orlice had a special physiognomy.

Likewise in the southeast the Blataki (from Blato, swamp, lake, in the area located between Sobieslav* and Trebon*) can be distinguished, and in the region southwest of the Sumava, the Chodes*, the most typical of all of the Czech tribes (1), which were /127/

1. A few notes on the Chodes will be found in my volume, Le Monde slave (2d edition, Paris, 1897, p. 200). Translator.

formerly settled between Domazlice and Tachov, and which are now concentrated around Domazlice, the Tachov area having been partly Germanized. It is in the area of Mount Rip that the true type of Czech peasant is to be found.

The odd character of the Chodes has given rise to the most diverse theories regarding their origin. Formerly Paul Stransky*, and later Ruffer, Erben, Grabowski, suggested that they were Poles settled as colonists by Bretislav I. But their dialect offers not the slightest trace of Polish influence. The uniqueness of the Chodes is explained sufficiently by the mountainous and isolated region which they occupy, by their traditions and the privileges which they have enjoyed since the fourteenth century as guardians of the frontiers.

The origiality of the primitive tribes is better preserved in Moravia. There we may very easily distinguish three different types, not only by dialect, but by physical and ethnographic details, particularly by the costume; even more, the people themselves are conscious of these differences and glad to affirm them. Up until now the things which have been most clearly recognized are the

SP. C 197 101 184 dialect and the costume. The other signs of differentiation have not been studied from a scientific viewpoint. We have noted in the first place, that in the mountain regions of Bohemia and of Moravia there exists a purely Czech element which in the south borders upon German territory.

/128/ In the northeast of Moravia and of Silesia the Lasi are met with (their country is called Lassko); they occupy the region of the Opava and the Czech section of the Tesin (Teschen) area, and in Moravia the area in which are situated the towns of Pribor, Brusperk*, Moravska, Ostrava, Frydlant, etc. The name of Lasi, furthermore, is not commonly used among the people. One finds alongside it those of Valasi* and other local names, Horale*, Kozloviane*, Dulani*, etc. The dialect of these Lasi bears strong traces of Polish influence.

The Valasi, properly speaking, are settled to the south of the Lasi in the region of Vsetin. From a linguistic viewpoint their idiom is very close to that of the Slovaks. But the people distinguish themselves very definitely from the latter, and their dress is completely different.

They are a group of purely Slovak origin who have been given the name of the Rumanian Walachians, who from the eleventh to the twelfth centuries moved into the Little Carpathians and were assimilated by the natives.

The most unusual tribe is that of the Moravian Slovaks, formerly identical with the Slovaks of Hungary, but who are today entirely different from them in life and in customs. In Moravia there remains only a small group of 18 villages which preserves the Hungarian character.

C [292] Among the Slovaks of Moravia, the national costume still persists in all its brilliance; it /129/ is so varied that an ethnographer has been able to distinguish 28 absolutely different types.

SP C 101 184 Pure-blooded Slovaks occupy the southeast corner of Moravia. To their groups are attached three former Croatian villages, which they have assimilated.

All the rest of Moravia belongs to the Hanaks*. Just as the Slovaks are lively and cheerful, the Hanaks are calm and apathetic. Their center is located on the river Hana, a tributary of the Morava which gives them their name.

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Their principal towns are: Prerov, Olomouc (Ollmutz) and Prostejov. They are divided into the Red Hanaks and the Yellow Hanaks, according to the color of their breeches. Various tribes are recognized among them: those of the Baniaks*, of the Blataks*, of the Zabeczaks*, of the Moravicks*, names which refer to certain details of topography.

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The Slovak territory can be divided up only on a theoretical basis. From the dialectological viewpoint, it divides itself into three areas: that of the west on the Nitra and the Vah, that of the center (upon the Hron and upper Vah), that of the east which reaches from Gemer* and Liptov as far as the national frontier. The inhabitants of this area are considered by many ethnographers as Slovakized Russians, and it is a fact that in the counties of Spis, of Sarys*, of Zemplin and of Ujgorod (Ungvar) the Russians are becoming more and /130/ more Slovakized. One of the most remarkable of these groups is that of the Sotaks* in the county of Zemplin.

They are so called because they say so instead of tso /co, what/ and have nothing to do with the Satagues* of Jordanes.

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Let us also mention as local names those of the Magurani* in the county of Spis, of the Trpaci* in that of Niredhazy*. Among the Slovak groups, the most unusual is that of the Detva, in the county of Zvolen: a Hungarian ethnographer, O. Hermann, chose to see in the Detvanci colonists from Hercegovina, but he is mistaken.

S.P.C. 101 184 465

The ancient ethnographers, and, following them, many modern books, indicate as forming special tribes those persons who work as peddlers, broom-makers, galziers, etc., who merely represent nomadic types common to all nationalities.

However, representatives of certain industries are natives of certain regions, for example, the dratenici, sellers of articles made from iron wire, are natives of the county of Trencsin, etc. (1)

1. Likewise in France, certain artisans are especially natives of the Creuse, the Auvergne, of Savoy, etc. Translator.

S.P.C. 184

What is of much greater interest from the Czech viewpoint than these local shades of difference, is the distinction which exists between the /131/ Czechs and the Slovaks of Hungary. This distinction arose a long time ago; it has been sanctioned by a long separation; the

S.P. C. 184 Slovaks broke away from the Bohemian crown in 1031; despite the relations which they have maintained since that time with the Czechs, and many attempts to bring them more closely together, the separation persists and, except for an unexpected miracle, it will finally lead to the division of the formerly single nationality into two different nations.

S.P. C. 175 182 [191] During long centuries, the Czechs and the Slovaks of Hungary, even though they spoke different dialects, had neither the same costumes, nor the same customs, and were living under different sovereigns and in different states, were nevertheless not conscious of these differences. Their literary representations proclaimed the unity of their language and rejoiced in it.

Attempts have been made in these latter days to demonstrate that the Slovaks were of a non-Czech origin, that they have merely been Czechized by the influence of religious literature, and that the divergences which have recently occurred were only a return toward an ancient state of affairs.

S.P. C. [191] This thesis, which was that of Czambel, recently deceased, is not sufficiently well-founded. What is certain, on the contrary, is that the Slovaks and the Czechs at the outset formed an ethnic and linguistic unit with some /132/ dialectal differences, a unit which occupied the region located to the south of the Sudeten and Carpathian mountains. But this common domain was divided by the Carpathians into two regions, one of which had its center to the west, the other to the east. These geographic conditions gave birth to two political organisms. The Danube, which was their natural bond, fell into the hands of the Germans. In 1631 the Slovak areas were detached from Bohemia and from Moravia. The religious and literary ties between the two groups in no wise succeeded in reuniting the broken bonds.

The differences between the two peoples grew more and more pronounced. Among the upper classes the idea developed that they belonged to different states, to another fatherland, that they had a different ideal of autonomy. These ideas were expressed for the first time in 1787 and towards the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, at the period when the Slovak literature broke away from the Czech literature.

Beginning with this period the Czechs had to reckon with this

S.P. Sl. 163 181 167 In the matter of the birth rate during these latter years it has been very low in Carniola; between 1890 and 1900, 1.84%; the birth-rate for Austria taken all together is 9.44%. Between 1880 and 1890 the coefficient was 9.44%. For all of the Slovenes taken together the coefficient is only 1.37%.

Therefore, the development of the nation appears to be arrested. This phenomenon is due in part to denationalization, in part to emigration, and in part to inexact census figures.

S.P. Sl. 162 [7%] From the religious viewpoint the Slovenes are almost entirely Catholics (99.9%). In respect to occupations, 75.4% devote themselves to farming, 13.4% to industry, 3.5% to trade, and 7.7% to public services.

S.P. Sl. 197 101 S 28. Differentiation.--From a linguistic viewpoint there are rather numerous differences; but they are not very deep (see what is said further along regarding the dialectology of the southern Slavs). To designate the various groups within the nation, the Slovenes usually give themselves geographic names, borrowed from their political boundaries: Kranjci (Carniolians), Primorci /145/ (people of the seacoast), Korosci (Carinthians), Goricani (Goricians), Styrians, or names of an even more local character, borrowed from the orography and the hydrography. In Styria there are singled out the Pohorianci, the Polianci of the Mura and of the Drava, the Halozanes, in Carniola the Gorenici (people from above), Dolenici (people from below), and the Notranjci who speak different dialects. To the north of the Mura, the Prekmurci (Transmurians) present an interesting type. In the north-west of Istria the Savrini or Bresavi are also pure-blooded Slovenes, as are the Berkini in the north of Istria. On the contrary the Fucki in the outskirts of the town of Buzet (Pinguente) and the Cici are Croats of the kaikavski and cakavski dialects. (1) Likewise, the White

1. Although certain philologists attach the Kaikavci of Croatia to the Slovenes, we relegate them to the next chapter; they consider themselves to be Croats.

Krainici--so called from their costume--who are settled between Kocevje and the Kupa River are also of the kaikavski dialect.

A very interesting group, particularly studied by Professor Beaudoin de Courtenay (2), is the group of Resians established in the

2. A Pole, despite his French name, Mr. Beaudoin de Courtenay today lives in St. Petersburg. Translator.

Friul, in the neighborhood of Udine. They[1] are crossed with /146/ Serbo-Croatian blood and perhaps with another, which explains why their language is divided into four dialects. These Slavs of the Friul are settled in eight purely Slovenian communes of the district of San Pietro, in three communes and several mixed localities of the districts of Taranto, Cividale, Gemona and in the purely Slavic commune of Resia (district of Moggio--German, Reschenscheideeck). Beaudoin de Courtenay estimates that the Slavs of the districts of Gemona and of Tarcento are Serbo-Croats, those of Stara Gora and of Cividale are Slovenes; according to him the inhabitants of the district of San Pietro are Slovenes crossed with Croats and Resians, the product of the mixture of a non-Aryan people with the primitive Slavs.

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VII

THE CROATS AND THE SERBS

S 29. Historical Introduction.--The Croats and the Serbs belong like the Slovenes and the Bulgars to the south Slav or Yugo-Slav family (1). They formed at the outset a single group, which

1. Yugo means south. Translator.

history has divided into two sections, into two nations, the Serbs and the Croats. Both of these two nations, even though they are conscious of their kinship, lay claim to an autonomous life.

Even formerly there existed distinctions between the various sections of the future Serb unit and the future Croat unit. But these distinctions were not deep ones. They consisted of dialectic shades of difference, the organization into different tribes, distinct political outlooks, etc.

At the beginning we find ourselves in the presence of an aggregat of tribes belonging to a single group, belonging to a single linguistic type with very slight differences; this group left its early homeland in the region of the /148/ Carpathians, moved towards the Danube, then the Dra the Sava and the Balkan peninsula. The various tribes settled over a considerable extent of territory, without geographic unity; they were separated by the mountains; they communicated with each other with

1 [i.e. Resians in the Friul -- Analyst]

S.P. Sb. 157

between Serb territory and Bulgar territory. The nationality of the inhabitants of this region has been for a long time a matter of controversy. But since the Serbs have occupied it and have brought to it their civilization, it can no longer be differentiated from the Serbian group. According to Mr. O. Brosh, an analogous phenomenon occurred in the south, in the section of Serbian territory called Old Serbia.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101

S 30. Territorial Boundaries.--

The Serbo-Croats are divided today among several states. The Croats belong entirely to Austria-Hungary. In fact, they occupy the Slavic section of Istria and of the seacoast, a section of Dalmatia and of Bosnia, all of Croatia and Slavonia, with the exception of Srem (Syrmien), and are scattered besides in western Hungary. The Serbs have their principal nucleus in the Balkan peninsula. They are settled in the independent kingdom, in Bosnia-Hercegovina annexed to Austria, and in a section of Dalmatia, in the independent principality of Montenegro, in the northern sections of the Turkish vilayets of Scutari (Skadar) and of Skoplje, in the north of Slavonia, and they /157/ form sizeable islands in South Hungary.

Because of the great size of the area over which they are scattered, their boundary is poorly defined and it is difficult to trace its outline. It is still more difficult to trace the boundary which separates the Serbs from the Croats. This is how one could mark it approximately: It starts out at the little stream of Dragonja and from the Croat town of Buzet (Pinguente), where the Croats of the two dialects kaikavski and cakavski meet the Slovenes and the Italians; then the border runs down to the south and passes into Istria through Beram (Vermo), Vodnjan (Dignano), and reaches Pula (Pola), then it follows the seashore of the Adriatic as far as the Bojana, which runs into the lake of Skadar (Scutari). Certain cities, Rijeka (Fiume), Zadar (Zara) are in great measure inhabited by the Italians. On the other hand, Sibenik, Trogir (Trau), Split (Spalato) are Slav. However, there are in the Kvarner (Quarnero) Islands some Italian localities.

S.P. Cr. [157]

S.P. Sb. 101

From the Bojana the line which separates the Serbs from the Albanians runs through the middle of the lake of Skadar (Scutari) and passes to the south of the frontier of Montenegro through Sutorman, Vila, Gusinje, Plav, near Pec /Ipek/, then below Djakovica, Prizren, it reaches Mount Chardagh and Mount Karadagh and comes to Vranje

and the other Slavs than between the Serbs and the Croats. The two groups[1] coincide in the matter of the zadruga (communal holding of rural property), and in matters where considerable differences are to be noted, for example in the arrangement of houses, the boundary line of difference does not coincide with the Serbo-Croat frontier. The Roman type with a single hearth predominates in Montenegro, while in Dalmatia, in Hercegovina, and in the other areas the High German type with two hearths predominates.

According to Weissbach, the Serbo-Croats present the following characteristics: tall stature, strong preponderance of the dark type, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, strongly brachycephalic and of an extremely large cranial capacity. The cephalic index is an average of 84 (85.7 among the Bosnians and the Croats of today). The cranial capacity is 1,524. There are 93.5% brachycephalics and 6% mesocephalics Weissbach concluded that the Serbs and Croats should be considered as forming one and the same people. Recently Mr. Zupanic declared that physical differences exist between the two national groups; but it is uncertain, at the present stage of the science, whether his statement can be justified. From the language point of view, the south Slav group in the west splits up as follows: the Čakavci (1) being identified with /175/ the Croats, the Stokavci with the Serbs, and the Kajkavci with the Slovenes. Miklosic still distinguishes a Serbian tongue and a Croatian tongue. But it is proven today that this distinction has no basis.

1. These groups are thus named on the basis of the manner in which they say or pronounce the relative pronoun. /rather, pronominal word ca, sto, kaj, meaning "what". Editor./

Nevertheless, we should point out some dialectical shadings which are not in accordance with the political distinctions. Alongside the two great dialects of Stokavci and Čakavci, there are other transitional dialects: the Kaikavski of the west, toward the Slovenes, the dialect of Prizren or of Timok, otherwise called "Old Serb", and the Svrljiski dialect to the east toward the Bulgars. Several eminent philologists, notably Belic, relate the Kaikavstina to the Slovene tongue. According to the recent studies of Mr. Resetar, the Kaikav territory is separated from the other two by a line which starts from Turnovac, on the Drava, reaches Virovitica, runs around Bjelovar, goes to Trnovitica, Jasenovac on the Sava, follows the Sava as far as Belaj, then runs to Trzic, Plaski, Brlog, Nin (Nona) and Zadar (Zara).

1 [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Analyst]

S.P. Cr. Sl. 177 [176] 101

Towards the south, the Kajkavci have penetrated into certain localities in the territory of the Cakavci. Cakavci was spoken on the seacoast at one time, as ancient documents attest. Here is how this change of dialect is explained: at the moment of the Turkish invasions the inhabitants emigrated en masse towards the north and when they returned later on they had learned to speak Kajkavci. Those who speak the purest /176/ Kajkavski live between Zagreb (Agram), Varazdin, and Krizevac.

The territory of the Cakavci today comprises the greater part of the Adriatic islands, some Dalmatian villages, and the Croatian seacoast as far as the Kupa River.

The most extensive dialect is the Stokavski: in the area located between Vidin, Sofia, and Kyustendil, it is changing under the influence of the Bulgar dialects, and in the southwest, between Vranje and Prizren, under the influence of the Macedonian dialects. There is a whole group of types of speech still little studied, which by certain signs are akin to the Serb group, by others to the Bulgar group, which have been the subject of numerous discussions among philologists and among statesmen. This transitional region of the dialect which Belic calls the dialect of Timok and of Prizren, begins at the Danube at the mouth of the Timok, runs up towards the districts of Nis and of Vranje, Krusevac and Prizren; it divides itself into sub-dialects which bear the name of these localities. According to Belic and Resetar, the eastern frontier of this dialect starts at Ulcinj, goes through Prizren, Janjevo, Prokuplje, Stalac, Zaicar, and returns again to the mouth of the Timok on the Danube.

The secondary groups are composed of the Bunjevci, especially the Sokci in the Backa. We know very little about their origins and not very much more about their political character. They are claimed equally by the Croats and the Serbs. /177/ The Bunievci speak the Stokavski dialect. Another colony is settled in the county of Krasso on the upper course of the Karas (about 7,500 persons). The former ethnographers, Czoernig, Schwicker, Hunfalvy, Dobrovsky, Miklosich, and Drinov, took them for Bulgars. L. Miletic proved recently that their language and their origin are equally Serbian, that their language belongs to the Stokavski dialect, but that it is rather different from that of the Serbs of the Banat. Syrku was mistaken when he pretended

Serbs EF6
Croats EF6
Montenegrins EF6

S.P. Cr. Sb. 137 101

to see them as an entirely independent tribe. All are Catholics. No one knows when they arrived. But they probably have been here since the fifteenth century. The latest statistics show them partly as Serbs, partly as Croats, and the Croats also claim them.

Here are still a few other groups. The purely Kajkavski inhabitants of the zupaniate (1) of Zagreb in the western region, between

1. Prefecture.

Samobor and Zumberk, call themselves Prigorci (mountaineers), those who live near the sources of the Kupa, Brajci; one also finds in the neighborhood of Zagreb the names of Berzjaci, Puhovci.

Istria is especially interesting from the viewpoint of such groups. In the north one first meets the Fuckovci who speak Kajkavski and who are so called because of the whistling manner /178/ in which they speak; to the south are the Cicovci, descendants of a Bosnian colony which came in 1532; in the southeast the old Istrian Cakavci distinguish themselves clearly from the later Stokavci colonists who came from Dalmatia and from the ancient Romans, called Vlasi or Morlaci by their neighbors. In Istria, the Rumanians /Romans?/ still maintain themselves in the villages of Zejani, Brda, Grobnik, Iesenovik, Sutnjevica, Lelaj and Nova-Ves. According to the latest statistics the pure-blooded Rumanians form three groups, one of 389, another of 516, the third of 217 persons.

S.P. Cr. Sb. [563]

S.P. Sb. 101

In Serbia a large number of local names has sprung up, borrowed from those of rivers, of mountains, of areas, and of towns. (1) Their

1. We shall not translate them. Translator.

origin is not difficult to trace. In Hungary the ancient name of Rasciens, inhabitants of the Raska, an ancient Serbian province has been kept for the Orthodox Serbs.

Local names have developed also in Bosnia from the names of towns and areas. (2)

S.P. Sb. [563]

2. There are in Bosnia a few groups of Roman origin, who still speak a Romance language. But the greater part declare themselves to be Serbs. They are called Cincari, Achani.

S.P. M. 161

Montenegro has preserved the former division into tribes, whose names are still known by the people. Beginning in the north, one

S.P. B. 101 174

and the Slovenes and they did not form a united group. Still in the seventh and eighth centuries we find in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula an entire series of tribes very slightly united to each other, the Sieveriens and seven anonymous tribes in the north of the present Bulgaria, the Rumeliot Slavs, then the Druguvicnes, /183/ the Smoliani, the Strumenci, the Rynchini*, the Sagudati*, the Berziti in Macedonia. It is evidently to these latter that the Slavs who pushed into Greece and into the Archipelago are related from the linguistic viewpoint, the Velegezites, the Vajuniti, the Milingi, and the Iezerci. Towards this period a union began to develop, but under foreign pressure. In 679 under the leadership of Asparukh a certain number of Bulgars from the Volga--of Turkish origin--crossed the Danube and penetrated into the Dobrudja as far as Varna; they subjugated the neighboring Slavic tribes, unified them, and little by little unified all of the Slavs of the center of the Peninsula.

S.P. [197]

On the other hand, the Bulgars of the Volga, who were relatively few in number, became themselves assimilated very quickly with the Slav element and merged with it. (1)

1. Zanetov and Skorpil thought that they found the remains of these ancient Bulgars among the Gagauz (see further on) and among the Turks of Deliorman between Silistra, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), Varna and Rushchouk, whom their Bulgar neighbors called Gadjaly. Mochkov came out against their hypotheses.

Their name alone, which was given to the new state and to its people, recalls the memory of this element of foreign race. Besides the Bulgars have basically always been Slavs, even though they have not hesitated to assimilate foreign elements. Among these elements, along with the Turkish Bulgars, one must cite the remains of the ancient Thracians, the Germans, /185/ especially the Goths, Turks, and Avars, to whom were added later on other Asiatic elements; the Poles, the Cumaeans, the Oguzes, gypsies, and finally the Osmanli Turks.

S.P. B. 175

The Bulgarian Empire, beginning with the reign of Simeon (893-927) acquired a considerable area; it grew by means of the constant warfare with Byzantines on the one hand and with the Serbs, on the other. The Slavs who belonged to its most remote frontiers at

S.P. B. 167 previous Bulgar population did not date back further than one hundred and twenty years.

To the west of the Iantra* there are very few old villages and many new ones founded by the immigrants who have come from the areas of Lovech and of Sevlievo. These new populations were distinguished from the old ones by traditions, costume, and especially by dialect. On the other hand, there were many new immigrants to the south of the Balkans in the areas of Burgas, Aitos, and Yambol.

ooo Therefore, the Bulgar country has been the theater of perpetual movements, and definitive order will not be reestablished there until the Macedonian question has been finally resolved. However, the solution of the Macedonian problem is constantly delayed by the neighboring powers.

S.P. B. 101 S 34. Territory Occupied by the Bulgars. ---It is bounded on the north by the Danube, from Cherna Voda to Vidin and then by a line which runs from Vidin through Tsar-Petrovo, Boinitsa and Shchichintsi, to the Serbian frontier. From this line at Vidin there runs off a narrow section which goes up as far as Novo Selo on the Danube. The western boundary follows the Timok which serves as the political frontier between Serbia and Bulgaria. But the philologists are not in agreement upon the characteristics of the intermediate dialect of the area of Pirot-Vranje. Belic assigns it to Serbian, Tsonev to Bulgarian and considers only as intermediate the dialect of the Morava and the Resava. As we have already explained, in the basin of the Timok, in the area of Pirot, Nish, Vranje and Prizren a dialect intermediate between Serbian and Bulgarian is spoken. But, leaving aside the dialectic shadings which are of no importance from the viewpoint of nationality, and bearing in mind the other factors which determine national consciousness, it cannot be said that the boundary of the Bulgar national group follows the Timok and runs up towards Nich and Vranje, as Tsonev would have it, but that it starts from Veliki Izvor on the Timok, that it follows the ridge of the Stara Planina (Mountains), otherwise known as the political frontier, as far as Mount Kom; then it passes between Pirot and Caribrod (now Dimitrovgrad), crosses the Ruia Planina (Mountains), passes near Vlasina and reaches the upper Morava at Vranje. Then it follows the road from Nich to Skoplje, runs around that city and runs across the eastern spurs of Mount Chardagh towards the Debar (Alb., Dibra).

1: Niederle--127 E-5 1911 E/6 Slavic Peoples E/6
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They have settled by preference in the Rhodope (Grk., Rodope), where they constitute a rather large group between Plovdiv and Salonica. They are met with here and there to the north of the Balkans in the region of Lovech, Pleven (Plevna), especially between the Vid and Panega Rivers, to the south of Pleven. In the Kingdom of Bulgaria their number has greatly diminished; for, as a result of their Turkish sympathies, they have since 1878 been in perpetual conflict with the other Bulgars. The latest statistics numbered 20,644 of them in Bulgaria, of whom 17,055 were in the district of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and 2,837 in that of Pleven.

S.P. B. [871] 212

From the viewpoint of education, the Bulgars are not very much advanced, which is explained by the difficult conditions in which they have lived, deprived of all the advantages of civilization. They are now making an effort to make up for lost time. According to the latest statistics the number of literate persons in the principality was an average of 28.4%. The districts may be placed in the following order:

Ruse 38.5%; Shumla 35.9%; Varna 34%; Trnovo /205/ 34%; Plovdiv (Philippopolis) 29.6%; Burgas 29.4%; Sofia 28.8%; Stara Zagora 28.3%; Pleven 23.1%; Kustendil 20.1%; Vidin 19.8%; Vratsa 19%. The highest degree of education is found naturally in the regions of the great cities: 60% at Sofia, Ruse, and Varna; 49% at Plovdiv; 47% at Kotel and at Shumla; 37% at Kazanluk. The least literate areas are those of Radomir (20%), Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad) (19%), Kyzilagatch (19%), Berkovitsa (16%), Kula (14%), Belogradchik (13%), Ferdinandovo (13%).

S.P. B. 197 101

S 38. Internal Differentation.--The Bulgars are divided into three groups from the point of view of language.

1). That of the western dialect: it is bounded on the east by a line which starts from the confluence of the Vid and the Danube and runs towards Salonica across the regions of Nikopol, Pleven, Lovech, Teteven, Pirdop, Novo Selo, Panagyurishte, Ikhtiman, Chepino, Rezlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Seres, and Salonica.

2). The eastern group is divided into two branches:

A. That of the northeast where the people bear the general name of Zagortsi (Mountaineers), or Khertsoi*, or Poliantsi*.

B. That of the southeast, or branch of the Rhodope, whose

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representatives are called the Ruptsi, the Rupalani; their nucleus is located between Stanimaka /206/ and the sources of the Arda in the area called Rupchos. The boundary between these two eastern groups is given as the chain of the Balkans and of the Sredna Gora (central chain). But this boundary is crossed alternately by the two dialects. The other limits thought up by the philologists are not in very close agreement with each other and it is impossible to decide which is the most accurate. Tsonev draws a line from Burgas through Yambol and Stara Zagora to Pazardzhik; Miletic, from Adrianople to Plovdiv along the Maritsa (with spear-heads towards Chirpin and Kotel).

To the west the dialect of the Rupci goes as far as Chepino. Evidently, before the invasion they reached as far as the Balkans and to the Sredna Gora and constituted the most powerful southern tribe. There is no agreement either regarding the boundaries of the western dialect. According to Miletic it runs as far as Pazardzhik (in the region of Schopi*).

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Among the Bulgars of the three groups, there exist many secondary groups provided with special names and distinguished by customs, traditions, local names or dialects. Thus the inhabitants of the mountainous regions of the Balkans are generally called Balkantsi, those of the Rhodope Mountains (in Bulgarian Rodopska Planina) Planintsi (1), those of the valleys of Sofia, of Kustendil, of Kratovo, Poliantsi, Poltsi, and Polchene. (2)

1. Planina means "mountain" in Bulgarian. Translator.

2. Pole means "field". Translator.

/207/ The Bulgars of the south call the Bulgars of the north the Zagortsi (the people across the mountains), and the Bulgars of the north call them the Otvedentsi (the separated ones). But we find Zagortsi from the north in the neighborhood of Aitos and of Burgas. Miletic notes from the east to the west the following designations borrowed from the names of localities: Erkechani (Erkech) (now Kozichino), Golichani (Golica), Chengentsi (Chenge), Richani (Rich), Kotlentsi (Kotel), Tichani (Titsa), Bebrovtsi, Bebroveni (Bebrovo), etc. The people from Rumelia receive surnames borrowed from their place of origin: Odrintsi (from Odrin or Adrianople), Yamboltsi (from Yambol), Starozagortsi (from Stara Zagora), etc.

In Bulgarian Macedonia one encounters an infinite number of

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B-101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz are to be found also in Bessarabia, in the district of Benderj, where they are concentrated in the outskirts of Komrat. Mochov estimates their number at 70,000; but in the official statistics they are considered to be Bulgars. According to Zanetov the Bulgarian Slavs of Bessarabia should be called Tukani.

S.P. B. M1 [197] /211/ From an anthropological viewpoint, the best documented specialist, Mr. Vatev distinguishes a certain number of groups in the Bulgar nation. But up to the present these groups have not coincided with the linguistic groups. What is certain is that the east differs from the west, noticeably from the region of Sofia and of Macedonia, and that the south offers characteristic traits.

Basing himself upon the measurements of 320,000 school children, 36,000 soldiers and 1,330 skulls, he arrived at the following conclusions regarding the Bulgarian type:

This type is of medium height: 1.665 millimeters for the men, 1,567 millimeters for the women; dark complexion predominates (50 % against 5% light blond; the remainder mixed). But it must be noted that the dark complexion predominates in the east, while in the west and in Macedonia, which formerly was the center of the Balkan Slavs, the dark type is still rare. The Bulgars have a regular nose, high eye sockets, and an erect head. As to the shape, there are 77% mesocephalics (index 75-80). The average index among the soldiers is 79.65 (in Macedonia 79.45) and among the skulls 77.97.

The dolichocephalic types are found especially in the south, the brachycephalic in the west; in the south of Macedonia the average index exceeds 85.

S.P. C.M. 101 648 S 39. The Slavs of Macedonia.---As we have already mentioned, the Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia are claimed /212/ by both the Serbs and the Bulgars.

Let us note at the outset that it is not well known where Macedonia and Old Serbia begin and end. Thus, the Bulgars attach to Macedonia the regions of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Koumanovo; on the other hand, the Serbs attach Skoplje and Tetovo to Old Serbia; some of them lay claim even to Prilep, Bitolia, Ochrida, and Veles; all of these claims, of course, have a political objective.

Macedonia and Old Serbia represent the country bounded, roughly

S.P. C.M. 643 exaggerated claims, without counting Turkey which is today the proprietor of the contested territory, without speaking of the Great Powers, especially Russia, Italy, and Austria, who have their eye on Macedonia.

000 From all of this whirlpool of literary, political, and scientific endeavors, a disinterested observer can draw today only these obvious conclusions:

S.P. C.M. 181 1). The Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia represent a people whose national consciousness is not yet completely and equally developed, if we compare them with the two neighboring nations. However, it is beyond doubt that the largest portion of this people S.P. C.M. [795] feel themselves and proclaim themselves to be Bulgars, that they belong to the independent Bulgarian Church, whose head is the Exarch resident at Ortakioi. (1) On the other hand, it is certain that the

1. According to Brankov, there are in Macedonia 77% Exarchists and 23% Patriarchists. According to Hilmi, the proportion is entirely different. See above in Section 37. 1

name Bulgars is an historic name in these regions and that it has not been brought in through the religious propaganda of these recent years. Even though these regions were once annexed to the Serbian State, yet the name Serb has not taken root among the people. This is why in recent times the Bulgarian propoganda, both ecclesiastical and political, has found a very deep response throughout the country; Serbian propoganda has a chance of future success only in the northern region which is in contact with the Serbian Kingdom and has direct dealings with it; this region is Old Serbia.

S.P. C.M. 197 2). From a philological point of view it is true that the language of the Slavs of Macedonia presents an aggregation of local dialects rather distinct from one another. They form a sort of idiom which is intermediate between the Serbian stokavski and the Bulgarian language proper. (1) But taken altogether and in certain details it is much more

1. See Section 32, above. 2

S.P. C.M. [194] [193] closely related to the Bulgarian than to the Serbian. These special traits are the use of the postpositive article (used after the substantive), the loss of declension and the retention of the nasals. Only the dialect of the northern region is more closely related to the dialect group of Vranje, Nish, Timok, which Profesessor Belic assigns to the domain of the Serbian language, but certain philologists do not agree with him.

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186 ethnic or national self-consciousness and restricted the capacity
175* of Slavic peoples either for self-government or for a resolute national effort in the critical moments of their evolution. Even those Slavs who live closest to the centers of European civilization and who shared its progress for centuries have often been debarred by economic and political factors from the enjoyment of a full national life, and those more distant from these centers have emerged from the Middle Ages only during the last 250 years. In the light of these facts, it is not surprising that the Slavs have often seemed an enigma to the Western world.

101 By virtue of their geographical distribution, the modern
● 197 Slavs fall naturally into three distinct groups: Eastern, West-
131 ern, and Southern. Of these, the Eastern is the most numerous. It embraces the Russians, who comprise two-thirds of the Slavic complex, and subdivide linguistically into three sections: first and most important, the so-called Great Russians, inhabiting the central and northern districts of European Russia; second, the White Russians (and here "White" has no political connotation whatever, but means light-haired) who occupy the area which borders on the northern part of the former eastern frontier of Poland, and, while centering in the neighborhood of Minsk, also run over into former Polish territory as far as Grodno, Bialystok, and Brest-Litovsk; and third, the so-called Little Russians (otherwise known as Ukrainians or Ruthenians), who inhabit the black-earth prairies or steppes north of the Black Sea from the western frontier to the Kuban and Don rivers. The Ukrainians, as present-day newspaper readers know only too well, also inhabit not only Volhynia and Eastern Galicia as far west as Przemysl, but also the extreme eastern tip of the former republic of Czechoslovakia, known as Subcarpathian Russia (now Soviet territory), and likewise make up a considerable part of the population of Bukovina (now also Soviet), an area which formerly belonged to Romania and which lies just south of the former Polish-Romanian frontier.

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It was to this district, centering about the city of Czernowitz, 101
that many Polish officials and soldiers withdrew to escape Ger- 131
man and Russian pursuit when Poland was invaded in 1939. 197

The Western Slavic group includes the Poles, the Czechs (or Bohemians) and Moravians, the Slovaks, and two Slavic islands in German territory: the Kashubs, who live on the [161] Baltic coast northwest of Danzig, probably not over two hundred thousand in number, and a considerably smaller number of Sorbs, or Wends, who inhabit Lausitz, or Lusatia, a small area on the upper Spree river northeast of Dresden.

The Southern Slavs are cut off from their northern kindred by the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Romanians, but comprise the Slovenes in the extreme northern part of Yugoslavia; the Serbs and the Croatians, who differ from one [795] another only in slight variations of dialect and by the fact that [212] the Serbs belong to the Greek Orthodox church and use the Cyrillic Script (similar to the Russian), while the Croatians are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; and the Bulgarians who, though possessing a Slavic national language, represent a complex fusion of racial and linguistic stocks.

In view of the numerous and violent migratory movements 174
which took place in northern Europe both before the Christian 167
era and during the first few centuries after it began, the Slavs are hardly likely to have occupied their present extensive territory during their whole recorded history. On the contrary, their migrations cover a range almost as vast as those of their Germanic neighbors, and the location of their primitive habitat constitutes a problem which has long engaged students of Slavic history and linguistics.

The earliest native tradition dealing with Slavic origins is 101
contained in the so-called Russian *Primary Chronicle,* a com- 174
pilation completely extant only in two fourteenth-century 113
texts, but which reproduce with considerable accuracy a work composed by a monk of Kiev about the end of the eleventh century. Here we read:

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174 *Sclaveni* and *Antae*," and adds elsewhere, "Though deriving
114 from one stem, they have now adopted three names, that is, Venethi, Antes, and Sclaveni." The "Ravenna Cosmographer," an anonymous geographic work not later than the seventh century, mentions the *Sclavini* as living in Scythia, which is here a generic term for northeastern Europe, while the ninth-century Latin text known as the "Anonymous Bavarus," with the full title "Description of the cities and regions on the north bank of the Danube," speaks of the *Zeruiani* (the name is obviously related to the modern terms *Serb* and *Sorb*), "which is so great a realm that from it, as their tradition relates, all the tribes of the Slavs are sprung and trace their origin."

Such of these sources as belong to the sixth century or later obviously reflect a period when the Slavic dispersion had already begun, but they are interesting as early datable appearances of the name *Slav* and as a sound basis for identifying Wends and Slavs as the same people.

174 Linguistic evidence also impels us to place the Slavs north
197 of the Carpathians before their dispersion. Old Slavonic not only shows traces of contacts with Thracian, Iranian, and Germanic, but is also closely related to Lithuanian and exerted some influence on the early Finnish vocabulary. The only area where such extensive relations could have developed must necessarily have been north and east of the Carpathian chain.

174 It is likewise true that such anthropological evidence as we
141 have identifies the proto-Slavs rather with the northern long-headed race than with the primitive Central European brachycephalics, though even at the epoch of Slavic unity the cephalic index was by no means uniform, and with the lapse of time the stronger shortheaded brunette type came to dominate among the Slavs, as it does indeed today.

174 The topological nomenclature of the Carpathian range is,
114 moreover, not Slavic, thus indicating that the early Slavs lived beyond these mountains and the forests which clothed them. Furthermore, Herodotus mentions as adjacent and subject to

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be the dwellers along the banks of such a river or in the marshy area thus postulated. In the primitive habitat of the Slavs there are rivers with names related to a base *slav-* or *slov-*, and much marshland, but nowhere has a name been preserved which is of sufficient importance to justify the assumption that it was the starting point for the term *Slověne* which, despite its mystery, has been applied to all Slavic subdivisions, whatever their location, since the sixth century A.D.

Like the Germanic dialects, the Slavic languages belong to the so-called Indo-European linguistic family. It so happens that we are familiar with a series of languages which begin to appear about 1000 B.C. from Hindustan to the Atlantic and from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean basin, and which exhibit so many common features that they may safely be considered to have a common origin. Along with the Germanic and the Slavic languages, this family includes Indo-Iranian (i.e., Sanskrit, the various later Indic dialects, and the several forms of Persian), Baltic (Lithuanian and Lettish), Albanian, Armenian, Celtic, Greek, and Italic (among the latter, besides Latin, the idioms of several other tribes speaking kindred tongues). The Baltic and the Slavic languages have so many striking resemblances that many philologists believe in a long period of Balto-Slavic community before the two branches separated and pursued individual paths of linguistic evolution. Of these two branches, the Baltic, especially as represented by Lithuanian, is the more conservative, hence evolved more slowly, and exhibits linguistically a more primitive character than Old Slavonic, despite the fact that our oldest Lithuanian text dates from the sixteenth century, while our oldest Slavic texts go back to the tenth.

While it is customary, for linguistic reasons, to postulate a uniform primitive Slavonic or proto-Slavonic tongue, this term should not be taken to mean that even at the dawn of their history the Slavic tribes over the whole extent of their habitat spoke a language identical in phonology, inflection, and vocabulary. It is rather to be supposed that the germs of dialec-

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tal differentiation inherent in the proto-Slavonic language even at the epoch of closest ethnic unity evolved into conspicuous local characteristics as the race gradually spread. By the ninth century A.D., when a Slavonic tongue was first used for literary purposes, the differentiation of the several Slavonic languages and even of the dialects in each was a consummated fact of some centuries' standing.

By their very location, remote from the centers of classical culture and bordering to the west, south, and north upon tribes to which it did not penetrate until the beginning of the Christian era, the Slavs, jutting out toward the confines of Asia in a region almost devoid of natural boundaries and barriers, were inevitably exposed to the repeated impacts of alien nations from the Orient. Destined later to form a part of the great medieval trade route from the Baltic to the Black Sea, the river Dnieper, along which the easternmost portion of the primitive Slavs lived, was likewise a promising area for penetration from the north. The Slavic occupation of western Russian territory, if the identification of Herodotus's Neuri as Slavic is correct, reaches well back toward the beginning of the first millennium before Christ. The earliest historical neighbors of the Slavs in the Russian prairie country were thus the Cimmerians, whose land, according to the *Odyssey*, was always veiled in fog and darkness, for there the sun never rose nor set. Actually they were an eastern offshoot of the Thracians, who centered in the basin west of the Carpathians until they were displaced by Germanic and Celtic invaders. During the second millennium and until the eighth century B.C., the Cimmerians extended eastward beyond the Crimea and the Sea of Azov, and to them belong the scanty remnants of bronze culture found in South Russia and dating from the beginning of the first millennium before Christ. The barrier erected by the Cimmerians to a Slavic advance toward the Black Sea was later perpetuated by the Scythians, who form the first wave of Oriental nomads to sweep across the black-earth region in historical times.

The Scythians are, in fact, the earliest inhabitants of south-

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ern Germany was settled by other Germanic peoples, especially 175*
the Goths, who were present on the shoreline as early as the fourth century B.C. At any rate, in the first two Christian centuries, we find them definitely on the lower Vistula north of the Slavs. During the second century A.D. some migratory disturbance, or perhaps even the casual exploration of watercourses followed by a desire for more fertile territory and for commercial relations with the Black Sea littoral once a route thither was discovered, induced a considerable number of the Goths to move out eastward across the Bug to the basins of the Pripet and the Dniester. At some point during this movement, perhaps in Volhynia, one section split off from the main Gothic body and, after passing down the Dniester, subsequently appeared in Dacia as the Visigoths, who fought against Caracalla's troops in 214 and crossed the Danube in 248. According to the tradition preserved by Jordanes, the rest passed over the Dnieper and finally reached the coasts of the Black Sea and the Crimea.

Since the Goths remained masters of the western steppe 175*
country from the second century A.D. until 370, when they 177
were overthrown by the Huns, they were thus the Germanic 197
tribe with whom the proto-Slavs had the closest and most lasting relations, reflected in a considerable number of loan words in the common Slavic vocabulary. These words may be classified in groups which clearly demonstrate along what lines Gothic influence upon the Slavs was most incisive. They include an extensive list of military terms (armed band, helmet, armor, sword), commercial words (usury, debt, earring, purse, búy, kettle, plate, sack, camel, vinegar, glass), agricultural items (plow, stall, vineyard, cattle, garden, donkey, fig, bread), and names of learned professions (doctor, scribe). Some of these words point also to the probability that this borrowing either did not take place until, or at any rate was still taking place during, the period when the Germans were in close contact with the Roman Empire and had themselves already borrowed some terminology from the Latin. In any event, these words

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175* must have become ingrained in the Slavic vocabulary before
177 400 A.D., and made their entry into the common speech prior
197 to the spread of the Southern Slavs into the Balkans, which began about a century later.

175* While for 200 years the Goths were the dominant ethnic element in southern and western Russia, they constituted only a numerically inferior ruling class which controlled the Slavic natives and such Iranian elements as were left from the period of Scythian and Sarmatian supremacy. It would otherwise be difficult to explain the process by which the Goths disappeared completely from the steppe country during the two centuries after the overthrow of the Gothic kingdom by the Huns in 370. The Huns themselves were a Turko-Tartar tribe whose western movement, begun in the first century A.D. after 300 years of strife with the Chinese in southern Mongolia, brought them to the Caspian Sea in the second. They were a nonagricultural nomadic people possessed of little culture of their own. What civilization they exhibited, and particularly their military organization, they borrowed from their Sarmatian vassals. Some of the Ostrogoths joined the advancing Huns. That portion of the Gothic population which had settled in the Crimea, though also subjected to the Huns, disappeared more slowly, and some small remnants preserved their Gothic identity as late as the eighteenth century. While the authority of the Huns does not appear to have been oppressively exercised in the steppe country, it nevertheless dealt a fatal blow to the flourishing civilization composed of combined Oriental and Greek elements which had adorned the north shore of the Black Sea for nearly a millennium. The Huns were the last Asiatic people to impinge upon the eastern section of the Slavs before their dispersion and expansion.

613 The primitive social organization of the early Slavs is, it must be admitted, a highly controversial subject. An exclusively patriarchal and tribal organization is found, after all, only among purely nomadic peoples, but is immediately re-

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The Slavs were curiously tenacious in retaining their own language, but extremely receptive to manners and techniques transmitted to them through contact with superior cultures. When they were present in a majority, they experienced no difficulty in impressing their language on the indigenous minority, whom they Slavicized rapidly by intermarriage. The Dalmatian coast from Veglia to Ragusa experienced this evolution from the ninth to the last century. On the other hand, remnants of the old Romanized pre-Slavic population, known as Vlakhs, persist in the interior of the peninsula to the present day, especially in southern Macedonia and the Pindus, while the Romanians, in spite of Slavic and Turko-Tartar admixture, are a concentrate of Romanized pre-Slavic native elements. Of the indigenous and un-Romanized population prior to the migrations, the Thracians in the eastern half of the peninsula disappeared altogether, while the Illyrians in the western half survive fractionally as the Albanians. The linguistic differences between Serbian and Bulgarian have sometimes been explained by the existence of an Illyrian substratum in the former, and a Thracian in the latter, since the areas occupied by the new vernaculars correspond roughly to the regions occupied by these two pre-Slavic elements. Of the migrant tribes who preceded the Slavs into the Balkans no trace remains. The Celts had passed from the scene before the Slavs arrived. The Sarmatians, driven into the Balkans from the steppes, were known as early as the fourth century only by scanty place names. A few Germanic islands kept their names until the fifth century. The Huns rapidly dissolved after Attila's death, while the Avars, after the Slavs threw off their yoke, were decimated by their wars with Charlemagne before the year 800, and the remnant was absorbed by the adjacent Slavs.

Though we find in the Balkans an uninterrupted set of Slavic dialects gradually shading into each other, from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, the three basic literary languages (Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgarian) are well-differentiated vernaculars. It is not to be supposed, however, that this

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•197 differentiation originated after the dispersion. On the contrary it may be assumed that the germs of dialectal differentiation inherent in the proto-Slavic language even at the epoch of closest ethnic unity evolved into more conspicuous local characteristics as the race gradually spread. It seems probable that the sections of the proto-Slavs whose vernaculars were the precursors of the present South Slavonic languages were geographically placed in their original habitat in an order corresponding to their present locations. The Slovenes are the furthest northwest of the modern South Slavs. It would appear, then, that their proto-Slavic ancestors lived in the southwest corner of the proto-Slavic habitat on the upper Vistula. Similarly, the ancestors of the Serbo-Croatians must have lived in the vicinity of the central Carpathians (there is, in fact, some etymological relationship between the words *Carpathian* and *Croatian*). The proto-Bulgars lived further eastward and seem to have descended the Prut and the Seret rivers toward the lower Danube while the western proto-Slavs came through the Sudeten passes into Bohemia and Moravia.

167 The forefathers of the Slovenes, after crossing the Danube soon after the beginning of the Christian era, first appear in history after 592, when they attacked the cities of Istria and northern Italy and made war against the Duke of Bavaria in modern Styria. They were dominated by the Avars early in the seventh century, and after the Avars were dispersed fell first under Bavarian and then (788) under Frankish sovereignty. Then as now their settlement was most dense in southern Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, though their zone of occupation contracted appreciably under German pressure as time went on so that the northern Slovenian border was pushed south from the Danube to the Drave.

The Croatians and Serbs make their appearance in the western half of the Balkan peninsula south of the Slovenes somewhat earlier than the historical debut of the latter. They were thus reported along the coast at Salona in 536 and at Durazzo in 548. Their starting point was apparently the Vistula valley,

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than 1167, and long before that date the process of extermination or assimilation had set in. 177

In view of the latest developments in modern history, let us pause a moment on the origins of the Czechoslovaks. The primeval habitat of Czechs and Slovaks was located north of the Carpathians between the headwaters of the Oder and the middle Vistula. The Czechs reached Bohemia and Moravia by the upper reaches of the Neisse and Oder and westward through the Sudeten range and between the Gesenke and the Jablunka. The Slovaks, on the other hand, arrived in their present location between the Morava and the Danube by passing the western Carpathians (that is, the Beskids and the High Tatra south of modern Krakow). The western limits of the Czechs were thus the Böhmer Wald and the Erzgebirge, while on the north they enjoyed a good natural frontier in the mountains from the Sudetens to the Carpathians. On the south the Bohemians and Moravians originally extended to the Danube, but were gradually pushed back along the river between Linz and Vienna until the twelfth century, though the Slovaks maintained contact with it at Bratislava (Pressburg). The western Slovak limit is still roughly the river Morava, which joins the Danube about thirty miles east of Vienna. 167

There is no longer much question but that the Czech and the Slovak languages were originally an identical dialect just as their speakers were primitively one group, but even in modern times there is an appreciable diversity of dialect, culture, and character among various sections of even the Czechs themselves, and the present differentiation of the Slovaks was conditioned and intensified by geographical separation from the Czechs and by the long-standing political dominance of the Magyars since 1029. The intellectual gap between Czech and Slovak is also due to the rapid Czech assimilation of German culture. Finally, at the extreme east end of the state of Czechoslovakia is an area known as Subcarpathian Russia. Its inhabitants speak a Ukrainian (Little Russian) dialect per- 197 184

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known to have kept a garrison at Kiev, it is even probable that the name of that city is of Khazar origin, that is, *küi,* "bank of a river," and *ev,* "settlement," which well accords with the lower part of the city as it still is today.

On the north and the east, the Eastern Slavs were eventually confronted by Finnish tribes. We have relatively little data on the primitive habitat of the Finns, but modern scholarship places it in the extreme eastern section of northern Europe, on the edge of the Ural mountains and even further eastward. They were thus concentrated from earliest times in the basins of the rivers Oka, the Kama, and the middle Volga, and it is from this nucleus that they spread westward to the Finnish Gulf, occupying not only Karelia and modern Finland, but also the southern shore as far as the Gulf of Riga, hence modern Esthonia and much of present-day Latvia. In central Russia their line of settlement extended as far west as modern Moscow, where they were in touch with an original Lithuanian population which has long since disappeared. Indeed, since these Lithuanian elements occupied a line running from the Baltic to the neighborhood of modern Smolensk and Kaluga, the actual contacts of Eastern Slavs and Finns cannot have begun until the Slavs themselves had already crossed the northern Dnieper and advanced toward the head of the Desna, and until the Finns themselves had begun to move westward toward the Baltic. This view is confirmed by the fact that it is only in the extreme north and east of the Russian area that Finnish linguistic influences are perceptible.

While there are some tribes known to Herodotus who may have been Finns, the Finns themselves are first mentioned with certainty by Tacitus, who did not think very highly of them, since he speaks of their remarkable ferocity at once with their sordid poverty, adding that they lived on herbs, dressed in skins, slept on the ground, and defended themselves with bone-tipped arrows. Jordanes, the Gothic historian, knew some identifiably Finnish tribes as subjects of the Goths. Our now familiar source, the Russian *Primary Chronicle,* composed after

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into genuine trading posts and towns, the importance of which was enhanced by the penetration of foreign merchants at the beginning of the historical period. The rise of trading posts and towns gradually concentrated adjacent agricultural areas under the control of the former, producing at the same time accumulations of wealth in the hands of a new ruling class which appropriated to itself the influence formerly wielded by the elders of family, clan, and tribe. The growing prestige of the towns also broke down the various tribal differentiations, since portions of the same tribal area might fall for reasons of geography and communication under the control of different towns.

In general, the Russian tribes formed three groups distinguishable by their speech, which are reflected in our day by the tripartite division of the Russian language into three basic dialects. The northern group, comprising the Slovenes (Slavs) of Novgorod and the Krivichians, is the forerunner of the modern Great Russian dialect, the standard literary language. The central group, including Dregovichians, Radimichians, Vyatichians, and Severians, divided into two sections, of which the eastern joined the northern, or ultimately Great Russian element, while the western section (Dregovichians, Radimichians) came to form the White Russian element centering around Minsk. The southern group, made up of Polyane, Derevlians, Volhynians, Ulichians, Tivercians, and Croats, evolved into the Little Russian or Ukrainian element. In fact, the term *Ukraina* goes back as far as at least 1187, and meant the southern border district. The differences among these three dialects have of course been intensified as time went on by the accidents of political affiliation and by diversified cultural influences. But these three groups are none the less parts of the same nation, so that either a White Russian or a Ukrainian is precisely as much a Russian as the purest Great Russian born in the shadow of the Kremlin.

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III

Conversion and Religious Divisions

175* While conversion to Christianity was an inevitable phase of
186 the process by which the Slavs were drawn into the general
797 movement of European civilization, it was by no means an unmixed blessing. When Slavic tribes had evolved to some semblance of national consciousness and even statehood, or were sufficiently remote from the center where religious influence was exempt from political pressure, they were able to retain their independence and to follow a characteristic course of development. But if they lived on the periphery of a powerful and aggressive Christian state, their political independence was frequently threatened, and if this state cherished colonial aims, the convert Slavs were very likely to face the choice between assimilation and enslavement, or, at the very worst, complete extermination.

797 The section of the medieval church which brought about the
795 conversion was also a factor of durable historical weight. The
178 Western Church was devoted to the tradition of Latin culture.
779 It insisted on the celebration of the Mass in the hallowed
● 197 language of the Church. Hence it evinced little concern for the creation of any vernacular culture. Though not possessed of
175* the same vitality, the Eastern Church soon found that it could evangelize the various pagans on the long Byzantine frontier more effectively if it allowed them to use their native languages

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in the service. Hence, though much of early south or east Slavic literature is either translated or imitated, the fact remains that the Slavs under Byzantine intellectual and religious influence developed significant national cultures much more rapidly than those under the domination of Rome. That these cultures, after a brilliant initial spurt, were later retarded and even brought to a halt which lasted several centuries is due, not to the source of conversion itself, but to historical accidents which supervened after conversion took place. Had not the Eastern and the Southern Slavs fallen victims, in one case to Tartar invasion and in the other to Turkish conquest, their intellectual lag in comparison with the rest of Europe would not have been so great. The Russians, for example, were completely deprived of all Western stimulation after the middle of the thirteenth century and nearly three hundred years elapsed before they entered upon the difficult process of assimilating the Western culture which had developed during that long and critical interval. The South Slavs, on the other hand, shook off the Turkish yoke only within the last century and thus were even more handicapped than the Russians in their struggle to catch up with the modern world.

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Of all the Slavs, the Slovenes in Carinthia and Carniola were the first to encounter missionary activities. Early in the seventh century, they had been temporarily combined with Czechs and Sorbs north of the Danube in the semilegendary kingdom under Samo, who led them victoriously against the Avars and simultaneously offered a temporary barrier to Frankish expansion southward. During his declining years in Switzerland, Saint Columban, the great Irish missionary, had thought, as early as 612, of setting out from Bregenz on a mission to the nearest Slavs, but, finding the task too difficult for his advanced age (he was already sixty-nine), he retired to Italy and ended his days at Bobbio.

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After Samo disappeared from the scene and his realm was dissolved, the Slovenes were unable to withstand the Avars, who soon held the Danube as far as the Enns. The Slovenes

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imperialistic views on Constantinople with a policy which would necessarily favor revolutionary movements among the Slavs and compromise the gospel of his legitimism. Nevertheless, Marx, Pokrovsky and Tarle gave, as we saw, striking examples of this Machiavellism of Russian policy. Let us, however, analyze the doctrine itself and try to see what were the concrete historical and cultural realities which it had to face. We saw that one of the chief problems, that of Russo-Polish relations, has not been and could not have been solved within the frame of Slavophil or Panslavistic schemes. But what was the general picture?

The main argument of unity among the Slavs was of course that of language. The Slavic languages belong to the same family and it is not difficult to prove that certain similar phenomena which appear in different Slavic languages represent not a result of inter-Slavic influences but an independent parallelism of development. For the tenets of the Slavophil doctrine the fact of a common linguistic origin meant very much theoretically. Language is an expression of the relationship between man and the universe, and therefore this expression reveals a—let us say—philosophical outlook. In other words language possesses an ideological value. On the other hand history differentiated the Slavic peoples. During long centuries they went sometimes not only through different but very often even opposite and contrasting cultural influences; and because of that the languages in their turn also differentiated to such a degree that Slavs are no longer able to understand one another. The amusing point here was the fact that the Slavophils of the various Slavic nations used German in order to communicate with each other. This was indeed a paradoxical situation for those who were trying to unite themselves first of all against Germanism. Of course Russia was and still is suggesting that the Russian language be accepted as the common language for the Slavs. But this generous offer has not so far been adopted. The linguistic divergencies become even more salient when we leave the field of language proper and try to apply the methods of unification to the field of belles lettres,

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especially poetry, even if it be the popular poetry. A synthesis appears absolutely impossible. It would be enough to compare the Czech versification and all the changes it went through with the Russian and Polish to see how great are the differences. Let us take the Russian *byliny* with their assonances, which have no correspondents in other Slavic productions. On the other hand the *Shchedrivky* and the *Koladki* are ritual poems often inspired by historical subjects of a purely Ukrainian character. A quite distinct group is represented by the Serbo-Croatian and Bulgaro-Macedonian popular poetry—heroic rhapsodies which sing of the legendary Serbian hero Kralević Marko, the mother of the Jugović and her sons and many others. This poetry which served the fantasies and mystifications of Mérimée, which enchanted Goethe, Pushkin, Mickiewicz and Nodier, represents a quite special formation and a unique genre in the Slavic world. How different is the medieval Polish poetry, only semi-popular in its most distant origins, with its origin in the Church. Its lyrical starting point is to be found in the *Kyrie Eleison* and *Alleluiah*, refrains of liturgical songs.

Let us abandon for a moment this purely philological statement and turn to a more essential factor which determined the historical development of the Slavic nations: I have in mind religion. Religion divided the whole Slavic world into two parts. Bulgarians, Serbians, Great Russians, Ukrainians, and White Ruthenians embraced Eastern Orthodoxy from a Byzantine source. Czechs, Croatians, Slovenes, Slovaks, and Poles embraced the Catholic religion from its Roman Source. And in addition the Czechs went through Hussism; a part of the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians adopted the Union. The Muscovite Slavophils and Panslavists were fighting against Catholicism. By that very fact they were in opposition to the whole Western Slavic world. Religion determined the cultural differentiation, and if we add to that some other historical factors we shall see that at the time when Russia was under the influence of Byzantium, of the Bulgarian and Serbian messianistic literature which formed her

728 the USSR; the Polish and Kashubian sections of Germany passed to Poland; some Slovenian and Croatian dominions of Italy to Yugoslavia; and a part of Dobrudja was returned from Rumania
162 to Bulgaria. The total number of Slavs in the world is now over
198 200 million. Except for a few border minorities and Americans with Slavic mother-tongues, all Slavic peoples, save the Sorbs, live in states with a Slavic majority and state language—USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria.

197 Between the three Eastern Slavic languages there are intermediate dialectal areas. Russian is divided into Northern, Southern and transitional (Middle Russian) dialects, each of them with archaic islets presenting salient common features. Ukrainian dialects are classified into Northern, Southeastern, Southwestern, and Carpathian groups; the marginal dialects (called Rusnak) of the latter group are Slovak-influenced. Byelo-Russian is divided into two dialects—the Northeastern and the Southwestern, disclosing a stronger Polish impact. Polish contains, besides various border dialects, two fundamental groups: Great and Little Polish in the Northwest and Southeast respectively. Kashubian comprehends two types of dialects: the Southern, and the Northern, which includes Slovincian. In Czech there are Bohemian, Central Moravian, and Silesian groups, with transitional dialects from group to group and from Czech to Slovak and to Polish. Slovak consists of three dialectal types: Central; Western, closely linked with Czech; and Eastern, connected with Polish and Ukrainian. Slovenian exhibits great dialectal variety. Serbocroatian from East to West presents three basic groups: Štokavian, Čakavian, and Kajkavian which is transitional to Slovenian. Bulgarian is divided into three basic dialects: Western, Northeastern, and Southeastern. Macedonian sets up a scale of intermediary dialectal zones between West Bulgarian and Štokavian.

PROTOSLAVIC; EXPANSION

PROTOSLAVIC (Primitive Slavic), which substituted (1) *s*, *z* for advanced *k*, *g*, and (2) *x* for the old *s* preceded by *i*, *u*, *r*, *k*, was a Western offshoot of the satem-group of Indo-European languages

and shares the fusion of *a* and *o* with the majority of this group. 197
Common isoglosses testify a close and prolonged neighborhood with Germanic, Iranian, probably Thraco-Phrygian and foremost with Baltic, which is tied to Slavic by significant innovations both in vocabulary and in grammatical and phonemic, especially prosodic, features. Old loan-words from Iranian pertain mostly to spiritual, and those from Germanic to material culture. Contact with Altaic and Finno-Ugric languages seems to be confined to the late stage of Protoslavic and has left but scanty vestiges in its vocabulary. The long evolution of Protoslavic, which took around three millennia, can be traced up to its final stage—the entrance of the Slavs onto the historical scene (fifth–sixth centuries), [175]
the oldest foreign records of Slavic proper and common nouns (fifth–seventh centuries), the formation of the first hereditary Slavic states (ninth–tenth centuries), the appearance of Slavic [538]
written literature (ninth century), and the final dissolution of the Slavic linguistic unity toward the beginning of our millennium.

The territory of present-day Poland, Byelo-Russia, and North- 175
western Ukraine seems to exhibit perceptible vestiges of the oldest Slavic settlements. According to the first detailed literary accounts about the Slavs, the sixth century A.D. witnessed a strong Slavic expansion to the South, West, and East. The Slavs swarmed over the Peloponnesos during the seventh century, but were eventually driven back from Greece. With Charlemagne began the protracted retreat of the Slavs in the West and the gradual Germanization of the Elbe and Oder basins in the Northwest and of the Slavic regions of Bavaria and Austria in the Southwest. In the tenth century the Southern Slavs became separated from the Western because of this continuous German offensive toward and the Hungarian intrusion from the East; later they were cut off also from the Eastern Slavs by the extension of Rumanian. While the expansion of the Western and Southern Slavs was curtailed and even repelled during the early Middle Ages, that of the Eastern Slavs has never stopped and particularly their colonization of the East still continued, checked only in the Bering Sea area in the late nineteenth century.

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HISTORY OF THE LITERARY LANGUAGES

538 197 SLAVIC LITERARY ACTIVITIES begin in the ninth century with the rise of the first Slavic national state, Great Moravia, where two Byzantine missionaries brought up in Macedonia (Salonika), St. Cyril (Constantine the Philosopher, an erudite polyglot, formerly professor at the University of Constantinople) and his brother, St. Methodius, organized in the 'sixties a national church with services in Slavic. For this purpose they translated the Bible, liturgic and other ecclesiastic texts into the Slavic dialect spoken in the Salonika region, patterning it after the Greek model and adapting it to the Czechoslovak linguistic habits of Great Moravia. Since the dialectal differentiation of the primitive Slavic language at that time was insignificant, there were no obstacles for the spread of this Macedonian vernacular among the great majority of the Slavs as their first written and liturgic language. The literary activities of the two Slavic apostles were preceded only by a few primary Christian texts (such as the Baptismal Vows, the Paternoster, Credo, etc.) translated probably in Great Moravia in the early ninth century, partly from Latin, partly perhaps from Old High German, and preserved in later copies. The Moravian mission was forcibly terminated in 885, after some two decades of work, but it had given the Slavs many standard translations from Greek and occasionally from Latin, as well as original homilies, legends, prayers, and poems in a new but highly elaborate literary language adaptable for scholarly and poetic expression. Moreover, it bequeathed to them the lasting idea of the propriety and the necessity of using the mother tongue for all, even the highest, cultural purposes. This literary language, called by modern scholars OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC (Old Slavic, or inaccurately Old Bulgarian), penetrated from the late ninth to the eleventh centuries into the whole Slavic world except for its Northwestern margin. It produced several local variants: the MORAVIAN recension itself is known to us only indirectly through later copies made in other areas, the BOHEMIAN recension, which exhibits Latin influence, is preserved as far as indigenous manuscripts

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are concerned, in single fragments of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and moreover local literary activities are known through some later foreign, mostly Russian, copies; the MACEDONIAN recension, particularly conservative in its vocabulary and phraseology; the BULGARIAN recension, which weeded out Greek and Moravian words and expressions, created a new rich terminology, and reflected the intense scholarly and literary life of Bulgaria in the early tenth century—these last two recensions are preserved in several manuscripts of the eleventh century and in many later copies; the CROATIAN and SERBIAN recensions, both manifesting a strong Macedonian influence and attested by twelfth century manuscripts; and the Eastern Slavic (usually called RUSSIAN) recension offering the oldest of the dated Slavic manuscripts preserved, Ostromir's Evangelium (written in 1056), as well as some twenty-five Kiev and Novgorod manuscripts of the eleventh century and numerous others of later date—copies of Southern and Western Slavic originals, and in a great part, local creations. This recension derived from the Bulgarian but later tended rather toward the Macedonian and in its further development has shown a repeated reciprocity with the Serbian recension. The Freising Fragments of the late tenth century in Latin letters seem to be a SLOVENIAN modification of Old Church Slavonic. During the twelfth century the language of Cyril and Methodius, wherever it appears in the Slavic world, is essentially modified; the Old Church Slavonic period ends and thenceforth we speak simply of CHURCH SLAVONIC.

With the Great Schism of 1054 and the First Crusade, Latin triumphed as the only liturgic and literary language for all of the Western Slavs and for the Western part of the South Slavic area. Of the Catholic Slavic peoples, only a part of the Croats preserved the use of Church Slavonic in liturgy and literature and spread this use during the thirteenth century, which in general was favorable to the renascence of Church Slavonic culture among the Southern Slavs. In the Czech state this use was abolished toward the beginning of the twelfth century, but its tradition contributed to the rise of a Bohemian vernacular literature in the late thirteenth. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, besides highly developed

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belles-lettres, even Czech science and philosophy turned to the national language and adapted it to the Latin cultural pattern. Rich terminological dictionaries were elaborated; attempts at holding church services in the mother tongue were made, and under the Hussites they became a contagious precedent for the European Reformation. After a weakening of its foremost position in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, literary Czech resurged with the nineteenth century, exploiting the old heritage, borrowing from other Slavic languages (especially from Polish), and quickly adapted to modern cultural needs. The Polish literary language, which especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been modeled on Czech (the language of the Polish world of fashion until the sixteenth century), reached a world status, first in sixteenth-century poetry and then in Romanticism. In the sixteenth century the Reformation inspired religious texts for the Slovenian, Sorbian, and Kashubian people in their mother tongues. The propaganda of the Counter Reformation, endeavoring to penetrate to the populace, and later the democratic tendencies of the nineteenth century reinforced these vernacular literatures. Particularly modern Slovenian scholarship and literature and their means of expression attained a high level. In both of the smallest of the Slavic speech communities striving for the literary use of their vernacular, the champion writers were American emigrants —the Kashub H. Derdowski (1852–1902) and the Low Sorbian poet Mato Kósyk (1853–1940).

During the whole of the Middle Ages the written literature of Greek Orthodox Slavs was prevailingly ecclesiastic and used Church Slavonic; lay documents and juridical texts, however, were written in the local vernacular. Secular literary works, such as fiction, chronicles, profane itineraries, etc., oscillated between Church Slavonic and the vernacular. Even though the last three centuries have strongly secularized Russian culture and strengthened the vernacular (Middle Russian) stratum in the literary tongue, its traditional hybrid structure, which differentiates Church Slavonic and folk components semantically and stylistically and distributes them in various ways, has remained the pivotal principle of modern Standard Russian and is still the main source of its

9: Jakobson L-4 (no date) 1955 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

unusual richness. The political conditions of the Moscovite period created two distinct variants of the Eastern Slavic literary language: the Great-Russian pattern on the one hand, and the Southwestern on the other, which, besides a Moscow influence, exhibited a Ukrainian and locally a Byelo-Russian ingredient and which, moreover, was somewhat occidentalized through the Czech and Polish intermediary. To overcome this split, the patriarch Nikon, after the incorporation of the Ukraine into the Moscow Tsardom in the middle of the seventeenth century, initiated a radical revision of the Russian liturgic and literary language along Kievan lines. This reform contributed to the gradual Westernization of Standard Russian which in different ways during the seventeenth century imported a large number of Polish and Czech words, and then under Peter, directly followed Germanic and later on Romance models.

After a rich development in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Church Slavonic literature waned in Bulgaria and suffered a decline in Serbia with the Turkish invasion, diffusing at the same time a Balkan influence on both Southern and Northern Russia's literary language and giving birth as well to a new, RUMANIAN recension of Church Slavonic which served as the literary and liturgic language of Rumanians from the late fourteenth to the eighteenth century. Toward the sixteenth century, even in the Ottoman court and administration, Balkan Slavic speech came into use. On the other hand, the spiritual life and literary language of Serbia in the seventeenth century underwent a still greater Russian influence, and in the eighteenth century the native recension of Church Slavonic was replaced by the Russian pattern. In that part of the Serbocroatian world which adhered to Western Christianity there appeared, partly under the influence of the Reformation, partly after the model of the Italian Renaissance, regional attempts at raising the vernacular to a literary language with a Church Slavonic tinge. The most fertile of these were the Dalmatian schools of poetry—the western one flourished in the sixteenth century, and that of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in the sixteenth and seventeenth. But the modern standard language, unifying both Serbs and Croats, which developed during the first half of the

538 nineteenth century, was only sporadically linked with earlier
197 attempts: it raised to literary usage a folk dialect of Herzegovina and emphatically rejected Church Slavonic or Russian ingredients and the influence of any older literary heritage. A similar populist tendency characterized the rise at the same period of modern literary Ukrainian which was first used in the burlesques of the very late eighteenth century, and in its further development oscillated between the Western (Polish-influenced) and the Eastern (Russian-influenced) variants. Both Standard Byelo-Russian and Macedonian modestly entered into literature in the nineteenth century and acquired civil rights—the former after the First, the latter after the Second World War. On the other hand, modern Standard Bulgarian, likewise formed during the nineteenth century after some isolated earlier attempts, strongly and consistently continued to borrow from Russian and particularly from its Church Slavonic stock. Toward the middle of the same century, the Slovaks, who had used literary Czech (somewhat adapted to their own habits), inaugurated their own literary language based on the Central Slovak dialect but patterned after standard Czech.

197 Church Slavonic perseveres as a liturgic language in several
795 slightly distinct variants: Nikon's recension is used by Greek Orthodox Slavs (and—with somewhat stronger orientation toward the old Kievan tradition—by the Greek Catholics); the pre-Nikon, Great-Russian recension is followed by the Old Believers; the Croatian Roman Catholics, in so far as they use Church Slavonic, maintain their own recension, although since the seventeenth century they have incorporated a considerable Kievan strain.

198 In the Slavic standard languages, besides Greek influence, pre-
177 vailing in the area of the Eastern Church, and Latin, predominant in that of the Western, there can be noted a strong Turkic lexical layer in Eastern Slavic and in the majority of Southern Slavic languages, and a German stamp on the vocabulary and phraseology of Slovenian and of Western Slavic languages and on the technical terminology of modern Russian. To some degree all the main Slavic literary languages in their recent phase bear French imprints. Neighboring languages have undergone an appreciable Slavic influence, principally in their vocabulary. This is particularly so

·94 (G) a prosodic pattern based on opposition of rising and falling pitch both in long and short syllables, with word-accent appended to the rising pitch and, in its absence, to the initial syllable (while the Balto-Slavic prosodic pattern had tolerated the word-accent on the second mora of any long syllable and on the initial or final mora of the word).

194 During the second half of the first millennium A.D., the diffusion
197 of innovations within the vast Slavic area became slower, and in particular regional divergences in their temporal order gave rise to certain dialectal features. Differently treated are: prothetic semivowels; vowels plus tautosyllabic liquids and nasals; *ě* (called *jat'*, the reflex of *ē* and *oi*); on the one hand the clusters *tj* and *dj*, and on the other, the fricative *x* when preceded by certain front vowels and followed by certain back vowels ('progressive palatalization') and furthermore, *x* before the reflexes of *oi* ('second regressive palatalization'): either only this *x* or only *tj*, *dj* become hissing sounds; *j* after non-initial labials; *t*, *d* before *l* and nasals; velars before the reflex of *woi*; front vowels before dentals followed by back vowels; the prosodic variety of the accented syllables (long and short, both either falling or rising) which underwent diverse regional modifications and limitations.

Some of the local innovations within the final Protoslavic period serve (1) to distinguish Eastern Slavic (*tort* > *torot*, ъ in *tъrt* had the same treatment as the strong ъ before obstruents, *dj* > *ž*, *bdm* > *m*, initial *j* disappeared before *u* and under certain conditions before *e* becoming *o*), and (2) to divide it into two dialects—Northern (the affricates *č* and *c* coalesced) and Southern (*g* became fricative): North Russian derives from the former, and the other Eastern Slavic speech-varieties from the latter dialect. The difference between Russian and Ukrainian will come later, in the twelfth–thirteenth century, when the tendency to use a common phonemic pattern still persists, but the etymological distribution of these phonemes is already somewhat different (e.g., both Russian and Ukrainian at that time developed the same diphthong *uo*, with the same prothetic *v* in initial position, but in Ukrainian, *uo* originates from *o* before a dropped 'jer,' and in Russian, from *o* under a rising accent). The formation of Byelo-Russian as a

whole will not start until the fifteenth century with its strengthening Polish influence. 194 197

Some dialectal innovations within the final Protoslavic period are common to the whole Western Slavic group (*tj*, *dj* changed to hissing sounds; all the palatalizations of *x* gave *š*). Except the change of the final group *jŏns* into *en* in the Slavic South, and *ě* in the West and North, there are no common, exclusively Southern Slavic innovations: some changes link Southern with Eastern Slavic (velars undergoing the second palatalization were changed into hissing sounds; after labials *j* gave a palatal *l*; *d*, *t* were los before *l* and *n* except in some marginal Slovenian dialects and i Pskov-Russian); some other changes link the Southern group wi h Czechoslovak or at least with its eastern variant now represented by Central Slovak. Certain mutations were undergone by the whole central Slavic area (e.g., change of *g* into a fricative, attested in Czech, Slovak, High Sorbian, Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, South Great-Russian, and part of Slovenian). A wider spread of central isoglosses as opposed to a marginal pattern is the oscillation of 'ě' between *e* and *i* and the connected change of the tautosyllabic groups *on*, *en* to the back and front vowels of the lowest timbre (*u* and mostly *æ*) everywhere except in the Lekhitic, Bulgaro-Macedonian, and in a part of the Slovenian area: here 'ě' oscillates between *e* and *a*, while *on*, *en* became *ъn*, *ьn*; still preserved is the nasal component in the Lekhitic languages and in some border dialects of Slovenian and Macedonian.

The loss of the 'jers,' a feature which expanded slowly in the tenth–twelfth centuries from the Southwest to the Northeast of the Slavic world, was the last common Slavic mutation. Throughout the whole of the Slavic area the 'jers' were lost with one essential limitation: of the two 'jers' in the neighboring syllables, the last (called 'weak') was dropped but the preceding (called 'strong') changed into an unreduced vowel. The loss of the 'jers' destroyed the uniformity of the Slavic syllable—its openness and the harmony of its constituents—and therewith forced the prosodic reshaping of the Slavic languages. (1) *A*. Serbocroatian and Slovenian, and *B*. North Kashubian maintained or partly restored both distinctive features of Protoslavic word-prosody—pitch and quantity: type *A*

194 maintaining and *B* eliminating the quantitative opposition under
197 accent. (2) Having abolished the rising pitch, Czech and Slovak, except for some transitional dialects, automatically fixed the accent on the initial syllable and maintained free quantity. On the contrary, the Eastern Slavic area and Bulgarian, with the adjacent Macedonian strip, abolished quantity in favor of free stress (this evolution is bound up with avoidance of vocalic contraction, whereas the maintenance of quantity implies new long vowels due to contraction). The intermediary zone between the languages with free quantity and those with free stress now presents neither quantity nor free stress—the latter is stabilized on the penult in Polish, Eastern Slovak, and Rusnak, on the first syllable in Sorbian and Southern Kashubian, on the antepenult in Western Macedonian. Thus we distinguish languages (3) without free stress and quantity and (4) with free stress.

The latter two types have a higher number of consonantal phonemes and clusters, the former two, especially the first one, a greater number of vocalic phonemes. The liquids assume a syllabic function only in the phonemic patterns of types 1A and 2; Czech excepted, they participate in the quantitative opposition. Type 4 tends to reduce the number of vocalic phonemes in unstressed position (e.g., to four in North Russian, to three—*u*, *a*, *i*—in South Russian and Byelo-Russian); type 1A reduces the phonemic inventory of velar consonants (mostly losing *x*, and in some Slovenian dialects even *k* and *g*). Only types 3 and 4 tolerate double consonants. Before losing the weak 'jers,' all Slavic dialects, except 1A, maintained the difference between ъ and ь and between the preceding consonants—palatalized before front vowel but not before back vowel. With the loss of the weak 'jers' this consonantal difference became phonemic, but in various ways was then gradually eliminated by 1B and 2, whereas the whole area 4 and most of the intermediary area 3 preserved or even strengthened this opposition. Except Slovenian and Kashubian, the languages which either did not develop or lost palatalization (softness) as a distinctive feature, acquired in different ways a fourth, palatal series of stops besides the labials, dentals, and velars (particularly so in Serbocroatian, Czech, and Slovak). Except for Slovenian,

Serbocroatian, and some Bulgarian dialects where ъ and ь in strong position coalesced into *ə* or *a*, the strong ь in all languages became *e*, while ъ changed to *o* in the whole Eastern Slavic area, in Macedonia, partly also in High Sorbian and Central Slovak; everywhere else it changed to a corresponding unrounded vowel which later in 2 and 3 (but never in 4) coalesced with *e*. The vocalic phonemes of 4 are determined by the opposition of rounded and unrounded; and to the South moreover, the unrounded series splits into front and back: both for the higher and for the lower vowels the Ukrainian and the Bulgarian phonemic pattern distinguishes (a) unrounded front, (b) unrounded back, (c) rounded (back). The change of long vowels into decrescent diphthongs occurs only in the Western borderland of the Slavic world—in Czech, Polabian, and Kashubian.

In various regions of the Slavic world—in some Russian, Polish, Sorbian, and Serbocroatian dialects—the hushing and the corresponding hissing affricates, or generally sibilants, coalesced. A rare phoneme, the sibilant vibrant *r*, formerly common to the majority of the Western Slavic languages, is maintained in Czech and Kashubian.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

THE AUTONOMY of the word and the markedness of word boundaries are preserved both in Protoslavic and in the modern Slavic languages; and there is a clear-cut difference between the treatment of affixes on one hand, and proclitic conjunctions or enclitic particles on the other. The root plus derivational and inflectional suffixes forms a simple word. A root preceded by another root or by a prefix produces a complex word. Prepositions are phonemically treated as prefixes. Derivational suffixes remain an extremely productive means for neology in Slavic languages. Prefixes play only a derivational role but prefixation as such has an important part in the building of Slavic verbal aspects. Alternations of phonemes are relevant auxiliary means in Slavic inflection; pivotal are prosodic alternations both in Protoslavic and in those Slavic languages which maintain in their word structure such

193 distinctive features as pitch, quantity, or place of accent; as a result of the loss of the 'jers' alternations of vowel and zero as well as zero desinences occupy a great place in all Slavic languages. Autonomous alternations of different vowels in the root are in part the residue of Indo-European or Protoslavic processes, and in part essential innovations of separate Slavic languages, e.g., Ukrainian, Polish, Czech. In desinences vocalic alternations conditioned by the stem-end (a characteristic feature of late Protoslavic), remain, in spite of all analogic changes, a pertinent factor in the morphologic structure of modern Slavic languages. Due to various palatalization processes, the alternations of the last stem-consonant are partly inherited from Protoslavic, partly developed in the separate Slavic languages. There is still a pronounced tendency (particularly striking in Russian) to differentiate the alternations used in declension and those used in conjugation.

193 Protoslavic preserved the Indo-European system of cases (Nom.,
197 Acc., Instr., Dat., Gen., Loc.), losing only the ablative which merged with the genitive—the latter took over the ablative desinence for *o*-stems. The use of *m* in the Instr. and Dat. desinences links Slavic with the Baltic and Germanic area. The nominal declension exhibits a strong influence from the pronominal, an interaction of different paradigms, and a tendency to identify paradigms with genders. The impulse to unify the declension continues in separate Slavic languages. All of them tend to eliminate the prepositionless use of the Loc. and of the Dat. of destination. The substitution of the possessive Gen. for the original possessive adjective is widespread. Western and Eastern Slavic languages developed a predicative Instr. Bulgarian and Macedonian, for the most part, have lost declension (as well as the suffixal comparative forms of the adjectives) and developed instead a postpositive article. Distinction of single cases, weakened both formally and functionally in Sorbian, Czech, Slovenian, and Serbocroatian, is firmly held in the other Slavic languages and even enriched by two new cases (Gen. 2 and Loc. 2) in Russian, and the general meanings of the cases remain here distinctly delimited (e.g., the persistence of the Gen. of negation perfectly fits the general meaning of the genitive

as a purely restrictive case). The vocative form is preserved in all Slavic languages except Russian and Slovenian. 193 197

A sharp distinction between the singular and the plural unvaryingly goes through the whole Slavic inflection, whereas the dual, still vital in the Slavic medieval world, died out but for Slovenian, Sorbian, and Slovincian. Residues of the old nominal dual serve to denote nouns after numerals from 'two' to 'four' in Russian and Serbocroatian, and after all numerals in Bulgarian which, along with declension, lost the clear-cut Slavic difference between the substantivized numerals from 'five' and the lower numerals consistently adjectivized. Slavic substantives and adjectives still strikingly distinguish masculine, feminine, and neuter in the singular; in the plural, however, these distinctions are lost by Russian and Bulgarian and tend to weaken as well elsewhere. The difference between the animate and inanimate started for the Acc. Sg. M. in late Protoslavic and became generalized for some other cases in Western Slavic languages, and for the Acc. Pl. in Russian. Bulgarian, Western Slavic languages (particularly Polish and Sorbian), and Ukrainian tend to promote a new, personal gender.

For the adjectives Protoslavic developed a new, definite form which distinguishes more clearly their declension from that of the substantives. In Serbocroatian and Slovenian the difference between the definite and indefinite forms is more or less preserved and marked by prosodic alternations; Bulgarian and Macedonian have reduced the use of the definite form, whereas Byelo-Russian, Ukrainian, and Western Slavic languages tend to eliminate the indefinite doublet; Russian has changed it into a purely predicative, indeclinable form.

The Protoslavic verb had been more essentially reshaped than the noun. Only the forms of the present tense continue closely an Indo-European prototype; the forms of the aorist are perceptibly refashioned, while the forms of the Slavic imperfect have nothing in common with the Indo-European stock. Neither the form nor the function of the Indo-European perfect find correspondence in the Slavic. Besides two sets of simple forms—the sequential past (the so-called 'aorist') and the synchronic past (the so-called 'imperfect'), Slavic created new, compound pasts: the retrospective

193 197 past (inadequately called the 'perfect'), and three pluperfects corresponding to the aorist, the imperfect, and the perfect. Protoslavic abolished the Indo-European subjunctive and innovated a compound conditional. The Indo-European optative was re-formed into an imperative, whereas the old imperative disappeared completely. The middle voice became obsolete and its functions were partly assumed by the Slavic (and Baltic) construction with the enclitic Acc. of the reflexive pronoun which had been generalized for all persons; besides, a periphrastic passive was developing with verbal adjectives changed into participles. The nominal forms of the verb, the infinitive and supine, are due to a convergent development in the Slavic and some other Indo-European dialects. Partly paralleled by the Baltic, Protoslavic developed a system of coupled verbs of perfective (denoting the completion of a process) and imperfective (without such denotation) aspect; of the imperfective verbs a few couples denote the opposition of determined (characterizing the process as an uninterrupted whole) and undetermined aspect. The future was usually expressed by either the present of perfective verbs or different periphrastic constructions with imperfective verbs. Various types of impersonal constructions were developed with a zero-subject and a verb in 3rd pers. Sg. or Pl. as predicate. Conjugation drew upon two stems, one full and another truncated, chiefly regular in their alternation (depending on the vocalic or consonantal onset of the desinence)—a feature which has persisted for the most part to the present time.

This rich set of verbal forms (in Old Church Slavonic an imperfective verb had up to 236 forms, without counting the compound ones) persisted fundamentally through the Middle Ages. Later, most of the Slavic languages generalized the original 'perfect' as the only past; the imperfect and the aorist have been kept only in Sorbian on the one hand, and in Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbocroatian on the other. These same Southern Slavic languages stabilized the use of the verb *xъtěti* 'want' for the compound future and generalized this construction for the perfective verbs as well, somewhat dampening (as Sorbian also does) the opposition of the aspects. Bulgarian and Macedonian have developed the richest

pattern of finite forms with a consistent opposition of direct and indirect narration. Fundamentally, the Protoslavic pattern of aspects, voices, and moods is preserved in all Slavic languages. The imperative becomes (especially in Russian and Ukrainian) a bare stem, agglutinating autonomous suffixes phonemically treated as particles. The supine remained only in Low Sorbian and Slovenian. The infinitive is lost in Bulgarian and Macedonian. Participles tended at an early date to do away with declension and to become gerunds—in the Eastern and partly also in the Western Slavic area they even lost gender and number. 193 197

Enclitics traditionally followed the first accented word, but in languages with free stress the inflected enclitics were attracted by the governing word and then completely eliminated in the whole Eastern Slavic area, except for Western Ukrainian dialects: in the reflexive verbs the pronoun became an inseparable suffix; the other pronominal enclitic forms, richly developed in Protoslavic, were lost; the auxiliary verb as used in the 3rd pers. Sg. Neutr. of the compound forms was generalized (in the conditional *by* and in the pluperfect *bylo* became mere particles); in the 'perfect' the pres. 3rd pers. zero-form of the auxiliary verb *byti* 'be,' when used for all persons, changed the 'perfect' into a simple form. Subsequently the present of *byti* was likewise omitted in its other functions and the use of the correlative verb *imĕti* 'have' essentially reduced; the abolishment of the copula favored asyndeton; finally, in personal constructions the use of pronouns, which was pleonastic for the Slavic pattern, became normal and their omission, which was normal for the Slavic pattern, became elliptic. 193

Word order underwent some alterations in the separate development of the Slavic languages. Particularly the verb tends to a medial position in the sentence and the place of attributes depends on regional changes in the system of definite and indefinite adjectives. Generally, word order is still based on the same principles as in Protoslavic: there is one basic pattern and a set of usual deviations each of which possesses a distinct semantic or stylistic value. In the spoken Slavic languages hypotaxis is weakly developed and less used than parataxis. The evolution of Slavic languages shows an extreme instability of conjunctions and relative pronouns.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Chapter Two

RUSSIA AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE SLAVS, OR THE MYTH OF PANSLAVISM

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IN a Latin treatise, published in 1826 and devoted to the universal Slav language, the Slovak writer, Herkel, uses the expression, 'verus panslavismus'. He was the father of a word which, taken in a political sense, was destined, after 1848, to ring through the world.

If the word was new, what it denoted was old. The notion of Slav solidarity, implying a more or less organic plan for union among Slavs, progressed for three centuries along the paths of philology and literature. It was originated by a poet, the Ragusan Ivan Gondoulich (1588–1638), author of *Osman*, an epic poem in the style of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. He formulated the idea of mutual assistance among Slavs, with a view to the redemption of the Turk-oppressed race, by singing the victories of Prince Ladislas, the future Ladislas IV, who routed the infidels on the banks of the Dniestr. It was a hymn of gratitude and hope, offered up by the Catholic Slavs of the Adriatic coasts, and addressed to Poland after her ephemeral successes.

Shortly after Gondoulich, a Catholic priest of Croatia, Youraj Krijanich (1618–1683), spoke in burning accents of the 'Slavonic nation'; his work, a mixture of linguistics, history and politics, bears traces of exalted intellectual and sentimental emotions, influenced perhaps, in a confused way, by memories of Byzantium. In Krijanich is shown, for the first time, a clear consciousness, developed beyond the limits of a poetic formula, of the unity of the Slavonic race. Turning no longer towards Poland, but towards Russia, he had a prophetic conception of that country's rôle as a consolidating factor for Slav energies. [198] Krijanich, a Croat, a Papist and a Russophile, expressed himself in a strange dialect—a mixture of Croatian, Russian, and Paleoslav—in the hope of creating an idiom of intellectual solidarity for use among all Slavs, whom he called 'our people'. The result is that we are uncertain whether to class him with Russian or with Croatian literature. Whereas Gondoulich saw

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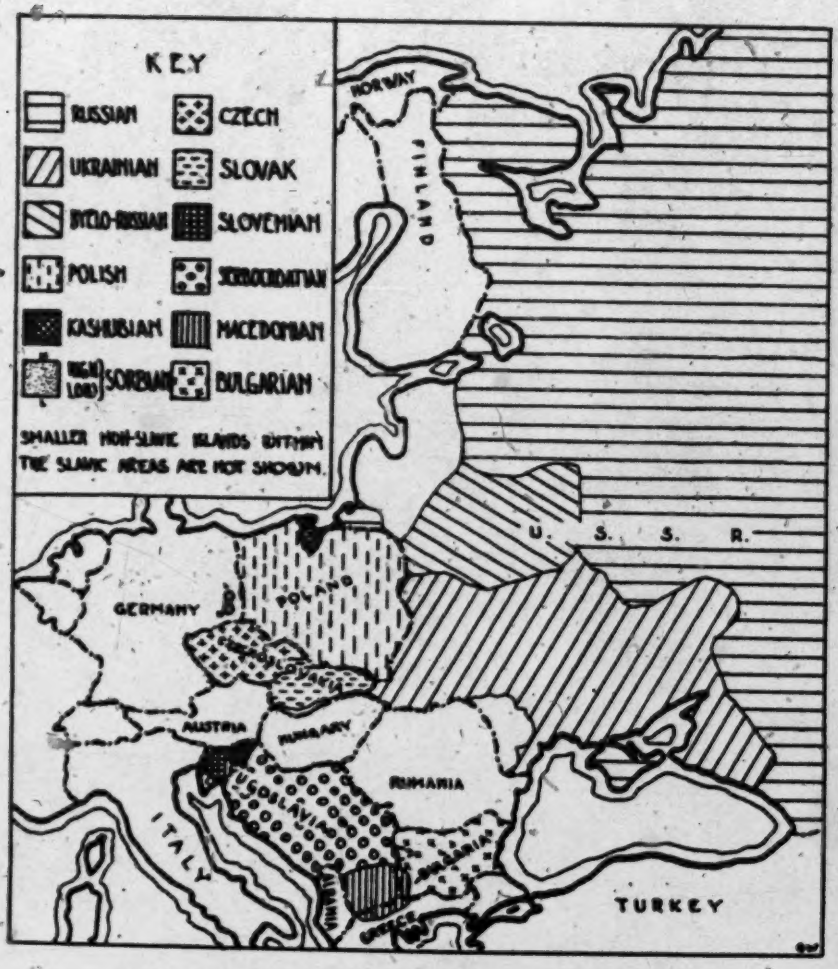

APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVIC LANGUAGES IN PRESENT-DAY EUROPE

MAP PREPARED BY G. WEINREICH

[facing p. 1]

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DISTRIBUTION, SUBDIVISIONS

198 AT THE PRESENT TIME the Slavic world comprises thirteen languages,
162 each with a distinct literary standard. In the usual classification they are distributed into three groups—Eastern, Western, and Southern Slavic.

Eastern Slavs. (1) RUSSIAN (Great-Russian) is spoken as a native language by the preponderant majority (73 per cent) in the Russian SFSR and by minor groups in the other Republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Moreover, being the principal cultural and state language of the USSR, it is employed as a second tongue in nearly all parts of the Soviet Union that have non-Russian native populations. The study of Russian is promoted on a vast scale in the school programs of all, especially Slavic, states within the Soviet sphere of influence; the official Soviet phraseology labels Russian as "the future world language of Socialism." (2) UKRAINIAN (Little-Russian, Ruthenian) is the native language of the vast majority in the Ukrainian SSR and of minor groups in the RSFSR and some other Republics of the Soviet Union. Outside the USSR, there is a compact Ukrainian minority in Northeastern Slovakia. (3) BYELO-RUSSIAN (White-Russian, White-Ruthenian) is the major language of the Byelo-Russian SSR. According to official Soviet estimates, at the start of the Second World War there were in the Eastern Hemisphere some 99 million native speakers of Russian, over 36 million of Ukrainian, and up to 8 million of Byelo-Russian.

Western Slavs. (4) POLISH is the native tongue of the overwhelming majority of the present population of Poland, of 100,000 Poles in the Těšín district of Czechoslovakia, and of a vanishing minority in those parts of pre-War Poland incorporated into the USSR; in all, at least 21 million speak Polish in the Eastern
000 Hemisphere. (5) KASHUBIAN is spoken in Poland by some

(5) KASHUBIAN is spoken in Poland by some
198 200,000 people on the left bank of the Lower Vistula. To the
162 northwest, away from this compact Kashubian area (in the Stołp district), survive the last few families that still know SLOVINCIAN, an archaic variant of Kashubian. These are the remnants of the POMORANIAN group which in the early Middle Ages extended from the Lower Vistula to the Lower Oder and was later Germanized. The Pomoranian group together with Polish belongs to the larger unit of the so-called LEKHITIC languages, which also includes POLABIAN, the former language of the Elbe (Laba) area. The last remnant of Polabian on the left bank of the lower Elbe (Dravāno-Polabian) died out toward the middle of the eighteenth century, but is known through a few vocabulary lists and short texts recorded about 1700. The other extinct Lekhitic languages are known only from isolated words and proper names, mostly toponymic. The Kashubs were alternately under Polish and German rule and thus were subjected both to a heavy Germanization and to a strong influence of the closely related Polish language. At the present time Kashubian is treated as a regional vernacular, and its cultural role is limited to a few folk publications, plays, radio programs, and social gatherings. (6) and (7) LOW and HIGH SORBIAN (Lusatian, Lower and Upper Wendish) are spoken by some 150,000 people on the Upper Spree. Surrounded by German, they form two neighboring linguistic islets, the northern one being Low Lusatia (Dolna Lužica) in Prussia and the adjacent part of Saxony with its center at Kottbus (Chośebuz), and the southern one being Upper Lusatia (Hornja Lužica) in Saxony with its center at Bautzen (Budyšin)—the former Protestant and the latter Catholic. Together with the disappearing Eastern Sorbian dialect around Muskau (Mužakow), these are the last remnants of a linguistic group that was quite extensive during the Middle Ages and bordered Polabian on the North, Polish on the East, and Czech on the South, forming a linguistically intermediate zone between these three languages. After the Second World War both Sorbian languages have been, for the first time, introduced into primary and secondary schools of Lusatia. (8) CZECH
198 is, since the postwar transfer of the German minority, almost the
162 only language of the whole western part of Czechoslovakia (Bohemia

and Moravia including the Czech part of old Silesia). Adjacent to this compact area, there are small Czech communities in Kladsko and Upper Silesia (both belonging to present-day Poland). (9) SLOVAK is the predominant native language of Slovakia (an autonomous part of Czechoslovakia). In Europe Czech is spoken by over 8½ million and Slovak about 3 million people.

Southern Slavs. (10) SLOVENIAN is spoken in the Slovenian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslovia) and in small adjacent areas of Austria and Italy. (11) SERBO-CROATIAN covers the greatest part of Yugoslavia: Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia. In the Europe of 1940 Slovenian was spoken by almost 1¾ million and Serbocroatian by some 11 million people. The standard language of the Greek Orthodox Serbs and the Catholic Croats is the same, except for a few lexical variations and the adaptation of the Russian alphabet by the former and of the Latin by the latter. (12) MACEDONIAN is the prevailing language of the Macedonian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslavia). The central dialect, belonging to the Western Macedonian group, has recently been elevated to the status of a standard language. There are about a million native Macedonians including those in the adjacent areas of Bulgaria and Greece. (13) BULGARIAN is the dominant language in Bulgaria. At the end of 1940 it was spoken by about 6 million people in Europe including Bulgarian colonies in the USSR and Bulgars in the part of Dobrudja that remained under Rumania.

Incomplete data on the extent of some of the Slavic languages in the United States are given in the 1940 census: 585,080 people with Russian as their mother-tongue; 83,000 (?) with Ukrainian; 2,416,320 with Polish; 520,440 with Czech; 484,360 with Slovak; 178,640 with Slovenian; 153,080 with Serbocroatian. From the Canadian census of 1951 we may cite the following figures indicating the mother tongue: Ukrainian, 352,323; Polish, 129,238; Slovak, 45,516; Russian, 39,223; Serbocroatian, 11,031.

As a consequence of World War II, western Byelo-Russia was detached from Poland, and the western Ukrainian areas from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania and were incorporated into

728 the USSR; the Polish and Kashubian sections of Germany passed to Poland; some Slovenian and Croatian dominions of Italy to Yugoslavia; and a part of Dobrudja was returned from Rumania
162 to Bulgaria. The total number of Slavs in the world is now over
198 200 million. Except for a few border minorities and Americans with Slavic mother-tongues, all Slavic peoples, save the Sorbs, live in states with a Slavic majority and state language—USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria.

197 Between the three Eastern Slavic languages there are intermediate dialectal areas. Russian is divided into Northern, Southern and transitional (Middle Russian) dialects, each of them with archaic islets presenting salient common features. Ukrainian dialects are classified into Northern, Southeastern, Southwestern, and Carpathian groups; the marginal dialects (called Rusnak) of the latter group are Slovak-influenced. Byelo-Russian is divided into two dialects—the Northeastern and the Southwestern, disclosing a stronger Polish impact. Polish contains, besides various border dialects, two fundamental groups: Great and Little Polish in the Northwest and Southeast respectively. Kashubian comprehends two types of dialects: the Southern, and the Northern, which includes Slovincian. In Czech there are Bohemian, Central Moravian, and Silesian groups, with transitional dialects from group to group and from Czech to Slovak and to Polish. Slovak consists of three dialectal types: Central; Western, closely linked with Czech; and Eastern, connected with Polish and Ukrainian. Slovenian exhibits great dialectal variety. Serbocroatian from East to West presents three basic groups: Štokavian, Čakavian, and Kajkavian which is transitional to Slovenian. Bulgarian is divided into three basic dialects: Western, Northeastern, and Southeastern. Macedonian sets up a scale of intermediary dialectal zones between West Bulgarian and Štokavian.

PROTOSLAVIC; EXPANSION

PROTOSLAVIC (Primitive Slavic), which substituted (1) *s*, *z* for advanced *k*, *g*, and (2) *x* for the old *s* preceded by *i*, *u*, *r*, *k*, was a Western offshoot of the satem-group of Indo-European languages

538 nineteenth century, was only sporadically linked with earlier
197 attempts: it raised to literary usage a folk dialect of Herzegovina and emphatically rejected Church Slavonic or Russian ingredients and the influence of any older literary heritage. A similar populist tendency characterized the rise at the same period of modern literary Ukrainian which was first used in the burlesques of the very late eighteenth century, and in its further development oscillated between the Western (Polish-influenced) and the Eastern (Russian-influenced) variants. Both Standard Byelo-Russian and Macedonian modestly entered into literature in the nineteenth century and acquired civil rights—the former after the First, the latter after the Second World War. On the other hand, modern Standard Bulgarian, likewise formed during the nineteenth century after some isolated earlier attempts, strongly and consistently continued to borrow from Russian and particularly from its Church Slavonic stock. Toward the middle of the same century, the Slovaks, who had used literary Czech (somewhat adapted to their own habits), inaugurated their own literary language based on the Central Slovak dialect but patterned after standard Czech.

197 Church Slavonic perseveres as a liturgic language in several
795 slightly distinct variants: Nikon's recension is used by Greek Orthodox Slavs (and—with somewhat stronger orientation toward the old Kievan tradition—by the Greek Catholics); the pre-Nikon, Great-Russian recension is followed by the Old Believers; the Croatian Roman Catholics, in so far as they use Church Slavonic, maintain their own recension, although since the seventeenth century they have incorporated a considerable Kievan strain.

198 In the Slavic standard languages, besides Greek influence, pre-
177 vailing in the area of the Eastern Church, and Latin, predominant in that of the Western, there can be noted a strong Turkic lexical layer in Eastern Slavic and in the majority of Southern Slavic languages, and a German stamp on the vocabulary and phraseology of Slovenian and of Western Slavic languages and on the technical terminology of modern Russian. To some degree all the main Slavic literary languages in their recent phase bear French imprints. Neighboring languages have undergone an appreciable Slavic influence, principally in their vocabulary. This is particularly so

9: Jakobson L-4 (no date) 1955 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

for the Baltic languages, Albanian, Greek, Rumanian, Yiddish (in the syntax of the latter two, as well), for Gipsy in Slavic environment, for most of the Uralic, Altaic, and Paleosiberian languages, and for Aleut and Alaska Eskimo. 198 177

Systems of Writing. In order to symbolize the sovereignity of the Slavic language, St. Cyril invented a quite distinct alphabet, adapting and modifying certain Greek, Samaritan, perhaps Coptic, and other Oriental letters. This alphabet, called GLAGOLITIC, was used in Great Moravia, and then in Bohemia and Croatia, Macedonia, and partly in Bulgaria. In the latter country it met strong competition from the so-called CYRILLIC alphabet which had been created there at the beginning of the tenth century to bring Slavic writing closer to the Greek—both Slavic alphabets occur in the fragmentary inscriptions of Preslava from the early tenth century. Cyrillic won out in all of the Greek Orthodox Slavic countries and is still used there in the Church, while for lay purposes it was refashioned under Peter the Great and the shape of the letters brought closer to the Latin: this modification spread from Russia to all Slavs of the Eastern rite. Since the twelfth century the Glagolitic alphabet has been limited to Croatia, except for isolated attempts of single Czech and Polish monasteries to borrow this Croatian habit in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. With the sixteenth century it began to disappear from secular Croatian writings and the area of its Church usage has become more and more limited, but after the Second World War spadework has been undertaken among Slavic Benedictines for a new extension of the Slavonic liturgy. With these exceptions all the Catholic Slavs now use the Latin alphabet. The fourteenth century Czech system of expressing those phonemes which have no graphic symbols in the Latin alphabet by various digraphs is still the basis for Polish spelling, whereas the Czechs have introduced the diacritic system, first tried by Jan Hus under the influence of the Glagolitic alphabet. This kind of spelling is now general for all Slavs of Western denominations with the exception of Poles and Kashubs. 212 177

SAMPLES

198 SINCE the Gospel has been universally translated, a sample may be selected from it in the various Slavic languages. We choose the colloquial sentence from St. Luke 10.35 (using and completing Nahtigal's quotations in his Slovanski jeziki and applying the American scholarly transliteration for the non-Latin alphabets): 'Take care of him: and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.'

Old Church Slavonic (Bulgarian recension): prileži emъ. i eže ašte priiždiveši. azъ egda vъzvrašto sę vъzdamь ti.

Modern Greek Orthodox (Cyrillic) Church Slavonic: prileži jemu: i, ježe ašče priiždiveši, az, jegda vozvraščusja, vozdam ti.

Modern Roman Catholic (Glagolitic) Church Slavonic: Prileži jemu, i ježe ašće priiždiveši, az jegda vazvraću se, vzdam ti.

Russian: pozabot'sja o nëm; i esli izderžiš' čto bolee, ja vernuvšis' (*or* kogda vozvraščus'), otdam tebe.

Ukrainian: Dohljadaj joho, i ščo nad se vydasy, ja, vernuvšys', oddam tobi.

Byelo-Russian: dahljadaj jaho i, kali vydaš što balej, ja, vjarnuwšysja, addam tabe.

Polish: Miej o nim staranie, a cokolwiek nad to wynałożysz, ja, gdy się wrócę, oddam ci.

Kashubian: Mnjej ŭo njim stôranji, a cokolwjek nad to wëdôsz, jô, ciej sę wrócę, ŭoddôm cé.

Low Sorbian: Zastaraj jogo, a cožkuli wěcej nałožyš, zapłašim tebje, gaž se vrošim.

High Sorbian: Zastaraj jeho, a štožkuli wjacy wułožiš, zapłaću tebi, hdyž so wróću.

Czech: Měj o něj péči, a cožkoli nad to vynaložíš, já když se vrátím, zaplatím tobě.

Slovak: Maj na neho starosť, a čo by si nad to viacej vynaložil, ja ti, keď zase prijdem, zaplatím.

Slovenian: Poskrbi zanj, in kar boš več potrošil, ti jaz nazaj gredé povrnem.

Serbocroatian: Gledaj ga, i što više potrošiš ja ću ti platiti kad se vratim.

Macedonian: Zagriži se za nego, i što ke izarčiš ke ti platam koga ke se vratam. 198

Bulgarian: Pogriži se za nego; i kakvoto poveče iždiviš, na vrъštane az šte ti zaplatja.

COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

THE CHARACTERISTIC tendencies of Slavic evolution before the dissolution of unity are: (A) the complete abolition of aspiration (a loss common to all those Indo-European branches which did not set up a new *h* phoneme), and the persevering clear-cut opposition of voicing and voicelessness; (B) the consistent opposition of front and back vowels and accordingly that of 'soft' and 'hard' syllables, achieved by all kinds of mutual adaptation between vowels and adjacent consonants; (C) the recasting of prothetic semivowels (at the beginning of the word certain vowels require either the presence or the avoidance of an initial *v*, while other vowels that of an initial *j*); (D) the change of the short *u* and *i* into reduced vowels ('jers,' according to their Church Slavonic spelling name), the back ъ and the front ь; (E) the gradual elimination of closed syllables: loss of final consonants, simplification of consonantal clusters, reshaping of all diphthongs ending in *u* and *i* (*ou* > *ū*; *ei* > *ī*; *oi* > *ē*, but in final position *oi* is represented either by *ē* or by *ī*, going back to a difference in quantity), suppression of tautosyllabic groups 'vowel (dialectally only the non-reduced one) plus liquid or nasal': in initial position the group *ŏr** > *ra*; *ŏr* > *ra* only in the South Slavic area and Central Slovak, and > *ro* elsewhere; between consonants the groups *ŏr* and *ŏr* (1) changed into *ra* in the South Slavic and Czechoslovak area (with a parallel mutation of ъr into *ṛ*), (2) dissolved into a disyllabic sequence—Polish-Sorbian *tъrot* (with a metathesis) and East Slavic *torot* (without a metathesis), (3) merged with ъr in North-Lekhitic; in those Slavic dialects where the groups *on*, *en* preserved the nasal, they were changed into ъn, ьn; (F) substitution of qualitative for old quantitative distinctions and development of new quantitative vocalic oppositions; 194

* *r* in these formulas stands for any liquid, *o* for any open non-reduced vowel, *ъ* for any reduced vowel, *t* for any consonant.

6: Mousset H-4 - (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

numerous Soviet militants, including the composer, Dmitry Chostakovich, member of the Panslav Committee, who, opposing the Pan-Germanic theories, vindicated Slavonic culture. 'I am proud to be a Russian, I boast of being a Slav. . . . If we must speak of "superior" and "inferior" representatives of humanity, then we can class the German Fascists in the category of the basest! Have they not profaned Yasnaia Poliana (Leo Tolstoy's house), the most sacred treasure of the Russian nation; trodden underfoot Tchaikovsky's scripts at Klin; destroyed at Tikhvina the house where Rimsky Korsakov was born; demolished immortal monuments of Russian architecture at Novgorod and Istra? . . . May all the spiritual forces, all the intellectuals of the glorious family of the Slavonic nations intrepidly fulfil the great mission entrusted to them by history!' 186* 668

The philosophy of this Congress was summed up in an article in the form of a programme, from the pen of the Russian writer, Alexis Tolstoy, and published by the *Pravda* of Moscow:

'We must revise the whole history of the Slavonic peoples. Our contribution to European civilisation has not been less than that of other peoples. During the space of a thousand years, our young blood gave life to Byzantium in its decrepitude. It was thanks to the Slavs that Byzantium preserved ancient civilisation, and transmitted it to feudal Europe. The Slavonic peoples, hard-working, lovers of liberty, peace, and culture had as their neighbours, on the east, nomadic Empires which always cherished the chimerical design of conquering the world, and, on the west, medieval emperors whose imposing cavalcades were no less vain. These aggressions from the east and from the west broke against the intrepid resistance of the Slavonic world. The role of the Slavonic peoples in the formation of European Humanism has not yet been appreciated at its true value. . . . Slavs, to arms! Up, for our mutual relentless struggle!' [544] [829]

Would you not take this—except for the religious note—for a page from one of the Slavophiles of the forties, or a speech by the historian, Pogodin, at the 1867 Congress?

Anticipating Tolstoy's hopes, the Congress had decided on the publication of a monthly review (*The Slavs*), the aim of which was to make known the services rendered to humanity by the Slav civilisation and to tighten the bonds uniting its present representatives. 186* 203

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The Third Panslav Congress opened in Moscow on May 9, 1943. Two thousand people assembled—authors, artisans, soldiers, partisans, priests of the Eastern rites. There were seen, side by side, the Soviet General Alexander Gondorov, the Czech Colonel Svoboda, the Colonel of the Polish 'Kosciuszko' Division, Sigmund Berling, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Nicolas. Once more the union of all the oppressed Slavs was urged; the Czechs were invited to evade the total mobilisation which the Germans were organising in their country. Already the partisans were everywhere at work; the Soviet victories guaranteed the triumph of the common cause. The Congress voted messages to Stalin, to Churchill, to Roosevelt, to all the Slavs in the world. 186* 668

In the month of July,[1] an exhibition in Moscow showed specimens of the independent Slav press—of more than a hundred reviews and newspapers which were then appearing in the United States, in Great Britain, in Canada, in Australia, in the Argentine. 186* 204

The Panslav Committee held its sixth full Assembly in Moscow on October 16 and 17, 1943. It voted congratulations to the Red Army, to the Yugoslav partisans, to the first Czecho-Slovak Brigade in Russia—which was about to leave for the front—to the Union of Poles (since October 12 the Kosciuszko Division had been in the firing line). The Czech Zdenek Mejedli, Professor of Musical Art in Prague, spoke of the reconstitution of Czechoslovak unity; the Metropolitan Nicolas told of the German Army's atrocities on Russian territory; the Academician Derjavin recounted the exploits of Russian military history—the defeat inflicted by Alexander Nevsky on the Teutonic Knights on the ice of Lake Peipus (1242), the prophecy of the victor, 'He who attacks us with the sword will perish by the sword', which, for seven centuries, was the watchword of the Russians; the crushing of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg (Grunwald) in 1410; Frederick's defeat in the Seven Years' War (Jagersdorf, Kunersdorf) which carried the Muscovite troops to Berlin; the failure of the German adventure in Ukraine in 1918. 186* 668 575

'We see', Derjavin was to write, 'the Slavonic peoples' hatred of the Fascist invader grow under our eyes. . . . One single front of national revolt unites the Slavs against Hitlerism in the name of the defence of liberty, of political independence, of civilisation and honour'.

1 [1943 -- Analyst]

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186* Negroids, and of Jews, and that this degeneracy warrants our
648 suspecting American morals'. Remarks which were not very
723 flattering for the Slovaks, the Croats, and the Bulgars, whose Governments were still allies of the Axis. 'Naturally', Radoslavov, a Bulgarian minister was to say, 'we belong to the Slavonic race. But we are, first and foremost, Bulgars. We act in accordance with our own interests and not with the interests of the Slavonic peoples in general'. And the *Zora,* of Sofia, went one farther, reproaching Stalin, a Georgian, who had always rejected racial concepts, for posing as the head of the Slavs, and for rallying to racial theories. 'With God's help', this paper concluded, 'the Soviets will never be able to overthrow the Eastern front'.

Other objections kept polemical discussions alive. M. Benes one day expressed to the Czechoslovak Council his desire to see Poland 'independent, democratic, and friendly', joining the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement. 'This', he said, 'would mean the definite settlement of all the differences outstanding between our three countries and would assure their future by guaranteeing peace in this part of the globe; Germany would never again dare to start a world war'.

186* This declaration aroused unfriendly or sceptical comments
829 in part of the Turkish press. For a long time that press had been
204 watching the development of the Slavonic orientation in Soviet policy. 'The new Panslav movement', the officially-inspired *Ulus* had said, 'will be followed with the greatest attention, especially by those non-Slavonic nations which were formerly the object of that policy'.[9]

This time it was the *Tanin* which asked why, since the expression 'Pangermanic Imperialism' applied to the union of Germans, that of 'Panslavonic Imperialism' should not describe the union of Slavs? An article in *Pravda,*[10] an obvious reflection of Moscow's ideas on Slav solidarity, refuted this assertion at great length. The Soviet leader-writer recalled that, for a thousand years, the history of Eastern Europe had been that of the defence of the Slavonic peoples against the German invader. 'The historical atmosphere has changed', he said, 'but the object of the German conquerors is unchangeable—to separate the Slavs by force'. There were, he added (for the benefit of the

[9] August 13, 1941.
[10] February 19, 1944.

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Turkish journalist) some people in Eastern Europe who would like to return to the old policy of oppression of the Slavonic peoples. . . . The new friendship among these peoples, related to each other and bound by century-old ties of a common culture, was being tempered in the crucible of the war of liberation. . . . Their *rapprochement* would displease none but those who dreamed of seeing them dominated once again'. 186* 829 204

* * *

The Orlemanski affair has shown us an attempt at Slav solidarity in the domain of religious tolerance. In the same order of things, but this time in connection with the Orthodox Slavs, we cannot omit to mention the deep impression produced by the restoration of juridical personality to the Russian Orthodox Church (September, 1943) and the elevation of the Metropolitan Serge to the office of Patriarch, abolished in 1721 by Peter the Great and which enjoyed a brief restoration in 1917. With its hundred and fifty million followers, the Orthodox community, placed at the cross-roads of the war, was undergoing one of the most tragic crises in its history. Its suffering was all the more serious, inasmuch as the Orthodox Churches are organised on national lines, in contrast to the hierarchical unity of Roman Catholicism. These churches are bound together by identical doctrine and canons. But, in the course of the centuries, they have progressively relaxed the bonds of dependence which used to attach them to the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. Religious autonomy has advanced side by side with the emancipation of the nationalities. In restoring the rights of the Church, Stalin not only indicated his desire to reawaken the traditions of Russian national life, within the framework of a social renovation; he also tightened the historic bonds between his country and the Balkan nations of the Orthodox religion, thus reinforcing, by new spiritual affinities, sympathies founded on community of race, of oppression, and of destiny. 186* 659 795

Germany tried to foil this policy by summoning to Vienna, on November 5, under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Belgrade, the Orthodox prelates adhering to the Axis cause, and especially the Metropolitans of Berlin and of Paris, who declared the election of the new Patriarch to be null and void. This demonstration was of no effect; the vast majority of the Serbian, Rumanian, Greek and Bulgarian hierarchies either had nothing 648 793 795

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175 648 aggressive policy, or against any other State which might revive this policy, under any form whatsoever.

Backed both without and within by the might of Moscow, Tito's régime seemed to be irresistibly established.

Its[1] first care had been to renew its claim to the territories of which Yugoslavia had been defrauded immediately after the First World War. It raised the question of Trieste and its hinterland. The Yugoslav delegation in London warmly defended a case supported by detailed and absolutely pertinent documentation, based on ethnographic and economic considerations. But they were imprudent enough to allow it to be understood that they would lay claim to Aegean or Hellenic Macedonia—which was bound to alienate the goodwill of Great Britain. They also mentioned the exorbitant sum which they intended to demand from Italy by way of reparations—thereby upsetting the United States, from whom Italy was at the same time seeking material aid to help her out of her desperate financial situation.

642 661 175 Yet, to tell the truth, the distrustful atmosphere which grew up around the Yugoslav claims arose more directly from the form of government and the political principles established by Tito. Under colour of anti-Fascism, the régime exercised the same reprisals against all its detractors. It was accused of borrowing the methods of the totalitarian régimes; the Opposition said that it had introduced the word 'Democracy' into the name of the State in order to dispense with it in reality, as, in the past, Pavelich gave the name of 'Independent State of Croatia' to a political offshoot of the Axis. He governed, on Russian lines, a very sensitive nation, which perhaps had not a very 'Western' notion of democracy, but had always shown itself stubbornly attached to the external forms of its independence. Certainly Tito had succeeded in grouping around him zealous young men, who had been tested under fire and were indifferent to the juridical or constitutional rites which, in the West, accompany the exercise of liberty. Certainly, too, the Yugoslav National Front represented itself not as a single party but as a synthesis of all the various energies resolved to work for the restoration of public life.

656 •204 625 Nevertheless to Anglo-American eyes the régime appeared to be a dictatorship. Was not its slogan—'No liberty for the enemies of liberty'—calculated to justify an administration

1 [Tito's régimes -- Analyst]

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founded on despotism and personal power? The law of August 25, 1945 on the control of the press banned not only the ex-'collaborators', but also the publishers of 'alarmist' news or of news 'contrary to the general interest'—as conceived by the Government, naturally. A well-informed police organisation, modelled on Russian methods, ceaselessly exercised a very close watch over public opinion and, naturally, indulged in arbitrary arrests and acts of violence. 656 204 625

This policy led to dissension within the Government. The leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, Milan Grol, resigned on August 19[1]; on October 8[1] he was followed into retirement by Dr. Ivan Choubachich and the Minister Chouteï, both Croat Agrarians. 578 175

Choubachich's resignation was serious, for it upset a ministerial equilibrium which had been agreed upon among the Allies. Yet what was this agreement worth, since Tito, repudiating the terms of the compromise which had sanctioned his authority, had pronounced against the monarchy? 'Not one of our combatants thought that anything new could be created under the leadership of the King, especially as the Nediches and Mihaïloviches committed their crimes in his name. . . . The point is, whether the monarchy is compatible with the new system of Yugoslav Federal Democracy. . . . For several reasons, I think it is not'.

The next day (August 8, 1945) King Peter replied to this declaration by withdrawing from the Regents the power they held from him.

Tito was not intimidated by this retort. He declared that the Government acted in agreement with all the creative and constructive forces of the country, with all sincerely democratic parties. The masses of the populace had acquired, during the war, firmly-rooted political knowledge which had nothing in common with the electoral catchwords with which they previously used to be taken in.

The Opposition replied that free elections would prove the truth of this assertion, whereas those to which the country had been called were not free. The Americans and the English repeatedly emphasised the reserves they made regarding their attitude towards the régime which would result from this poll. 666 829 175

The elections took place on November 11.[1] They gave to the

1 [1945-- Analyst]

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186* solidarity capable of disturbing the balance of power in Europe.
829 And even so, we have to give an objective definition of this
648 solidarity—a task rendered difficult by the traditional prejudices, the historical misinterpretations which, in the minds of many Westerners, have falsified the laws and motives which govern the expansion of Slavism.

563 No need to go far afield to see the effects of this ignorance
829 of Slavonic realities, even when it is not reinforced by a feeling of animosity. In witness, I will simply cite this passage from a speech pronounced in the Tribunal of the French Senate on May 4, 1933, by the Chairman of the Committee for the Budget on Foreign Affairs:—

> 'That is a point to be noted, *viz.*, the awakening of the Slavonic race. . . . The objection is raised that Rumania is not essentially Slavonic; agreed. But there is Poland, there are the Baltic States, and, farther off still, the wholly Slavonic U.S.S.R., which is, so to speak, the mother of all the Slavonic nations of Central and Eastern Europe'.[3]

These few sentences, from the mouth of an authoritative speaker, contain as many errors as there are words. Rumania is not Slavonic, either essentially or in appearance. Still less the Baltic States. Far from being entirely Slavonic, the Soviet Union is hardly more than fifty per cent so. As for considering it the original habitation of the Slavonic tribes of Central and Eastern Europe, to do this is to settle, with an enviable assurance, a problem whose solution the most eminent ethnologists are still seeking.

Such was, however, the idea current in our official circles, on the eve of this War, concerning one of the determining factors of European peace.

186* Even so, the honourable Parliamentarian who pronounced
829 these gross untruths before his colleagues of the Senate was not
• 208 prompted by malevolence when he spoke of an awakening of the Slavonic nations. This was not always the case with our journalists and their supporters. It would be possible to compile an anthology of ill-disposed or apprehensive judgements on the Slavonic world, from the pens of French intellectuals, or of men responsible for pronouncements on foreign policy. Is it necessary

[3] *Journal Officiel* of May 5 (1933), p. 791, col. 1.

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to add that, from the last quarter of the nineteenth century up to the Sarajevo outrage, Slavonic problems were localised in the Balkans, and that this did not help to facilitate their understanding, nor to procure for them an impartial judgement? 186* 829 208•

European 'volcano,' or 'rheumatism,' 'nest of vipers'—day in, day out, metaphors such as these flowed from the pens of our propagandists and diplomats when they were reviewing Balkan politics, because they were not prepared to admit that the crises in which these politics involved Europe were simply the repercussions of rivalry and scheming among the Great Powers.

If we leave diplomatic and political circles and pass to the public at large, we find that the word 'Slav' aroused more distrust than curiosity. For some people, it smacked of Nihilism or of Revolution; for others (forgetting that more than a quarter of the Slavonic world is Catholic) it held a menace to the unity of the Church. Slav refugees had fought on all the barricades during the nineteenth century; their names figured largely in the police alien records. In short, this word 'Slavism' suggested a set of psychological characteristics, rather than a geographical or national reality, and these characteristics—or their interpretation—made up a picture which the average Frenchman did not find very reassuring for Latin civilisation.

Whereas the political world adopted the caricature of Slavism outlined by the diplomats of the Ballplatz, the intellectual world, in its turn, often fell under German influence when dealing with the problems of Slavonic life. There was, in France, especially after 1870, a brilliant school of Slavicisers, who had studied the question on the spot. But for a long time it was restricted to a small number of enthusiasts, who lacked a sufficiently numerous audience to popularise their teaching. [814]

Moreover, the early history of this teaching was unfortunate. The first holder of the Chair 'of Slavonic Language and Literature' at the *Collège de France* was Poland's most celebrated poet, Adam Mickiewicz. He was denounced to the Senate as a 'Panslavist'—a vague, but serious offence. For the time being, a well-chosen plural was sufficient to remove this offence: the chair changed its title and became the 'Chair of Languages and Literatures of Slavonic Origin'. Later on, however, Mickiewicz, accused of exaggerated mysticism and eccentricity, was obliged to give up lecturing altogether. The fate 186* 558

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186* 812 the Hegelian philosophical construction, whence came the German Ultranationalist ideal, and which was now, through Khomyakov and his school (Kirejevsky, Constantin and Ivan Aksakov, Youri Samarin), to give rise to a powerful anti-Germanist reaction.

186* 539 Khomyakov's odes constitute what we might call the epigraph of Muscovite Slavophilia. They are a pathetic and prophetic appeal to Slav solidarity: 'Look Southwards over the vast steppes, and the distant West. . . Numerous are they, in the Carpathians and in the chasm of the Balkans, numerous are our brethren, slaves of the Turk or of the German. . . . Warm them at the fire of your love, and the day will come when the eaglets, our brethren, bursting their bonds with their brazen beaks, will, in their turn, fly off, as eagles fly'. (*Ode to the Eagle,* 1832.) The *leitmotiv* of these odes is the divine mission of Russia, who is to raise up her brethren and snatch them from the oppressor's yoke. But this mission does not go beyond a moral hegemony. 'Be not proud', says the poet elsewhere, 'in your dealings with Belgrade, O Prague, capital of the Czech countries! Despise not the Bohemian sanctuary of Vychegrad, O Moscow of the gilded domes! Brothers in blood, let us all remember that we owe each other equal and fraternal affection'.

186* 208 The Slavophile school, in its early days, had what we should now call a 'bad press'. The Westernists, who then controlled the critics and moulded opinion, represented Khomyakov's [292] friends as Chauvinists and Obscurantists. People made fun of their faith in the native virtues of the *moujik,* their extravagances in the matter of dress, the *mourmolka,* the traditional bonnet which they had adopted with the Russian costume, and especially at their illusions as to the expansion-power of Russian culture at that time. Nothing is so dangerous as a metaphor cast into the whirlpool of international life. Pushkin had one day written this unfortunate line:—

> 'Will the Slavonic streams all come and lose themselves in the Russian Ocean?'

186* That was sufficient to lend credence to the idea that Russia considered herself to have a divine mission, that of liberating her racial brethren, and grouping them around her. When the Russians spoke of 'Slavophilia', the West persisted in understanding 'Panslavism'. Yet they were two very different things.

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elements who were resisting the spirit of the *Schutzvertrag* and following divergent paths. 186* 175 648

We may therefore consider Slovakia as a State which, from that time onwards, realised all Hitler's hopes. Better still, it had anticipated them. 'The spirit of National Socialism comes from Hlinka', said President Tuka, 'its methods come from Hitler'. 'Slovakia', he said again, 'must be the vestibule of Paradise'. Racial laws were applied in Slovakia with the same rigour as in Germany, and the Government prided itself on administering 'the most anti-Semite country in the world'. Out of 89,000 Jews who lived there in 1939, there remained in January, 1944, according to official statistics, 20,000 (11,000 of whom had been baptised) and these, moreover, were destined to be eliminated, down to the last man. 'Slovakia was the first country to feel the beneficial effects of the great purification to establish a just world order'—this testimony from the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* speaks volumes as to the docility with which the Bratislava Government responded to Hitlerian control.

It is never difficult to attach a conception of the State—however fantastic it may be—to historical antecedents. Slovak propaganda discovered 'positive elements' which justified the Government's policy. Its organ, the *Slowakische Rundschau*,[1] recalled that the Slovak State in its first form, the Great Moravian Empire, founded by King Svatopluk, had collapsed because it had proved incapable of collaborating in peace with the Holy Empire. [208]

It was more difficult to reconcile the Hitlerian ideology with the principles of Christianity to which the people were profoundly attached (Slovakia is the European country in which the clergy are most in evidence in political struggles). This difficulty did not deter either the priest, Tiso, or his Government, who enjoy the doubtful credit of having, despite the Encyclicals, combined the teachings of the Church with the Hitlerian creed. This was a favourite subject for official speeches. 'The victory of Germany will be the victory of Christian principles', declared Mach, the Minister of the Interior, in his message for Christmas, 1943.

[1] Of July 7, 1940.

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648 origin, was in charge of a little Massachusetts church, the Holy
793 Rosary, in the diocese of Springfield. Was he first sounded, and
159 then invited to Moscow, as he himself was to allege, or did he improvise a mission? The facility with which he moved about in Russia, at a time when travelling was subject to severe restrictions, argues in favour of the former hypothesis. He was absent from April 17 to May 11, 1944, the object of his journey being, according to him, 'to see what he could do for the Catholic Church in Poland, Ukraine, and White Russia'. On his return he declared that he had twice been received by Stalin, and had obtained from him assurances, both verbal and written, in favour of religious liberty on Soviet territory. 'Future events will prove', he said, 'that Marshal Stalin nourishes very friendly sentiments towards the Roman Catholic Church. He wants a really democratic, independent Poland, capable of defending herself against any fresh aggression. The religion of the Polish people will be that of our ancestors; he will not tolerate any change. All he asks in return is a Poland animated with fraternal feelings towards the U.S.S.R.'.

Four hours after Father Orlemanski's return home, his bishop imposed the penalties provided for cases of unauthorised absence; he was forbidden to say Mass. After an attempted protest to the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, he submitted and solemnly promised never again to meddle with matters outside his priestly functions, upon which the bishop raised the interdict pronounced against him.

648 But his journey nevertheless aroused tremendous interest.
793 The Soviet Radio called it a 'great international event', and the
159 press published Orlemanski's declarations in full. As there are
• 208 very few Catholics in Russia proper, the assurances given by Stalin referred especially to the liberated territories of the Ukraine and of Eastern Poland. The Tass Agency, emphasising the reality of these assurances, accused (though in moderate terms) the Hierarchy of the United States of having, in this matter, adopted a not very favourable attitude towards the Soviets. Whilst the *Christian Science Monitor* expressed satisfaction at the Orlemanski mission, and did not doubt that the Vatican would take advantage of the conciliatory attitude of the Soviets, the *Chicago Sun* placed its trust in the Catholic clergy's common sense to reject 'the poisoned advice of the agitators',

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seeking to encourage the Church in her traditional opposition to the Soviets. But the *Post Dispatch* regretted that the Kremlin should have chosen such an unimportant person as Orlemanski for such a demonstration. The *Louisville Courier* deplored the censure passed on this priest by his bishop; no doubt the latter tolerated disparagement of the Soviet Union, but not efforts to understand it. 648 793 159 208

The truth seems to be that Father Orlemanski's initiative, whether concerted with Moscow or not, aroused in Slavonic circles reactions calculated to handicap the Government and prejudice Roosevelt's electoral campaign. While the Slavonic Committee of America approved this initiative, the *émigré* Poles threatened to launch a campaign which would have brought Washington and Moscow into opposition. It happened that Orlemanski's superiors were of Irish origin—which, obviously, did not predispose them to regard his journey with a favourable eye. In any case, the episcopal decision and the priest's submission cut short any attempts at propaganda, thus rendering a very opportune service to the Government, but postponing or compromising the perspective of a possible easing of the situation, if not of a *rapprochement* between Poland and the Soviets, and between the Soviets and the Vatican.

In Latin America the headquarters of the permanent Slav Committee were at Montevideo, where, in April, 1943, three hundred and ninety-four Slav delegates assembled at a Congress which established the Union of Slav Nationals (they were estimated at two millions), to organise the struggle against pro-Hitlerian activities. 186* 668

* * *

This sketch of the recovery of the Slavs in the Old World and the New brings out two features: the gravitation of all the Slavonic nations round the Muscovite colossus, and the repugnance of a sector of Polish opinion to this method of regrouping. 186*

As was to be anticipated, German propaganda affected to see in this the execution of a plan tending to 'Bolshevise' Europe, and even America. Germany again launched her old commonplaces about the inferiority of the Slavs. A Radio-Paris broadcast (February 21, 1943) assured listeners 'that about one-quarter of the American population is composed of Slavonic elements, of 186* 648 723

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The English press greeted this news philosophically, emphasising the fact that recognition was subject to the promise of free elections as soon as Poland's material situation would allow. 208 829

Isolated protests were made; as, for example, that of William John Rose, Professor at the School of Slavonic Studies in London, who wrote to *The Spectator*:—

'The solution adopted is the very one which was rejected by our House of Commons—the co-option of a minority of Poles from London and from Poland to a majority of Lublin Poles, the latter occupying all the chief posts.

'Great Britain and the United States have recognised this Government without any precise information having been given regarding the elections and their nature, though they were the condition on which recognition was granted.

'The renouncing of the principles for which the Allies fought for six years is deplorable. Whatever may be its significance for Poland, it is humiliating for the Western democracies. Obviously, we have an excuse; we are busy with our own elections. Unfortunately, however, while we were inactive others were not. What has become of the anger shown by Mr. Eden and M. Stettinius when M. Molotov exploded the "bombshell" (to use the expression of nearly all the journalists) concerning the fate of the Polish politicians?'

In Washington Senator Vandenberg declared to Mr. Grew, interim Secretary of State, that the settlement of the Polish question was inadequate and unsatisfactory for millions of citizens, himself included. 'This settlement does not appear to give a clear assurance that the Polish people will be able to express themselves freely under this Government, which is imposed on them by the Big Three, within the limits of frontiers likewise fixed by these same powers'.

In Moscow, on the contrary, the solution of the Polish crisis was considered as a victory for the democracies and a guarantee of European peace. The Soviet Government hastened to regularise its relations with the new State. On July 9[1] it signed a commercial treaty with Warsaw, in order to 'develop and consolidate to the utmost the economic relations between the two countries, in a spirit of friendship and collaboration'. 648 175

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

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186* 668 in Europe and in America'. And in the Belgrade newspaper, *Politika*, M. Stankovich, President of the Serbian Assembly, showed still greater discretion: 'Only the enemies of democracy could see in this meeting of Slavonic countries a manifestation tending to the creation of a Slav bloc, or an attempt to separate East and West'.

Marshal Tito, supported by Marshal Tolbukhin, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Mgr. Nicolaï, and the President of the Yugoslav Assembly, Ivan Ribar, opened the Congress. 'The Slavs', he said, 'have a mission, but not a mission to create a bloc. Yet the time has come to decide that they shall never again be divided against one another'. A message from Stalin, on the same lines, was read. The *leit-motiv* of the speeches was the merit of the Slav peoples in the triumph of democracy, and their contribution to universal civilisation.

In short, the eloquence of the Congressists did not go beyond a speculative exchange of views; it avoided drawing too much attention to the agreement of views between the small nations and Moscow.

[175] Nearly a hundred years had elapsed since the Prague Congress of 1848. By a curious trick of fate, over both these demonstrations of Slav solidarity, at a hundred years' interval, Russia exercised unopposed control. Great as was the opposition between the ideas of the Slavophiles and those of the Congressists of 1946, both Assemblies, with the same pride, saw their work as a threat to reaction—Austro-German reaction in 1848 and Western reaction in 1946.

The Congress organised the strengthening of economic and cultural relations between the Slav States. It formed a permanent Liaison Committee to sit in Belgrade.

• [208] The press in the Slavonic countries gave enthusiastic reports of these assemblies. In general, newspapers in the other countries were very reserved in their comments. On December 17 the *Manchester Guardian* recalled the century-old vision of a Slovak poet, a vision of the Slavs united in a powerful body with Russia as the head, Poland the trunk, Bohemia the arms, Serbia the legs. 'The new Panslav movement has arisen out of a common struggle against the invader. If it fosters the community feeling on the human plane, it may do good. If it tries to establish itself in the political domain, it will fail, as in the past'.

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645 175 Communists, then rejoined the partisans in Bosnia and was elected President of the National Liberation Front.

637 175 The chief event of this period was the trial of General Draja Mihaïlovich, who had organised the earliest resistance to the invader, but was subsequently accused of collaboration with the Germans and the Italians. Arrested on the borders of Bosnia and Serbia, he was court-martialled on June 10, 1946, by the Military Tribunal of Belgrade, which condemned him to death on July 15. He was shot. Some American airmen had vainly asked to bear witness in his favour. The Belgrade Government had documents published establishing his 'treason'; they reveal undeniable complicity with the enemy in the lower ranks, and, especially, the implacable intention of eliminating the Communists from the Resistance; the role of Mihaïlovich himself is less clearly shown—which explains the emotion his condemnation aroused in England and in America.

[829] The *Daily Telegraph* thus expressed itself on this condemnation: 'The long perspective of history will enable the truth about the much-discussed figure of Mihaïlovich to be more clearly perceived. His contemporaries can do no more than think that, caught up in the whirlwind of events beyond his control, he was a victim of Fate'.

In the same connection the British statesman, Noel Baker, declared that the decision to suspend aid to Mihaïlovich during the war had been taken as the result of numerous denunciations from various sources, alleging that he was no longer adequately contributing to the war effort. 'Subsequently', he said, 'it became evident that certain of his lieutenants were actively collaborating with the Germans'.

793 687 175 657 No less sensational was the trial of the Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb, Mgr. Aloysius Stepinac. This followed proceedings against numerous members of his clergy, notably that involving some Slovene priests, in December, 1945, at Ljubljana. The bishop of that town, Mgr. Rozman, a refugee in Italy, was condemned to eighteen years' imprisonment.

• [208] The action against the Croatian priests accused of collaboration was prepared in January, 1946, by a violent press and radio campaign, denouncing the Archbishop's relations with the *Oustachi* of Pavelich, by whom he had been decorated (in

6s Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

described it as a 'crime against European civilisation', and on October 1 it was brought up at the Security Council by the French delegate, Parodi, during a discussion on Bulgaria's candidature for the United Nations. 648 696 829 175

In January, 1948, on the occasion of the signing of a treaty of mutual assistance with Rumania, the Bulgarian Premier, Dimitrov, risked an allusion to a project for the federation of the Balkan States, but this was immediately disavowed by the Kremlin. [185]

Dimitrov died on July 1, 1949; he was replaced as leader of the Government by Kolarov, and at the head of the Bulgarian Communist Party by his brother-in-law, Valko Tchervenkov.

The sentencing (March 8, 1949) of four Protestant pastors, accused of espionage, to life imprisonment, and the imprisonment of eleven others for a term of years, called forth vehement protests in the Christian world, and justified the sending of a diplomatic note by Great Britain, on March 12, in which these proceedings were described as a violation of Art. 2 of the peace treaty concerning 'fundamental liberties'.

The year 1949 was marked by progressive tension in the relations between Belgrade and Sofia. In September the Bulgarian Government denounced the treaty of friendship and, on October 6, the frontier agreement with Yugoslavia. This antagonism, which revived the Macedonian Question, reached a crisis at the trial of Traitcho Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council. Accused in March, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of 'flagrant errors' (the most serious accusation being that of having invoked the principle of State secrecy in order to withhold information of a commercial nature from representatives of the Soviet Union), Kostov found the charges gradually extended, until he was involved in a plot against the safety of the State, with the complicity of the Anglo-Americans and the agents of Tito. He was condemned to death, and executed on December 16. The Yugoslav press considered this charge as having been trumped up entirely with a view to compromising and discrediting Tito. 648 687 175 [208]

The municipal elections of May 15, 1949, gave the Communist-controlled Government of the 'Homeland Front' 92.1 per cent of the votes cast (370,000 blank votes); the legislative elections of December 18 raised this percentage to 666 175

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186* ings, manifestations, and commemorations in America; in June 1942 such meetings and congresses took place in New York, in 668 Pittsburgh, in Detroit, in Kansas, in Cleveland, in San Francisco, 575 in Oakland, and also in Canada, Argentina, etc., organized by local Slavic committees. These organizations in America and in other countries represent ramifications of the Moscow center; and at each meeting they manifested this relationship by sending addresses and telegrams not only to the Panslavic committee in Moscow but to Stalin, Kalinin, Molotov, and so on. Around the Muscovite center were organized during the war all kinds of Slavic national committees and unions of patriots at the head of which one could find the members of the Panslavic committee in Moscow. These committees and unions were nuclei from which originated the "democratic governments" imposed by Russia to the Slavic and non-Slavic countries (similar committees were organized for Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria) which found themselves in the sphere of Russia's influence.

[208] For the task of propaganda of these Panslavic ideas of union and fraternity of the Slavs under the protection of Soviet Russia and under her cultural leadership there has been established a monthly review under the title *The Slavs*, published in Moscow in Russian.

186* It is paradoxical enough that if one takes different Soviet encyc- 829 lopedias one may find a radical refutation of Panslavic con- 651 ceptions; the Panslavism of the 19th century has been always qualified there as a bourgeois imperialistic doctrine. It would be very difficult, however, to find any salient difference between the Panslavistic imperialistic conceptions of Tsarist Russia, as far as their essence is concerned, and the Panslavistic policy of the Soviets, even though their motives and ultimate goals are not identical. In order to save appearances the official Soviet press still stresses that difference; so N. Leonidov in his articles *The New Phase in Slav History* published in *New Times* in Moscow in September, 1946, said: "The Russian people never identified themselves with the imperialistic chauvinistic Panslavism of the

S.P. T.R 161

(illegitimate children). The death rate is 34 per 1,000. This is indeed a large number, but the number of births greatly surpasses it. The annual population increase is 1.5%, being about 2 million souls. The proportion is not the same in all the regions. Those in which the increase is the most considerable are New Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. Those in which it is the least are the Baltic region and the earea about Moscow. In European Russia--excluding Finland, Poland, and the Caucasus--the annual increase has been figured at 1.41%. In 1900, it rose as high as 1.83%.

S.P. T.R. 166

Emigration and immigration are for Russia phenomena of no importance. What is much more important is the movement of the population within the Empire. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century a strong centrifugal movement towards the south and east was to be observed. Very large masses, especially from southern Russia, /37/ were moving constantly towards New Russia, the regions beyond the Volga, the southern Ural, Siberia, Turkestan, etc. The emigration of Great Russians towards the south is of special interest from the viewpoint of the Ukrainian problem.

S.P. T.R. 167

Emigration to overseas countries has been carried on mainly through German ports. It is particularly directed towards America. To the present it has been of very slight importance, if one considers the immense size of the nation. However, it has been increasing constantly. From 1893 to 1902, it was at the rate of 30,000 persons per year during the first five year period, and of 45,000 per year during the last five years; in 1903, it exceeded 72,000 persons. The greatest number of them migrated to North America (94.3% in 1903). The others went to Argentina (the Parana), to Africa (beginning in 1903) and to Canada.

S.P. T.R. 212

The education of the people is still only slightly developed. If one excludes Poland and Finland, there are to be found only about 22.9% literate (32.6% men and 13.7% women). In Poland, the proportion is 30.5% (34.2% for men, 26.8% for women). More than 30% are found in the Finnish guberniyas, and especially in those which have large cities, Esthonia (79%), Livonia (77.5%), Kurland (70.9%), St. Petersburg (55.1%), Moscow (40.2%), Kovno (41.9%), Warsaw (39.1%), Suwalki (37.4%), Yaroslavl' (36.2%), /38/ Plock (33.5%), the Black Sea guberniya (31.2%), Siedlec (30%), Piotrków (30.9%). In 24 guberniyas the figure is less than 20% and even less than 15% in several others (those of Penza and of Pskov).

S.P. T.R. 212 If one eliminates from the population the children below the age of nine, the number of literates rises to 41% for Poland and 30% for Russia. In 1897, in the area where Russian is spoken, 29.6% literate men and 9.34% women were estimated, which gives an average of 19.78%. In Austria, the Russians are also very poorly educated. The Austrian statistics of six years ago figured that there were only 21.8% literate persons among the Russians and Ruthenians. They, therefore, occupy the lowest rank among the Austrian Slavs, just as the Russians do among the civilized peoples of their Empire.

S.P. T.R. 619 S. 6. Differentiaton Within the Nation.--

The Russians, like the other great nations, have never formed a completely homogeneous people. From the first centuries of their history, a series of distinct and more or less divergent units appear, and, even after their grouping into a single political nation under the name of Russia, the former shadings of difference did not disappear. In part they cancelled each other out, they assumed new forms, a new development, /39/ and in some instances they became even more pronounced. This sharpening of differences became so pronounced during the last century that many people were unwilling to recognize a single Russian nation, but insisted that there were two nations: the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, and alongside them, a third national unit, less distinct it is true and less developed, the Belorussians.

000 I have explained above (S. 3) how this tri-partition of the Russian realm took place. Putting aside for the moment the question of linguistics, I shall content myself with pointing out only what are today the internal and external affinities of these groups, wherein today lie the tendencies which, for political or scientific reasons, claim to make of them, instead of a single Russian nation, two peoples, the Great Russian and the Little Russian, otherwise called Ukrainian.

S.P. T.R. 197 The relationships of the three Russian groups have been studied particularly from a linguistic viewpoint. But it would be an error to believe that it is only a question of shades of dialect. There are verified differences in the domestic life of the people, in character and physical appearance, in historic traditions. However, language affords us with the element most susceptible of analysis, and it is from a linguistic point of view that the three groups may thus be distinguished:

1 According to Sobolevskii and Karskii, the territory of Great
[Cf. cat. 116, pp. 11-17 -- Analyst]

S.P. T.R. 101 197 Galicians, L'vovians and others, derived from the names of the locality which they inhabit. The principal element are the Gorals (mountaineers, from the word gora, mountain) of the Carpathians, who are also called Verkhovintsi (from verkh, summit). Four principal tribes are distinguished among these Russians: in the west, the Lemki, on the two slopes of the Beskid mountains, especially in the districts of Sandets, Jaslo Jaslo and Sanok; the Boiki, neighbors of the former, to the west of the San; the Tukholtsi, farther to the south, from the district of Sambor to the district of Stanislavov; and still further in the mountains, in the district of Kolomyja, of Stanislavov, in Bukovina, and in the Hungarian county of Marmaros, the Hutsuli (Huculi) are met with, who call themselves Christians, Rusniaks, or Russian people.

S.P. T.R. R. 101 197 Among the Russian population of the Bukovina, three types may be distinguished: the Podolians or Polianes, the Hutsuli and the Lipovani. The latter are religious heretics who left Russia in the eighteenth century.

S.P. T.R. R. [144] The Hutsuli are a very peculiar and interesting tribe, an enigma of Slavic ethnology. /46/ They have given rise to all sorts of hypotheses. Ivan Vagilevitch links them with the Turkish Ouzes, Koshkov to the Thracians or to the Scythians; more recently Volkov looked for their origins in the Caucasus. Some accept a strong intrusion of foreign elements into the primitive Slavic element, while others consider them to be Slavs of pure blood. They are remarkable for their fine stature, for the antiquity and the richness of their customs, for S.P. T.R. R. their artistic sense, for their picturesque costume, but also for their lack of intellectual culture which places them in the lowest rank among [212] the Slavs. It is estimated that 93% of them are still illiterate. The name Hutsuli is probably of Rumanian origin (goc, plus the Rumanian article ul). The names Boiki and Lemki are surnames given by their neighbors because of their use of the words lem and boi. Vagilevitch S.P. has seen in the Lemki--without good reason, however,--the remains T.R. R. of vanished Celts. In 1890 Shukhevych estimated their number at [161] 60,000. (1)

1. A. Sobolevsky found the names Hutsuli and Boiki again in the Gulatsi and the Butsi of the guberniya of Kiyev (district of Tcherkassk). And he used this connection to support his theory on the arrival of Carpathian Russians at Kiyev after the Tatar invasion.

S.P. P. 795 162

are reported. This is explained by the fact that among those individuals who declared themselves to be Poles there were 14.7% Jews. There are 1.8% Protestants. Therefore, one may consider Catholic to be synonymous with Pole.

In Russian Poland the proportion is as follows: 78.8% Catholics; 4.7% Protestants; 14.05% Jews; and 6.57% Orthodox, or "old believers" of the Orthodox Church.

The Catholics here are concentrated on the /81/ left bank of the Vistula, where they are estimated at 70 to 80%. The guberniyas of Siedlec and of Lublin are the only ones in the kingdom where as few as 66 to 62% Catholics are to be found, if one believes the census of 1897. After the edict of religious tolerance of 17 April 1905 the proportions changed noticeably (see above in S 5), but we have no strictly precise data.

With respect to the Poles of Russia, here are the latest statistical results:

Orthodox and "old believers"	0.63%
Roman Catholics	98.26%
Protestants	0.51%
Jews	0.59%
Mohammedans	0.01%

Polish is, therefore, synonymous with Catholic. But it must be noted that among the Catholics there has recently developed a sect called Mariavites to which in 1906, 59,000 persons belonged. It is in the Russian section that the Polish population provides the largest contingent in the cities and large towns, 22.1%. Among these are found 1.9% nobles and officials, 0.8% clergy, 0.14% of honorary burgeois and of merchants, 23.5% bourgeois, 72.98% farmers. Among the Poles of Austria there are 65.6% laborers, 14.8% factory workers, 11.2% tradesmen, and 8.4% officials.

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From the point of view of public education the Poles still have far to go, not only in Russia and in Prussia, where the government has placed numerous obstacles in the way of the development of the schools, but also where they have for a long time enjoyed complete liberty, namely in Galicia. In this province statistics still report 40.8% illiterate. Furthermore it must be recognized that the Poles in Russia (notably the

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Polish women), despite all of the ill will of the government, are better educated than the Russians. Among the Russians there have been found 29.50% of the men and 9.34% of the women who are literate. Among the Poles the proportions are 34.78% and 29.40%.

S.P. P. 101 814

S 14. Differentiation.---We find also among the Poles rather considerable internal differences; but these are not reasons for dividing the nation into various nationalities. Moreover, the question has not been studied sufficiently, and not enough attention has been paid to it to enable one to distinguish from a scientific point of view the various Polish groups. Much material has been gathered together, especially, from the point of view of folklore, by Oscar Kolberg, more recently by Jan Karlowicz and others, in the review Wisla (The Vistula), and from an anthropological viewpoint by J. Majer, K. Kopernicki, I. Talko-Hrynczewicz, W. Olechnowicz, L. Rutkowski, A. Zakrzewski. The field of linguistics has been studied in recent times /83/ by St. Dobrzycki, J. Karlowicz and K. Nitsch, but up until the present these researches have not been gathered together and digested in a single study. The customary division into large and small groups is above all based upon historic tradition; a more scientific division will be a task for the future. The Polish nation is generally divided into the following groups:

S.P. P. 101

1. The Great-Polish group occupies Silesia, Poznan, and Prussia;
2. The Mazovian group lives to the east of the preceding one in the basins of the Vistula, of the Nafew, and of the Bug;
3. The Little-Polish group is settled to the south on the upper Vistula, as far as the Carpathians and the San;
4. A fourth group is formed by the Kashub on the shore of the Baltic.

The Great-Polish group was the first to serve as a rallying point for the ancient tribes, evidently under the pressure of the German race, and its language has become dominant; it is the one which constitutes the local idiom.

On the contrary, Mazovia and Little-Poland, regions which were forested and less accessible, have retained more originality and local character.

Taking into account the names by which the people distinguish the tribes and the regions, the Polish ethnographers--Karlowicz, for example--distinguished particularly the following tribes:

S.P. C. 167 of immigration of Germans among the Czechs is practically insignificant. On the contrary, in these ten last years 70,000 to 90,000 Slavs have left Bohemia. Formerly it was above all emigration to America which S.P. C. 167 161 weakened the Czechs. Today this movement has slowed down, but it is rather considerable among the Slovaks and it suffices to explain to us the very minor increase of the population group which in 1851 constituted 13% of the total population of Transleithania, in 1886, 12%, in 1890, 11%, and in 1900 only 10.5%. In these last thirty years, according to Stodola, there have emigrated from the 12 Slovak counties 307,000 persons--especially into America. Now, from 1850 to 1900, the total increase of the Magyars was 80%; these figures include, it is true, 25% other nationalities more or less Magyarized, which would make 1.6% a year; the increase /122/ of Slovaks has been only 0.66% a year.

S.P. C. 212 From the point of view of popular education and the restricted number of illiterates, the Czech national group holds the first rank among the Slav peoples. The Czechs are even superior to the Germans of Austria; for, according to the official statistics, there are in Bohemia 93.77% who know how to read and write, 91.84% among the Germans, 68.53% among the Slovenes, 47.52% among the Poles, and 21.87% among the Russians and Ruthenians.

In Hungary, in the purely Slovak counties, the number of illiterates is 32%; in the counties of the center where there are mixtures of Magyars and Russians, it is 42%.

S.P. C. 162 In the matter of professions, 43.1% of the Czechs devote themselves to agriculture, 36.5% to industry, 9.3% to commerce and the transportation business, 11.1% to public services. From the industrial viewpoint, only the Germans surpass the Czechs by two percentage points (38.5%); from the point of view of agriculture, the Czechs come after the Poles (65%), the Slovenes (75%), the Serbo-Croats 89%, and the Russians of Galicia (63%).

S.P. C. 165 162 In the matter of religion, the Czechs are for the most part Catholics (96.15%). It is figured that there are 2.4% Protestants. Among the Slovaks of Hungary the proportions are no longer the same There are figured to be 70.2% /123/ Catholics, 5% uniates, 23% Protestants of the Augsburg confession.

S.P. Sl. 161

20,987 for Croatia and Slavonia). In 1900 the statistics omitted them. Between 1890 and 1900 the total increase for all of Austria was 9.4%, while that for the Slovenes was only 1.37%.

The following is the general total of Slovenes for the year 1900:

In Austria	1,199,786
In Italy	35,000
In Hungary and Croatia	102,000
In America	100,000
Other countries	20,000
	1,456,786

/143/ Trsteniak, who lowers the total for Hungary, numbered them at 1,416,580; Klima, at 1,444,364. The figures which we give probably require some corrections for Cisleithania.

Thus, in Carinthia, the specialists count 40,000 more of them than the official statistics. For Trieste and the surrounding area the statistics for 1900 give only 16% Slovenes against 77% Italians. But, at the time of the 1907 elections the Slovene candidates received more votes than the Italians. One of them was even elected. We may venture then to estimate the number of Slovenes at a million and a half.

S.P. Sl. 182

Even though they may be few in number, the Slovenes do not have to fear the loss of their nationality, for they have an entire province to themselves, Carniola; this was sufficient to enable them to succeed in reinforcing their sense of nationality and to develop a public educational system. Their political situation is very important for the Slav race; it is they who prevent the Germans from linking the Adriatic with the North Sea. (1)

1. I have already expressed these ideas in 1868 in an article published by La Revue moderne and reprinted in my volume Le Monde slave (2d ed., p. 43, Hachetter, 1897) Translator.

S.P. Sl. 212 W.P. Sl. 162

In the matter of education, the Slovenes in Austria are ahead of the Poles, the Russians, the Serbo-Croats. They have only 23.9% illiterates. The ratio of the two sexes is 1,032 women for each 1,000 men (1,098 in Carnolia). From the point of view of age it is figured /144/ that they have only 45.8% below twenty years of age; but in contrast 18.9% are above fifty years of age; the proportion of married persons is 32.2, which is below normal.

000 In the matter of thebirth rate, during these latter years it has

S.P. Cr. Sb. 795 162

in 12. During the first years which followed the Austrian occupation, emigration was quite considerable; it still continues, but it is slowing down. The official figures for 1906 give 590,900 Mohammedans, 760,000 Orthodox, and 360,000 Catholics. Mr. Florinskii figures for the entire Balkens 820,000 Mohammedan Serbs.

In Dalmatia in 1900 there were 96,279 Orthodox, 496,778 Catholics which gives 16.2% and 83.6%. The other Austrian areas are Catholic (Istria 99.6%, the seacoast 98.5%). In Croatia and in Slavonia there are 1,721,416 Catholics, and 616,518 Orthodox, that is 71.2% and 25.5%. The total figures for the censuses of Budapest and Zagreb are not completely in accord, but the proportion remains the same. In Montenegro, according to Vrbanic, there are 87.5% Orthodox, 3.1% Catholics, and 9.3% Mohammedans whom Vrbanic considers as Slavs.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 212

From the viewpoint of education /173/ the Serbo-Croats are very much behind. Throughout Austrian territory the number of illiterates reaches 74.14%, in Croatia 54.4% and even 56%, if one is to believe the Hungarian statistics. It is especially Dalmatia which is backward. In 1900, 64.8% of the men and 86.6% of the women did not know how to read or write. Teaching is also greatly neglected in Istria and still more in the Balkan countries about which we do not have any documentation except in the Serbian statistics. There are in Serbia only 21.3% literate (55% in the towns and 15% in the villages).

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162

With regard to occupations, the Serbs and the Croats are primarily an agricultural people. In Istria and in Dalmatia there are 86.9% farmers (industry 4.6%, commerce 3.8%, public services 4.7%). In Bosnia-Hercegovina 88.34%. In the Kingdom of Serbia 85.23% of the population devote themselves to agriculture and to raising cattle.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 578

S 32. Internal Differentiation.--The Serbs and the Croats do not differ greatly either from the physical viewpoint, or from that of linguistics or in the manner of living. Differences have been created solely by the political situation, by religion, and by literature. There are, however, certain shades of differences and certain special groups which we mentioned a short time ago.*

S.P. Cr. Sb. 144

From the anthropological viewpoint there is, a far as we know at present, a much greater /174/ difference between the Serbo-Croats and the other Slavs than between the Serbs and the Croats

*[cf. cat. 116, pp. 92-95, pp. 105-106, p. 107 -- Analyst]

S.P. B. 196 101

They have settled by preference in the Rhodope (Grk., Rodope), where they constitute a rather large group between Plovdiv and Salonica. They are met with here and there to the north of the Balkans in the region of Lovech, Pleven (Plevna), especially between the Vid and Panega Rivers, to the south of Pleven. In the Kingdom of Bulgaria their number has greatly diminished; for, as a result of their Turkish sympathies, they have since 1878 been in perpetual conflict with the other Bulgars. The latest statistics numbered 20,644 of them in Bulgaria, of whom 17,055 were in the district of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and 2,837 in that of Pleven.

S.P. B. [871] 212

From the viewpoint of education, the Bulgars are not very much advanced, which is explained by the difficult conditions in which they have lived, deprived of all the advantages of civilization. They are now making an effort to make up for lost time. According to the latest statistics the number of literate persons in the principality was an average of 28.4%. The districts may be placed in the following order:

Ruse 38.5%; Shumla 35.9%; Varna 34%; Trnovo /205/ 34%; Plovdiv (Philippopolis) 29.6%; Burgas 29.4%; Sofia 28.8%; Stara Zagora 28.3%; Pleven 23.1%; Kustendil 20.1%; Vidin 19.8%; Vratsa 19%. The highest degree of education is found naturally in the regions of the great cities: 60% at Sofia, Ruse, and Varna; 49% at Plovdiv; 47% at Kotel and at Shumla; 37% at Kazanluk. The least literate areas are those of Radomir (20%), Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad) (19%), Kyzilagatch (19%), Berkovitsa (16%), Kula (14%), Belogradchik (13%), Ferdinandovo (13%).

S.P. B. 197 101

S 38. Internal Differentation.--The Bulgars are divided into three groups from the point of view of language.

1). That of the western dialect: it is bounded on the east by a line which starts from the confluence of the Vid and the Danube and runs towards Salonica across the regions of Nikopol, Pleven, Lovech, Teteven, Pirdop, Novo Selo, Panagyurishte, Ikhtiman, Chepino, Rezlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Seres, and Salonica.

2). The eastern group is divided into two branches:

A. That of the northeast where the people bear the general name of Zagortsi (Mountaineers), or Khertsoi*, or Poliantsi*.

B. That of the southeast, or branch of the Rhodope, whose

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

It was to this district, centering about the city of Czernowitz, 101
that many Polish officials and soldiers withdrew to escape Ger- 131
man and Russian pursuit when Poland was invaded in 1939. 197

The Western Slavic group includes the Poles, the Czechs (or Bohemians) and Moravians, the Slovaks, and two Slavic islands in German territory: the Kashubs, who live on the [161]
Baltic coast northwest of Danzig, probably not over two hundred thousand in number, and a considerably smaller number of Sorbs, or Wends, who inhabit Lausitz, or Lusatia, a small area on the upper Spree river northeast of Dresden.

The Southern Slavs are cut off from their northern kindred by the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Romanians, but comprise the Slovenes in the extreme northern part of Yugoslavia; the Serbs and the Croatians, who differ from one [195]
another only in slight variations of dialect and by the fact that [212]
the Serbs belong to the Greek Orthodox church and use the Cyrillic Script (similar to the Russian), while the Croatians are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; and the Bulgarians who, though possessing a Slavic national language, represent a complex fusion of racial and linguistic stocks.

In view of the numerous and violent migratory movements 174
which took place in northern Europe both before the Christian 167
era and during the first few centuries after it began, the Slavs are hardly likely to have occupied their present extensive territory during their whole recorded history. On the contrary, their migrations cover a range almost as vast as those of their Germanic neighbors, and the location of their primitive habitat constitutes a problem which has long engaged students of Slavic history and linguistics.

The earliest native tradition dealing with Slavic origins is 101
contained in the so-called Russian *Primary Chronicle*, a com- 174
pilation completely extant only in two fourteenth-century 113
texts, but which reproduce with considerable accuracy a work composed by a monk of Kiev about the end of the eleventh century. Here we read:

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

A FINAL AND EQUALLY INTERESTING PROBLEM CONNECTED WITH THE
212 primitive culture of the Slavs is a determination of the epoch at which they learned to write. While there have been some fruitless though entertaining attempts both at the forgery of specifically Slavic runes and at the identification as genuinely Slavic of certain Runic texts more probably of north Germanic origin, it is on the whole unlikely that letters of any sort were known in the pre-Christian period apart from cases where a more or less educated Slav managed to write down a name or a few phrases of his language in Latin or Greek characters.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

The Slavs were curiously tenacious in retaining their own language, but extremely receptive to manners and techniques transmitted to them through contact with superior cultures. When they were present in a majority, they experienced no difficulty in impressing their language on the indigenous minority, whom they Slavicized rapidly by intermarriage. The Dalmatian coast from Veglia to Ragusa experienced this evolution from the ninth to the last century. On the other hand, remnants of the old Romanized pre-Slavic population, known as Vlakhs, persist in the interior of the peninsula to the present day, especially in southern Macedonia and the Pindus, while the Romanians, in spite of Slavic and Turko-Tartar admixture, are a concentrate of Romanized pre-Slavic native elements. Of the indigenous and un-Romanized population prior to the migrations, the Thracians in the eastern half of the peninsula disappeared altogether, while the Illyrians in the western half survive fractionally as the Albanians. The linguistic differences between Serbian and Bulgarian have sometimes been explained by the existence of an Illyrian substratum in the former, and a Thracian in the latter, since the areas occupied by the new vernaculars correspond roughly to the regions occupied by these two pre-Slavic elements. Of the migrant tribes who preceded the Slavs into the Balkans no trace remains. The Celts had passed from the scene before the Slavs arrived. The Sarmatians, driven into the Balkans from the steppes, were known as early as the fourth century only by scanty place names. A few Germanic islands kept their names until the fifth century. The Huns rapidly dissolved after Attila's death, while the Avars, after the Slavs threw off their yoke, were decimated by their wars with Charlemagne before the year 800, and the remnant was absorbed by the adjacent Slavs.

Though we find in the Balkans an uninterrupted set of Slavic dialects gradually shading into each other, from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, the three basic literary languages (Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, and Bulgarian) are well-differentiated vernaculars. It is not to be supposed, however, that this

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into genuine trading posts and towns, the importance of which was enhanced by the penetration of foreign merchants at the beginning of the historical period. The rise of trading posts and towns gradually concentrated adjacent agricultural areas under the control of the former, producing at the same time accumulations of wealth in the hands of a new ruling class which appropriated to itself the influence formerly wielded by the elders of family, clan, and tribe. The growing prestige of the towns also broke down the various tribal differentiations, since portions of the same tribal area might fall for reasons of geography and communication under the control of different towns.

In general, the Russian tribes formed three groups distinguishable by their speech, which are reflected in our day by the tripartite division of the Russian language into three basic dialects. The northern group, comprising the Slovenes (Slavs) of Novgorod and the Krivichians, is the forerunner of the modern Great Russian dialect, the standard literary language. The central group, including Dregovichians, Radimichians, Vyatichians, and Severians, divided into two sections, of which the eastern joined the northern, or ultimately Great Russian element, while the western section (Dregovichians, Radimichians) came to form the White Russian element centering around Minsk. The southern group, made up of Polyane, Derevlians, Volhynians, Ulichians, Tivercians, and Croats, evolved into the Little Russian or Ukrainian element. In fact, the term *Ukraina* goes back as far as at least 1187, and means the southern border district. The differences among these three dialects have of course been intensified as time went on by the accidents of political affiliation and by diversified cultural influences. But these three groups are none the less parts of the same nation, so that either a White Russian or a Ukrainian is precisely as much a Russian as the purest Great Russian born in the shadow of the Kremlin.

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thodius became abbot of the monastery of Polychron, in the vicinity of Mount Olympus.

The two brothers were recalled from their retirement by Michael III when Rostislav's mission asked for Slavic-speaking priests. Constantine in particular had demonstrated considerable linguistic talent on his mission to Khazaria, where he had learned Hebrew, and it is certain that both brothers spoke the Bulgarian dialect which prevailed in the environs of their native city. Upon accepting the mission, and before proceeding to Moravia, Constantine invented a Slavic alphabet, and translated into the Slavic dialect he knew a selection of passages from the Gospels.

This translation is the beginning of all Slavic literature, but the nature of the alphabet invented by Constantine is questionable. We have, as it happens, two early Slavic alphabets, the so-called Glagolitic, somewhat enigmatic in origin, and the Cyrillic, which is a combination of the Greek and Latin alphabets with some additions for specifically Slavic sounds. This latter is the ancestor of the modern Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian scripts. On account of the difficulty of the Glagolitic, it was later supplanted in Bulgaria by the Cyrillic, which is relatively close to the Greek. On purely psychological grounds, but in utter disagreement with many much more authoritative teachers and colleagues, I believe that the priority belongs to Cyrillic, since Constantine would (I assume), if only for reasons of convenience, have used an alphabet as close as possible to the one with which he was most familiar. Then later in Moravia, when he found that the German clergy viewed with suspicion and hostility everything Greek, I believe that he devised the tricky and crabbed Glagolitic, which does not resemble Greek script at all, to disarm his opponents.

Accompanied by a few Greek priests who also knew Slavic, Constantine and Methodius arrived in Moravia during the spring of 863. They were well received by Prince Rostislav,

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acterize them as well-read and good linguists for their day and time. But during the Tartar hegemony such items are totally lacking. Not only the princes but even the higher clergy were frequently illiterate. Dmitri Donskoi could hardly read, and Basil II, Ivan the Terrible's great-grandfather, could neither read nor write. At the Council of Florence in 1439, Pope Eugene IV was told that the contemporary Russian bishops had little learning, and a feeble light of culture was kept burning in the Russian Church of this period solely by the appointment of Greek metropolitan bishops in Moscow. Only at the end of the fifteenth century do we encounter new interest in the foundation of schools for training the clergy, and considerable pressure in this direction was exercised by the Greek and South Slavic scholars who emigrated to Russia to escape the yoke of the Turks.

The advancement of clerical scholarship during the reign of Ivan III (1462-1505) was accompanied by a characteristic effort to acquire foreign techniques. Here, of course, we have an early example of what was to repeat itself so often in later days whenever the advancement of Russia required new mechanical skills. Under Ivan III Italian specialists were particularly active. The Bolognese architect Rudolfo Fioravanti not only built the Cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin, but also cast cannon, while Alevisio Novi, of Milan, designed and built the adjacent Cathedral of Saint Michael, in which were buried all subsequent Muscovite tsars to the time of Peter the Great. Miners, silversmiths, masons, and even an organist were imported from Hungary. Ivan the Terrible settled on the outskirts of Moscow in the so-called German suburb all German metalworkers who had been captured in his Livonian wars, and in 1567 obtained from England a doctor, an apothecary, and various goldsmiths. The Tsar was interested not only in material progress but also in raising the intellectual level of priests and officials, for it had been noted in the Church Council of 1551 that the opportunities for education were as yet slight. Besides, as the principality of Moscow developed into a

9: Jakobson L-4 (no date) 1955 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

and Moravia including the Czech part of old Silesia). Adjacent 198
to this compact area, there are small Czech communities in Kladsko 162
and Upper Silesia (both belonging to present-day Poland). (9) SLOVAK is the predominant native language of Slovakia (an autonomous part of Czechoslovakia). In Europe Czech is spoken by over 8½ million and Slovak about 3 million people.

Southern Slavs. (10) SLOVENIAN is spoken in the Slovenian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslovia) and in small adjacent areas of Austria and Italy. (11) SERBO-CROATIAN covers the greatest part of Yugoslavia: Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia. In the Europe of 1940 Slovenian was spoken by almost 1¾ million and Serbocroatian by some 11 million people. The standard language of the Greek [212] Orthodox Serbs and the Catholic Croats is the same, except for a few lexical variations and the adaptation of the Russian alphabet by the former and of the Latin by the latter. (12) MACEDONIAN is the prevailing language of the Macedonian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslavia). The central dialect, belonging to the Western Macedonian group, has recently been elevated to the status of a standard language. There are about a million native Macedonians including those in the adjacent areas of Bulgaria and Greece. (13) BULGARIAN is the dominant language in Bulgaria. At the end of 1940 it was spoken by about 6 million people in Europe including Bulgarian colonies in the USSR and Bulgars in the part of Dobrudja that remained under Rumania.

Incomplete data on the extent of some of the Slavic languages in the United States are given in the 1940 census: 585,080 people with Russian as their mother-tongue; 83,000 (?) with Ukrainian; 2,416,320 with Polish; 520,440 with Czech; 484,360 with Slovak; 178,640 with Slovenian; 153,080 with Serbocroatian. From the Canadian census of 1951 we may cite the following figures indicating the mother tongue: Ukrainian, 352,323; Polish, 129,238; Slovak, 45,516; Russian, 39,223; Serbocroatian, 11,031.

As a consequence of World War II, western Byelo-Russia was 728
detached from Poland, and the western Ukrainian areas from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania and were incorporated into

for the Baltic languages, Albanian, Greek, Rumanian, Yiddish (in the syntax of the latter two, as well), for Gipsy in Slavic environment, for most of the Uralic, Altaic, and Paleosiberian languages, and for Aleut and Alaska Eskimo. 198 177

Systems of Writing. In order to symbolize the sovereignity of the Slavic language, St. Cyril invented a quite distinct alphabet, adapting and modifying certain Greek, Samaritan, perhaps Coptic, and other Oriental letters. This alphabet, called GLAGOLITIC, was used in Great Moravia, and then in Bohemia and Croatia, Macedonia, and partly in Bulgaria. In the latter country it met strong competition from the so-called CYRILLIC alphabet which had been created there at the beginning of the tenth century to bring Slavic writing closer to the Greek—both Slavic alphabets occur in the fragmentary inscriptions of Preslava from the early tenth century. Cyrillic won out in all of the Greek Orthodox Slavic countries and is still used there in the Church, while for lay purposes it was refashioned under Peter the Great and the shape of the letters brought closer to the Latin: this modification spread from Russia to all Slavs of the Eastern rite. Since the twelfth century the Glagolitic alphabet has been limited to Croatia, except for isolated attempts of single Czech and Polish monasteries to borrow this Croatian habit in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. With the sixteenth century it began to disappear from secular Croatian writings and the area of its Church usage has become more and more limited, but after the Second World War spadework has been undertaken among Slavic Benedictines for a new extension of the Slavonic liturgy. With these exceptions all the Catholic Slavs now use the Latin alphabet. The fourteenth century Czech system of expressing those phonemes which have no graphic symbols in the Latin alphabet by various digraphs is still the basis for Polish spelling, whereas the Czechs have introduced the diacritic system, first tried by Jan Hus under the influence of the Glagolitic alphabet. This kind of spelling is now general for all Slavs of Western denominations with the exception of Poles and Kashubs. 212 177

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E 16

797 combination, the elder with his gifts as administrator and the younger as scholar and linguist. And doubtless one of their main qualifications was that coming from Thessalonika, they had lived in close contact with a Slav population and were perfectly familiar with a Slav language.

797 It was presumably this Macedonian Slav dialect which the brothers reduced to writing and into which they translated 212 a number of books, liturgical and other, for the use of their converts. They adapted the Greek minuscule letters into an alphabet to convey the Slavonic sounds, and this is the Glagolitic in which some old Church Slavonic was written and which, in a modified form, has survived for liturgical use still in certain dioceses on the Dalmatian coast. All the Orthodox Slavs today, however, use another alphabet, called Cyrillic, which is based upon the Greek uncials. Whether the Apostles of the Slavs had anything to do with the invention of the Cyrillic letters is uncertain—but they bear the name of the younger, for at the end of his life Constantine became a monk and took the name of Cyril. His death occurred in Rome in 869. Methodius went back as an Archbishop, to continue his labours in Moravia till his own death in 885.

797 The two brothers, with their devoted band of helpers, did an immense service for Slav religion and culture. But the attempt to set up a Slav Church in Moravia failed, and after the death of Methodius the Germanizing party secured the upper hand. Methodius's disciples and helpers were treated with some indignity and harshness and expelled. We shall meet them again later in Bulgaria.

The Serbian clans, lying inland, were less exposed than the Croats and Slovenes to outside influences, and although there was some infiltration of Christianity among them, no general conversion took place until the latter part of the ninth century. The Serbian Prince Mutimir, who died in 891, sent a request for missionaries from Constantinople and was himself baptized with large numbers of his people. But the political and utilitarian aspect of the event was rather unusually prominent. The Emperor had recently made a signal display of the might of Byzantine arms in his suppression of certain Serbian pirates in the Adriatic. It was not until the returning

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

early colonizers in territory originally Finnish. The same observation applies to the Slovenes or Novgorod Slavs about Lake Ilmen, who thus approach the region of the great lakes. Just why they alone preserved the ethnic name of the Slavs remains an enigma. At any rate, they were, with the Polyane of Kiev, the most progressive of the Eastern Slavs. Located in an area ill-fitted for agriculture, they lived by hunting and trapping, by which they acquired material for barter with Scandinavian traders. Their pioneering spirit gradually carried them still further north toward Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and since only a short portage separated them from the upper Volga, we eventually find them pushing southeastward to insure a food supply from the grain fields of the Moscow district. They founded the city of Novgorod where the Volkhov flows out of Lake Ilmen, and economic and political collisions between this city and Moscow were a familiar feature of later medieval Russian history until the Muscovites emerged as victors.

Just south of the Slovenes lived the Krivichians, who dominated the headwaters of the Dvina, Dnieper, and Volga rivers and extended northwest until they collided with the Balts and Finns in the neighborhood of modern Pskov. Their chief centers, both of which owed their importance to river traffic, were Polotzk on the Dvina and Smolensk on the upper Dnieper. Since Smolensk is situated at an easy portage point between the Dvina, Lovat, and Dnieper rivers, it was one of the earliest points of Scandinavian settlement in the interior of Russia.

It stands to reason that, at the dawn of Russian history, these tribes must have in many instances progressed far beyond any patriarchal organization on the basis of kinship. Essentially an agricultural people, yet living also by hunting and trapping in newly colonized and sparsely settled areas, the Russian Slavs tended to develop beyond a purely patriarchal society as soon as they came to inhabit small farms grouped about a fortified village which served as a focal point for defense and as a rudimentary market for the exchange of their products. Such of these villages as were located on the chief watercourses developed

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

174 north by the rivers Narev and Pripet, and along its southern
131 edge touching the headwaters of the Prut, the Dniester, and the Bug, which are all rivers flowing into the Black Sea.

101 The very origin of the names "Wend" and "Slav" is problematic. The term "Wend" has sometimes been regarded as connected with the Danish *vand,* the modern equivalent of Old Norse "vatn" (water), so that the Wends would derive this appellation from being water dwellers or lake dwellers. Though there are traces of Slavic lake dwellers, the difficulty here is that the name, being found in Pliny and Tacitus, is far older than any Slavic contacts with the Danes as such. For geographical reasons also, the earliest Slavic contacts must have been not with North Germanic, but with East Germanic tribes who (if we may judge by the Gothic vocabulary) used for water the terms "wato," without a nasal, or (in the case of a river or any body of water) "ahwa," akin to the familiar Latin "aqua." Efforts to correlate the name "Wends" with a Germanic word "wenden," to wander, so that it might signify "the wanderers," collide with the objection that both early East and West Germanic cognates of this verb simply mean "to turn," with no implication of wandering at all. Any connection with the Gothic word "winja" (pasturage) is to be rejected because
[231] of the absent dental (d), though there is abundant evidence to
[247] prove that the primitive Slavs were relatively skilful agriculturists and cattleraisers. Similarly, it is hardly possible to justify a connection between the name "Wend" and the Indo-European base **uen,* meaning "to strive, to wish, to love," even through such a derivative as Old Norse "vinr," friend. The Slavic etymologies proposed are even more uncertain, so that, for lack of anything better, the most reasonable supposition is that "Wend" is related to the early Celtic base "uindo," which means "white." It would thus appear that this was the appellation applied by the dark-haired Celts in the Danube basin to their blond neighbors behind the Carpathians, and this interpretation is the more appealing since there are pure Slavic tribal names of which the definition "white" or "blond" is a com-

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

286 techniques were a matter of common knowledge before the
176 dispersion began, but the absence of foreign borrowings also proves it to have been a native development of very early date. It is significant that this vocabulary was taken over bodily by the Magyars upon their settlement in Central Europe.

241 Just as the primitive Slavs, by the moment of their disper-
231 sion, had attained a respectable technique in metal working,
176 textiles, and ceramics (acquired in part from their neighbors), there is likewise abundant evidence that at an early stage of their existence they also possessed a knowledge of agriculture considerably in advance of what is attributed to them in this connection by frequently cited historical sources. The common Slavic vocabulary pertaining both to agriculture and to cattle-raising is in itself sufficient to vitiate any conception of the Slavs at the dawn of their history as a race of agricultural nomads leading a precarious and unstable life on scanty fare. Nor is there a sufficient number of loan-words in the Slavic vocabulary of these occupations to indicate that any appreciable proportion of the knowledge of agricultural products or livestock which the Slavs possessed was the result of contacts with other ethnic units of more advanced material culture.

241 The common Slavic vocabulary shows that as feed-grains the primitive Slavs knew barley, wheat, millet, rye, and oats. Among fruits they knew apples, pears, cherries, and plums. The Germans themselves knew nothing of grape culture until their migrations took them across the threshold of the Mediterranean world. Hence it is not surprising that the Slavonic words for vine and vineyard derived from the Goths, who also introduced the fig to the Slavs after Gothic settlement on the Black Sea coast. Of vegetables, the primitive Slavs consumed peas, beans, lentils, onions, garlic, and beets. Flax and hemp
231 were familiar textile fibers. Among domestic animals, the common Slavic vocabulary includes homogeneous terms for horse, cow, bull, steer, sheep, goat, pig, and dog and, among domestic fowl, for ducks, geese, chickens, and pigeons. In these phases of culture the primitive Slavs were in no respect inferior to the

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

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231 were familiar textile fibers. Among domestic animals, the common Slavic vocabulary includes homogeneous terms for horse, cow, bull, steer, sheep, goat, pig, and dog and, among domestic fowl, for ducks, geese, chickens, and pigeons. In these phases of culture the primitive Slavs were in no respect inferior to the

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

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4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

early colonizers in territory originally Finnish. The same observation applies to the Slovenes or Novgorod Slavs about Lake Ilmen, who thus approach the region of the great lakes. Just why they alone preserved the ethnic name of the Slavs remains an enigma. At any rate, they were, with the Polyane of Kiev, the most progressive of the Eastern Slavs. Located in an area ill-fitted for agriculture, they lived by hunting and trapping, by which they acquired material for barter with Scandinavian traders. Their pioneering spirit gradually carried them still further north toward Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and since only a short portage separated them from the upper Volga, we eventually find them pushing southeastward to insure a food supply from the grain fields of the Moscow district. They founded the city of Novgorod where the Volkhov flows out of Lake Ilmen, and economic and political collisions between this city and Moscow were a familiar feature of later medieval Russian history until the Muscovites emerged as victors.

Just south of the Slovenes lived the Krivichians, who dominated the headwaters of the Dvina, Dnieper, and Volga rivers and extended northwest until they collided with the Balts and Finns in the neighborhood of modern Pskov. Their chief centers, both of which owed their importance to river traffic, were Polotzk on the Dvina and Smolensk on the upper Dnieper. Since Smolensk is situated at an easy portage point between the Dvina, Lovat, and Dnieper rivers, it was one of the earliest points of Scandinavian settlement in the interior of Russia.

It stands to reason that, at the dawn of Russian history, these tribes must have in many instances progressed far beyond any patriarchal organization on the basis of kinship. Essentially an agricultural people, yet living also by hunting and trapping in newly colonized and sparsely settled areas, the Russian Slavs tended to develop beyond a purely patriarchal society as soon as they came to inhabit small farms grouped about a fortified village which served as a focal point for defense and as a rudimentary market for the exchange of their products. Such of these villages as were located on the chief watercourses developed

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

The veneration of the oak tree does not save it from fire; that of the cherry tree makes it a sin to burn its wood or even to cut its branches: the yew is powerful, and may not be burned, but it can be hewn and carved and made into useful objects, dishes, handles, ploughs, boxes, spindles, trays, as well as crosses and amulets, which are then particularly safe or lucky. The blackthorn is used for magical purposes, such as impaling a vampire; it is recommended to use it in making wooden implements for the sake of its magical properties, but the tree itself can be regarded almost with dread, and may not be injured or cut down or uprooted. Nearly everywhere the grafting of fruit-tree slips on wild trees, particularly on wild pears and cherries, is thought to be a virtuous act, amounting to a form of charity. I have heard of a peasant doing so as an act of expiation, a desire to obtain merit (*zadužbina*), in a district which knows little nowadays of particular tree cults. Where a ritual-agricultural calendar is followed in the traditional manner, all grafting is reserved for special days, sometimes with a special local etiology. Individuals sometimes mark the birth of a child or an animal by fertilising a tree in this way.[1] Further, I have seen over and over again in remote and isolated places, that a wild tree has been ennobled, apparently for no sound economic purpose. While I know that almost a sentimental element is

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Slavic Peoples E16

present in these practices, I would also ask whether there were not some more tangible cult significance underlying this giving of new vitality to trees. But this possibility and, for the matter of that, this aspect of agricultural activity as a whole, does not seem to have found a commentator, and I myself have not yet sufficient instances to formulate a theory.

The respect for things in general is innate in the peasant, as countless small observances in everyday life show. So long as this recognition persists, any object, however mean and common, can on occasion serve in magic, without being sacred; while if on the basis of special 'taboos' a list of sacred plants and animals were made, it would be far too large to allow of so many special cults or cult usages. Much less extensive would be a corresponding list of cursed things, which cannot under any circumstances be touched.

It must be remembered that the inventory of a peasant household (of the kind still out of touch with urbanism) is not large, while in the mountains or in the hinterland of Dalmatia it may not include all the primary necessities even of a very simple life. In this simpler scheme domestic artifacts and utensils retain something of their primitive significance. In extreme cases domestic tidiness is a minor ritual; every object has its proper place when not in use, and is carefully handled, and put away in a special position, which must not be reversed. The broom, the sieve, the kneading trough, the scoop, the chains of the hearth pot, the gourd, etc., have had their ritual associations amongst every people.

It is not possible to disentangle knowledge of the physical properties of substances from their significance in legend or worship; and it would be equally impossible to trace whether an object, used in divination, or a household utensil, which seems to enjoy special respect, such as a sieve or a wood-block or an axe, has a certain power ascribed to it directly, or through an analogous association with some other category of ideas.

The steam bath is noticed early for East and Northern Slavs, but it is curious that after the Slav invasion, the

Slavic Peoples EF6
Yugoslavia EF1
Croatia EF4

earth. The roof is always of the saddle-type and is covered with tiles. In the old days, as it is said, the roofs were covered with thatch and wood. The roof is supported by coupled beams. Originally, the house was divided into two parts: the kitchen and the room». SL 342

«It is characteristic, he says, to note the open fire-place at the kitchen wall, which is usually kept even after the kitchen has been made into a room. An iron stove is also used now. The house is usually approached through a covered terrace, occupying part of the front wall and supported by small arched pillars, that gives a very characteristic appearance to these buildings. In the old days, most of the houses had a balcony or a covered portico extending all along the front of the house. These disappeared in the course of various changes, but their traces can often be seen as yet». SL [354] [351]

«The characteristic mark of the house is given by the fire-place, that is all black from the smoke of years. A chain hangs over the fire-place .... Also the bread is baked there; a big, semicircular cover is used for that purpose. This cover is placed over the bread, and live coals are placed over the cover which bakes the bread». SL [354] [252]

When further examining the architecture of the Croat villages, the Russian investigator finds «many common elements with the Eastern — Slav shapes — many more than with the Serbs and the Bulgars. The new houses are made of stone, but many old houses have remained which were not made of round bars but of adzed wood logs, or of wood planks, placed aslant. The ends of the logs protrude irregularly. Roofs are all of the eagle type and project from the walls very strongly. Most of them are covered with tiles, but there are some made of thatch. The one-storey houses prevail, and the plan of the house is very primitive. One can often see houses with only one room, but, as a rule, we see houses with two or three rooms. One of the rooms is called «hiza» (as the entire house), and the other, «hizitsa». If there is a third room, this is either an intermediate passage with a fire-place or a cellar ... The most interesting point is that almost all the old houses have a petchka (stove) of about the same type as the Russian one. On the wall facing the stove and diagonally, we can see the ikons and photographs hanging there. This is similar to the Russian «good corner» ... (p. 132). Y C 342 171 Y C [354] [353]

The general conclusion Tokariof draws from his remarks on the architecture of the Balkan Slav peoples is particularly didactic. He says: «The popular architecture of the Croat village, near Zagreb, completely differs in its whole from the architecture prevailing in Y C SL 342 171

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

174 defiles into Moravia even before the year 200. These shifts of
167 population are explicable by the pressure not only of the Lombards and the Goths, but also of the Slavs, and after the Goths reached the Black Sea during the third century, the Slavs were doubtless the chief impelling factor in such migratory movements. That the Slavic expansion was by no means a brief and spatially limited process is borne out by the fact that in the sixth century we find the Slavs already settled from the Elbe and the Saale in the west to the Don in the east, and from the Baltic in the north to the Adriatic and the Aegean in the south. They were thus occupying an area five times greater than their original home, and during the process of settlement they did not evacuate and abandon their primitive habitat, as so many German tribes (Goths, Lombards, Vandals, Burgundians) are known to have done. This fact alone indicates a slow expansion in all directions rather than a sudden shift of position.

We find in the sources some respectable evidence to support this opinion. In 448, for instance, the Emperor Theodosius II sent an embassy from Constantinople deep into Pannonia (modern Hungary) to buy off Attila and his Huns, who had recently menaced the metropolis. One member of the embassy, named Priscus, has left an account of its long and arduous journey, in the course of which he speaks of meeting in Hungary an hospitable local population whose language was not Hungarian, and who supplied a drink made of honey called
[273] *medos*. This form is probably nothing more than a Greek spelling of Old Slavonic *medŭ*, since honey beer is a traditional Slavic drink and Priscus would have written the word with an *i* if he had been talking about Gothic mead. Jordanes also mentions that the funeral of Attila was accompanied by a great feast called a *strava*, which is a well-known medieval Slavic usage, apart from the fact that the word itself is pure Slavic.

Somewhat earlier during the fourth century it is also recorded that the Sarmatians in the Hungarian plain were expelled from there by the subject rural population, who are

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Balkan Peoples E13
Slavic Peoples E16

appear that, for longer prayers, the priests and others who recited them relied on their books. The early recording of these forms partly accounts for their universal similarity. Doubtless, the sporadic work of copying began in the Balkans. The majority of early Russian and South Slav material of this order has a uniform character, not to be found in other departments of either folk-lore or popular literature. Still more significant is the fact that exorcismal forms and the magical prescriptions which are first found associated with Orthodoxy, are not unknown in Catholic countries. As regards magical spells, these are remarkably uniform. In the Balkans, the oriental origins of the well-known legend formulae are re-emphasised by direct contact at a later date with Mohammedan culture. The gap between the Byzantine or Christianised prototype of the charm and the popular version might be explicable on these grounds.

S 183 782 755 789 B 755 789 174

III

The Orthodoxy of the Slavs gave early signs of extreme asceticism. In any case Christian culture, as such, offered no new material basis of healing, but would have provided only approved forms of the visitation of the sick, the consolation of prayer and sacrament.[1] Whatever the pre-Christian system was, it was officially classed as heathen survival, and it never dissociated itself entirely from its primitive conceptions.

SP 771 755

To summarise the results of research, the seers and priests of antiquity used strong-smelling herbs for internal and external use; the bodies and products of animals, birds, reptiles and fishes; drugs and concoctions to induce sleep, intoxication or abortion, stimulants and poisons. The uses of certain minerals, and particularly of certain magical stones and a few pigments, were certainly known. To these were added

SP 755 278 778

[1] The functions of the Orthodox priest as healer and exorciser, the use of holy water and oil, the laying-on of crosses, relics and books, etc., are epitomised in a note in Goar's *Euchologion*, p. 750.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

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4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

of the first millennium B.C. The names for gold and silver are 177
identical in all three linguistic branches, while those for iron 326
and lead are common to both Baltic and Slavic, though differing from the German vocable. The common Slavic term for copper has no equivalent cognate in either Baltic or Germanic. Since iron became known on the coast of the Black Sea about 900 B.C., and appears in archaeological finds from the Kuban district of the northern Caucasus fully two centuries before that date, the early transmission of iron technique to the Slavs is beyond question, particularly in view of traces of iron mining and smelting in Poland even in the pre-Roman epoch. The smelting of silver and gold was, however, a post-dispersion development.

In ceramics as in metal working, the Slavs were imitators 177
rather than pioneers. In all areas of pagan Slavic settlement 323
we find well-turned and well-fired vases in the form of pots without handles, showing a somewhat flattened lip and ornamented, sometimes with a wavy line several times repeated, sometimes with simple horizontal stripes, and occasionally with vertical or transverse stripes or simply a series of dots in oblique lines. There is, however, nothing specifically Slavic about this technique, since it is a reproduction of the Roman vase with undulating ornament familiar in the northernmost Roman provinces between Danube and Rhine from the first to the fourth century A.D. The Slavs thus seem to have been in [439]
contact with the northern Roman markets in this interval, and gradually to have adopted the new type of pottery in preference to their own previous products of this character: high vases, or lower bowls without a flattened edge and decorated with horizontal stripes or rows of oblique lines, types developed independently of Roman influence.

Among the chief domestic industries were spinning and weav- 286
ing. Since the primitive Slavs were far from expert bleachers, 176
the resulting fabrics were mostly grayish in color. Not only is the general terminology as spinning and weaving throughout the Slavonic languages so homogeneous as to show that these

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

286 techniques were a matter of common knowledge before the
176 dispersion began, but the absence of foreign borrowings also proves it to have been a native development of very early date. It is significant that this vocabulary was taken over bodily by the Magyars upon their settlement in Central Europe.

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•291 of light material or else of coarse wool, in which case it could be worn over the shirt, and it was usually buckled or pinned at the shoulder or in front of the neck. In cold weather sheepskins or the cheaper pelts (bear, wolf) were worn for warmth. Women of the people were clad in a long shirt of rough linen or hempen fabric, often representing a mere cylinder held up by straps over the shoulders. From the waist down they also wore a double apron attached to a belt, while the upper part of the body might be encased in a coarse woolen jacket, along with a cloak of similar material around the neck and shoulders. Footwear consisted of rough leather slippers held by a thong over the ankle or of slippers made of bast fiber. Men frequently
302 wore wrapped leggings. Married women might wear a kerchief or bonnet on their heads over hair cut short, but maidens habitually went bareheaded, wearing their hair long and braided. Men also wore their hair long in the primitive period.
[177] Close shearing and shaving, where they occur, are due to foreign influences, and in general it may be said that in matters of attire the Slavs were always prompt to adopt foreign usages.

411 Originally a peaceful race, the primitive Slavs were unskilled
721 in the use of weapons. When they were first noticed by foreign writers they had no offensive equipment except bows and spears, and were unprotected by even the most elementary shields. It has already been noted that in the Slavic vocabulary the words for helmet and sword were taken over from the Goths. In the succeeding centuries, the constant warfare of the migratory epoch and the necessity of defense against successive nomad incursions produced a marked amplification of Slavic military equipment representing a fusion of borrowed alien techniques so that when the southern Slavs invaded Greece at the end of he sixth century, their soldier was considered to be as good a fighter as the Byzantine regular. The Slavs, however, used no mounted troops until well into the historical period.

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443 commerce, which in the peripheral areas of European antiq-

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 812 the Hegelian philosophical construction, whence came the German Ultranationalist ideal, and which was now, through Khomyakov and his school (Kirejevsky, Constantin and Ivan Aksakov, Youri Samarin), to give rise to a powerful anti-Germanist reaction.

186* 539 Khomyakov's odes constitute what we might call the epigraph of Muscovite Slavophilia. They are a pathetic and prophetic appeal to Slav solidarity: 'Look Southwards over the vast steppes, and the distant West. . . . Numerous are they, in the Carpathians and in the chasm of the Balkans, numerous are our brethren, slaves of the Turk or of the German. . . . Warm them at the fire of your love, and the day will come when the eaglets, our brethren, bursting their bonds with their brazen beaks, will, in their turn, fly off, as eagles fly'. (*Ode to the Eagle,* 1832.) The *leitmotiv* of these odes is the divine mission of Russia, who is to raise up her brethren and snatch them from the oppressor's yoke. But this mission does not go beyond a moral hegemony. 'Be not proud', says the poet elsewhere, 'in your dealings with Belgrade, O Prague, capital of the Czech countries! Despise not the Bohemian sanctuary of Vychegrad, O Moscow of the gilded domes! Brothers in blood, let us all remember that we owe each other equal and fraternal affection'.

186* 208 The Slavophile school, in its early days, had what we should now call a 'bad press'. The Westernists, who then controlled the critics and moulded opinion, represented Khomyakov's [292] friends as Chauvinists and Obscurantists. People made fun of their faith in the native virtues of the *moujik,* their extravagances in the matter of dress, the *mourmolka,* the traditional bonnet which they had adopted with the Russian costume, and especially at their illusions as to the expansion-power of Russian culture at that time. Nothing is so dangerous as a metaphor cast into the whirlpool of international life. Pushkin had one day written this unfortunate line:—

> 'Will the Slavonic streams all come and lose themselves in the Russian Ocean?'

186* That was sufficient to lend credence to the idea that Russia considered herself to have a divine mission, that of liberating her racial brethren, and grouping them around her. When the Russians spoke of 'Slavophilia', the West persisted in understanding 'Panslavism'. Yet they were two very different things.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

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EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Albania EG1
Slavic Peoples E16

'in order to draw out the fever'. This prescription has been used amongst others in close contact with Islamic culture, and, by analogy, powdered quinine is substituted for henna. On the other hand, some plants have a semi-religious significance, without representing any economic value whatever; and only some of these again are used in medicine in a mystical sense. Others have a mystical value, where and when the medical use is lacking or lost. Thus *Sempervivum tect.* in Šumadija has no meaning attached other than it is 'lucky'; its medicinal use is practically restricted to Dalmatia. The iris was a sacred plant before its chemical properties were known, and its rare use is traceable to literary sources.

It is not always clear, either, that the veneration of a plant depends upon any marked obvious property, inherent in substance or form.

The origin of the now very extensive use of various minerals and pigments is indeterminable. Again we incline to point to oriental commerce, partly on account of the numbers of them which appear regularly under Turkish names, and their late entry into written prescriptions.

The use of cosmetics has been established for the ancient Slavs. At present the application of pigments to the skin is confined to urbanised areas and Mohammedanised centres, where the blackened teeth and sore lips which are seen there are due to the use of mercury and antimony in the preparation of face creams, and not, as travellers sometimes suggest, to the presence of syphilis. But tonic lotions are regularly used for beautifying skin and hair; and in South Serbia and the Lim district and other parts, and particularly amongst the Albanian population, the hair is bleached or dyed with henna or gall nuts, and that mostly in childhood. The oil or fat used by the ancient Slavs on their bodies, perhaps as a protection against cold or against stings of insects, may have had a ritual use, and witch ointments actually exist. I have not been able to discover the exact ingredients of such an oil but, on not wholly reliable evidence, I have heard of hemp oil in this connection, which fits in very well with an

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16
Coasts EF4
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Balkan Peoples E13

older tradition. Marking the face with charcoal against the evil eye, disguising the face by certain marks to delude a sickness or a misfortune, the blackening and rending of the face in mourning and so on, fall within the same department. In sickness a healthy sign or amulet mark may be traced upon the skin, e.g. the 'seal of Solomon'. This may be the meaning of certain tracings and pointings with the healing finger or healing medium, without leaving a mark. The ancient Slavs also coated their bodies with fetid plant juices, and with offal; and it may be that similar curative methods originate from ceremonial, involving the expulsion of, or protection from, bad influences.

Amongst the Catholics of Bosnia, tattoo ornaments, which have a vague prophylactic aim, are made in a variety of geometric patterns, sometimes from the back of the hand to the shoulder and covering the chest. Personal ornament may still be found to have a mystical significance; and possibly a study of design would reveal an older direct connection. Naturally, the amulet tends to serve an ornamental end—corals for health, crosses of sacred woods, coins and medals, coloured beads, small charms set in silver, flowers worn in the hair, the mercury bracelets of the Mohammedans of Bosnia, and finally the fine and rich amulet cases of late oriental workmanship. Meanwhile, each part of dress has its symbolical value, making it suitable for this or that occasion, and hence afterwards useful for suggestive magic. The belt of bride or mother has the virtues of fertility. In Eastern Macedonia it is woven to represent the fertile rainbow. But the bride's garments are always propitious, and their touch can cure a number of skin diseases. Certain observances hold amongst women to the effect that such and such embroidery designs should not be worked at certain times and seasons.

Finally, there grew up a body of Balkan-oriental medicine which shows the influence of learned medicine as practised by the *iatroi* and *hekim*, with little variation throughout the territory; which, in turn, provides the latest semi-literary source of South Slav popular medicine; and which gives it

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slovic Peoples E16

the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

The veneration of the oak tree does not save it from fire; that of the cherry tree makes it a sin to burn its wood or even to cut its branches: the yew is powerful, and may not be burned, but it can be hewn and carved and made into useful objects, dishes, handles, ploughs, boxes, spindles, trays, as well as crosses and amulets, which are then particularly safe or lucky. The blackthorn is used for magical purposes, such as impaling a vampire; it is recommended to use it in making wooden implements for the sake of its magical properties, but the tree itself can be regarded almost with dread, and may not be injured or cut down or uprooted. Nearly everywhere the grafting of fruit-tree slips on wild trees, particularly on wild pears and cherries, is thought to be a virtuous act, amounting to a form of charity. I have heard of a peasant doing so as an act of expiation, a desire to obtain merit (*zadužbina*), in a district which knows little nowadays of particular tree cults. Where a ritual-agricultural calendar is followed in the traditional manner, all grafting is reserved for special days, sometimes with a special local etiology. Individuals sometimes mark the birth of a child or an animal by fertilising a tree in this way.[1] Further, I have seen over and over again in remote and isolated places, that a wild tree has been ennobled, apparently for no sound economic purpose. While I know that almost a sentimental element is

[1] At Rakljansko Polje a pine tree was said to have sprung from a branch stuck in the ground by the Empress Milica when Car Lazar was born. Cf. J. Pančić, *Iz Prirode*, p. 52. Similar acts of commemoration are, of course, well known in other parts of the world.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

of the first millennium B.C. The names for gold and silver are identical in all three linguistic branches, while those for iron and lead are common to both Baltic and Slavic, though differing from the German vocable. The common Slavic term for copper has no equivalent cognate in either Baltic or Germanic. Since iron became known on the coast of the Black Sea about 900 B.C., and appears in archaeological finds from the Kuban district of the northern Caucasus fully two centuries before that date, the early transmission of iron technique to the Slavs is beyond question, particularly in view of traces of iron mining and smelting in Poland even in the pre-Roman epoch. The smelting of silver and gold was, however, a post-dispersion development. 177 326

In ceramics as in metal working, the Slavs were imitators rather than pioneers. In all areas of pagan Slavic settlement we find well-turned and well-fired vases in the form of pots without handles, showing a somewhat flattened lip and ornamented, sometimes with a wavy line several times repeated, sometimes with simple horizontal stripes, and occasionally with vertical or transverse stripes or simply a series of dots in oblique lines. There is, however, nothing specifically Slavic about this technique, since it is a reproduction of the Roman vase with undulating ornament familiar in the northernmost Roman provinces between Danube and Rhine from the first to the fourth century A.D. The Slavs thus seem to have been in contact with the northern Roman markets in this interval, and gradually to have adopted the new type of pottery in preference to their own previous products of this character: high vases, or lower bowls without a flattened edge and decorated with horizontal stripes or rows of oblique lines, types developed independently of Roman influence. 177 323 [439]

Among the chief domestic industries were spinning and weaving. Since the primitive Slavs were far from expert bleachers, the resulting fabrics were mostly grayish in color. Not only is the general terminology as spinning and weaving throughout the Slavonic languages so homogeneous as to show that these 286 176

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

619 presence of a patronymic suffix in early Russian tribal names
621 indicates that these tribes actually passed through a stage when membership depended on kinship, but the attachment of the same suffix to place names also implies that the original implication had been forgotten before the historical period.

567 Prior to the evolution first of a commercial and subsequently
565 of an official ruling class, the primitive Slavic population was divided into three distinguishable strata. At the lowest point in the scale stood the slaves, composed of captives taken in war, men who had lost their freedom for debt, and descendants of slave parents. At least in their early history, the attitude of the Slavs toward their slaves was exceedingly mild. Above the slaves stood the great group of freemen, governed by the elders of their communities and later by tribal chieftains supported by a council of elders.

581 Polygamy and concubinage were common to all primitive
595 Slavs. In spite of the evidence for considerable promiscuity, a sense of the sanctity of marriage as a permanent tie is also demonstrated by early accounts of pagan Slavic wives who committed suicide upon the death of their husbands, so that the fidelity of the Slavic women was almost universally commented on with favor by foreign observers. Survivals of primitive custom among the Russian peasantry down to modern times indicate nevertheless that great freedom was allowed
462 both sexes prior to marriage. The Slavic women enjoyed no equality in the household, though a surviving widow was authorized to take her husband's place as head of the family.
583 Marriage by capture or by purchase was common Slavic practice.

177 In the course of their history, even before the dispersion, the
326 Slavs were exposed to a series of foreign influences, especially Iranian and Germanic, which rapidly placed at their service the techniques common to adjacent ethnic groups. Linguistic evidence demonstrates that the mass of the Slavs, like the German and the Baltic peoples, was familiar with iron, gold, silver, and lead from the earliest times, at least from the second half

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

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9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16

clearly show its origin from the Italian Renaissance» (1) (see fig. 42, Plate XIII 8).

B 342 [351]

In this category of houses of the plains can also be included the troglodyte house, which is seen even to-day in some villages of Nothern Bulgaria. But it forms a separate sort of building as to disposition, construction and arrangement, and it will be mentioned separately at the end of the present survey.

2. The Bulgarian House of the Mountains.

The houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria show a much greater variety of shapes: they are two-storied and, from an architectural point of view, more advanced, than the houses of the plains. The explanation, however, given by Zlatev, that this fact is due to the higher income of the population who live in mountainous areas and become rich through cattle-breeding, can only be accepted if we consider the fact that in the plains of Bulgaria, as well as in those of Greece, there have been big farms belonging to Turks during their occupation, and the farmers were living there as serfs.

The older of the still existing houses of the mountainous areas of Bulgaria are from the middle or the beginning of last century. If we exclude the houses of the Rodope and the Orvelo areas, that present some peculiarities, the characteristic mark of the highland Bulgarian house is the open portico, which covers all the length of one of the sides of the upper floor, usually the side overlooking the yard. The building has normally no windows opening to the street. This portico also includes the staircase leading from the ground floor to the upper floor. Thus the staircase is almost external, but under the roof of the house (Plates XIV and XV).

The upper storey usually projects over the external wall of the ground floor, along the whole or part of the frontage of the house. This is achieved by the very wide use of timber, both in construction and decoration. The kind of timber used is oak, in the forest districts of Haimos (Balkan) and Sredna Gora, and pine-trees as well as other conifers in the districts of Rodope and Orvelo (Pirin). It would appear that for the abundance of timber, the whole of the highland house was originally made out of wood (1).

B [313]

1) According to **Niederle**, op. cit. p. 119, «the wood construction is the original form of house building for the Slavs, both in their villages and their

SL 342 333

[Text continues on p. 69]

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains]

In these two-storey houses as well, we distinguish in the upper-floor the two basic spaces just as in the Bulgarian house of the plains, namely the kăsta and the oda or soba with the so-called tsardak (or islak or soundourma) that is the open portico, in front of them. The lower storey is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the stabling of cattle and the storing of fruits, but very often it also includes a room with a hearth for the residence of the family during the winter. This is also called «kăsta» i.e. house, or even better, «lower house» and «small house» in contrast to the «upper», or «big house» that is the main room of the upper floor, where the family lives in the summer months. B 342 B [231] [251] [354]

The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV). B [513] [251] [353]

This distribution is shown by the house of Sredna Gora (Messon Oros) which is very important as it exercised an influence upon the houses of Balkan, according to Zlatev (1). (See Fig. 43, 44 and Plate XV 1-2).

The portico in the upper floor is used, just as in the Greek houses, for the drying of fruit and as a living room of the family during the summer months. Parts of it are usually divided by light wooden or brick partitions, forming spaces called «ambar» (stores) for cereals, or even small rooms called «odaja» and «soba». B [251] [353]

Finally, in some more composite forms of houses there is a space between the two main rooms, used as an anti-room, having the floor higher by 0.15-0.20 m. and called prust (Greek «μικροδωτι»); and also some other smaller spaces, divided off and used as hiding-places or cellars. In the more developed forms, such as in the houses of the village C [342] [171] B [171]

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towns, even in their palaces. Slavs never used stone construction until the 10th cent., except for their Southern tribes who, having arrived in the Balkan peninsula and the Italian boundaries on the 6th cent., could see for themselves the models of Byzantine and Roman architecture». Stone construction was first used in the building of churches and of palaces by experts specially invited from abroad. Cf. J. Cvijic', op. cit. pp. 228, 230, 241, G. Megas, Θρακ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 48. SL 342 333

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4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

814 younger state in a volume which might have served as a firm
829 basis for the development of a characteristic native culture.
175 The Russians before the Tartar invasion were always pupils; they originated very little that was independent of Byzantine models either in literature or in art.

177 In art, however, this imitation was productive and created
341 an architectural and a decorative tradition which lasted down
341 into modern times. By the date of Vladimir's conversion, the basilica as a type of church architecture in Byzantium had been largely replaced by the cruciform church with one or with five cupolas. This was the type transmitted to Russia and still worthily represented by the great medieval churches of Kiev, Novgorod, Vladimir and even Moscow, though in the metropolis the more exotic forms and the onion-shaped dome derived
177 from wooden architecture prevail. The highly conventionalized
532 art of the icon dominated Russian painting until Western influences began to seep in during the seventeenth century, but this tradition was still vital enough before the first World War to influence the art of nineteenth-century religious and historical painters. For where the Byzantine tradition had taken firm root, the aesthetic appeal was long-lived and enduring.

538 In literature, along with lapidary works of religious implica-
186 tion, the Russian national spirit began to manifest itself in historical compilations during the eleventh century, and literary reflexes of folk poetry had already appeared before the Tartar conquest. But a truly national literature stems from a long educative process, and this process was interrupted in medieval Russia both by domestic politics and by nomadic inroads.

177 Where domestic disorders merely retarded the intellectual
779 advance of medieval Russia, the Tartar incursion brought it to a full stop. It has already been noticed what material impoverishment it had caused. But the Tartar domination was a far more serious factor in the deterioration of cultural and spiritual values. The church, to be sure, was treated with tolerance by the Tartars because it preached submission to

and the other Slavs than between the Serbs and the Croats. The two groups coincide in the matter of the zadruga (communal holding of rural property), and in matters where considerable differences are to be noted, for example in the arrangement of houses, the boundary line of difference does not coincide with the Serbo-Croat frontier. The Roman type with a single hearth predominates in Montenegro, while in Dalmatia, in Hercegovina, and in the other areas the High German type with two hearths predominates.

According to Weissbach, the Serbo-Croats present the following characteristics: tall stature, strong preponderance of the dark type, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, strongly brachycephalic and of an extremely large cranial capacity. The cephalic index is an average of 84 (85.7 among the Bosnians and the Croats of today). The cranial capacity is 1,524. There are 93.5% brachycephalics and 6% mesocephalics. Weissbach concluded that the Serbs and Croats should be considered as forming one and the same people. Recently Mr. Zupanic declared that physical differences exist between the two national groups; but it is uncertain, at the present stage of the science, whether his statement can be justified. From the language point of view, the south Slav group in the west splits up as follows: the Čakavci (1) being identified

1. These groups are thus named on the basis of the manner in which they say or pronounce the relative pronoun. /rather, pronominal word ca, sto, kaj, meaning "what". Editor./

with /175/ the Croats, the Stokavci with the Serbs, and the Kajkavci with the Slovenes. Miklosic still distinguishes a Serbian tongue and a Croatian tongue. But it is proven today that this distinction has no basis.

Nevertheless, we should point out some dialectical shadings which are not in accordance with the political distinctions. Alongside the two great dialects of Stokavci and Čakavci, there are other transitional dialects: the Kaikavski of the west, toward the Slovenes, the dialect of Prizren or of Timok, otherwise called "Old Serb", and the Svrljiski dialect to the east toward the Bulgars. Several eminent philologists, notably Belic, relate the Kaikavstina to the Slovene tongue. According to the recent studies of Mr. Resetar, the Kaikav territory is separated from the other two by a line which starts from Turnovac, on the Drava, reaches Virovitica, runs around Bjelovar, goes to Trnovitica, Jasenovac on the Sava, follows the Sava as far as Belaj, then runs to Trzic, Plaski, Brlog, Nin (Nona) and Zadar (Zara).

1 [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Analyst]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

primitive Germans, though the latter advanced more rapidly 241
in proportion with their more intimate and prior contacts 361
with the Mediterranean world. The predilection of the Slavs for agriculture is the natural consequence of their long residence in areas well suited for its practice: the plains of the Dnieper and the Vistula—though it is also likely that the epoch of the migrations and of repeated nomad incursions from Asia interrupted to some extent the sedentary tendencies and habits which the Slavs had previously developed. The primitive plow of the Slavs prior to the migrations was at first only a forked branch with one fork lopped short and cut into a point. It was later supplemented by a pole to which draft animals could be attached and a handle by which the driver could guide its course.

The primitive Slavic village varied in type. The houses 361
might be grouped in horseshoe arrangement around a central space or in a straight line on either side of a thoroughfare. Neither of these village types appears, however, quite as primeval as the system whereby each household occupied an isolated structure in the midst of the lands its members tilled. Stone buildings were unknown. The earliest type of house con- 342
sisted of a trench dug in the ground, the sides of which were raised by walls of logs stopped with earth. The wooden roof was also coated with earth as an additional protection. The primitive Slavs also erected rude log cabins without digging into the ground. We have no data on the internal furnishings of the Slavic house before the eleventh century A.D.

The chilly climate in which they lived made furs the prim- 291
itive costume of the early Slavs. Furs later became an important [439]
item of Slavic export, as is shown by the early introduction of the Slavic names for squirrel and ermine into both Latin and Greek. The male costume among the early Slavs consisted of a coarse shirt falling to the knee, with sleeves and an opening for the neck, combined with wide trousers supported at the waist by a belt of rope or leather and tied in at the ankles. For the shirt they sometimes substituted a short tunic, which might be

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16 ●
Serbs EF6

The typical form is shown by a house of the village of Zianozene of the Berkof district, built in 1890 (Fig. 41) «In these areas», says Zlatev (p. 98), «southward and northward of the Haimos, in the plain or even in the mountains, this house is the normal type used. The portico here appears in various forms and positions, depending on the construction, which is here primitive and without any particular sense of shape». Part of the space under the portico has been enclosed with oak-tree boards and it is used as a pig-sty. The walls of the ground-floor are made of stone, and those of the upper floor of daubed wicker-work (Bulg.: pletarka). The floor of the upper storey is made of oak planks, roughly planed, and plastered with a thick layer of clay. Windows are few and small, and thus results a poor lighting in the house. The height of the basement is of 2 metres, and that of the upper floor 2 - 2.5 metres. The portico, formed on the frontage and called «islak» (Greek: ἡλιακός), appears as a non-organic part, attached to the main body, although its roof is a part of the whole roof of the house. It is mainly used for the drying of fruits [1]).

B 342
B [231]
B [354]
B [251]

The need to house a large family, as e.g. the so-called zadruga, created a difficult problem which remained architecturally unsolved in the case of the Serbs and the other Slavs: the young people and the young couples sleep in separate small buildings (vajat, klijet, staja or koliba from the Greek καλύβη = hut) which are constructed alongside or around the family house (called kuc'a), having no hearth and being also used as a stable or a store house [2]). The number of klijeti existing round the kuc'a gives the number of couples living in that cluster [3]). As for the Bulgarians, this problem has been solved through the following two methods: 1. By the addition of rooms, in direct organic connection with the original region of the hearth. 2. By the unification of two independent bipartite or tripartite houses through covered entrances or corridors.

S SL [342] ● [592] [513]

The first method is shown by the house in the village Zabel (Zlatev, fig. 16), one of the oldest houses in NW Bulgaria, which, «some

B [592]

1) It is interesting to note the nomenclature of each part of the wooden bone in W. Bulgaria, which is often similar to that used in Thessaly and Epirus (Zlatev, p. 101, fig. 86) 1. Temel (θεμέλιον) = the basis of the post. 2. Direk = the post. 3. Gredi = (γρεντιά) beam. 4. Pope (παπᾶς = priest) (cf. **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 20).

2) See **J. Cvijić**, La Peninsule Balkanique, Paris, 1918, p. 233 and foll.

3) See **L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave, Vol. 2 Paris 1926, p. 109.

Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16

clearly show its origin from the Italian Renaissance» (!) (see fig. 42, Plate XIII 8). B 342

In this category of houses of the plains can also be included the troglodyte house, which is seen even to-day in some villages of Nothern Bulgaria. But it forms a separate sort of building as to disposition, construction and arrangement, and it will be mentioned separately at the end of the present survey. [351]

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The second room, called soba, is also used as sleeping quarter for the family, and more seldom for the storing of food and other articles. For this last purpose, another additional space is also used and is called «killer»; the upper floor is thus divided into three spaces (Plate XV). B 513 251 353

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[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44). B 342 354 C [342] [171]

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuc'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45 c and 46). B [171] SL 342 354 [177] Se [342] [354]

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἐγκιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc. B 192 342

1) The word **isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105, **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108). B [192] SL [177]

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

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Among Bulgarians, on the contrary, (Fig. 44) the open hearth (ognichte) is always to be found in the main room which, as it is shown by its name (kăsta=house), originally constituted the whole

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Fig. 45 Three developing forms of a Slovak house in W. Karpathia. jisba=room, ohnisko=hearth, pitvor=ante-room, pec=stove, kuchyňa=kitchen (L. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave 2, 107).

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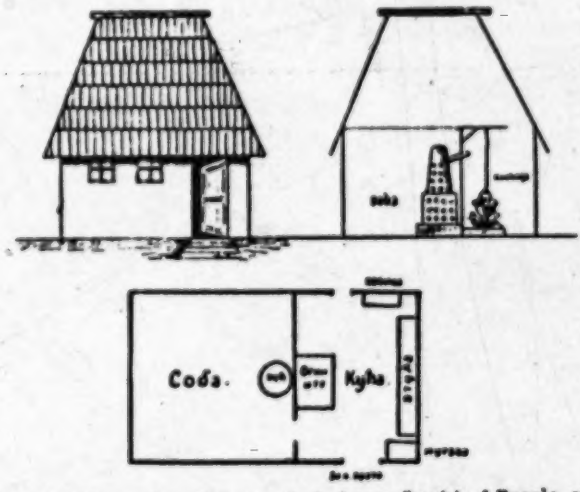

Fig. 46 Plan and section of a Serb house (kuc'a) of Bosnia, after R. Meringer (soba=room with stove, kyha=kitchen)

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house. This hearth is often built on one of the main walls or in one corner of it and the stove is in the other room, which is called «soba». On the other hand, this combination of hearth and stove in the Bulgarian house is neither old nor is it generally found since, according to Jirecek's descriptions, bublished towards the end of the 19th century: the Bulgarian house «usually consists of a single space levelling with the

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are tied nearer the breg, for these animals emanate a lot of heat 342
while feeding. One or two sky-lights are to be found on the roof of 354
the breg and give some light to this very dark dug-out.

In the second gallery, as we have said, there is the main house. 231
It has a fire-place, 2×2 m., with a wide chimney for the escape of the 252
smoke. The bread is baked under the ash of this hearth and there
is an opening near the fire-place for the collection of the ashes. 251
Finally, the zadnik is the space behind the house, where food, agricultural products and other useful articles are kept [1]. 353

The same formation is seen in another lair of the same village, which was built in 1876 (Fig. 51.)

Dug-out houses existed from the ancient times among the Slavs, SL
and other peoples of central and Nothern Europe, but, as it is 172
shown by the remnants found, these dwellings constituted simple 342
shelters (abris). That is to say, the Slavs dug out a deep trench, of
more than one meter depth, which they covered with a roof of timbers, B
branches, hay and mud. According to Niederle «the construction of 342
the house, or rather of the roof, was more or less simple, according 171
to whether the stay in that place was to be of short duration; because the Slavs, used to live a nomadic life for a long time and till the beginnings of historic times». Such shelter-holes (fosses-abris) were already found in the Slav countries, of dimensions 1.50×4 meters, dating from the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries. Their construction has been retained, though on a less primitive shape, until the 19th century in some districts of Russia and Poland [2]. The reason of such a form of housing is the lack of forests and of timber for construction of houses in the steppe districts.

The troglodyte houses of Bulgaria prove of an evolution, obviously B
due to the influence exercised by surface houses; they are neither of SL
Slav nor of Bulgarian origin. Ancient authors, such as Strabo VII, 5, 12, 342
Plinius, Nat. Hist. IV, 80, Ptolemaeus (C. Müller, Ptolemaei Geographia I, 463), mention the «troglodytes» in the district of Little Skythia, now Dobroutcha, and in Dardania, who lived, like the Phrygians and the Armenians, in subterranean dwellings [3].

Consequently the Bulgars, and the Slavs who established them-

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1) T. Zlatev op. cit. p. 112 figg. 97-98.
2) L. Niederle, op. cit. 2 p. 96 foll., 98.
3) See C. Jirecek, op. cit. 137. G. Kazarow, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte der Thraker, Sarajevo 1916, p. 30.

B 342 SL [342] selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and surface dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas, i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia, and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called bordeiu (1).

B [361] More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

B 175 648 361 G 175 648 SL [342] B [727] When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this stronghold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the advantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5) «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters mentioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kidnapped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-

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1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre-historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over-layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄνται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν δὴ ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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Austrian Colonel Borovicska, these huts were, in 1858, the normal type of house in the Kossovo valley (1).

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The Czech historian L. Niederle is more plain about the present subject. According to him the old typical house of the Balkan Slavs appears as a simple hut (kuc'a) with small auxiliary spaces near it. But when he examines the Slav dwellings in general, he says that «only the Serbs, the Kroats and the Bulgars ignored the ante-room from the beginning (le vestibule)», that is the second room, which was built in front of the entrance of the single room of the Slav house already before the 11th century, at first in order to protect the entrance against the direct influence of the rain, the snow or the cold; but later it constituted a separate space, used for the storing of various articles, for the stabling of cattle and for the habitation of persons in summer months (Fig. 45, b). «We must therefore suppose», says Niederle, «that the Slavs of South had abandoned their primary Northern homeland before the ante-room (vestibule or antichamber) had formed an essential and independent part of the house in the Northern countries. This progress, on the other hand, would not have been possible, as long as the population lived under semi-nomadic conditions and did not build permanent, spacy and strong shelters. Consequently, the transition to the permanent habitation was made from the 6th to the 11th century, that is to say at a period when the main bulk of the Jugoslavs had already descended towards the Danube and even more to the South of it» (2).

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It is thus explained why the ancient Jugoslav house did not follow the evolution of the houses of the Slav peoples living in Eastern and central Europe, but has the primitive form of a Slav house, i.e. the form of a simple hut from the very beginning.

But also another great progress achieved by the Slav house architecture before the 10th century, under foreign influence this time, remained unknown to the old Jugoslav house: it is the creation, in the interior of the house, of the «izba» with its stove and later with its kitchen, which originated, as we have seen, (pp. 71 foll. above) from a German influence. Niederle says: «Only the old Jugoslav kuc'as have no ovens but just one hearth. This leads us to believe that: the Jugoslavs started their migration to the South before the introduction of the oven or of the stove into their houses» (3).

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1) **Franz Baron Nopcsa**, Albanien, Berlin 1925, p. 8.
2) **L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité slave. Paris, 1926, 2, 102 foll.
3) **L. Niederle**, op. cit. 122.

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Slavic Peoples E1C
Serb's EF6

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Another characteristic of the Slav house, the «kleti», a small separate building, that was originally constructed by the Slavs near their own house, without any hearth, and was used as a store-room and at the same time as stable and as bedroom for young couples, it exists in the Serb houses, as well as in the Russian ones. This is a proof that the Jugoslav were aware of its existence already in the 6th and 7th centuries, when they arrived at the Greek peninsula. This space appears, even to-day, either as a store-room, or a chamber without any hearth, to be used especially by married members of the family. Thus in the Serb farm-houses belonging to one zadruga, one may count as many klijets i.e. small wooden buildings round the family kuc'a, as there are couples in the family.

From the above we may conclude that, when establishing themselves on this side of the Danube in lands of the Byzantine empire, the Jugoslavs knew only the simpler, the primitive forms of Slav houses and consequently the entire evolution which is shown by the Jugoslav house, especially in the purely Serb countries, has been accomplished on Balkan soil under the influence of the building methods in use in the Balkan peninsula from ancient times.

We have already said that Cvijic' distinguishes a type of Greco-mediterranean house which «probably originates from the old Byzantine houses». «We can also see this house», he writes, «in all the Koutsovlach villages, even in the ones with a continental climate, as well as in the Slav populations of Mijaci and Mavrovci, at the centre of the peninsula».

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According to Cvijic', «the Greco-mediterranean house differs slightly or not at all from the house of the Vardar district (maison vardarienne) for which it is used as the model (le prototype)». The same may be said of the Morava valley house (maison moravienne) whose one component, the portico (auvent), has the obviously Greek name doksat (Greek δοξάτος) while this same component, more to the South, in the Vardar district, is called by another Greek name: krevet (Greek κρεββάτι)(1). As we have seen, even the first of the additions to the kuc'a, namely the place where various articles are kept, is called

1) J. Cvijic' op. cit. p. 224 Cf. the κρεββάτα of the houses of Ambelakia, Rapsani, Arta etc. (G. Megas, Θεσ. Οἰκ., pp. 86 foll., 95 foll. and the δοξάτον of the Kastoria noble houses (A. Orlandos, Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος B p. 181 foll. p. 196 foll.).

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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down from the middle beam. The second house has whitewashed walls, a tall roof covered with roughly planed wooden planks.

This bipartite house has its door opening always on the kitchen and never on the chamber. A wooden roof (tavan) is found only over the chamber and never over the kitchen. (See plan and section of Bosnian house, fig. 46 above).

According to Meringer, the chamber in the above house was formed by the separation of one part of the original one-roomed house [1]. But the evolution of the Slav house forms in the Western Karpathians, the study of which has helped also in explaining the heating

SL [342]

Fig. 52 Primitive two-room little house with walls made of a fence of bars and the roof of willow
(Meringer, Volkstümliches Haus in Bosnien, f. 3)

Fig. 53 Two-room little house in the area of Dolnja Tuzla in Bosnia
(Meringer, Volkstümliches Haus in Bosnien, f. 6)

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system of Slav houses (see fig. 45 above), also shows in a persuasive way that the composition of this bipartite building as well, may have derived from the addition of a space, which was used as an ante-room, to the original room of the cottage.

The increase of space was achieved in the Bosnian house also by the construction of one room or one storeroom in the interior of the high roof, exactly over the sleeping chamber, that is the soba; this is considered by Meringer as the first step towards the formation of a two-storey house in Bosnia (Fig. 54).

In the Herzegovina, as stated, one usually meets the simpler forms of houses, but a certain tendency is felt towards a more elaborate formation of house. Thus, some old houses which, according to Meringer, were originally one-roomed, finally acquired two other three

1) R. Meringer, Das volkst. Haus... pp. 253, 286 Nr. 4. Die Stellung des bosn. Hauses... p. 2.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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Thus, the evolution of the Bosnian house from the simpler to the more composite forms, as shown in plate XVII, which we compiled on the basis of plans of houses studied by R. Meringer, does not differ, in its general lines, from that of the Greek houses. That is to say, also the Bosnian house mainly owes its final form to the gradual modification of the prostoon, which extended in front of the rooms, just as with the Greek and the Bulgarian houses.

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Therefore, the remark made by Cvijic years ago, basically retains all its value, namely that the Greco-mediterranean type of house can be seen in Southern Serbia, Albania, Bulgaria and, in general, in all countries that were included in the Byzantine Empire or that had felt the influence of its civilization (1).

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From that point of view, the remarks of the Russian ethnologist S. A. Tokariof are interesting. Tokariof, as we have said, studied four years ago the shapes of the popular houses of the Balkan Slav countries. When describing the Moravian type of house, he says: «The old houses (2) are built mostly of branches and bricks, plastered on both sides with mud The buildings are one-storied as a rule, but often there are houses with basements, dug into the ground. The floor is of beaten

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1) When **C. Jirecek**, in his book Geschichte der Serben, vol. 2. I. Gotha 1918, p. 74 foll. deals with the Serbian houses of the Middle Ages, he says: «Only the narrow houses inside the royal castles were more solidly built. But, according to Guillaume Adam, the courts of the kings and the nobles were enclosed by fences made of wooden posts. Only in the towns of the ex-Byzantine areas does one see «palaces» such as the one preserved in Melenikon; it is a Buzantine house of nobles with two floors, a large reception room and a square tower During that period there were stonebuilt houses of many floors with open and closed balconies in the sea side towns of Cattaro, Antivari and Dulcigno. High houses were also to be seen in towns that were of Greek origin In the villages most of the houses were wooden huts with a roof of straw. In the area of the Karst mountain, one could see stone houses, built without any mortar and of a rectangular shape. The fire place was the centre of the house. In the houses of richer inhabitants, meals were served, as in monasteries, on tables covered with a tablecloth It spite, however, of this general imitation of the Byzantine ways of life, when Greeks visited the court of king Stephen Ouros (1268) their impression was that it was poor and primitive». (page 81). Cf. **Fr. Krauss**, Slavische Volkforschungen Leipzig, 1908, p. 4 foll.

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To prove the fact that Greek masons («majstori» and «protomajstori») worked in great numbers at the building of the fine churches, monasteries, palaces and other buildings in Serbia, see **C. Jirecek**, op cit p. 73.

2) I copy the text of the translation as it was published in «Μόρφωση» 1946 p. 130 and foll.

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Croatia EF4

earth. The roof is always of the saddle-type and is covered with tiles. In the old days, as it is said, the roofs were covered with thatch and wood. The roof is supported by coupled beams. Originally, the house was divided into two parts: the kitchen and the room». SL 342

«It is characteristic, he says, to note the open fire-place at the kitchen wall, which is usually kept even after the kitchen has been made into a room. An iron stove is also used now. The house is usually approached through a covered terrace, occupying part of the front wall and supported by small arched pillars, that gives a very characteristic appearance to these buildings. In the old days, most of the houses had a balcony or a covered portico extending all along the front of the house. These disappeared in the course of various changes, but their traces can often be seen as yet». SL [354] [351]

«The characteristic mark of the house is given by the fire-place, that is all black from the smoke of years. A chain hangs over the fire-place.... Also the bread is baked there; a big, semicircular cover is used for that purpose. This cover is placed over the bread, and live coals are placed over the cover which bakes the bread». SL [354] [252]

When further examining the architecture of the Croat villages, the Russian investigator finds «many common elements with the Eastern — Slav shapes — many more than with the Serbs and the Bulgars. The new houses are made of stone, but many old houses have remained which were not made of round bars but of adzed wood logs, or of wood planks, placed aslant. The ends of the logs protrude irregularly. Roofs are all of the eagle type and project from the walls very strongly. Most of them are covered with tiles, but there are some made of thatch. The one-storey houses prevail, and the plan of the house is very primitive. One can often see houses with only one room, but, as a rule, we see houses with two or three rooms. One of the rooms is called «hiza» (as the entire house), and the other, «hizitsa». If there is a third room, this is either an intermediate passage with a fire-place or a cellar... The most interesting point is that almost all the old houses have a petchka (stove) of about the same type as the Russian one. On the wall facing the stove and diagonally, we can see the ikons and photographs hanging there. This is similar to the Russian «good corner»... (p. 132). Y C 342 171 Y C [354] [353]

The general conclusion Tokariof draws from his remarks on the architecture of the Balkan Slav peoples is particularly didactic. He says: «The popular architecture of the Croat village, near Zagreb, completely differs in its whole from the architecture prevailing in Y C SL 342 171

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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the Balkan peninsula. We find here a whole series of elements and conditions, entirely unknown to Serbs and Bulgars: buildings made of adzed wood, two sided thatch roof, Russian type of stove (petschka) instead of a fire-plase (tzaki), «good corner» facing it, etc. Similar phenomena exist in Slovenia (see the works of A.N. Harouzin) but do not further to the South, over the Savo River. One is driven to think of a movement of civilization, from North to South that has probably some relation to the invasion of the Slavs. Further to the South, over the Savo and the Danube, this flow was exhausted and Slav colonists, who had reached more southward than all others, the forefathers of Bulgars and Serbs, assimilated some shapes of civilization that previously existed there (stone architecture, houses with fire-place, etc.). And the forefathers of Croats and Slovens, who do not belong to this vanguard of colonisation and did not go so far to the South, retained the ancient Slav building forms» (p. 132).

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Thus, from a mere examination of the forms of popular architecture the Slavonian ethnologist drew conclusions about the cross-breeding of civilizations on the Balkan peninsula and about the influence on it of «previously existing» forms of civilization that caused, as he says, the «exhaustion of the flow of civilization» (?) moving from North to South. The envoy of the Soviet Academy does not say, or perhaps does not judge necessary to say, what was exactly the character and the origin of this indigenous civilization that taught the Slav colonist vanguard higher forms of human habitation. But it is expressedly proved that, while the Northern Slavs owe much of the important progress of their national house building shapes to foreign, and especially German, influences, the Slavs of the South, when developing the form of their rural and their urban house, had the Greek houses as a model before their eyes.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

871 study. It is therefore unlikely that Vladimir had before him
175* any models calculated to inspire the establishment of schools in the modern or even the medieval sense of the word, but rather that he employed the priests sent from Byzantium as private teachers for the younger members of prominent families connected with his court.

871 At any rate, extant literary monuments dating from the last half of the eleventh century give evidence of an expanding
538 nucleus of culture in Kiev itself which is the direct result of
175* Vladimir's concern for education. It was hardly to be expected
779 that a tremendous outburst of literary energy would ensue as soon as the seeds of learning were sown among a younger generation sprung from illiterate Varangian and Slavic sires, but the readiness with which Byzantine hagiographical and annalistic models were assimilated and imitated even before 1100 indicates an extensive interest in reading among circles brought up in a tradition of culture to the founding of which Vladimir contributed. That the basis of this culture was mere literacy—the ability to read the Psalms, the Gospels, and such Byzantine religious or historical compilations as had been translated into old Bulgarian in the days of Boris and Simeon—by no means lessens the importance of Vladimir's zeal for intellectual progress.

175* To Vladimir also belongs the credit for initiating the con-
●346 struction program which within the next century transformed
[361] Kiev into one of the most impressive medieval cities. The crowning structural exploit of Vladimir's reign was thus a stone church of the Virgin, begun in 989, for the erection and decoration of which he imported artisans from Greece. It was completed and consecrated in 996. At its dedication Vladimir endowed it with a tithe of his property and income, from which donation is derived its customary name, The Church of the Tithe, or *Desiatinnaia*. Originally a basilica, it was reconstructed with five cupolas after a fire in 1017, and collapsed under the weight of a crowd of refugees when the Tartars took

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

Kiev in 1240. No remnant of it now survives except the ruins of its foundations. 175* 346

In Vladimir's day the clergy rapidly assumed a place among the ruling class. Apart from introducing new notions of judicial procedure derived from the Greek *Nomokanon,* the early clergy also undertook to advise Vladimir on affairs of state and local policy. In 992 the bishops advised the substitution of corporal punishment for fines in order to suppress brigandage and similarly suggested that the proceeds of fines in other cases should be spent on military equipment for defense against the menacing nomads. The ecclesiastical courts also assumed jurisdiction over numerous social problems and offenses which took new significance in the light of the Christian moral code: bigamy, divorce, heresy, sacrilege, witchcraft, and adultery. Vladimir thus tolerated the fusion of church and state on the basis of contemporary Byzantine usage. 175* 793 565 693 [681] [684] [688]

By the process of conversion among the various Slavic groups, the bases of cultural and political differentiation were thus laid before the year 1000. Exposed to Christian influences since the seventh century, the Slovenes were converted by Bavarian clergy, and after their absorption into the Carolingian empire in 788, remained until the first World War in submission to one German state or another. The Croats, though in contact with the mission of Constantine and Methodius, reverted to Rome after the disciples of Methodius were expelled from Moravia, and have come down through the ages as Catholics, whatev[illegible]eir political allegiance. The Slavs along the Elbe and the Baltic were subjected to the most violent political and religious pressure from Saxon priests and nobles with the result that, despite heroic revolts, they were slowly pushed back toward the former Polish frontier. The Byzantine influence in Moravia lasted but a quarter of a century before the work of the proto-apostles, Constantine and Methodius collapsed, and the Moravians, like the Czechs, remained under the pastoral care of bishops of the Roman rite. Though the 175* [797] 795

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* was the husband of a Greek princess, and the son of this union
643 eventually became the consort of Gytha, daughter of the Saxon
631 Harold who fell at Hastings in 1066. Kiev was thus united with contemporary European states by a series of dynastic alliances foreshadowing the customs of modern times.

175* Yet for all his power and wealth, Yaroslav governed by the
643 same simple mechanism that had prevailed under Vladimir. The prince won his position by force and maintained it by personal supremacy, supported by Varangian mercenaries recruited from Scandinavia whenever domestic levies proved insufficient or disloyal, and consulting with his chief military aides, with the city elders, or with church dignitaries on matters of general
[671] policy. Yaroslav began the codification of customary civil and ecclesiastical law, encouraged both translations and original
[795] literature, and endeavored without success to emancipate the Russian Church from the Byzantine patriarchate. By his crushing victory over the nomad Pechenegs before the walls of Kiev in 1036, he made the marches of his principality safe for thirty-five years.

175* Beside rebuilding his father's Church of the Tithe after it
643 was damaged by fire in 1017, he carried out a large-scale con-
● 346 struction program which made Kiev one of the most notable
532 medieval cities. His great cathedral of ~~Saint~~ Sophia in Kiev, with its five apses and thirteen cupolas, still contains the largest extant yardage of eleventh-century Byzantine frescoes and a series of remarkably preserved mosaics of impressive beauty. This is the one medieval Russian church which has been exhaustively studied by American archaeologists in coöperation with native Russian colleagues.

175* The underlying weakness of the Kievan principality lay in
643 the fact that its stability was assured only by the prestige and
186 ability of the ruling prince. There was as yet no sentiment of
631 solidarity, national unity, and group interest which guaranteed that the whole system would not be overthrown by some ambitious and resolute rival from among the kindred princes in outlying cities loosely subject to the authority of the prince of Kiev and envious of his power and wealth.

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

PART II

CHAPTER VIII

ORTHODOX WORSHIP

346 THE churches in which the Orthodox worship are prevailingly of what is known roughly as the Byzantine type. They are built on the ground plan of a Greek cross, one in which all the four limbs are of equal length. This is squared off by the containing walls beyond which the arms of the cross do not project. The crossing is covered by a dome and the four little squares left in the corners of the big square are often covered by domes also. The domes are raised upon drums, sometimes relatively high ones, which gives a characteristic and decorative appearance to the outside of the building, but with its funnel-like effect perhaps not so successful when seen from within. The square may be prolonged to the east where it ends in three apses covered by half domes, and to the west in a narthex which may be large enough to rival the main church in its proportions. This simple plan lends itself to much variety and elaboration and highly decorative effects are often produced by the multiplication of domes and cupolas and by the use of colour and pattern on the exterior walls.

There are ancient churches of the basilican form still used by Orthodox worshippers, such as the superb Church of the Holy Nativity at Bethlehem, which is said to be the oldest Christian church still in use and is erected over the traditional site of the birth of Christ. It was built by Helena, the mother of Constantine in 326, but restored and enlarged by Justinian in the sixth century.

The Russians took over the Byzantine style of church building, and added characteristic touches of their own, such

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as the curious onion-shaped cupola so often seen on Russian churches. 346

Some Orthodox churches are built of ornamental stone, and colour and patterns are introduced in the exterior walls by the use of brick and stone in conjunction. This may be seen particularly in many mediaeval Serbian churches, and in Rumania the churches are often adorned with outside paintings.

But the supreme achievement of Orthodox architecture, if not of all ecclesiastical building, is the Church of the Holy Wisdom, St. Sophia at Constantinople, which the Emperor Justinian began in the year 532 and which was consecrated five years later. The architect achieved the feat of placing a dome less than hemispherical, and with a diameter of 107 feet, upon a square. Later the rim of the dome was raised and pierced by forty windows, the effect produced by the whole being of astonishing lightness and beauty.

In the interior of an Orthodox church there are ordinarily no seats for the congregation; the normal attitude of the Orthodox at worship is standing. Their services are long compared with Western rites, but the congregation stands throughout, including the sermon should there be one. The choir also stands, in a group with their choirmaster. They are usually out of sight and they wear no distinctive robes. The singing, which is often of great beauty, especially among the Russians, is entirely unaccompanied, no instrumental music being allowed in Orthodox worship. [796]

But perhaps the most striking feature of the interior of an Orthodox church to Western eyes is the great screen, called the *iconostas*.[1] It stretches across the width of the church, completely shutting off the east-end and hiding the altar from view. It must not be confused with the chancel screen of Western Christendom. Its situation is technically quite different—it occupies the position of the Communion rails in a Western church, and separates not the whole chancel, but the sanctuary, from the rest of the church. An interesting difference in terminology may be noted here. In the Orthodox East, the altar

[1] *Ikonostás* is the Russian and most convenient form of the word. The Greek is *eikonostásion*. The form "ikonostasis", often seen in English, is neither Russian nor Greek.

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346 is the name not of a thing but of a place, i.e., that part of the church in which the altar—in the Western sense—stands. The Eastern name for the altar is the throne. Thus in Orthodox parlance the throne stands in the altar.

Some sort of barrier, fencing off the altar from the rest of the church, dates from very early days, and as time went on it took the form of a row of columns joined by a continuous base and an entablature. The spaces between the columns were filled in with icons, hence the name iconostas, the stand for the icons. It may be constructed of wood or brick or stone or even in rare cases of precious metal. But be it simple or elaborately rich, whether it is in a cathedral or a village church, it will be upon the iconostas that the builders will lavish their resources. It is pierced by three doors, double doors in the centre which when opened disclose the altar and the apse beyond, and single doors at each side. The one to the north opens into what is known as the Chapel of the Prothesis, and the one to the south into the vestry. The iconostas normally reaches from wall to wall, but it is of varying height. It may reach from floor to roof. The development of the iconostas into the great timber erection stretching to the full height of the church is thought to be of Russian origin, the earliest examples of such iconostases are indeed found in and around Novgorod and belong to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The iconostas is covered with icons, not haphazard but arranged in rough conformity with a general scheme. Thus upon the Royal doors are painted the four Evangelists and the Annunciation, and above them the Last Supper. To the south of the doors is the Icon of Our Lord and next to it the icon of the Patron Saint of that particular church. On the other side of that Royal door is an icon of Our Lady. The centre of the first tier of icons above the doors is occupied by the *Deesis*,[1] a triple icon showing Our Lord enthroned, with Our Lady on His right and St. John the Baptist on His left. This is, so to speak, the heart of the iconostas, the whole assembly of icons being built round it with the faces of the figures turned towards it. It is flanked on either side by the Archangels Gabriel and Michael and the twelve Apostles. The tier next above shows

[1] Prayer.

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icons of Feasts of the Church, often of the Twelve Great Festivals of Orthodoxy.[1] In the fourth tier are Old Testament Prophets including King David and King Solomon. Above this may be another row depicting the Patriarchs and perhaps still another filled with Cherubim and Seraphim. The scheme is not rigidly adhered to in detail, but the whole represents all creation, representatives of the Old and the New Covenants grouped in praise and intercession around the Deesis. 346

To the Orthodox worshipper the iconostas symbolizes the meeting place of heaven and earth: it marks the distinction and at the same time the union, of the world of divine truth and beauty represented by the sanctuary, and this imperfect world of human life symbolized by the rest of the church. As he stands in worship he contemplates this representation of all creation united in a symphony of praise and adoration. And the great doors in the centre of the iconostas mark the place where his worship reaches its climax in the solemn act of Communion. But the whole interior of the church is adorned with images in fresco or mosaic of saints and heroes of the Orthodox Faith. The triumph over iconoclasm was to lead in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to an outburst of elaborate iconography which characterized what used to be known as the "*Second Golden Age*" of Byzantine art and which made the walls of their churches a picture book in which the Orthodox found a perpetual reminder of their creed. On the walls of the narthex and the nave are depicted the great festivals of the Church, and series of ascetics, confessors, martyrs, doctors and prelates. In the half dome over the apse of the sanctuary is the Theotókos—the God-bearer seated with her Child in her arms, while high up in the great dome this whole iconographic proclamation of belief is crowned by the image of Christ, the rainbow-throned Almighty surrounded by cherubim and seraphim. [781]

Within this building the principal act of worship is the Liturgy, the name which the Orthodox give to the service 796

[1] These are (not counting Easter, which is in a class by itself): Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, Transfiguration, Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and the following feasts of Our Lady: Nativity, Purification, the Annunciation, Presentation in the Temple, and the Falling Asleep.

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Yugoslavia EF1
Croatia EF4

earth. The roof is always of the saddle-type and is covered with tiles. In the old days, as it is said, the roofs were covered with thatch and wood. The roof is supported by coupled beams. Originally, the house was divided into two parts: the kitchen and the room». SL 342

«It is characteristic, he says, to note the open fire-place at the kitchen wall, which is usually kept even after the kitchen has been made into a room. An iron stove is also used now. The house is usually approached through a covered terrace, occupying part of the front wall and supported by small arched pillars, that gives a very characteristic appearance to these buildings. In the old days, most of the houses had a balcony or a covered portico extending all along the front of the house. These disappeared in the course of various changes, but their traces can often be seen as yet». SL [354] [351]

«The characteristic mark of the house is given by the fire-place, that is all black from the smoke of years. A chain hangs over the fire-place .... Also the bread is baked there; a big, semicircular cover is used for that purpose. This cover is placed over the bread, and live coals are placed over the cover which bakes the bread». SL [354] [252]

When further examining the architecture of the Croat villages, the Russian investigator finds «many common elements with the Eastern — Slav shapes — many more than with the Serbs and the Bulgars. The new houses are made of stone, but many old houses have remained which were not made of round bars but of adzed wood logs, or of wood planks, placed aslant. The ends of the logs protrude irregularly. Roofs are all of the eagle type and project from the walls very strongly. Most of them are covered with tiles, but there are some made of thatch. The one-storey houses prevail, and the plan of the house is very primitive. One can often see houses with only one room, but, as a rule, we see houses with two or three rooms. One of the rooms is called «hiza» (as the entire house), and the other, «hizitsa». If there is a third room, this is either an intermediate passage with a fire-place or a cellar... The most interesting point is that almost all the old houses have a petchka (stove) of about the same type as the Russian one. On the wall facing the stove and diagonally, we can see the ikons and photographs hanging there. This is similar to the Russian «good corner»... (p. 132). Y C 342 171 Y C [354] [353]

The general conclusion Tokariof draws from his remarks on the architecture of the Balkan Slav peoples is particularly didactic. He says: «The popular architecture of the Croat village, near Zagreb, completely differs in its whole from the architecture prevailing in Y C SL 342 171

Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16

[The Bulgarian House of the Mountains] SL

The only difference lies in the method of heating of the second room. This is not heated as the main room by an open hearth, but by a stove. This is the reason why this room is called soba (i.e. stove). In order to allow the smoke of the stove to escape through the chimney of the hearth, the latter is often built at the party wall and thus it is possible to feed the stove from the side of the hearth (see fig. 44). B 342 354 C [342] [171]

This system of heating, the combination of hearth and stove, the latter being fed on the side of the hearth, it is generally seen, in the Slav dwellings and is probably due to German influence (1). The arrangement of the space, however, is in the Slav house entirely different from that of the Bulgarian one. With Slavs, and even with the Serbs of Bosnia the stove (Slav. pec) is in the main room, which originally constituted the entire house (called jisba or kuć'a); this stove took the place of the open hearth because of the German and Latin influence (fig. 45 a-b). The ante-room, (pitvor) which originally had no heating, was changed into a kitchen with a hearth (called kuchyna in Czech or kyha in Serb) (2) since the time when the opening of the stove it was moved and opened on the party wall, so that the fuel could be cast from the ante-room; for in front of the mouth of the stove, a base for a hearth was thus created. (Fig. 45 c and 46). B [171] SL 342 354 [177] Se [342] [354]

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inating from the Greek and are to-day used in the written Bulgarian language: gonia (γωνία)=corner; dilavia (λαβίς)=pincer; enghistra (ἀγκιστρον) =hook; kerami (κεραμίδι)=tile etc. B 192 342

1) The word **Isba** which is also used by the Bulgars, and means the house or rather the basement is found in Russian texts of the 10th and 11th centuries as «istuba» and originates from the German word «Stube», meaning a place for baths, equipped with a stove, and generally a warm place (**Niederle,** Manuel 2, 105, **E. Berneker,** Slavisches etymol. Wörterbuch, word istuba (istba, izdba, izba). According to **Niederle,** op. cit. p. 106 Note 3 «Slavs may have even before learned to know the very oven through their immediate relations to the Greeks (Romains) and the Greek towns of Pontos. The construction of the upper floor and other details of the Russian and generally the Slav house are also due to the German and Norman influence». (**Niederle,** ibid. 2, 108). B [192] SL [177]

2) This changing of the ante-room (antichambre or vestibule according to Niederle) into a «cuisine à foyer» (kitchen with a fire-place) was not performed with all Slav peoples and is not older than the 11th cent. We do not see it with Russians, part of the Poles and Slovaks, who preserved the vestibule as a non-heated room (**Niederle,** ibid. 107 foll). Cf. **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina in Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien VII, 1900 Wien, 248 foll.

Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16
Yugoslavia EF1

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Among Bulgarians, on the contrary, (Fig. 44) the open hearth (ognichte) is always to be found in the main room which, as it is shown by its name (kăsta=house), originally constituted the whole

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Fig. 45 Three developing forms of a Slovak house in W. Karpathia. jisba=room, ohnisko=hearth, pitvor=ante-room, pec=stove, kuchyňa=kitchen (L. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave 2, 107).

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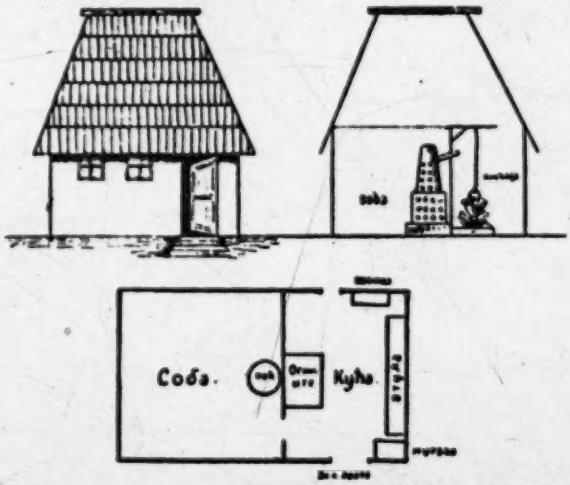

Fig. 46 Plan and section of a Serb house (kuc'a) of Bosnia, after R. Meringer (soba=room with stove, kyha=kitchen)

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[177]

house. This hearth is often built on one of the main walls or in one corner of it and the stove is in the other room, which is called «soba». On the other hand, this combination of hearth and stove in the Bulgarian house is neither old nor is it generally found since, according to Jirecek's descriptions, bublished towards the end of the 19th century: the Bulgarian house «usually consists of a single space levelling with the

Slavic Peoples EF6
Yugoslavia EF1
Croatia EF4

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solved as soon as peoples become fixed, in consequence of the 613
necessity of integrating nonkindred elements into the social complex. The originally kindred groups become contaminated with extraneous elements, though still conceived as fictitious clans or tribes. When we first encounter the Slavs, they are [361] mostly beyond the nomadic stage, and the most primitive social unit preserved among a Slavic people in historical times is the western Serbian *Zadruga*. This characteristic family community is probably, like the Indian "joint family," a remnant not merely of Slavic but of common Indo-European antiquity.

As far as we can judge from historical survivals, the basic 621
social unit among the early Slavs was a rural community con- 613
sisting of a certain number of persons of common descent, together with outsiders who acquired membership by marriage or adoption. Its head was either its senior member or an elected chief, and direction might even devolve upon a prominent widow. The chief represented the group in external relations and directed its economy, though in serious matters he was subject to the joint decision of its membership. Collectivity of 421
goods prevailed; the whole fortune of such a unit, together with the individual earnings of its members, belonged to the group, and could not be disposed of without common consent. Membership in such groups might run as high as over a score of households. Fields, woodland, and similar landed appendages were common property, but pasturage might be particularized. Where trade and barter became matters of vital in- 361
terest (as was the case very early on the Russian watercourses), [438]
primitive towns seem to have been the creation of ambitious 621
groups who sought a convenient point for defense or trade
and then proceeded to expand their possessions and influence 619
by the acquisition (peacefully or by violence) of adjacent interesting territory. On the other hand, patriarchal relationships might persist even in these centers. Tribal complexes such as we later encounter among the Russian Slavs derived from the union of various family units with remote ties of kinship and might attain a membership of several thousand souls. The

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primitive Germans, though the latter advanced more rapidly 241
in proportion with their more intimate and prior contacts 361
with the Mediterranean world. The predilection of the Slavs for agriculture is the natural consequence of their long residence in areas well suited for its practice: the plains of the Dnieper and the Vistula—though it is also likely that the epoch of the migrations and of repeated nomad incursions from Asia interrupted to some extent the sedentary tendencies and habits which the Slavs had previously developed. The primitive plow of the Slavs prior to the migrations was at first only a forked branch with one fork lopped short and cut into a point. It was later supplemented by a pole to which draft animals could be attached and a handle by which the driver could guide its course.

The primitive Slavic village varied in type. The houses 361
might be grouped in horseshoe arrangement around a central space or in a straight line on either side of a thoroughfare. Neither of these village types appears, however, quite as primeval as the system whereby each household occupied an isolated structure in the midst of the lands its members tilled. Stone buildings were unknown. The earliest type of house con- 342
sisted of a trench dug in the ground, the sides of which were raised by walls of logs stopped with earth. The wooden roof was also coated with earth as an additional protection. The primitive Slavs also erected rude log cabins without digging into the ground. We have no data on the internal furnishings of the Slavic house before the eleventh century A.D.

The chilly climate in which they lived made furs the prim- 291
itive costume of the early Slavs. Furs later became an important [439]
item of Slavic export, as is shown by the early introduction of the Slavic names for squirrel and ermine into both Latin and Greek. The male costume among the early Slavs consisted of a coarse shirt falling to the knee, with sleeves and an opening for the neck, combined with wide trousers supported at the waist by a belt of rope or leather and tied in at the ankles. For the shirt they sometimes substituted a short tunic, which might be

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sylvania and northern Hungary. This settlement did not take place, however, until after the tenth century, so that the Subcarpathian Russians actually did not come to occupy their present seats until some five hundred years after the dispersion of the proto-Slavs. There are, indeed, numerous place names even in the interior of Hungary which, by their Slavic origin, bear witness to the movement of these tribes.

The easternmost of the East Slavic tribes on Russian soil were the Severians. Though placed by the *Primary Chronicle* on the Desna and its eastern tributaries, they seem to have constituted the Slavic element which pushed as far east as the Don river in the sixth century and are even located by ninth-century Arab geographers on the lower Volga and in the northern Caucasus. But, like the Ulichians and the Tivercians, they too were exposed to Turko-Tartar impacts which drove them back to the region between modern Kursk, in the north-central Ukraine, and the left bank of the Dnieper. Their chief cities were Chernigov, on the Desna, and Pereslavl, southeast of Kiev on the left bank of the Dnieper.

North of the Derevlians, between the Pripet and the Dvina and as far east as the Berezina, lived the Dregovichians. Their area of occupation corresponds fairly closely to the modern White-Russian (Byelorussian) district, and thus would border on the zone of Lithuanian occupation. In fact, they are the Slavic group responsible for the contraction of this zone, since they pushed the Lithuanians back toward the Baltic coast and settled the basins of the Dvina and the Niemen rivers. Their chief cities were Turov, on the Pripet, and Pinsk, east of modern Brest-Litovsk. While their tribal appellation has been quite naturally connected with a word for marsh, it is, because of its termination *-ich,* more likely a patronymic.

To the east of the Berezina and straddling the Dnieper, the Radimichians were an unimportant and backward tribe which fell comparatively early under the sway of Kiev. Further east, even as far as the Oka River and modern Moscow, and thus on the edge of the eastern Finns, lived the Vyatichians, who were

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early colonizers in territory originally Finnish. The same observation applies to the Slovenes or Novgorod Slavs about Lake Ilmen, who thus approach the region of the great lakes. Just why they alone preserved the ethnic name of the Slavs remains an enigma. At any rate, they were, with the Polyane of Kiev, the most progressive of the Eastern Slavs. Located in an area ill-fitted for agriculture, they lived by hunting and trapping, by which they acquired material for barter with Scandinavian traders. Their pioneering spirit gradually carried them still further north toward Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and since only a short portage separated them from the upper Volga, we eventually find them pushing southeastward to insure a food supply from the grain fields of the Moscow district. They founded the city of Novgorod where the Volkhov flows out of Lake Ilmen, and economic and political collisions between this city and Moscow were a familiar feature of later medieval Russian history until the Muscovites emerged as victors.

Just south of the Slovenes lived the Krivichians, who dominated the headwaters of the Dvina, Dnieper, and Volga rivers and extended northwest until they collided with the Balts and Finns in the neighborhood of modern Pskov. Their chief centers, both of which owed their importance to river traffic, were Polotzk on the Dvina and Smolensk on the upper Dnieper. Since Smolensk is situated at an easy portage point between the Dvina, Lovat, and Dnieper rivers, it was one of the earliest points of Scandinavian settlement in the interior of Russia.

It stands to reason that, at the dawn of Russian history, these tribes must have in many instances progressed far beyond any patriarchal organization on the basis of kinship. Essentially an agricultural people, yet living also by hunting and trapping in newly colonized and sparsely settled areas, the Russian Slavs tended to develop beyond a purely patriarchal society as soon as they came to inhabit small farms grouped about a fortified village which served as a focal point for defense and as a rudimentary market for the exchange of their products. Such of these villages as were located on the chief watercourses developed

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into genuine trading posts and towns, the importance of which was enhanced by the penetration of foreign merchants at the beginning of the historical period. The rise of trading posts and towns gradually concentrated adjacent agricultural areas under the control of the former, producing at the same time accumulations of wealth in the hands of a new ruling class which appropriated to itself the influence formerly wielded by the elders of family, clan, and tribe. The growing prestige of the towns also broke down the various tribal differentiations, since portions of the same tribal area might fall for reasons of geography and communication under the control of different towns.

In general, the Russian tribes formed three groups distinguishable by their speech, which are reflected in our day by the tripartite division of the Russian language into three basic dialects. The northern group, comprising the Slovenes (Slavs) of Novgorod and the Krivichians, is the forerunner of the modern Great Russian dialect, the standard literary language. The central group, including Dregovichians, Radimichians, Vyatichians, and Severians, divided into two sections, of which the eastern joined the northern, or ultimately Great Russian element, while the western section (Dregovichians, Radimichians) came to form the White Russian element centering around Minsk. The southern group, made up of Polyane, Derevlians, Volhynians, Ulichians, Tivercians, and Croats, evolved into the Little Russian or Ukrainian element. In fact, the term *Ukraina* goes back as far as at least 1187, and means the southern border district. The differences among these three dialects have of course been intensified as time went on by the accidents of political affiliation and by diversified cultural influences. But these three groups are none the less parts of the same nation, so that either a White Russian or a Ukrainian is precisely as much a Russian as the purest Great Russian born in the shadow of the Kremlin.

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871 study. It is therefore unlikely that Vladimir had before him
175* any models calculated to inspire the establishment of schools in the modern or even the medieval sense of the word, but rather that he employed the priests sent from Byzantium as private teachers for the younger members of prominent families connected with his court.

871 At any rate, extant literary monuments dating from the last half of the eleventh century give evidence of an expanding
538 nucleus of culture in Kiev itself which is the direct result of
175* Vladimir's concern for education. It was hardly to be expected
779 that a tremendous outburst of literary energy would ensue as soon as the seeds of learning were sown among a younger generation sprung from illiterate Varangian and Slavic sires, but the readiness with which Byzantine hagiographical and annalistic models were assimilated and imitated even before 1100 indicates an extensive interest in reading among circles brought up in a tradition of culture to the founding of which Vladimir contributed. That the basis of this culture was mere literacy—the ability to read the Psalms, the Gospels, and such Byzantine religious or historical compilations as had been translated into old Bulgarian in the days of Boris and Simeon—by no means lessens the importance of Vladimir's zeal for intellectual progress.

175* To Vladimir also belongs the credit for initiating the con-
346 struction program which within the next century transformed
● [361] Kiev into one of the most impressive medieval cities. The crowning structural exploit of Vladimir's reign was thus a stone church of the Virgin, begun in 989, for the erection and decoration of which he imported artisans from Greece. It was completed and consecrated in 996. At its dedication Vladimir endowed it with a tithe of his property and income, from which donation is derived its customary name, The Church of the Tithe, or *Desiatinnaia*. Originally a basilica, it was reconstructed with five cupolas after a fire in 1017, and collapsed under the weight of a crowd of refugees when the Tartars took

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175* the Volga artery. It is a historical fact of prime importance that
439 the Scandinavian warrior-merchants who settled among the
361 primitive Eastern Slavs founded no new towns themselves, but by their superior energy and military prowess made themselves the ruling class in urban centers of population which already existed. They were not the creators of the river-borne commerce from which they gained their livelihood. The routes and staples of this commerce had been defined far back in the early ages of the Mediterranean world, and the Russes who built up prosperous commercial relations with Byzantium simply renewed a system of exchange temporarily disjointed by the vicissitudes of nomadic movements.

175* Kiev was the chief trading post of the lower Dnieper valley,
631 the center at which merchandise was collected for shipment to the Crimea or to Byzantium. The Viking or so-called Varangian chief who controlled Kiev was thus likely to surpass in wealth and prestige his competitors in the more northern cities. The domestic activity of a Kievan prince of the early tenth century consisted chiefly in collecting tribute in kind, the proceeds of which not only supported his family and the retainers on whom his military power was founded, but also served as a basis for trade, which was under the prince's direct control. As the early Varangian princes imposed their sovereignty over successive towns, they delegated a viceroy to each, but the practice of assigning junior princes of the ruling family to subject cities begins only with Prince Sviatoslav (956-972), father of Vladimir I, under whom the Russians were converted. By the early tenth century, the outlying tribes had been tied together in a loose confederation connected with Kiev by economic interests dictated by trade with Constantinople, and this trade was regulated by a formal treaty as early as 907.

175* The magnificence of the Byzantine capital early exercised its attraction on the Kievan aristocracy. Vladimir's grandmother, the Princess Olga (a lady of pure Scandinavian stock) not only administered the principality after her husband's violent death, but in 975 became a convert to Christianity and

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16
Albania E61

SP 515 [177] Roman bath entirely disappears from the North Balkans, although public baths were known to the Avars also. At the present time, the Turkish bath is restricted to a specific cultural region, where a recent Asiatic influence has been concentrated. As it now retreats this excellent institution also falls into decay. But the bath and the use of steam for S [515] [752] sweating, now universal amongst the South Slavs, rubbing and massage, more or less symbolical washing and bathing, and the manipulation of broken limbs and the dressing of wounds, are to be reckoned amongst the oldest of their practices. Archaeological finds witness to healed wounds and S A [752] fractures, but we know nothing of prehistoric trepanation amongst the South Slavs—the only European race, with the Albanians and some Caucasians, which continued the practice almost within living memory.

SP 755 782 Offerings and vows, ritual performances and acts connected with fertility cults, were the basis of mystical healing. Hydrotherapy includes also the worship of water spirits, and, amongst Lithuanians, of a personified watery element. Niederle adds to this list of reconstructed primitive medicine the use of oils or unguents which preserved strength and health,[1] and a number of Eastern aromatics, known in primitive times.

S SP 177 779 789 [372] Plants introduced in historical times have added to the botanical mythology, and enjoy a symbolism of their own; just as field-glasses, pipe-lighters, petroleum, trains, firearms and other more recent gifts of material civilisation, receive their part in contemporary folk-lore, whose incorporating activity is only now beginning to decline, and in some cases, a magico-religious part. Firearms have developed a complete legend of their own; pipe-lighters are sometimes used for producing ritual fire, though matches are universally disqualified; and so on.

S 241 824 778 Wheat, which in the Middle Ages was cultivated only in a very limited area, and, in the early nineteenth century, was still little used in the interior of Serbia, has a universal ritual

[1] Cf. L. Niederle, *Slovanské Starožitnosti*, I, p. 127.

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291 of light material or else of coarse wool, in which case it could be worn over the shirt, and it was usually buckled or pinned at the shoulder or in front of the neck. In cold weather sheepskins or the cheaper pelts (bear, wolf) were worn for warmth. Women of the people were clad in a long shirt of rough linen or hempen fabric, often representing a mere cylinder held up by straps over the shoulders. From the waist down they also wore a double apron attached to a belt, while the upper part of the body might be encased in a coarse woolen jacket, along with a cloak of similar material around the neck and shoulders. Footwear consisted of rough leather slippers held by a thong over the ankle or of slippers made of bast fiber. Men frequently
302 wore wrapped leggings. Married women might wear a kerchief or bonnet on their heads over hair cut short, but maidens habitually went bareheaded, wearing their hair long and braided. Men also wore their hair long in the primitive period.
[177] Close shearing and shaving, where they occur, are due to foreign influences, and in general it may be said that in matters of attire the Slavs were always prompt to adopt foreign usages.

●411 721 Originally a peaceful race, the primitive Slavs were unskilled in the use of weapons. When they were first noticed by foreign writers they had no offensive equipment except bows and spears, and were unprotected by even the most elementary shields. It has already been noted that in the Slavic vocabulary the words for helmet and sword were taken over from the Goths. In the succeeding centuries, the constant warfare of the migratory epoch and the necessity of defense against successive nomad incursions produced a marked amplification of Slavic military equipment representing a fusion of borrowed alien techniques so that when the southern Slavs invaded Greece at the end of he sixth century, their soldier was considered to be as good a fighter as the Byzantine regular. The Slavs, however, used no mounted troops until well into the historical period.

439 443 The Slavs were drawn very early into the orbit of European commerce, which in the peripheral areas of European antiq-

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fifty feet in length and sturdy cargo boats of as much as 175*
fifty tons' burden, though for river navigation they used
lighter craft. Where the aboriginal Slav of the Russian plains [411]
and forests was poor in weapons—even his word for sword
(as we know) he had been forced to borrow from the invading
Goths—the Swedish adventurer wielded a heavy, straight,
two-edged blade and the battle-ax which later became the distinguishing weapon of the Byzantine emperors' Varangian guard.

In the main the Scandinavian immigrants to Russia from Sweden belonged to the yeoman class and apart from naval raids on the Black Sea coast generally abstained from the deeds of violence which characterized Viking visitations in Western Europe. The native Slavs were too humbly endowed to offer rich booty, and the Russes were manifestly more interested in setting up ordered and profitable commercial settlements than in the commission of futile barbarities other than those incidental to the habitual slave traffic. The tradition that Rurik and his brethren were accompanied by their kinsfolk would suggest that the social organization of the immigrant Swedes was still on the clan basis, and that the senior of the clan functioned as chieftain or *konungr,* supported by a *comitatus* (bodyguard, retinue) of his more or less distant relatives and accepted retainers. The Scandinavian energy and skill at arms, coupled with a pronounced gift for discipline and organization, stood the scattered Eastern Slavic tribes and embryonic towns in good stead at a moment when a cohesive impulse was essential for their survival.

Having settled along the Dnieper as far as Kiev, the Russes 175*
soon entered into commercial relations with the Khazar khan- 439
ate, and after a raid on Constantinople in 860, regular commerce developed between the Greek empire and the cities on the Dnieper trade route. The chief Russian points of origin for this trade were Novgorod, Smolensk, Lubech, Chernigov, and Kiev. The Norse sources also mentioned Murom, Rostov, and Suzdal on the northeast, which owed their importance to

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solved as soon as peoples become fixed, in consequence of the 613
necessity of integrating nonkindred elements into the social complex. The originally kindred groups become contaminated with extraneous elements, though still conceived as fictitious clans or tribes. When we first encounter the Slavs, they are [361]
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social unit among the early Slavs was a rural community con- 613
sisting of a certain number of persons of common descent, together with outsiders who acquired membership by marriage or adoption. Its head was either its senior member or an elected chief, and direction might even devolve upon a prominent widow. The chief represented the group in external relations and directed its economy, though in serious matters he was subject to the joint decision of its membership. Collectivity of 421
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by the acquisition (peacefully or by violence) of adjacent interesting territory. On the other hand, patriarchal relationships might persist even in these centers. Tribal complexes such as we later encounter among the Russian Slavs derived from the union of various family units with remote ties of kinship and might attain a membership of several thousand souls. The

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175* set up his capital at Sarai on the lower Volga, just below Stalingrad, to which for two centuries the Russian princes, who were the vassals of Tartars, traveled to make submission.

175* 166 The Tartar invasion aggravated the depopulation of the Kiev area which had begun under the Polovtsian menace. About the year 1300, even the metropolitan bishop of Kiev moved to Vladimir on the Klyazma, east of Moscow, and the remaining population took to the forests and hills. The result was a concentration of new settlements in the area immediately south of Moscow and considerable additions to the population of the western principality of Galicia-Volhynia, which became known as Little Russia, as opposed to Great Russia of the northeast. At the same time the northwestern principalities fell more and more into the hands of the rising Lithuanian state. The Galician-Volhynian principate was in a fair way to becoming an important national unit when it was devastated in 1283 by a Tartar expedition into Poland, with the result that Volhynia was taken over by the Lithuanians and Galicia by the Poles, who have held it intermittently from 1349 to the beginning of the second World War.

175* The economic results of the Tartar invasions were drastic even in the northeast. What national wealth was not destroyed by their pillage was extracted piecemeal by the process of collecting tribute. A population which had previously lived by hunting and fishing, importing its grain from the more fertile south, was now obliged to practice agriculture on com-
[439] paratively unfavorable soil. A small amount of outside trade in furs, honey, and wax was maintained in order to secure silver with which to pay taxes, but domestic commerce was
175* paralyzed and did not recover till the fifteenth century. Fur-
421 thermore, even prior to the Tartar conquest, the Russian princes, despite their mobility, had begun to acquire fixed estates and thus to become landed proprietors. This process was accelerated by the Tartar hegemony since, for one thing, it was easier to collect tribute from a prince who was fixed, and besides it was difficult to obtain grants of new domains

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from the Tartars if a prince lost or surrendered his previous 175*
holdings. Hence the princes came to set more store by personal 421
estates, and since the Tartars in their own interest were unlikely to tolerate any large principalities, the resulting dismemberment of the major units produced a large number of smaller domains, or appanages, which passed on by inheritance, whether or not the holder might become prince of some other area by the tender mercies of the Tartars. At the same time, the Tartar invasions greatly increased the number of landless peasants—dispossessed or impoverished small farmers—who became tenant farmers for large landlords on a quitrent basis.

Under Tartar hegemony the princes of Vladimir maintained 175*
at least a nominal control over the neighboring principalities 631
and were the spokesmen of the Russian princes before the Tartar khans. These functions were, at any rate, sufficiently important and lucrative to inspire some rivalry for the possession of the title. In 1367 Prince Dmitri Donskoi erected a stone kremlin, or citadel, at Moscow and endeavored to subject the neighboring princes to his will. He met with some resistance from Prince Michael of Tver, who tried to purchase Tartar approval for himself, but was later forced to become Dmitri's vassal. The conditions of vassalage were such that dependent princes were obliged to supply Dmitri, as their overlord, with military aid, and when Dmitri won his famous victory over the Tartars in 1380 (the first case of successful Russian resistance), they supported him in this way.

The decline of the Tartars, manifested by conflicts of author- 175*
ity in the khanate itself, had begun almost a century before, 721
and even prior to the year 1300 there were moments when the existence of two competing khans placed the Russian princes in a quandary. The struggle for supremacy between the princes of Tver and Moscow (which first became critical shortly before the year 1300) for supremacy as holders of the title Prince of Vladimir was also fought out in this interval. The dominance of Moscow was recognized in 1327 when Prince Ivan I secured authority to farm the Tartar taxes and began to in-

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mined independently of the princes, for one can appreciate that 642
normal life went on even when princes shifted through inherit- 632
ance or dynastic quarrels.

As a matter of fact in Novgorod, which was comparatively 175*
remote from either Kiev or Vladimir-Suzdal, the resident 642
princes were merely delegates of the dominant state which mo- 632
mentarily enjoyed the lordship over the northern metropolis, but these resident princes changed so often that the citizens began to choose elective burgomasters early in the twelfth century. Eventually the princes surrendered even their control of the local courts, and in the course of time the whole administration of Novgorod and the areas it controlled became elective. The resident prince was thus transformed into a mere figurehead whose chief duty was to lead the military forces of this city-state. Popular sovereignity was expressed in the city assembly made up of all free citizens of whatever rank, and since this body was able to signify its will only by acclamation and sometimes even by pitched battles, the executive functions were exercised by a council composed of the bishop and various high elected officials, whether active or retired. The outlying 175*
domains of Novgorod—for eventually the republic colonized 631
the territory as far as the White Sea and the Kola peninsula—enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy, but always under the surveillance of a viceroy from the metropolis, though there are cases where citizens of these colonies participated in the city assembly at Novgorod itself. Pskov began its historical career as a dependency of Novgorod, but established its independence in 1347, when the men of Novgorod bound themselves by treaty not to send any viceroy to Pskov or to exercise any further judicial rights there.

The republican principle thrived in Novgorod and Pskov 642
because actually the princes had contributed nothing to the 175*
civic and economic growth of these areas, which owed their ex- 421
pansion purely to the energy of their own citizens. But in northeastern Russia the situation was quite different. There, of the two dominant forces in contemporary society (the city assembly

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175* and the prince) only the prince remained, and became a landed
642 proprietor who organized the economic activity of his subjects.
421 If he shared his authority at all, it was not with the community but with other landed proprietors and with organs of the church to which he resigned judicial rights and the collection of dues. As early as the second half of the twelfth century, when immigration from the Kiev area to the northeastern principalities assumed large dimensions, Vladimir Monomach's grandson Prince Andrew already ruled as an autocrat in the domain of Suzdal and refused to recognize the rights either of nobles or of commoners as expressed in the town assemblies. This policy cost him his life, but after his assassination the older towns in this area were unable to maintain the principles of urban democracy even before the Tartar conquest wiped out this ideal. These towns were few in number, and the rural settlements were too scattered to acquire political cohesion. Later the onslaught of the Tartars so much impoverished even such towns as then existed that their pauperized inhabitants were more concerned about their daily bread than about political rights. Furthermore, the choice and confirmation of princes depended for the time being on the caprices of the invaders, so that this function, which had formerly belonged in practice to the city assembly, died out altogether, and when the assemblies occasionally convened, it was generally with the intention of rioting and revolting against Tartar exactions. The prince, ruling on Tartar sufferance, thus became the sole remaining possessor of local authority.

175* As we have seen, not until the middle of the fifteenth cen-
421 tury was it absolutely clear that the nucleus of statehood in
631 eastern Russia was definitely located at Moscow. By that time, the regional princes were permanently attached to their several domains which they ruled as feudal lords, supported by the contributions paid by the subjects who worked their lands, and there was no difference between minor and major princes in their proprietary attitude toward their landed possessions. Since their interests were thus predominantly economic, these

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princes began to develop a new group of aids who administered these interests, and such aids (who were actually officials, not nobles concerned with warfare) evolved into a new form of prince's council, or *duma*. The larger domains were split up into districts around important towns, and the districts into minor administrative divisions, all handled by appointees of the prince. These officials were far less concerned with the maintenance of public order or of civil rights than with seeing that the prince received his due financial return from the subject population, although church properties were usually exempt from their attentions. It is thus an open question whether there was any public law whatever in the early Muscovite period. In any event, the system shows the characteristic features of medieval feudalism: the dismemberment of state authority and its fusion with land ownership.

The rise of Moscow naturally produced a slow recovery from this parcellation, as the minor regional princes either voluntarily or under pressure surrendered their domains to the more powerful center. Novgorod was annexed outright by Ivan III after conquest had seriously diminished its outlying possessions. But especially during the last half of the fourteenth century, the gravitation toward Moscow moved with ever-increasing speed. On the other hand, the early Muscovite princes handled their new acquisitions purely as personal property. They bequeathed sections of it to their heirs, although soon it was the recognized practice to bequeath the lion's share to the oldest son. The logical conclusion from this tendency was first drawn by Ivan III after witnessing as a youth the vicissitudes of his father Basil II, who had almost lost the Muscovite domain because of feudal rivalries. Ivan refused to dismember his domain even in the interest of members of his family. His title of Great Prince (or Grand Duke) of all Rus he interpreted not merely in an honorific but in a juridical sense, and made it clear that he considered the whole domain as his personal patrimony. In this attitude he was confirmed less by pure selfishness than by the realization that only a unified state could

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175* resist both the Tartars and Lithuania, though in his will he did
631 not break entirely with tradition, but bequeathed to his eldest
●421 son two-thirds of his landed possessions. Even so, however, the remaining regional princes ceased to be a menace, and the fact that his younger son was bound to serve Basil III as his overlord made the latter "sovereign of all Rus" in fact as well as in name. Such few regional princes as still existed merely held estates with rights of judgment and tribute, and were factually subject to the prince of Moscow. The title of tsar was first used by Ivan III in 1484, and in 1502 his son, Basil II, added the title "autocrat" (*samoderzhets*).

175* Such is the political, economic, and ideological process by which the power of Kiev was dissipated and, despite the competition of Lithuania, what was once a mere hunting lodge of the princes of Suzdal and Vladimir became the nucleus around which the modern Russian state took shape. It would be idle to pretend that this ideal was not realized without abundant propaganda from the Orthodox clergy who, particularly after the fall of Constantinople, wished to see the Prince of Moscow the head of Orthodox Christianity and the heir of Rome. Under the pressure of this new tradition, Basil III in particular, as the son of a princess of Byzantium, adorned his court with new ceremonial and assumed the device of the doubleheaded eagle which had belonged to his Byzantine forebears.

175* Thus the personal rule which had its origins in the decline of
643 republican usages in northeastern Russia both before and since the Tartar conquest evolved into an absolutism founded upon dynastic tradition and supported by a nationalistic legend propagated by the church. The Muscovite tsar was not only the owner of his domain; he was God's anointed whom his subjects could approach only with fear and awe. The tsar's will was the will of God. As the heir of the Byzantine emperors, he acquired new authority over the church as the defender of the Orthodox faith. He confirmed the appointment of metropolitans and archbishops, even sometimes naming them without calling church councils, and clerics referred their disputes

and the other Slavs than between the Serbs and the Croats. The two groups[1] coincide in the matter of the zadruga (communal holding of rural property), and in matters where considerable differences are to be noted, for example in the arrangement of houses, the boundary line of difference does not coincide with the Serbo-Croat frontier. The Roman type with a single hearth predominates in Montenegro, while in Dalmatia, in Hercegovina, and in the other areas the High German type with two hearths predominates.

According to Weissbach, the Serbo-Croats present the following characteristics: tall stature, strong preponderance of the dark type, especially in Bosnia-Hercegovina, strongly brachycephalic and of an extremely large cranial capacity. The cephalic index is an average of 84 (85.7 among the Bosnians and the Croats of today). The cranial capacity is 1,524. There are 93.5% brachycephalics and 6% mesocephalics. Weissbach concluded that the Serbs and Croats should be considered as forming one and the same people. Recently Mr. Zupanic declared that physical differences exist between the two national groups; but it is uncertain, at the present stage of the science, whether his statement can be justified. From the language point of view, the south Slav group in the west splits up as follows: the Cakavci (1) being identified with /175/ the Croats, the Stokavci with the Serbs, and the Kajkavci with the Slovenes. Miklosic still distinguishes a Serbian tongue and a Croatian tongue. But it is proven today that this distinction has no basis.

1. These groups are thus named on the basis of the manner in which they say or pronounce the relative pronoun. /rather, pronominal word ca, sto, kaj, meaning "what". Editor./

Nevertheless, we should point out some dialectical shadings which are not in accordance with the political distinctions. Alongside the two great dialects of Stokavci and Cakavci, there are other transitional dialects: the Kaikavski of the west, toward the Slovenes, the dialect of Prizren or of Timok, otherwise called "Old Serb", and the Svrljiski dialect to the east toward the Bulgars. Several eminent philologists, notably Belic, relate the Kaikavstina to the Slovene tongue. According to the recent studies of Mr. Resetar, the Kaikav territory is separated from the other two by a line which starts from Turnovac, on the Drava, reaches Virovitica, runs around Bjelovar, goes to Trnovitica, Jasenovac on the Sava, follows the Sava as far as Belaj, then runs to Trzic, Plaski, Brlog, Nin (Nona) and Zadar (Zara).

1 [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Analyst]

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175* 793 423 The monasteries were, on the whole, the only large private landowners, and supplied an example by their organization of large manors worked by half-free peasants.

175* With the throne weakened by the pretensions of the Polish nobility, an aggressive foreign policy was unthinkable. After Vladislav Hermann accepted the status of a German vassal in 1080, no Polish prince dared assume the title of king for two centuries. The Elbe valley and Silesia were definitely lost, together with the Pomeranian seaboard west of the Vistula. Then, early in the thirteenth century, when the still pagan Prussians menaced Duke Conrad of Mazovia (along the Vistula northwest of Warsaw) he turned for aid to the knights of the Teutonic Order, who entered Mazovia and occupied the districts ceded to them in 1229. They immediately founded strong points at Thorn, Kulm, Elbing and elsewhere, and by placing themselves under papal protection obviated any chance of Polish sovereignty. The next fifty years were occupied by the struggle of the Teutonic Order, supported by the margraves of Brandenburg and Meissen, against the Prussians. Königsberg was founded in 1255, when the Slavic Duke of Pomerelia, on the lower Vistula north of Thorn, became a vassal of the Margrave of Brandenburg, and Danzig fell into German hands for the first time. The Brandenburgers, however, were unable to hold it, and it was not until 1343 that Polish claims to the so-called Pomorze were given up.

175* 721 Apart from domestic disorders, Poland was also shaken during this period by a disastrous invasion of the Tartars, who in 1241 burned Cracow, invaded Silesia, and sacked Breslau. The depopulation caused both by civil war and this invasion impoverished the Polish princes and induced them to encourage German immigration. The movement had started even before the onslaught of the Tartars, for German villages began to appear in Silesia as early as 1140. But after the Tartar incursion, German settlements spread to every part of Poland. The belt laid waste by the Tartars had been thickly settled since the principal commercial highways between the west and the

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war, now had only three—Russia, Germany, and Czechoslovakia. One aspect of her new position which represented an innovation was her transformation into a great maritime nation, thanks to the three ports, Stettin, Gdynia, and Danzig, and to her 312 miles of coast-line. Nevertheless, her destiny would henceforth be more closely bound to that of Central Europe, while remaining subordinate to the *entente* with Moscow.

The western frontiers were approved by the plebiscite of June 30, which covered not only the frontier-ratification, but also the abolition of the Senate and the economic organisation of the State (Agrarian reform and nationalisation of key industries). The first ballot gave 10,534,697 in favour and 995,584 against; the second gave 7,844,522 in favour and 3,686,029 against; the third, 8,896,106 in favour and 2,634,446 against.

This popular referendum did not have the tranquillising effects that had seemingly been expected. Poland continued to be a prey to 'terrorist' agitation, the repression of which, in turn, gave rise to scenes of violence and to exactions. While dissociating himself from the extremists, the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, M. Mikolajczyk, himself protested against the way in which the referendum had been carried out (except in Cracow, where the 'Noes' had been in the majority). So the British Government reserved its opinion on the legitimacy which this poll conferred on the régime, and awaited the general elections before giving legal recognition to the new state of affairs. And the whole of 1946 was taken up with exchanges of subacid notes between London and Washington on the one side and Warsaw on the other. The Anglo-Americans denounced the persecution to which the Opposition was subjected, and considered that the Polish Government was failing in the undertaking given in execution of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, to guarantee the liberty of elections. But the Russians interpreted quite differently both the scope of these agreements and the meaning of the word 'liberty'. And so the most obvious result of the diplomatic offensive on the part of England and the United States was to intensify Polish-Sovietic solidarity.

The formation, in June, of a National Unity Government under the Presidency of M. Osubka Morawski seemed, for the time being, to dissipate the apprehensions of the Anglo-Americans, although the dissident Polish Government in London

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186* 648 829 175 in the fight for liberation, at a time when Russia could not intervene. His dictatorial attitude, his personal prestige, aroused distrust on the part of the Kremlin. On the Yugoslav side, they were shocked by the conceit of the Russians, who lavished instructions and counsel on a nation which considered its own political experience superior to that of the Russians, and who, in the course of history, had won and rewon its independence entirely by its own efforts. Serbian pride, wounded by the demands made by Moscow, precipitated the rupture.

565 •423 175 On the other hand, Yugoslavia is peopled by an emancipated peasantry; it has made its own agrarian reforms, and has not had to suffer the yoke of political dynasties (as has been the case with Rumania), nor (like Hungary) that of a landed aristocracy. Communism could not get a footing there, either in the same form or at the same speed, as in the other 'popular democracies'.

Finally, the systematic enslaving of the economy of Yugoslavia to Russian interests was bound, one way or another, to provoke violent reaction in Belgrade.

186* 665 648 175 687 It was nevertheless a surprise for the world when, on June 28, 1948, the Kominform communiqué pronounced the condemnation of Tito and his collaborators, accused of desiring to establish themselves by a régime of terror, of over-estimating the possibility for their country of safeguarding its independence without the assistance of the other Communist Parties; finally, of seeking the support of the capitalist States.

Dr. Pijade, the theoretician of Tito's régime, felt able to reveal[1] that the Kominform's resolution simply reproduced a text prepared in Moscow: he stated that the hands of waverers had been forced by a lying assurance that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party contained spies on behalf of England and the United States.

175 648 [439] Then began a diplomatic battle between Moscow and Belgrade: at first it took the form of a criss-cross exchange of notes, then that of an economic boycott and, finally, of a vast scheme to detach Yugoslavia from the other popular democracies and reduce her to isolation.

The diplomatic notes at first (July-August, 1948) dealt with the fate of Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia; then (August-

[1] Speech made on July 8, 1949, at Novi Sad.

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uity depended upon itinerant merchants and traders following strategic watercourses. Even far to the eastward, when the Goths invaded south Russian territory, they maintained the same commercial relations with the Roman Empire which had been established earlier by German settlements along its frontier further westward. Caches of Roman coins, dating chiefly from the interval between Trajan and Septimius Severus (98-198 A.D.), which have been found in great profusion on the west bank of the middle Dnieper, show a remarkable expansion of trade with the Roman west in this area during the second and third centuries, hence under the Gothic hegemony and prior to the Slavic dispersion. Once the Goths had entered into relations with Byzantium and the Greek cities on the Black Sea, their interest in trade with the western Roman Empire waned, and from that point the Dnieprian Slavs largely received products of the so-called Gothic type from the barbarized Pontic workshops. As long as the Goths lived among the Slavs, they exercised a direct economic influence upon them, but once they had withdrawn to the coast of the Black Sea after the fall of Ermanaric before the Huns in 370, they ceased to be a significant commercial factor. Even when Byzantine trade set in during the fifth century, its volume was so restricted that from this point to the eighth century there is actually an interval in which the economic relations of the Dnieper valley with the rest of the early medieval world were in abeyance.

This interval coincides with the epoch of large-scale Slavic migration and dispersion. Its conclusion is marked in turn by the stabilization of the Slavs on the Elbe, on the Danube, and in the Balkans; by the temporary elimination of nomadic invaders from the steppes, the economic advance of the Carolingian period, the beginnings of the Viking Age in Scandinavia, and the establishment of Arab control over Oriental commerce. The period from 700 to 1000, though also initiating the gradual withdrawal of the Western Slavs from the Elbe frontier under German pressure, also saw the evolution of all the medieval Slavic states and their advance to the level of

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of the first millennium B.C. The names for gold and silver are 177
identical in all three linguistic branches, while those for iron 326
and lead are common to both Baltic and Slavic, though differing from the German vocable. The common Slavic term for copper has no equivalent cognate in either Baltic or Germanic. Since iron became known on the coast of the Black Sea about 900 B.C., and appears in archaeological finds from the Kuban district of the northern Caucasus fully two centuries before that date, the early transmission of iron technique to the Slavs is beyond question, particularly in view of traces of iron mining and smelting in Poland even in the pre-Roman epoch. The smelting of silver and gold was, however, a post-dispersion development.

In ceramics as in metal working, the Slavs were imitators 177
rather than pioneers. In all areas of pagan Slavic settlement 323
we find well-turned and well-fired vases in the form of pots without handles, showing a somewhat flattened lip and ornamented, sometimes with a wavy line several times repeated, sometimes with simple horizontal stripes, and occasionally with vertical or transverse stripes or simply a series of dots in oblique lines. There is, however, nothing specifically Slavic about this technique, since it is a reproduction of the Roman vase with undulating ornament familiar in the northernmost Roman provinces between Danube and Rhine from the first to the fourth century A.D. The Slavs thus seem to have been in [439]
contact with the northern Roman markets in this interval, and gradually to have adopted the new type of pottery in preference to their own previous products of this character: high vases, or lower bowls without a flattened edge and decorated with horizontal stripes or rows of oblique lines, types developed independently of Roman influence.

Among the chief domestic industries were spinning and weav- 286
ing. Since the primitive Slavs were far from expert bleachers, 176
the resulting fabrics were mostly grayish in color. Not only is the general terminology as spinning and weaving throughout the Slavonic languages so homogeneous as to show that these

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primitive Germans, though the latter advanced more rapidly 241
in proportion with their more intimate and prior contacts 861
with the Mediterranean world. The predilection of the Slavs for agriculture is the natural consequence of their long residence in areas well suited for its practice: the plains of the Dnieper and the Vistula—though it is also likely that the epoch of the migrations and of repeated nomad incursions from Asia interrupted to some extent the sedentary tendencies and habits which the Slavs had previously developed. The primitive plow of the Slavs prior to the migrations was at first only a forked branch with one fork lopped short and cut into a point. It was later supplemented by a pole to which draft animals could be attached and a handle by which the driver could guide its course.

The primitive Slavic village varied in type. The houses 361
might be grouped in horseshoe arrangement around a central space or in a straight line on either side of a thoroughfare. Neither of these village types appears, however, quite as primeval as the system whereby each household occupied an isolated structure in the midst of the lands its members tilled. Stone buildings were unknown. The earliest type of house con- 342
sisted of a trench dug in the ground, the sides of which were raised by walls of logs stopped with earth. The wooden roof was also coated with earth as an additional protection. The primitive Slavs also erected rude log cabins without digging into the ground. We have no data on the internal furnishings of the Slavic house before the eleventh century A.D.

The chilly climate in which they lived made furs the prim- 291
itive costume of the early Slavs. Furs later became an important [439]
item of Slavic export, as is shown by the early introduction of the Slavic names for squirrel and ermine into both Latin and Greek. The male costume among the early Slavs consisted of a coarse shirt falling to the knee, with sleeves and an opening for the neck, combined with wide trousers supported at the waist by a belt of rope or leather and tied in at the ankles. For the shirt they sometimes substituted a short tunic, which might be

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291 of light material or else of coarse wool, in which case it could be worn over the shirt, and it was usually buckled or pinned at the shoulder or in front of the neck. In cold weather sheepskins or the cheaper pelts (bear, wolf) were worn for warmth. Women of the people were clad in a long shirt of rough linen or hempen fabric, often representing a mere cylinder held up by straps over the shoulders. From the waist down they also wore a double apron attached to a belt, while the upper part of the body might be encased in a coarse woolen jacket, along with a cloak of similar material around the neck and shoulders. Footwear consisted of rough leather slippers held by a thong over the ankle or of slippers made of bast fiber. Men frequently 302 wore wrapped leggings. Married women might wear a kerchief or bonnet on their heads over hair cut short, but maidens habitually went bareheaded, wearing their hair long and braided. Men also wore their hair long in the primitive period. [177] Close shearing and shaving, where they occur, are due to foreign influences, and in general it may be said that in matters of attire the Slavs were always prompt to adopt foreign usages.

411 721 Originally a peaceful race, the primitive Slavs were unskilled in the use of weapons. When they were first noticed by foreign writers they had no offensive equipment except bows and spears, and were unprotected by even the most elementary shields. It has already been noted that in the Slavic vocabulary the words for helmet and sword were taken over from the Goths. In the succeeding centuries, the constant warfare of the migratory epoch and the necessity of defense against successive nomad incursions produced a marked amplification of Slavic military equipment representing a fusion of borrowed alien techniques so that when the southern Slavs invaded Greece at the end of he sixth century, their soldier was considered to be as good a fighter as the Byzantine regular. The Slavs, however, used no mounted troops until well into the historical period.

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This interval coincides with the epoch of large-scale Slavic migration and dispersion. Its conclusion is marked in turn by the stabilization of the Slavs on the Elbe, on the Danube, and in the Balkans; by the temporary elimination of nomadic invaders from the steppes, the economic advance of the Carolingian period, the beginnings of the Viking Age in Scandinavia, and the establishment of Arab control over Oriental commerce. The period from 700 to 1000, though also initiating the gradual withdrawal of the Western Slavs from the Elbe frontier under German pressure, also saw the evolution of all the medieval Slavic states and their advance to the level of

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178 contemporary material and intellectual culture which culmi-
439 nates in their conversion to Christianity under Roman or Byzantine auspices. It likewise witnessed an expansion of trade both in Central Europe and in the Orient, and in this commercial expansion the Slavs in general had a definite stake.

764 Though a combined evaluation of linguistic, source, and archaeological data permits a tolerably accurate and convincing appraisal of the material culture of the Slavs during the pagan period, there is no such coherent mass of evidence upon which any wholly satisfactory statement of their religious beliefs, demonology, and eschatology may be predicted. The early Slavs cremated their dead, sharing this custom with their other Indo-European neighbors (Lithuanians, Germans, Celts). Burial was adopted through foreign influence, and before the
774 various conversions both customs existed side by side. The
776 primitive pagan Slavs were animists and attributed a soul to
775 the natural elements in which they lived. They honored a supreme deity and also believed in the existence of wood, water,
[782] and household spirits to which they offered sacrifices. Beside these nature spirits, they also honored the spirits of their an-
821 cestors and thus believed in a future life. They deified the heavenly bodies and the great phenomena of nature (thunder, lightning, wind, rain, fire).

776 Beside these animistic and manistic beliefs, the pagan Slavs also venerated a limited number of gods, some of which were of alien origin. The organization of a veritable pantheon was carried farthest by the Western Slavs who lived along the Baltic coast, a phenomenon perhaps not unconnected with Germanic influences of early date. It is reasonably clear that all the primitive Slavs possessed a god of the thunder and lightning, though this deity, Perun, took on special importance among the Russian Slavs because of special Scandinavian influences and the importance of Thor in the Scandinavian pantheon. Among the Western Slavs, however, Perun was less dominant than the god of the shining sun, Svarog, a name apparently connected with the indo-European base **svar*, signifying "heat,

[THE PERIOD FROM 700 to 1000 A.D. -- ANALYST]

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early colonizers in territory originally Finnish. The same observation applies to the Slovenes or Novgorod Slavs about Lake Ilmen, who thus approach the region of the great lakes. Just why they alone preserved the ethnic name of the Slavs remains an enigma. At any rate, they were, with the Polyane of Kiev, the most progressive of the Eastern Slavs. Located in an area ill-fitted for agriculture, they lived by hunting and trapping, by which they acquired material for barter with Scandinavian traders. Their pioneering spirit gradually carried them still further north toward Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and since only a short portage separated them from the upper Volga, we eventually find them pushing southeastward to insure a food supply from the grain fields of the Moscow district. They founded the city of Novgorod where the Volkhov flows out of Lake Ilmen, and economic and political collisions between this city and Moscow were a familiar feature of later medieval Russian history until the Muscovites emerged as victors.

Just south of the Slovenes lived the Krivichians, who dominated the headwaters of the Dvina, Dnieper, and Volga rivers and extended northwest until they collided with the Balts and Finns in the neighborhood of modern Pskov. Their chief centers, both of which owed their importance to river traffic, were Polotzk on the Dvina and Smolensk on the upper Dnieper. Since Smolensk is situated at an easy portage point between the Dvina, Lovat, and Dnieper rivers, it was one of the earliest points of Scandinavian settlement in the interior of Russia.

It stands to reason that, at the dawn of Russian history, these tribes must have in many instances progressed far beyond any patriarchal organization on the basis of kinship. Essentially an agricultural people, yet living also by hunting and trapping in newly colonized and sparsely settled areas, the Russian Slavs tended to develop beyond a purely patriarchal society as soon as they came to inhabit small farms grouped about a fortified village which served as a focal point for defense and as a rudimentary market for the exchange of their products. Such of these villages as were located on the chief watercourses developed

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fifty feet in length and sturdy cargo boats of as much as 175*
fifty tons' burden, though for river navigation they used
lighter craft. Where the aboriginal Slav of the Russian plains [411]
and forests was poor in weapons—even his word for sword
(as we know) he had been forced to borrow from the invading
Goths—the Swedish adventurer wielded a heavy, straight,
two-edged blade and the battle-ax which later became the distinguishing weapon of the Byzantine emperors' Varangian guard.

In the main the Scandinavian immigrants to Russia from Sweden belonged to the yeoman class and apart from naval raids on the Black Sea coast generally abstained from the deeds of violence which characterized Viking visitations in Western Europe. The native Slavs were too humbly endowed to offer rich booty, and the Russes were manifestly more interested in setting up ordered and profitable commercial settlements than in the commission of futile barbarities other than those incidental to the habitual slave traffic. The tradition that Rurik and his brethren were accompanied by their kinsfolk would suggest that the social organization of the immigrant Swedes was still on the clan basis, and that the senior of the clan functioned as chieftain or *konungr,* supported by a *comitatus* (bodyguard, retinue) of his more or less distant relatives and accepted retainers. The Scandinavian energy and skill at arms, coupled with a pronounced gift for discipline and organization, stood the scattered Eastern Slavic tribes and embryonic towns in good stead at a moment when a cohesive impulse was essential for their survival.

Having settled along the Dnieper as far as Kiev, the Russes 175*
soon entered into commercial relations with the Khazar khan- 439
ate, and after a raid on Constantinople in 860, regular commerce developed between the Greek empire and the cities on the Dnieper trade route. The chief Russian points of origin for this trade were Novgorod, Smolensk, Lubech, Chernigov, and Kiev. The Norse sources also mentioned Murom, Rostov, and Suzdal on the northeast, which owed their importance to

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175* the Volga artery. It is a historical fact of prime importance that
● 439 the Scandinavian warrior-merchants who settled among the
361 primitive Eastern Slavs founded no new towns themselves, but by their superior energy and military prowess made themselves the ruling class in urban centers of population which already existed. They were not the creators of the river-borne commerce from which they gained their livelihood. The routes and staples of this commerce had been defined far back in the early ages of the Mediterranean world, and the Russes who built up prosperous commercial relations with Byzantium simply renewed a system of exchange temporarily disjointed by the vicissitudes of nomadic movements.

175* Kiev was the chief trading post of the lower Dnieper valley,
631 the center at which merchandise was collected for shipment to the Crimea or to Byzantium. The Viking or so-called Varangian chief who controlled Kiev was thus likely to surpass in wealth and prestige his competitors in the more northern cities. The domestic activity of a Kievan prince of the early tenth century consisted chiefly in collecting tribute in kind, the proceeds of which not only supported his family and the retainers on whom his military power was founded, but also served as a basis for trade, which was under the prince's direct control. As the early Varangian princes imposed their sovereignty over successive towns, they delegated a viceroy to each, but the practice of assigning junior princes of the ruling family to subject cities begins only with Prince Sviatoslav (956-972), father of Vladimir I, under whom the Russians were converted. By the early tenth century, the outlying tribes had been tied together in a loose confederation connected with Kiev by economic interests dictated by trade with Constantinople, and this trade was regulated by a formal treaty as early as 907.

175* The magnificence of the Byzantine capital early exercised its attraction on the Kievan aristocracy. Vladimir's grandmother, the Princess Olga (a lady of pure Scandinavian stock) not only administered the principality after her husband's violent death, but in 975 became a convert to Christianity and

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175* set up his capital at Sarai on the lower Volga, just below Stalingrad, to which for two centuries the Russian princes, who were the vassals of Tartars, traveled to make submission.

175* The Tartar invasion aggravated the depopulation of the
166 Kiev area which had begun under the Polovtsian menace. About the year 1300, even the metropolitan bishop of Kiev moved to Vladimir on the Klyazma, east of Moscow, and the remaining population took to the forests and hills. The result was a concentration of new settlements in the area immediately south of Moscow and considerable additions to the population of the western principality of Galicia-Volhynia, which became known as Little Russia, as opposed to Great Russia of the northeast. At the same time the northwestern principalities fell more and more into the hands of the rising Lithuanian state. The Galician-Volhynian principate was in a fair way to becoming an important national unit when it was devastated in 1283 by a Tartar expedition into Poland, with the result that Volhynia was taken over by the Lithuanians and Galicia by the Poles, who have held it intermittently from 1349 to the beginning of the second World War.

175* The economic results of the Tartar invasions were drastic even in the northeast. What national wealth was not destroyed by their pillage was extracted piecemeal by the process of collecting tribute. A population which had previously lived by hunting and fishing, importing its grain from the more fertile south, was now obliged to practice agriculture on com-
[439] paratively unfavorable soil. A small amount of outside trade in furs, honey, and wax was maintained in order to secure silver with which to pay taxes, but domestic commerce was
175* paralyzed and did not recover till the fifteenth century. Fur-
421 thermore, even prior to the Tartar conquest, the Russian princes, despite their mobility, had begun to acquire fixed estates and thus to become landed proprietors. This process was accelerated by the Tartar hegemony since, for one thing, it was easier to collect tribute from a prince who was fixed, and besides it was difficult to obtain grants of new domains

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175* 177 insured the commercial and economic prosperity of the country. The section of Prague now known as the Old Town was by the year 1200 almost wholly occupied by Germans, and was fortified by its own wall and moat. German law, craftsmanship, and commercial ability were particularly fruitful in the development of provincial civic centers during the twelfth century, and in the next hundred years they attained a high level of prosperity with flourishing handicrafts and agriculture. [439] Their trade relations extended to Venice, Rome, Hamburg, Brandenburg, and Flanders; the primary article of Bohemian export was textiles. German colonization not only founded [311] towns but also increased the number of free farmers. These German rural colonists were most interested in the settlement of the less fruitful districts, especially in the forests of the western and northern borders of Bohemia. Since the development of this land required much hard work, the native Czech peasantry had never been intensely concerned with it, and it therefore yielded no profit to the landlords until the Germans began to exploit it. Hence the colonists received attractive terms in the guise of local self-government and tax exemptions in order to induce them to take it up. These circumstances thus favored extensive German settlement in the border districts simultaneously with the evolution of a prosperous and wealthy German middle class in the growing Bohemian cities.

175* 177 It is important to dwell on these conspicuous factors in the early development of Bohemia in order to show that the German penetration into this basically Slavic area occurred far back in the Middle Ages and is by no means a situation of recent growth. Since German settlements in the frontier districts actually took up land which the Czechs themselves had never occupied, any attempt to establish the frontiers of Czechoslovakia only on strategic considerations without regard to the conditions under which the country developed simply did violence to history and was inevitably destined to provoke discord. Whatever one may think of Nazi policy toward Czechoslovakia, the fact remains that the Germans had contributed

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186* 648 829 175 in the fight for liberation, at a time when Russia could not intervene. His dictatorial attitude, his personal prestige, aroused distrust on the part of the Kremlin. On the Yugoslav side, they were shocked by the conceit of the Russians, who lavished instructions and counsel on a nation which considered its own political experience superior to that of the Russians, and who, in the course of history, had won and rewon its independence entirely by its own efforts. Serbian pride, wounded by the demands made by Moscow, precipitated the rupture.

565 423 175 On the other hand, Yugoslavia is peopled by an emancipated peasantry; it has made its own agrarian reforms, and has not had to suffer the yoke of political dynasties (as has been the case with Rumania), nor (like Hungary) that of a landed aristocracy. Communism could not get a footing there, either in the same form or at the same speed, as in the other 'popular democracies'.

Finally, the systematic enslaving of the economy of Yugoslavia to Russian interests was bound, one way or another, to provoke violent reaction in Belgrade.

186* 665 648 175 687 It was nevertheless a surprise for the world when, on June 28, 1948, the Kominform communiqué pronounced the condemnation of Tito and his collaborators, accused of desiring to establish themselves by a régime of terror, of over-estimating the possibility for their country of safeguarding its independence without the assistance of the other Communist Parties; finally, of seeking the support of the capitalist States.

Dr. Pijade, the theoretician of Tito's régime, felt able to reveal[1] that the Kominform's resolution simply reproduced a text prepared in Moscow: he stated that the hands of waverers had been forced by a lying assurance that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party contained spies on behalf of England and the United States.

175 648 [439] Then began a diplomatic battle between Moscow and Belgrade: at first it took the form of a criss-cross exchange of notes, then that of an economic boycott and, finally, of a vast scheme to detach Yugoslavia from the other popular democracies and reduce her to isolation.

The diplomatic notes at first (July-August, 1948) dealt with the fate of Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia; then (August-

[1] Speech made on July 8, 1949, at Novi Sad.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

tions due for the exactions made by Bulgarian troops who occupied Serbian Macedonia during the war. 648 175

Yugoslavia's relations with the other Slav States followed the same lines as her relations with the Soviet Union. In June, 1949, negotiations in view of commercial exchanges with Czechoslovakia came to a standstill. In July, the two Governments exchanged subacid notes: Belgrade accused the Czechs of inspiring a campaign of press hostility towards Tito; Prague replied that any criticism tending to unmask Titoist treachery was 'a mark of appreciation and friendship towards the Yugoslav people'. Such arguments prepared the way for the formal denunciation of the pact of friendship and assistance. The Czechs, like the Poles, accused the Yugoslav diplomats of carrying on subversive activities: there were numerous recalls of diplomatic or consular agents, on the now customary charge of espionage on behalf of the 'capitalist powers'.

On the other hand, Yugoslavia endeavoured to renew commercial ties with the West. Her negotiations with Washington resulted in the agreement of July 19, 1947, liberating 47,000,000 gold-dollars and 220,000 dollars accruing from other Yugoslav credits in America, subject to the settlement of various arrears and repayments under Lend-Lease. The United States granted Yugoslavia the necessary licences for the delivery of materials destined for the equipment of a steel-plate factory; on November 3 they removed the prohibition on the supply of military equipment to that country. 648 457 439 175

And, on December 22, 1949, President Truman, confirming an assurance given by George Allen, his ambassador in Belgrade, declared: 'An act of aggression against Marshal Tito and Yugoslavia would be regarded by the Government of the United States as being just as serious as any act of aggression elsewhere'. [829]

This change of attitude shows the road travelled in Washington since the declarations made, on November 1, 1945, by Secretary of State James Byrne, recognising 'the special security interests' of Russia in Eastern Europe, and affirming that the United States 'would never associate themselves with an intrigue directed against the Soviet Union . . .'.

Indeed, the United States and Great Britain decided to grant economic aid to Communist countries which were 'really independent', and resolved to fight the Kominform. In London,

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648 457 439 175

in August, 1947, a Yugoslav delegation opened negotiations for a commercial agreement. These negotiations were prolonged, but in September, 1949, the British Cabinet decided to open a credit of £9,000,000 for Yugoslavia.[2]

A parallel change of attitude was shown in the relations between Belgrade and Rome: after rather lively incidents in Julian Venetia, the two Governments drafted, in December, 1948, a reconciliation, which was to be recognised by the commercial agreement of August 4, 1949, in which press commentators saw a political significance. The question of Trieste, which had been settled by the agreement of April 27, 1947, between France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, henceforth became of secondary importance, although Yugoslav claims to the Trieste zone (as to Slovene Carpathia) were never formally renounced.

On October 20, 1949, Yugoslavia was admitted to the Security Council by thirty-nine votes (out of fifty-eight voters) to nineteen for Czechoslovakia.

To sum up: Yugoslavia is seeking to reconcile her fidelity to Marxism with economic collaboration, on a footing of equality, with the Western States. Her attitude is defined in these two declarations made by Tito: 'While remaining solidly in the Socialist camp, Yugoslavia will regard as her enemy any one who interferes with her Socialist construction'. 'With the East we maintain economic relations, without any political set-off. When we sell copper to buy machinery, it is the copper we sell, not our conscience'.

* * *

648 696 829 175

As for Bulgaria, she has maintained with the Soviet Union ties which the Soviet-Yugoslav crisis only served to strengthen. The Government dealt the opposition a mortal blow by condemning to death the Agrarian leader, Nicolas Petkov, who was executed on September 23, 1947. This execution called forth a declaration of disapproval from the American State Department; on September 29 a speaker on behalf of the Foreign Office

[2] On July 2, 1949, General Ivan Gochniak, Vice-Minister for Defence, affirmed that, in 1944, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had agreed upon their respective spheres of influence in the Balkans: the Russians were to have a 75 per cent predominance in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania; in Yugoslavia they were to be on an equal footing with the English, in whose sphere of influence Greece was left.

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648 175 Moscow (May 23–26, 1946) was due to the necessity for a fresh exchange of views on the international situation, on the strengthening of the Polish Army to protect the rear of the Soviet occupation forces in Germany, and on the conclusion of economic agreements. Arrangements were in fact reached. They stipulated the cancelling of the financial engagements contracted during the war for equipping the Polish Army; the supply of Russian arms and munitions; the opening of a credit and the furnishing of food supplies.[17] On August 16 the U.S.S.R. and Poland signed a frontier treaty, ceding to the Poles the region situated east of the Curzon line, between the Western Boug and the River Solokia, to the south of the town of Krilow, to a maximum depth of nineteen miles, together with a part of the Forest of Bjalowiez, likewise to the east of the Curzon line, to a maximum depth of eleven miles.

A fresh interview between Stalin and MM. Bierut and Osubka-Morawski took place in Minsk on the following August 29. It dealt principally with the Anglo-American notes relating to the elections, and with the relations, on the eve of the poll, between the Socialist Party and the Labour Party. It was a fortnight later that, replying to Mr. Byrnes's Stuttgart speech, M. Molotov reaffirmed the Soviet point of view, according to which the western frontier of Poland was sacrosanct.

On February 24, 1947, M. Cyrankiewicz arrived in Moscow to confer with Stalin on the prospects opened up for Poland by the Peace Conference for Germany, convened in the Soviet capital for March 10.

648 175 457 Connected with the question of 'free elections', still further incidents arose between Poland and the Anglo-American democracies. On April 25, 1946, the Warsaw Government had obtained a loan of fifty million dollars under the following double arrangement: Forty million dollars would be supplied by the Export-Import Bank for the payment of purchases effected in the United States; surplus army material, stocked in Europe, would be supplied to the Government on credit, up to a limit of fifty million dollars. America had stipulated, as conditions of her financial aid, that the Polish Government should organise free elections, should inform the people of the terms of

[17] It was only on November 21 that the Polish Minister of Foreign Trade disclosed the tenor of his agreements with Russia.

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the agreement, and should furnish the United States with full details of treaties concluded with other Powers. 648 175

Since these conditions had not been fulfilled, America announced, in the month of May, that she was reconsidering the matter. Warsaw then communicated the text of the commercial treaties concluded with the neighbouring countries. The fact that, after this, the United States restored the credit of ninety million dollars shows that they did not consider these treaties as incompatible with their collaboration in Polish economic recovery. In January, 1947, Polish assets in America —including gold—were 'de-blocked', in consideration of an agreement fixing the indemnification of American nationals who owned nationalised Polish concerns. 457.

But the question of the elections remained as a background to the feeling of strain which hung over the relations between Washington and Warsaw. In March, 1947, it came to the fore again, when the United States ambassador, Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane, resigned as an expression of the disapproval he had never ceased to exhibit towards a régime resulting from an electoral consultation which he had designated 'a farce'. Far from disowning him, Mr. Truman, in accepting his resignation, declared his regret that 'his skilful representation of the American Government's views had not attained its object'.

The financial negotiations with England experienced similar vicissitudes. The agreement of June 24, 1946, for the grant of a loan, subject to the repayment of the debts of the former London Government, was at first postponed; official Polish circles accused Great Britain of retaining the greater part of their compatriots' assets as security for her claims, and especially the 4,800,000,000 francs (gold) belonging to the Bank of Poland. On December 19, the English Embassy in Warsaw was obliged to protest against the manner in which these questions were presented by the Polish press, who took pleasure in contrasting the British claims with Russia's gesture in wiping out Poland's war debts.

We have recalled that one of the sore points in Slav solidarity was the question of the allocation of the Teschen Basin, occupied by the Poles since October 2, 1938. The question had already, between the two wars, caused a lot of ink to flow. It had grafted itself on to attacks made by the Polish press against 648 728 175

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648 563 728 170 doubt that, although their departure corresponded to a legitimate policy of internal peace and security, yet it created in Czech economic life a void that was difficult to fill.

448 457 175 The Americans' remarks on the subject of the deportations were not the only cause (and, in any case, they were passing ones) of the frigid relations between themselves and the Prague Government. The latter had negotiated and obtained a loan of fifty million dollars from the Export-Import Bank—a loan which was to help to finance the 'two-year plan' for Czechoslovakia's economic reconstruction. On October 16 the State Department notified that they had blocked this credit for an indefinite period, because the borrowing country had not provided any compensation for American nationals dispossessed by nationalisation. Another argument advanced was the cutting and, at the very least, injudicious tone adopted by certain Czech newspapers which, at the very moment when their Government was seeking financial aid, accused the United States of using credits as an instrument of economic imperialism. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs blamed the Russians for the latter accusation and expressed regret at Washington's decision.

On the other hand, in November, 1946, England granted a loan of two and a half million sterling, spread over four years, to enable Czechoslovakia to buy surplus British materials. So that Prague's fears of a synchronised Anglo-American policy in the matter of loans were allayed.

[186] Like those of Poland, Czechoslovakia's aims in the discussion on the German treaty were chiefly directed towards disarmament and denazification of the Reich. For the Czechs, the problem of their security was partly settled by the presence of Soviet Russia in the Danube Basin. The dream of one of their thinkers had come true: 'The lime, our Slavonic emblem,[25] is supported by the powerful Russian oak'. And, celebrating the anniversary of the pact of December 12, 1943, between Stalin and Benes, the *Nurodni Ozvobozeni* declared: 'Treaties are usually entered into for a fixed period. Afterwards, they are extended, or they lapse. This one must stand for eternity'.

[25] The lime was the emblem of the Slavs. At the time of the riots which took place in Ljubljana at the beginning of this century between German and Slovene students, the former sported a cornflower and the latter a lime-leaf.

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tions due for the exactions made by Bulgarian troops who occupied Serbian Macedonia during the war. 648 175

Yugoslavia's relations with the other Slav States followed the same lines as her relations with the Soviet Union. In June, 1949, negotiations in view of commercial exchanges with Czechoslovakia came to a standstill. In July, the two Governments exchanged subacid notes: Belgrade accused the Czechs of inspiring a campaign of press hostility towards Tito; Prague replied that any criticism tending to unmask Titoist treachery was 'a mark of appreciation and friendship towards the Yugoslav people'. Such arguments prepared the way for the formal denunciation of the pact of friendship and assistance. The Czechs, like the Poles, accused the Yugoslav diplomats of carrying on subversive activities: there were numerous recalls of diplomatic or consular agents, on the now customary charge of espionage on behalf of the 'capitalist powers'.

On the other hand, Yugoslavia endeavoured to renew commercial ties with the West. Her negotiations with Washington resulted in the agreement of July 19, 1947, liberating 47,000,000 gold-dollars and 220,000 dollars accruing from other Yugoslav credits in America, subject to the settlement of various arrears and repayments under Lend-Lease. The United States granted Yugoslavia the necessary licences for the delivery of materials destined for the equipment of a steel-plate factory; on November 3 they removed the prohibition on the supply of military equipment to that country. 648 457 439 175

And, on December 22, 1949, President Truman, confirming an assurance given by George Allen, his ambassador in Belgrade, declared: 'An act of aggression against Marshal Tito and Yugoslavia would be regarded by the Government of the United States as being just as serious as any act of aggression elsewhere'. [329]

This change of attitude shows the road travelled in Washington since the declarations made, on November 1, 1945, by Secretary of State James Byrne, recognising 'the special security interests' of Russia in Eastern Europe, and affirming that the United States 'would never associate themselves with an intrigue directed against the Soviet Union . . .'.

Indeed, the United States and Great Britain decided to grant economic aid to Communist countries which were 'really independent', and resolved to fight the Kominform. In London,

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648 in August, 1947, a Yugoslav delegation opened negotiations for
457 a commercial agreement. These negotiations were prolonged,
439 but in September, 1949, the British Cabinet decided to open a
175 credit of £9,000,000 for Yugoslavia.[2]

A parallel change of attitude was shown in the relations between Belgrade and Rome: after rather lively incidents in Julian Venetia, the two Governments drafted, in December, 1948, a reconciliation, which was to be recognised by the commercial agreement of August 4, 1949, in which press commentators saw a political significance. The question of Trieste, which had been settled by the agreement of April 27, 1947, between France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, henceforth became of secondary importance, although Yugoslav claims to the Trieste zone (as to Slovene Carpathia) were never formally renounced.

On October 20, 1949, Yugoslavia was admitted to the Security Council by thirty-nine votes (out of fifty-eight voters) to nineteen for Czechoslovakia.

To sum up: Yugoslavia is seeking to reconcile her fidelity to Marxism with economic collaboration, on a footing of equality, with the Western States. Her attitude is defined in these two declarations made by Tito: 'While remaining solidly in the Socialist camp, Yugoslavia will regard as her enemy any one who interferes with her Socialist construction'. 'With the East we maintain economic relations, without any political set-off. When we sell copper to buy machinery, it is the copper we sell, not our conscience'.

* * *

648 As for Bulgaria, she has maintained with the Soviet Union
696 ties which the Soviet-Yugoslav crisis only served to strengthen.
829 The Government dealt the opposition a mortal blow by con-
175 demning to death the Agrarian leader, Nicolas Petkov, who was executed on September 23, 1947. This execution called forth a declaration of disapproval from the American State Department; on September 29 a speaker on behalf of the Foreign Office

[2] On July 2, 1949, General Ivan Gochniak, Vice-Minister for Defence, affirmed that, in 1944, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had agreed upon their respective spheres of influence in the Balkans: the Russians were to have a 75 per cent predominance in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania; in Yugoslavia they were to be on an equal footing with the English, in whose sphere of influence Greece was left.

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619 presence of a patronymic suffix in early Russian tribal names
621 indicates that these tribes actually passed through a stage when membership depended on kinship, but the attachment of the same suffix to place names also implies that the original implication had been forgotten before the historical period.

567 Prior to the evolution first of a commercial and subsequently
565 of an official ruling class, the primitive Slavic population was divided into three distinguishable strata. At the lowest point in the scale stood the slaves, composed of captives taken in war, men who had lost their freedom for debt, and descendants of slave parents. At least in their early history, the attitude of the Slavs toward their slaves was exceedingly mild. Above the slaves stood the great group of freemen, governed by the elders of their communities and later by tribal chieftains supported by a council of elders.

581 Polygamy and concubinage were common to all primitive
595 Slavs. In spite of the evidence for considerable promiscuity, a sense of the sanctity of marriage as a permanent tie is also demonstrated by early accounts of pagan Slavic wives who committed suicide upon the death of their husbands, so that the fidelity of the Slavic women was almost universally commented on with favor by foreign observers. Survivals of primitive custom among the Russian peasantry down to modern times indicate nevertheless that great freedom was allowed
462 both sexes prior to marriage. The Slavic women enjoyed no equality in the household, though a surviving widow was authorized to take her husband's place as head of the family.
583 Marriage by capture or by purchase was common Slavic practice.

177 In the course of their history, even before the dispersion, the
326 Slavs were exposed to a series of foreign influences, especially Iranian and Germanic, which rapidly placed at their service the techniques common to adjacent ethnic groups. Linguistic evidence demonstrates that the mass of the Slavs, like the German and the Baltic peoples, was familiar with iron, gold, silver, and lead from the earliest times, at least from the second half

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Their principal towns are: Prerov, Olomouc (Ollmutz) and Prostejov. They are divided into the Red Hanaks and the Yellow Hanaks, according to the color of their breeches. Various tribes are recognized among them: those of the Baniaks*, of the Blataks*, of the Zabeczaks*, of the Moravicks*, names which refer to certain details of topography.

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The Slovak territory can be divided up only on a theoretical basis. From the dialectological viewpoint, it divides itself into three areas: that of the west on the Nitra and the Vah, that of the center (upon the Hron and upper Vah), that of the east which reaches from Gemer* and Liptov as far as the national frontier. The inhabitants of this area are considered by many ethnographers as Slovakized Russians, and it is a fact that in the counties of Spis, of Sarys*, of Zemplin and of Ujgorod (Ungvar) the Russians are becoming more and /130/ more Slovakized. One of the most remarkable of these groups is that of the Sotaks* in the county of Zemplin.

They are so called because they say so instead of tso /co, what/ and have nothing to do with the Satagues* of Jordanes.

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Let us also mention as local names those of the Magurani* in the county of Spis, of the Trpaci* in that of Niredhazy*. Among the Slovak groups, the most unusual is that of the Detva, in the county of Zvolen: a Hungarian ethnographer, O. Hermann, chose to see in the Detvanci colonists from Hercegovina, but he is mistaken.

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The ancient ethnographers, and, following them, many modern books, indicate as forming special tribes those persons who work as peddlers, broom-makers, galziers, etc., who merely represent nomadic types common to all nationalities.

However, representatives of certain industries are natives of certain regions, for example, the dratenici, sellers of articles made from iron wire, are natives of the county of Trencsin, etc. (1)

1. Likewise in France, certain artisans are especially natives of the Creuse, the Auvergne, of Savoy, etc. Translator.

S.P. C. 184

What is of much greater interest from the Czech viewpoint than these local shades of difference, is the distinction which exists between the /131/ Czechs and the Slovaks of Hungary. This distinction arose a long time ago; it has been sanctioned by a long separation; the

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131 war, now had only three—Russia, Germany, and Czechoslovakia.
175 One aspect of her new position which represented an innovation was her transformation into a great maritime nation, thanks to the three ports, Stettin, Gdynia, and Danzig, and to her 312 miles of coast-line. Nevertheless, her destiny would henceforth be more closely bound to that of Central Europe, while remaining subordinate to the *entente* with Moscow.

666 The western frontiers were approved by the plebiscite of June 30, which covered not only the frontier-ratification, but also the abolition of the Senate and the economic organisation of the [471] State (Agrarian reform and nationalisation of key industries). [423] The first ballot gave 10,534,697 in favour and 995,584 against; the second gave 7,844,522 in favour and 3,686,029 against; the third, 8,896,106 in favour and 2,634,446 against.

578 This popular referendum did not have the tranquillising
648 effects that had seemingly been expected. Poland continued to
661 be a prey to 'terrorist' agitation, the repression of which, in
175 turn, gave rise to scenes of violence and to exactions. While dissociating himself from the extremists, the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, M. Mikolajczyk, himself protested against the way in which the referendum had been carried out (except in Cracow, where the 'Noes' had been in the majority). So the British Government reserved its opinion on the legitimacy which this poll conferred on the régime, and awaited the general elections before giving legal recognition to the new state of affairs. And the whole of 1946 was taken up with exchanges of subacid notes between London and Washington on the one side and Warsaw on the other. The Anglo-Americans denounced the persecution to which the Opposition was subjected, and considered that the Polish Government was failing in the undertaking given in execution of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, to guarantee the liberty of elections. But the Russians interpreted quite differently both the scope of these agreements and the meaning of the word 'liberty'. And so the most obvious result of the diplomatic offensive on the part of England and the United States was to intensify Polish-Sovietic solidarity.

648 The formation, in June, of a National Unity Government
175 under the Presidency of M. Osubka Morawski seemed, for the
[642] time being, to dissipate the apprehensions of the Anglo-Americans, although the dissident Polish Government in London

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concerned, and executive agents for Prague for Czechoslovak affairs. This was the solution found for the dualism previously existing in Czechoslovakia.

In virtue of this system the Slovaks have institutions which enable them to settle their own problems, while at the same time participating in the general control of the country. Hence the current joke about the 'Slovakisation of Czechoslovakia'.

Thus did President Benes succeed in adapting the spiritual heritage of Masaryk, and his own tendencies, to an internal and external situation very different from that which, in 1918, had shaped the rebirth of the Czech nation. And yet Benes took pains to safeguard signs of independence, and to maintain bonds of spiritual solidarity with the West, in order to attest his faith in his country's mission as a mediatrix, her role as a stabilising factor between the East and the West of the Continent. But the new Czechoslovakia no longer reflected the image that Masaryk had popularised—that of a European Slavism formed in the school of the Liberal Democracies.

The first elections carried out after the liberation—those of May 26, 1946—gave a slight majority to the Marxists, who had 153 seats out of the 300 of which the National Assembly was composed.[19]

This shift in the majority had little practical effect. The internal policy, based on nationalisation,[20] and the realisation of a very advanced social programme, underwent the fewer modifications, inasmuch as the Communists, anticipating their electoral victory, had already secured possession of the principal control levers.

[19] The results were as follows:—

	Votes	Percentage
Bohemia-Moravia		
Communists	2,205,658	40.17
National-Socialists	1,298,967	23.66
Populars	1,010,920	20.23
Social-Democrats	855,771	15.59
Slovakia		
Democrats (Christian)	988,275	61.43
Communists	490,257	30.48
Liberty Party	67,575	4.20
Labour Party	49,983	3.11

As will be seen, the majority was reversed in Bohemia and in Slovakia.

[20] The nationalisation programme which took effect on March 13, 1946, placed the majority of the key-industries under State control. Commenting on this event, the Minister of Industry declared: 'This day marks a date in the history of the world's industry'.

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175* eign works translated in his reign were mostly technical hand-
643 books. He insisted on Western European costume, not from
177 any aesthetic consideration, but because it was more practical and more comfortable to work in than the old Muscovite kaftan with its long sleeves. To prosecute his ends, he was obliged to create a bureaucracy whom he recruited from all strata of society, having little regard for origins if they were intelligent and efficient. Russian culture in Peter's day consisted of the tsar and his pathetically small group of specialists working at killing speed and pressure to overcome the national inertia.

484 But Peter abolished previous restrictions on foreign travel,
175-* and young aristocrats were sent abroad to study and to learn
643 how the Europeans actually lived. The tsar traveled in foreign
177 countries himself. Foreign specialists entered the Russian service in unparalleled numbers. His reign brought to light no liberal tendencies, however, since the nobility absorbed the new bureaucracy and strengthened its hold on the national substance. Yet the channel was opened for a new complex of ideas. Peter forced his subjects to go abroad to study engineering and anatomy, and they observed humanity and the mechanism of states. Unsuccessful attempts to limit the absolute power of the throne were made immediately after Peter's death in 1725.

175* New notions of the amenities of social intercourse and of the
177 pleasures offered by arts, music, the dance, and literature were
535 added to Peter's more materialistic innovations when his
536 daughter Elizabeth came to the throne in 1741, with the result that French civilization acquired a dominance in Russian intellectual life which it began to lose only at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The origins of the Russian ballet go back to 1735, in the reign of Elizabeth's cousin Anna, who also introduced Italian opera, but the French theater reached St. Petersburg in Elizabeth's reign, which also witnessed the beginnings of the native Russian drama composed in the French pseudoclassic vein of Corneille, Racine, and Molière.

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tal differentiation inherent in the proto-Slavonic language 197
even at the epoch of closest ethnic unity evolved into conspicuous local characteristics as the race gradually spread. By the ninth century A.D., when a Slavonic tongue was first used for literary purposes, the differentiation of the several Slavonic languages and even of the dialects in each was a consummated fact of some centuries' standing.

By their very location, remote from the centers of classical 175*
culture and bordering to the west, south, and north upon tribes 101
to which it did not penetrate until the beginning of the Christian era, the Slavs, jutting out toward the confines of Asia in a region almost devoid of natural boundaries and barriers, were inevitably exposed to the repeated impacts of alien nations from the Orient. Destined later to form a part of the great [487]
medieval trade route from the Baltic to the Black Sea, the river Dnieper, along which the easternmost portion of the primitive Slavs lived, was likewise a promising area for penetration from the north. The Slavic occupation of western Russian territory, if the identification of Herodotus's Neuri as Slavic is correct, reaches well back toward the beginning of the first millennium before Christ. The earliest historical neighbors of the Slavs in the Russian prairie country were thus the Cimmerians, whose land, according to the *Odyssey,* was always veiled in fog and darkness, for there the sun never rose nor set. Actually they were an eastern offshoot of the Thracians, who centered in the basin west of the Carpathians until they were displaced by Germanic and Celtic invaders. During the second millennium and until the eighth century B.C., the Cimmerians extended eastward beyond the Crimea and the Sea of Azov, and to them belong the scanty remnants of bronze culture found in South Russia and dating from the beginning of the first millennium before Christ. The barrier erected by the Cimmerians to a Slavic advance toward the Black Sea was later perpetuated by the Scythians, who form the first wave of Oriental nomads to sweep across the black-earth region in historical times.

The Scythians are, in fact, the earliest inhabitants of south- 175*

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early colonizers in territory originally Finnish. The same observation applies to the Slovenes or Novgorod Slavs about Lake Ilmen, who thus approach the region of the great lakes. Just why they alone preserved the ethnic name of the Slavs remains an enigma. At any rate, they were, with the Polyane of Kiev, the most progressive of the Eastern Slavs. Located in an area ill-fitted for agriculture, they lived by hunting and trapping, by which they acquired material for barter with Scandinavian traders. Their pioneering spirit gradually carried them still further north toward Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and since only a short portage separated them from the upper Volga, we eventually find them pushing southeastward to insure a food supply from the grain fields of the Moscow district. They founded the city of Novgorod where the Volkhov flows out of Lake Ilmen, and economic and political collisions between this city and Moscow were a familiar feature of later medieval Russian history until the Muscovites emerged as victors.

Just south of the Slovenes lived the Krivichians, who dominated the headwaters of the Dvina, Dnieper, and Volga rivers and extended northwest until they collided with the Balts and Finns in the neighborhood of modern Pskov. Their chief centers, both of which owed their importance to river traffic, were Polotzk on the Dvina and Smolensk on the upper Dnieper. Since Smolensk is situated at an easy portage point between the Dvina, Lovat, and Dnieper rivers, it was one of the earliest points of Scandinavian settlement in the interior of Russia.

It stands to reason that, at the dawn of Russian history, these tribes must have in many instances progressed far beyond any patriarchal organization on the basis of kinship. Essentially an agricultural people, yet living also by hunting and trapping in newly colonized and sparsely settled areas, the Russian Slavs tended to develop beyond a purely patriarchal society as soon as they came to inhabit small farms grouped about a fortified village which served as a focal point for defense and as a rudimentary market for the exchange of their products. Such of these villages as were located on the chief watercourses developed

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into genuine trading posts and towns, the importance of which was enhanced by the penetration of foreign merchants at the beginning of the historical period. The rise of trading posts and towns gradually concentrated adjacent agricultural areas under the control of the former, producing at the same time accumulations of wealth in the hands of a new ruling class which appropriated to itself the influence formerly wielded by the elders of family, clan, and tribe. The growing prestige of the towns also broke down the various tribal differentiations, since portions of the same tribal area might fall for reasons of geography and communication under the control of different towns.

In general, the Russian tribes formed three groups distinguishable by their speech, which are reflected in our day by the tripartite division of the Russian language into three basic dialects. The northern group, comprising the Slovenes (Slavs) of Novgorod and the Krivichians, is the forerunner of the modern Great Russian dialect, the standard literary language. The central group, including Dregovichians, Radimichians, Vyatichians, and Severians, divided into two sections, of which the eastern joined the northern, or ultimately Great Russian element, while the western section (Dregovichians, Radimichians) came to form the White Russian element centering around Minsk. The southern group, made up of Polyane, Derevlians, Volhynians, Ulichians, Tivercians, and Croats, evolved into the Little Russian or Ukrainian element. In fact, the term *Ukraina* goes back as far as at least 1187, and meant the southern border district. The differences among these three dialects have of course been intensified as time went on by the accidents of political affiliation and by diversified cultural influences. But these three groups are none the less parts of the same nation, so that either a White Russian or a Ukrainian is precisely as much a Russian as the purest Great Russian born in the shadow of the Kremlin.

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IV

The Formation of Russia

We have already spoken of the contacts of the primitive Slavs with the Goths during the latters' migrations of the early Christian era and the succession of invasions from Asia into the steppe country which exerted political and some cultural influence upon the Eastern Slavic tribes. At the time of the conversion of the Russians in 989 during the reign of Vladimir I at Kiev, the principality of Kiev was already a state of growing area and rising influence. It is now relevant to discuss the process by which this principality was founded, and to carry the history of the Russian state five centuries beyond Vladimir to the domination of Moscow, showing the course of events by which the national nucleus was transferred from the Ukraine to the younger northeastern principality. 175*

In Scandinavia, and particularly in Sweden, the period from 750 to 800 A.D. was marked by pronounced activity in organization and conquest. During the ninth century Swedish interest in oriental commerce developed rapidly and caused such an active search for lines of eastward communication that before 850 Swedish settlers appeared on the southeastern shore of Lake Ladoga. About the year 900, a Swedish colony was founded at Gnezdovo, near modern Smolensk, and Swedish immigration reached the headwaters of the rivers Volga and Oka. Finds of Swedish *objets d'art* of the ninth and tenth 175* 487

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* centuries along the northern Russian watercourses which
●487 provide an easy route between the Baltic and the Volga indicate a lively activity in oriental trade, and the Swedish colonies in this area result from the opening, by the Swedes, of a new trade route to the Orient via the Volga.

175* In 859, according to the Russian *Primary Chronicle,* "Varangians from beyond the sea" imposed tribute on the northernmost Slavs in Russia and their Finnish neighbors. Within the next four years, the tributaries revolted and expelled the invaders, but finding themselves unable to preserve order, they were obliged (according to the *Chronicle*) to invite the return of their oppressors. The story continues that in response to this plea, three Varangian brothers, Rurik, Sineus, and Truvor, migrated to Russia with their kin. Rurik settled in Novgorod, two of his retainers wrested Kiev from the Khazars, and Oleg, allegedly, the regent for Rurik's young son Ivor, took Kiev from them after Rurik's death. The legendary date of the traditional calling of the princes thus harmonizes with the archaeological evidence as to the period of Scandinavian immigration. Both the *Primary Chronicle* and Arabic geographical sources refer to these immigrant Scandinavians as Rus (Russes), a name which was later applied to the Slavs they subdued and to the
[487] state which grew from the principalities they created. The Volga trade route which they first discovered rapidly declined in importance once they found that the Dnieper offered relatively easy access to Byzantium.

The civilization which the immigrant Swedes brought with them to Russian territory was essentially that of the Viking Age. The Scandinavian artifacts of the ninth and tenth centuries discovered in Russian territory indicate that their makers and owners were possessed of no mean talent in working metals (bronze, silver, gold), and were found of tasteful adornment. From their northern homes they brought a highly developed capacity for handling iron tools. Not only had the Vikings in general mastered the technique of timbered houses, but they were also capable of constructing clinker-built sea vessels up to

Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16
Serbs EF6

The typical form is shown by a house of the village of Zianozene of the Berkof district, built in 1890 (Fig. 41) «In these areas», says Zlatev (p. 98), «southward and northward of the Haimos, in the plain or even in the mountains, this house is the normal type used. The portico here appears in various forms and positions, depending on the construction, which is here primitive and without any particular sense of shape». Part of the space under the portico has been enclosed with oak-tree boards and it is used as a pig-sty. The walls of the ground-floor are made of stone, and those of the upper floor of daubed wicker-work (Bulg.: pletarka). The floor of the upper storey is made of oak planks, roughly planed, and plastered with a thick layer of clay. Windows are few and small, and thus results a poor lighting in the house. The height of the basement is of 2 metres, and that of the upper floor 2 - 2.5 metres. The portico, formed on the frontage and called «islak» (Greek: ἡλιακός), appears as a non-organic part, attached to the main body, although its roof is a part of the whole roof of the house. It is mainly used for the drying of fruits [1]).

B 342
B [231]
B [354]
B [251]

The need to house a large family, as e.g. the so-called zadruga, created a difficult problem which remained architecturally unsolved in the case of the Serbs and the other Slavs: the young people and the young couples sleep in separate small buildings (vajat, klijet, staja or koliba from the Greek καλύβη = hut) which are constructed alongside or around the family house (called kuć'a), having no hearth and being also used as a stable or a store house [2]). The number of klijeti existing round the kuć'a gives the number of couples living in that cluster [3]). As for the Bulgarians, this problem has been solved through the following two methods: 1. By the addition of rooms, in direct organic connection with the original region of the hearth. 2. By the unification of two independent bipartite or tripartite houses through covered entrances or corridors.

Se SL [342] [592] [513]

The first method is shown by the house in the village Zabel (Zlatev, fig. 16), one of the oldest houses in NW Bulgaria, which, «some

B [592]

1) It is interesting to note the nomenclature of each part of the wooden bone in W. Bulgaria, which is often similar to that used in Thessaly and Epirus (Zlatev, p. 101, fig. 86) 1. Temel (θεμέλιον) = the basis of the post. 2. Direk = the post. 3. Gredi = (γρεντιά) beam. 4. Pope (παπᾶς = priest) (cf. **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 20).

2) See **J. Cvijić**, La Peninsule Balkanique, Paris, 1918, p. 233 and foll.

3) See **L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave, Vol. 2 Paris 1926, p. 109.

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Another characteristic of the Slav house, the «kleti», a small separate building, that was originally constructed by the Slavs near their own house, without any hearth, and was used as a store-room and at the same time as stable and as bedroom for young couples, it exists in the Serb houses, as well as in the Russian ones. This is a proof that the Jugoslav were aware of its existence already in the 6th and 7th centuries, when they arrived at the Greek peninsula. This space appears, even to-day, either as a store-room, or a chamber without any hearth, to be used especially by married members of the family. Thus in the Serb farm-houses belonging to one zadruga, one may count as many klijets i.e. small wooden buildings round the family kuc'a, as there are couples in the family.

From the above we may conclude that, when establishing themselves on this side of the Danube in lands of the Byzantine empire, the Jugoslavs knew only the simpler, the primitive forms of Slav houses and consequently the entire evolution which is shown by the Jugoslav house, especially in the purely Serb countries, has been accomplished on Balkan soil under the influence of the building methods in use in the Balkan peninsula from ancient times.

We have already said that Cvijic' distinguishes a type of Greco-mediterranean house which «probably originates from the old Byzantine houses». «We can also see this house», he writes, «in all the Koutsovlach villages, even in the ones with a continental climate, as well as in the Slav populations of Mijaci and Mavrovci, at the centre of the peninsula».

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According to Cvijic', «the Greco-mediterranean house differs slightly or not at all from the house of the Vardar district (maison vardarienne) for which it is used as the model (le prototype)». The same may be said of the Morava valley house (maison moravienne) whose one component, the portico (auvent), has the obviously Greek name doksat (Greek δοξάτος) while this same component, more to the South, in the Vardar district, is called by another Greek name: krevet (Greek κρεββάτι)(1). As we have seen, even the first of the additions to the kuc'a, namely the place where various articles are kept, is called

1) J. Cvijic' op. cit. p. 224 Cf. the κρεββάτα of the houses of Ambelakia, Rapsani, Arta etc. (G. Megas, Θεσ. Οικ., pp. 86 foll., 95 foll. and the δοξάτον of the Kastoria noble houses (A. Orlandos, Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος B p. 181 foll. p. 196 foll.).

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
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present in these practices, I would also ask whether there were not some more tangible cult significance underlying this giving of new vitality to trees. But this possibility and, for the matter of that, this aspect of agricultural activity as a whole, does not seem to have found a commentator, and I myself have not yet sufficient instances to formulate a theory.

The respect for things in general is innate in the peasant, as countless small observances in everyday life show. So long as this recognition persists, any object, however mean and common, can on occasion serve in magic, without being sacred; while if on the basis of special 'taboos' a list of sacred plants and animals were made, it would be far too large to allow of so many special cults or cult usages. Much less extensive would be a corresponding list of cursed things, which cannot under any circumstances be touched.

It must be remembered that the inventory of a peasant household (of the kind still out of touch with urbanism) is not large, while in the mountains or in the hinterland of Dalmatia it may not include all the primary necessities even of a very simple life. In this simpler scheme domestic artifacts and utensils retain something of their primitive significance. In extreme cases domestic tidiness is a minor ritual; every object has its proper place when not in use, and is carefully handled, and put away in a special position, which must not be reversed. The broom, the sieve, the kneading trough, the scoop, the chains of the hearth pot, the gourd, etc., have had their ritual associations amongst every people.

It is not possible to disentangle knowledge of the physical properties of substances from their significance in legend or worship; and it would be equally impossible to trace whether an object, used in divination, or a household utensil, which seems to enjoy special respect, such as a sieve or a wood-block or an axe, has a certain power ascribed to it directly, or through an analogous association with some other category of ideas.

The steam bath is noticed early for East and Northern Slavs, but it is curious that after the Slav invasion, the

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16
Albania E61

SP 515 [177] Roman bath entirely disappears from the North Balkans, although public baths were known to the Avars also. At the present time, the Turkish bath is restricted to a specific cultural region, where a recent Asiatic influence has been concentrated. As it now retreats this excellent institution also falls into decay. But the bath and the use of steam for S [515] [752] sweating, now universal amongst the South Slavs, rubbing and massage, more or less symbolical washing and bathing, and the manipulation of broken limbs and the dressing of wounds, are to be reckoned amongst the oldest of their practices. Archaeological finds witness to healed wounds and S A [752] fractures, but we know nothing of prehistoric trepanation amongst the South Slavs—the only European race, with the Albanians and some Caucasians, which continued the practice almost within living memory.

SP 755 782 Offerings and vows, ritual performances and acts connected with fertility cults, were the basis of mystical healing. Hydrotherapy includes also the worship of water spirits, and, amongst Lithuanians, of a personified watery element. Niederle adds to this list of reconstructed primitive medicine the use of oils or unguents which preserved strength and health,[1] and a number of Eastern aromatics, known in primitive times.

S SP 177 779 789 [372] Plants introduced in historical times have added to the botanical mythology, and enjoy a symbolism of their own; just as field-glasses, pipe-lighters, petroleum, trains, firearms and other more recent gifts of material civilisation, receive their part in contemporary folk-lore, whose incorporating activity is only now beginning to decline, and in some cases, a magico-religious part. Firearms have developed a complete legend of their own; pipe-lighters are sometimes used for producing ritual fire, though matches are universally disqualified; and so on.

S 241 824 778 Wheat, which in the Middle Ages was cultivated only in a very limited area, and, in the early nineteenth century, was still little used in the interior of Serbia, has a universal ritual

[1] Cf. L. Niederle, *Slovanské Starožitnosti*, I, p. 127.

S.P. c. 175 177 167

again in 1827 Jungmann in a moment of discouragement gave vent to this sad cry: "We have had the sad fate of being the witnesses and the accessories of the final annihilation of our mother tongue."

S.P. c. 175 168 517

Nevertheless, certain men succeeded in awakening the nation, in saving what might be saved. The history of the Czech literature since the second half of the eighteenth century shows us in an admirable fashion the work which a little group of men, obscure but impassioned, taken with a great idea, have been able to accomplish.

Aroused by the progress of liberalism in Europe, by the "Josephinism," they succeeded in reviving an interest in national affairs, in shaking the people out of their torpor, at first among the lowly ones who had preserved the language, then in the intellectual class. This Czech people, whose existence appeared doubtful one hundred years ago, of whom the Viennese educator Kindermann von Schulstein, basing himself upon the new scholastic program, had proclaimed the approaching disappearance, this Czech people, is today conscious of itself, it forms a compact mass of six and one-half million persons and constitutes an impregnable citadel against which the powerless efforts of the germanism bent upon the ruin of the Slavs come and break. There is only one thing to regret and that is that political conditions have prevented the union and assimilation of the two million Slovaks settled in northern Hungary.

S.P. c. 101

S 21. National Frontiers.--The compact mass of the Czechs and Slovaks are distributed among six administrative regions: in Austria, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, and the Duchy of Silesia, in Hungary, and, for a few segments, in Prussian Silesia.

The ethnographic boundary which separates the Slovaks from the other Czechs runs across Moravia; but the Slovaks of Moravia are so closely associated with the life of the Czech nation and are drawing so much closer to them each day that one may /112/ consider as the true boundary the political frontier which separates Moravia from Hungary. There, in the Carpathians, a wall stands which separates the two groups, Czechs and Slovaks, and unless unforeseen circumstances intervene, it is to be feared that their former unity will wind up in a dualism: Czechs on the one side, Slovaks on the other.

Thanks to a series of ethnographic studies, and also to the acute

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

reconciliation with society. The new parliament was never allowed to function efficiently, and excessive parcellation of parties within it also prevented the formation of a workable united front against the government, though the fundamental tone was one of hostility.

The first World War began in this atmosphere of mutual distrust between government and society, and only a brief interval of patriotic *entente cordiale* intervened before official incompetence as revealed by repeated military defeats once more opened the breach, which was further widened by a complete collapse of transportation and economic life. General resentment was intensified by evidence of a total lack of comprehension of the situation by the tsar and his advisers, and culminated in the events of March, 1917, by which the tsar was forced to abdicate and a democratic regime was set up. The vacillations of successive moderate provisional governments played into the hands of the Bolshevik leaders, who could always bank on the support of the urban factory workers and certain sections of the army, and on November 7 they were masters of Petrograd. The subsequent fortunes of the Soviets are so close to our own times as to be matters of common knowledge.

The chasm which existed between government and society between 1894 and the first World War did not prevent simultaneous developments in Russian intellectual life. In spite of government surveillance and occasional restriction of educational facilities, a highly educated and talented middle class had evolved in Russia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Though literature declined in some degree after the death of Dostoevski, Tolstoi lived on to combine moral philosophy and creative letters until 1910. Chekhov's later plays expressed his own prevision that an epoch was about to end. A younger generation of prose writers revived traditional Russian realism in a more individualistic spirit without regard to the political and social aims that had inspired their predecessors. In poetry, symbolism sought to penetrate and express deeper

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

and industry by German immigrants to Bohemia and Poland 175*
require no demonstration. By virtue of its close political asso- 177
ciation with western Europe, Bohemia was speedily drawn into 648
European intellectual life, and as early as the thirteenth century Bohemian authors were reproducing in their own language the forms and content of German medieval literature. International culture was still more widely disseminated after the foundation of the University of Prague in 1348, and the Hussite movement produced a wave of intellectual activity which lasted until the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century.

Poland, because of its comparative remoteness and political 175*
instability, was not subject to the same cultural stimuli, and 177
the services rendered by the German settlers in Polish terri- 517
tory were exclusively practical and materialistic. The influence of the Polish crown was never strong enough, nor were its holders cultured enough, to exert a civilizing influence comparable to that which radiated from Prague. Only in the six- [871]
teenth century do we meet with a striking development of Polish literature, and here the productive influences were more those of the Renaissance than specifically German, especially since local education was dominated by the Jesuits and strictly limited to the classical curriculum. While German economic influence was strong in both the great western Slavic states, it was Bohemia which profited the most from the absorption of German culture, and it was not until the seventeenth century that political events halted the intellectual advance so auspiciously begun.

Yet it was in Bohemia that the first seeds of a new Slavic 182
racial consciousness sprouted early in the nineteenth century. 814
The age of enlightenment had emphasized the ideals of humanity, tolerance, and culture, and these ideals were spread throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy by the reforms of Joseph II. As a matter of fact, the principle of nationality was first formulated by a German, for it was Goethe's great friend and mentor Johann Gottfried Herder, who declared that "the

7; Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* can not quote all his declamations spread over many pages about
829 the *tsar batyushka* and the love of the Russian people for him.

After these statements he turns his attacks against Austria and destroys the conceptions of Austroslavism. He also demonstrates that Slavs, because of their geographical situation, their religious differentiation, cultural differences, and so on are unable to organize any federation. They are weak, they are simply fragments of one nation, and because of that "the concept of federative states has no sense."[20]

The conclusion is obvious: "There remains a third road, the only one which is sure and has a future—the union of all Slavs with Russia."[21] Then come all kinds of apologetic epithets, comparisons, in which Russia appears as a lighthouse in the dark night, assertions that the Slavs must not start their new life with the declining West but with rising Russia. "Russia . . . is the mother and the leader of all our national family." He is aware, however, of some difficulties as far as the attitude of other Slavs toward Russia is concerned. But he solves them easily according to his assertion that the only Slavs who hate Russia are Poles. By their whole civilization they are opposed to Russia. Poles did not want, as did the Russians, to subordinate themselves to one monarchical will. They did not know how to organize their life, and they had been defeated by Russia, to the great and lasting benefit of all of the Slavs. Had Poland resisted, Russia would have been far away from Europe and would not be able to help the Slavs; and of course the Poles never had any qualifications for leadership among the Slavs.

186* With the Czechs the situation is less complicated: "In their
829 present prosaic conditions they only weakly attract other Slavs.
Although literature is diligently developed, in higher learning,
● 517 in philosophy and history, nothing outstanding appears, with the exception of Palacký's *History of Bohemia*. And in arts and poetry the Czechs do not possess, with the exception of Mácha, a single

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 139.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

creative talent . . . material prosperity is the idol toward which the whole nation tends."[22] The Czechs cannot remain in their seclusion or create anything great—therefore they must join a greater entity. The so-called Illyrians and Catholic Croatians—"flabby," "seduced by Austria," "coaxed by Czechs," will be "inspired by the Slavic idea as soon as they rightly understand it." Of course Serbia and Bulgaria will agree. The end of the book is a kind of glorious finale. He brings an enumeration of all the great battles in Russian history. He stresses the fact that the main power of Russia is in the union of the people with the tsar, that the learned people are work-loving and conscious of the greatness of Russia; that the army is deeply devoted to the tsar and to the fatherland; the clergy, "pious and zealous"; the people, "kind, strong and obedient."

Then comes the "Russian Geography"—"Russia represents nine Turkish empires, twenty-eight Scandinavias, twenty-nine Austrias, thirty Germanies, and thirty-six Frances. The power of Russia is spread from the north-eastern corner of Asia, from Kamchatka, to the distant north of America, from the distant European North almost to the Carpathians, Danube, Black Sea, and farther to Ararat itself." Then follow figures concernings export and import, enumerations of Great Russian names, and so on. He concludes that everything works to the advantage of Russia—"Friend and enemy, war and peace, revolts and quietness;—Russia cast off the whole of Europe. She had the decisive voice at the Vienna Congress. . . . With one arm she embraces Asia, the second extends to America; inaccessible to Europe, she is a neighbor of the rotten Austria and the dead Turkish corps." Russia is the agglomeration of great and small things, of things divided and united; she is full of contradictions—Christianity, paganism, Islam, Byzantine churches, mosques, Catholic cathedrals. "She combines Europe with Asia, East with West, the dawn with the sunset, in other words, in the Russian kingdom the sun never sets."[23]

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 146-150.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-152.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

was the husband of a Greek princess, and the son of this union eventually became the consort of Gytha, daughter of the Saxon Harold who fell at Hastings in 1066. Kiev was thus united with contemporary European states by a series of dynastic alliances foreshadowing the customs of modern times.

Yet for all his power and wealth, Yaroslav governed by the same simple mechanism that had prevailed under Vladimir. The prince won his position by force and maintained it by personal supremacy, supported by Varangian mercenaries recruited from Scandinavia whenever domestic levies proved insufficient or disloyal, and consulting with his chief military aides, with the city elders, or with church dignitaries on matters of general policy. Yaroslav began the codification of customary civil and ecclesiastical law, encouraged both translations and original literature, and endeavored without success to emancipate the Russian Church from the Byzantine patriarchate. By his crushing victory over the nomad Pechenegs before the walls of Kiev in 1036, he made the marches of his principality safe for thirty-five years.

Beside rebuilding his father's Church of the Tithe after it was damaged by fire in 1017, he carried out a large-scale construction program which made Kiev one of the most notable medieval cities. His great cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev, with its five apses and thirteen cupolas, still contains the largest extant yardage of eleventh-century Byzantine frescoes and a series of remarkably preserved mosaics of impressive beauty. This is the one medieval Russian church which has been exhaustively studied by American archaeologists in coöperation with native Russian colleagues.

The underlying weakness of the Kievan principality lay in the fact that its stability was assured only by the prestige and ability of the ruling prince. There was as yet no sentiment of solidarity, national unity, and group interest which guaranteed that the whole system would not be overthrown by some ambitious and resolute rival from among the kindred princes in outlying cities loosely subject to the authority of the prince of Kiev and envious of his power and wealth.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

814 younger state in a volume which might have served as a firm
829 basis for the development of a characteristic native culture.
175 The Russians before the Tartar invasion were always pupils; they originated very little that was independent of Byzantine models either in literature or in art.

177 In art, however, this imitation was productive and created
341 an architectural and a decorative tradition which lasted down into modern times. By the date of Vladimir's conversion, the basilica as a type of church architecture in Byzantium had been largely replaced by the cruciform church with one or with five cupolas. This was the type transmitted to Russia and still worthily represented by the great medieval churches of Kiev, Novgorod, Vladimir and even Moscow, though in the metropolis the more exotic forms and the onion-shaped dome derived
177 from wooden architecture prevail. The highly conventionalized
532 art of the icon dominated Russian painting until Western influences began to seep in during the seventeenth century, but this tradition was still vital enough before the first World War to influence the art of nineteenth-century religious and historical painters. For where the Byzantine tradition had taken firm root, the aesthetic appeal was long-lived and enduring.

538 In literature, along with lapidary works of religious implica-
186 tion, the Russian national spirit began to manifest itself in historical compilations during the eleventh century, and literary reflexes of folk poetry had already appeared before the Tartar conquest. But a truly national literature stems from a long educative process, and this process was interrupted in medieval Russia both by domestic politics and by nomadic inroads.

177 Where domestic disorders merely retarded the intellectual
779 advance of medieval Russia, the Tartar incursion brought it to a full stop. It has already been noticed what material impoverishment it had caused. But the Tartar domination was a far more serious factor in the deterioration of cultural and spiritual values. The church, to be sure, was treated with tolerance by the Tartars because it preached submission to

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

CHAPTER IX

THE ICONS

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ALLUSION has been made more than once in this book to the icons; but such is their importance in Orthodox piety that it may be well to devote a short chapter to them.

An icon is a picture of a sacred subject painted upon a panel of wood of varying size. The surface is prepared with a mixture of powdered alabaster and glue beneath which linen is sometimes stretched, and the colours laid on with the yolk of egg as a medium.[1] The finished panel was in many cases furnished later on with a covering of metal, precious or base, which completely hides the painting, except the flesh parts, to reveal which holes were cut in the metal. The rest of the picture, or at least its main lines, are reproduced in the metal cover by *répoussée*. Further embellishment may be added, in the form of haloes and different kinds of pendants. The icon may be adorned with precious stones, some famous examples being encrusted with a wealth of them.

It has been generally accepted that the icon is derived from the funerary portraits of the dead which were placed upon mummies in Egypt.[2] Perhaps by way of usage in connection with the martyrs, and devotion to their shrines, the use of icons spread in time throughout the Orthodox world and became a characteristic feature of Orthodox piety.

The painting of icons was a work of religion as well as a work of art, the painter preparing himself for his task by prayer and other spiritual exercises. In modern times the provision of vast numbers of cheap icons may have degener-

[1] For details in the technique of icon-painting see Minns-Kondakov: *The Russian Icon*, Oxford, 1927.

[2] See, however, A. Frolow: *Revue des Études Byzantines*, Tome VI, 1948, p. 125.

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

ated into a mere trade, but ideally, and to a large extent in actual fact, the production of them has been and still is the pious activity of monks. The monasteries were the great workshops in which icons were produced, and although icons are nearly always anonymous, the known painters of these highly venerated objects were themselves greatly revered.

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The subjects depicted on the icon are many and various. It may be a single figure; of Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist (winged, as the Precursor), or some other saint. It may be a group of figures, a picture of a scriptural or ecclesiastical incident, or the representation of an abstruse theological idea. Miracles, Martyrdoms, Councils of the Church, are drawn by the icon-painter's brush. An icon may even represent the veneration of another icon by some eminent prelate.

The icon-painter did not profess, with possibly some very rare exceptions, to be making a portrait, though the general aspect of a saint will be the same on every icon of him. Nor, in the great days of icon-painting, was realistic truth to nature conceived as an aim. The painter did not produce the illusion of depth, perspective was often reversed, and the niceties of anatomical knowledge ignored. Realism came in with the decadence of the art of icon-painting.

The men who made the icons in the great days of Byzantium and at the zenith of Russian icon-painting in fifteenth-century Novgorod were doing two things. They were decorating a flat surface and they were seeking to convey in line and colour an aspect of divine truth. At their best they achieved both those purposes supremely well.

They painted within the framework of rules about the way that this or that person should be represented, which belonged to the very core of the tradition of icon-painting. Such rules, often concerned with a surprising degree of detail, were embodied in manuals of instruction which circulated among the workshops.

Hence the immediate impression that the numberless icons of any particular subject are "all alike". But it is possible to exaggerate this similarity and to over-rate the influence of the manuals. The great examples of icon-painting reveal

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

778 the fact that the rules left room for the expression of individual inspiration and the exercise of creative power, as the painter
•532 set about his task of adorning a given surface with a vision of divine truth.

As the icons vary in their subject matter, so they vary also in their artistic merit. Some are supreme works of art, many are of great beauty, superb in their composition, rhythm of line and glowing colour. Many others have little aesthetic value, and the icon may even degenerate into a cheap oleograph stuck on a piece of wood.

778 But the veneration in which they are held is independent of these considerations. Some measure of it may be found in
782 the ubiquity of icons in an Orthodox country. They are not only in churches, but also in public buildings of all kinds, in private houses and shops. There is a recognized position for the icon in a room, and the visitor will salute it on entering, just as he greets his host. Schools, regiments, clubs and the like will adopt their own icons. The devout will carry an icon with them when they travel, and have it before them when they say their prayers. Well-to-do people may accumulate their family icons from generation to generation. The first thing the Orthodox worshipper does on entering his church is to salute the icons, or, at least, such of them as may claim his particular devotion. He bows before them, crosses himself, says a prayer, kisses the icon, and perhaps sets a lighted candle before it in the stand provided for the purpose. He then moves away to wherever he wishes to stand for the service if there is one, or to leave the church and go about his business.

000 Plainly we are here in a realm which readily lends itself to capture by popular religion. Popular religion, whatever the field in which it expresses itself, the use of the Bible, the singing of subjective and emotional hymns, the veneration of icons, or anything else, may easily use the thing it has captured, in a way which others call superstition, and which may indeed be such.

But before the Westerner draws hasty general conclusions about the Orthodox practice before the icons, he should reflect that the Orthodox approaches the icon with premises in his mind which he himself probably does not share.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

829 a nostalgic halo. It was no doubt the manifestation of Russian spiritual life which was responsible for the wildest craze in [535] France. At the beginning of this century, Serge Daghilev's ballets had a pronounced effect, not only on choreography, but • [533] also on the decorative arts. Music and the dance were, for a decade or two, the messengers of Russian civilisation which met with the best reception. This means that they reached only an *élite*. Naturally, this is not the place to trace the history of the penetration of the Russian genius into France; we can only note those of its revelations in which, according to current opinion, a specifically Slavonic character could be recognised.

As for the political manifestations, they awakened more curiosity than understanding. The visit of the Russian sovereigns to Paris in 1896 aroused the enthusiasm of a crowd which seems to have seen mainly its exotic aspect. Amusing as it may seem, moreover, what little popularity Imperial Russia enjoyed in France was due to Jules Verne's novel, *Michel Strogoff*. An anthology could be made of the works of pure imagination which have moulded the images under which nations see each other. (*Carmen*, for instance, still sums up all that many French people know of Spain.) The figure which, to the Russians, has long represented the average Frenchman, is borrowed from the younger Dumas and from . . . Paul de Kock, whose novels enjoyed, in Russia, a vogue we have never suspected.

186* Of the other Slav countries—except Poland, the cult of which was kept alive by romanticism and sacred eloquence—we knew practically nothing. It is in the *Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux* that we find particulars of the two dynasties which disputed the throne in Serbia—just as though these were events taking place in the Antipodes! It was not only the political scene that Russia monopolised; her spiritual brilliance threw into the shade the other Slavonic peoples, whose aspirations—whose very existence even—were revealed to the average Frenchman by the 1914–1918 War. These peoples occupied an as yet unexplored suburb of Europe. To which of them did the famous 'Slavonic charm', discussed in French society, refer? Most certainly, not to the hard-working, rather reserved Czechs, nor to the Bulgars, distrustful and positive. Perhaps to a certain section of Polish society—but, more probably, to refugees who had long since lost all contact with their native soil.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 814 In Russia, this same year 1942 saw an unprecedented output of works on Slavonic history and philology. Nicolas Derjavin studied Slavonic palæology, Russo-Bulgarian intellectual relations, the origin and history of the Slavs up to the eleventh century. The literature and history of the Slavonic nations were included in the syllabus of the High Schools; a chair of Slavonic Philology was created in the University of Leningrad; in May, 1942 the chair of Slavistic in the University of Moscow became a 'centre of studies in the history of the Slavonic peoples and of their role in intellectual evolution and in progress'.

186 608 829 The Ethnographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences undertook a huge investigation into the origin of the Slavonic settlements. A Tass Agency communication of July 4, 1943, announced the first results of this inquiry; the Slavs were aboriginals, not invaders. Professor Gudaltov proved that they descended from tribes settled between the Elbe and the Vistula. He pointed out the direct relationship between the Scythians of the Dnieper and the Polanes who played a decisive role in the formation of the State of Kiev.

186 533 536 Literature, the theatre, the arts, vied with each other in contributing to this revival of Slavonic spiritual life. An exhibition of the theatrical art of the Slavonic nations was held in Moscow in July, 1942. Chebalin's *Slavonic Quartet* obtained the Stalin Prize in 1943. The Musicians' Congress, which met in Moscow in January, 1943, praised Victor Belyi's 'Slavonic Suite' (Hymn of Anger, Serbian Guerrilla, To Arms!), the libretto of which, borrowed from Serbian folklore literature, is the work of the Montenegrin poet, Radoul Stiyensky.

186* 575 668 But the essential task remained a political one. Five committees were formed, for liaison with sympathisers in the allied countries—Panslav Committee, Youth Committee, Committee of Savants, Feminine Committee, Jewish Committee. The Panslav Committee launched message after message to oppressed Slavs, insurgent Slavs, Slavs in exile. They received from the Yugoslav Vetché—a political organisation struggling with Tito for independence—a telegram thanking them for their assistance with a view to the establishment of a 'Democratic Yugoslavia, federal and equal in rights', which concluded as follows: 'Long live the fraternal solidarity of all the Slavs in the struggle against German Fascism!'

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* eign works translated in his reign were mostly technical hand-
643 books. He insisted on Western European costume, not from
177 any aesthetic consideration, but because it was more practical and more comfortable to work in than the old Muscovite kaftan with its long sleeves. To prosecute his ends, he was obliged to create a bureaucracy whom he recruited from all strata of society, having little regard for origins if they were intelligent and efficient. Russian culture in Peter's day consisted of the tsar and his pathetically small group of specialists working at killing speed and pressure to overcome the national inertia.

484 But Peter abolished previous restrictions on foreign travel,
175* and young aristocrats were sent abroad to study and to learn
643 how the Europeans actually lived. The tsar traveled in foreign
177 countries himself. Foreign specialists entered the Russian service in unparalleled numbers. His reign brought to light no liberal tendencies, however, since the nobility absorbed the new bureaucracy and strengthened its hold on the national substance. Yet the channel was opened for a new complex of ideas. Peter forced his subjects to go abroad to study engineering and anatomy, and they observed humanity and the mechanism of states. Unsuccessful attempts to limit the absolute power of the throne were made immediately after Peter's death in 1725.

175* New notions of the amenities of social intercourse and of the
177 pleasures offered by arts, music, the dance, and literature were
●535 added to Peter's more materialistic innovations when his
536 daughter Elizabeth came to the throne in 1741, with the result that French civilization acquired a dominance in Russian intellectual life which it began to lose only at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The origins of the Russian ballet go back to 1735, in the reign of Elizabeth's cousin Anna, who also introduced Italian opera, but the French theater reached St. Petersburg in Elizabeth's reign, which also witnessed the beginnings of the native Russian drama composed in the French pseudoclassic vein of Corneille, Racine, and Molière.

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829 a nostalgic halo. It was no doubt the manifestation of Russian spiritual life which was responsible for the wildest craze in [535] France. At the beginning of this century, Serge Daghilev's ballets had a pronounced effect, not only on choreography, but [533] also on the decorative arts. Music and the dance were, for a decade or two, the messengers of Russian civilisation which met with the best reception. This means that they reached only an *élite*. Naturally, this is not the place to trace the history of the penetration of the Russian genius into France; we can only note those of its revelations in which, according to current opinion, a specifically Slavonic character could be recognised.

As for the political manifestations, they awakened more curiosity than understanding. The visit of the Russian sovereigns to Paris in 1896 aroused the enthusiasm of a crowd which seems to have seen mainly its exotic aspect. Amusing as it may seem, moreover, what little popularity Imperial Russia enjoyed in France was due to Jules Verne's novel, *Michel Strogoff*. An anthology could be made of the works of pure imagination which have moulded the images under which nations see each other. (*Carmen*, for instance, still sums up all that many French people know of Spain.) The figure which, to the Russians, has long represented the average Frenchman, is borrowed from the younger Dumas and from . . . Paul de Kock, whose novels enjoyed, in Russia, a vogue we have never suspected.

186* Of the other Slav countries—except Poland, the cult of which was kept alive by romanticism and sacred eloquence—we knew practically nothing. It is in the *Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux* that we find particulars of the two dynasties which disputed the throne in Serbia—just as though these were events taking place in the Antipodes! It was not only the political scene that Russia monopolised; her spiritual brilliance threw into the shade the other Slavonic peoples, whose aspirations—whose very existence even—were revealed to the average Frenchman by the 1914–1918 War. These peoples occupied an as yet unexplored suburb of Europe. To which of them did the famous 'Slavonic charm', discussed in French society, refer? Most certainly, not to the hard-working, rather reserved Czechs, nor to the Bulgars, distrustful and positive. Perhaps to a certain section of Polish society—but, more probably, to refugees who had long since lost all contact with their native soil.

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175* eign works translated in his reign were mostly technical hand-
643 books. He insisted on Western European costume, not from
177 any aesthetic consideration, but because it was more practical and more comfortable to work in than the old Muscovite kaftan with its long sleeves. To prosecute his ends, he was obliged to create a bureaucracy whom he recruited from all strata of society, having little regard for origins if they were intelligent and efficient. Russian culture in Peter's day consisted of the tsar and his pathetically small group of specialists working at killing speed and pressure to overcome the national inertia.

484 But Peter abolished previous restrictions on foreign travel,
175* and young aristocrats were sent abroad to study and to learn
643 how the Europeans actually lived. The tsar traveled in foreign
177 countries himself. Foreign specialists entered the Russian service in unparalleled numbers. His reign brought to light no liberal tendencies, however, since the nobility absorbed the new bureaucracy and strengthened its hold on the national substance. Yet the channel was opened for a new complex of ideas. Peter forced his subjects to go abroad to study engineering and anatomy, and they observed humanity and the mechanism of states. Unsuccessful attempts to limit the absolute power of the throne were made immediately after Peter's death in 1725.

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186* 814 In Russia, this same year 1942 saw an unprecedented output of works on Slavonic history and philology. Nicolas Derjavin studied Slavonic palæology, Russo-Bulgarian intellectual relations, the origin and history of the Slavs up to the eleventh century. The literature and history of the Slavonic nations were included in the syllabus of the High Schools; a chair of Slavonic Philology was created in the University of Leningrad; in May, 1942 the chair of Slavistic in the University of Moscow became a 'centre of studies in the history of the Slavonic peoples and of their role in intellectual evolution and in progress'.

186 608 829 The Ethnographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences undertook a huge investigation into the origin of the Slavonic settlements. A Tass Agency communication of July 4, 1943, announced the first results of this inquiry; the Slavs were aboriginals, not invaders. Professor Gudaltov proved that they descended from tribes settled between the Elbe and the Vistula. He pointed out the direct relationship between the Scythians of the Dnieper and the Polanes who played a decisive role in the formation of the State of Kiev.

186 533 536 Literature, the theatre, the arts, vied with each other in contributing to this revival of Slavonic spiritual life. An exhibition of the theatrical art of the Slavonic nations was held in Moscow in July, 1942. Chebalin's *Slavonic Quartet* obtained the Stalin Prize in 1943. The Musicians' Congress, which met in Moscow in January, 1943, praised Victor Belyi's 'Slavonic Suite' (Hymn of Anger, Serbian Guerrilla, To Arms!), the libretto of which, borrowed from Serbian folklore literature, is the work of the Montenegrin poet, Radoul Stiyensky.

186* 575 668 But the essential task remained a political one. Five committees were formed, for liaison with sympathisers in the allied countries—Panslav Committee, Youth Committee, Committee of Savants, Feminine Committee, Jewish Committee. The Panslav Committee launched message after message to oppressed Slavs, insurgent Slavs, Slavs in exile. They received from the Yugoslav Vetché—a political organisation struggling with Tito for independence—a telegram thanking them for their assistance with a view to the establishment of a 'Democratic Yugoslavia, federal and equal in rights', which concluded as follows: 'Long live the fraternal solidarity of all the Slavs in the struggle against German Fascism!'

S.P. T.R. 578 186 centuries. However, formerly the conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, did not exist in its present day sense. On the contrary, the two parts had a sense of kinship, or even of unity, as may be seen in an examination of the motives for which Bohdan Khmelnitskyj gave himself to Moscow and to Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (in 1653), after detaching the Ukraine from Poland.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 The conflict[1] between the two Russian nations did not in fact break out until the Nineteenth Century.

Its basic causes were:

1. The efforts of the Ukrainians to create or to revive a language and a literature of their own.

2. A whole series of scientific discussions upon the question as to what were the connections between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, especially from a linguistic and an anthropological viewpoint.

Finally and above all:

3. The actual political and social status of the Ukrainians in the Empire and the general development in these latter years of social and democratic ideas.

/53/ Thus today the conflict is moving more and more from the literary and scientific field into the political field.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 538 The conflict began in 1798, when J.P. Kotljarevs'kji published in Ukrainian his Aeneid. From that date on there has been a great effort to create an indigenous literature. But these tendencies were quickly opposed by the government, which feared that this literary separatism might be prejudicial to national unity. And upon various occasions, especially in 1847, 1863, and 1876, it was forbidden to print or publish, save for a few rare exceptions, books in Ukrainian. But the result of these prohibitions was completely opposite from that which was intended. The tendencies toward literary emancipation asserted themselves so much the more strongly as they were more rigorousl suppressed, and they found favorable soil in eastern Galicia, which belongs, as we know, to Austria.

S.P. T.R. 197 314 329 On the other hand, the conflict[1], strengthened by the scientific discussions concerning the ties between the two nations, became aggravated. There were arguments about the antiquity of the Ukrainian idiom, especially in the Kiyev region, about the question of

[1] [Between Great Russians and Ukrainians, et. al. 116, pp. 35-37. Ed.]

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175* thodius became abbot of the monastery of Polychron, in the vicinity of Mount Olympus.

175* 212 The two brothers were recalled from their retirement by Michael III when Rostislav's mission asked for Slavic-speaking priests. Constantine in particular had demonstrated considerable linguistic talent on his mission to Khazaria, where he had learned Hebrew, and it is certain that both brothers spoke the Bulgarian dialect which prevailed in the environs of their native city. Upon accepting the mission, and before proceeding to Moravia, Constantine invented a Slavic alphabet, and translated into the Slavic dialect he knew a selection of passages from the Gospels. [779]

[538] This translation is the beginning of all Slavic literature, but the nature of the alphabet invented by Constantine is questionable. We have, as it happens, two early Slavic alphabets, the so-called Glagolitic, somewhat enigmatic in origin, and the Cyrillic, which is a combination of the Greek and Latin alphabets with some additions for specifically Slavic sounds. This latter is the ancestor of the modern Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian scripts. On account of the difficulty of the Glagolitic, it was later supplanted in Bulgaria by the Cyrillic, which is relatively close to the Greek. On purely psychological grounds, but in utter disagreement with many much more authoritative teachers and colleagues, I believe that the priority belongs to Cyrillic, since Constantine would (I assume), if only for reasons of convenience, have used an alphabet as close as possible to the one with which he was most familiar. Then later in Moravia, when he found that the German clergy viewed with suspicion and hostility everything Greek, I believe that he devised the tricky and crabbed Glagolitic, which does not resemble Greek script at all, to disarm his opponents.

175* 797 796 795 Accompanied by a few Greek priests who also knew Slavic, Constantine and Methodius arrived in Moravia during the spring of 863. They were well received by Prince Rostislav,

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175* 795 fortunes, not only threw off even the vestiges of a Byzantine protectorate but also extended its domain far into Serbia. During this interval Clement's activity greatly expanded. He founded the great monastery of Saint Panteleimon at Okhrida, and on Simeon's accession he was consecrated a bishop. The legacy of Constantine and Methodius was thus preserved in all its wealth, to the great advantage of Bulgaria, which thus became a purely Slavic country with an autonomous church. Simeon was accordingly able to realize his father's ambition of proclaiming a Bulgarian patriarchate.

175* 795 538 779 Obviously the roots of the culture disseminated by the Bulgarian church, however nationalistic, were essentially Byzantine. Though a Slav by birth, Clement himself had been trained by Greek masters, and Simeon too was culturally so Hellenized as to be nicknamed the "half-Greek." Hence the literary productions of the Macedonian schools founded by Clement and his associates were, if not mere translations, usually slavish imitations of Greek texts. Simeon himself composed an anthology of texts compiled from Greek theologians. Though the influence of Byzantine letters during this epoch was limited to the theological and the liturgical sphere, it is of relatively enormous significance that at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth the Old Bulgarian language was being adopted for literary purposes under Greek influence, and that a large body of Slavic-speaking priests was being created who were capable of transmitting at least the ecclesiastical [797] aspects of Greek culture in their own tongue. The mission of Constantine and Methodius thus bore fruit, not on the ground they themselves sowed, but on territory closer to Byzantium, so that the results of what their disciples accomplished in Bulgaria could be easily drawn upon seventy-five years later when a much more extensive field was opened with the conversion of the south Russian principality of Kiev.

175* 795 797 At the same time, the Slavic liturgy which had been proscribed in Moravia was also transmitted through Pannonia into Croatia, but in general the popes saw no reason to use it

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871 study. It is therefore unlikely that Vladimir had before him
175* any models calculated to inspire the establishment of schools in the modern or even the medieval sense of the word, but rather that he employed the priests sent from Byzantium as private teachers for the younger members of prominent families connected with his court.

871 At any rate, extant literary monuments dating from the last half of the eleventh century give evidence of an expanding
*538 nucleus of culture in Kiev itself which is the direct result of
175* Vladimir's concern for education. It was hardly to be expected
779 that a tremendous outburst of literary energy would ensue as soon as the seeds of learning were sown among a younger generation sprung from illiterate Varangian and Slavic sires, but the readiness with which Byzantine hagiographical and annalistic models were assimilated and imitated even before 1100 indicates an extensive interest in reading among circles brought up in a tradition of culture to the founding of which Vladimir contributed. That the basis of this culture was mere literacy—the ability to read the Psalms, the Gospels, and such Byzantine religious or historical compilations as had been translated into old Bulgarian in the days of Boris and Simeon—by no means lessens the importance of Vladimir's zeal for intellectual progress.

175* To Vladimir also belongs the credit for initiating the con-
346 struction program which within the next century transformed
[361] Kiev into one of the most impressive medieval cities. The crowning structural exploit of Vladimir's reign was thus a stone church of the Virgin, begun in 989, for the erection and decoration of which he imported artisans from Greece. It was completed and consecrated in 996. At its dedication Vladimir endowed it with a tithe of his property and income, from which donation is derived its customary name, The Church of the Tithe, or *Desiatinnaia*. Originally a basilica, it was reconstructed with five cupolas after a fire in 1017, and collapsed under the weight of a crowd of refugees when the Tartars took

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younger state in a volume which might have served as a firm basis for the development of a characteristic native culture. The Russians before the Tartar invasion were always pupils; they originated very little that was independent of Byzantine models either in literature or in art.

In art, however, this imitation was productive and created an architectural and a decorative tradition which lasted down into modern times. By the date of Vladimir's conversion, the basilica as a type of church architecture in Byzantium had been largely replaced by the cruciform church with one or with five cupolas. This was the type transmitted to Russia and still worthily represented by the great medieval churches of Kiev, Novgorod, Vladimir and even Moscow, though in the metropolis the more exotic forms and the onion-shaped dome derived from wooden architecture prevail. The highly conventionalized art of the icon dominated Russian painting until Western influences began to seep in during the seventeenth century, but this tradition was still vital enough before the first World War to influence the art of nineteenth-century religious and historical painters. For where the Byzantine tradition had taken firm root, the aesthetic appeal was long-lived and enduring.

In literature, along with lapidary works of religious implication, the Russian national spirit began to manifest itself in historical compilations during the eleventh century, and literary reflexes of folk poetry had already appeared before the Tartar conquest. But a truly national literature stems from a long educative process, and this process was interrupted in medieval Russia both by domestic politics and by nomadic inroads.

Where domestic disorders merely retarded the intellectual advance of medieval Russia, the Tartar incursion brought it to a full stop. It has already been noticed what material impoverishment it had caused. But the Tartar domination was a far more serious factor in the deterioration of cultural and spiritual values. The church, to be sure, was treated with tolerance by the Tartars because it preached submission to

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Russian poets with more form than talent now began to celebrate official occasions and generous donors with ponderous odes. Handbooks of French pseudoclassic literary theory, like Boileau's *Art Poétique*, were translated and annotated. The Academy of Sciences, founded by Peter's widow in 1725, included not only imported German luminaries, but the first Russian natural scientist Michael Lomonosov, sometimes characterized as the Russian Franklin, but whom, on account of the universality of his talent, Pushkin, greatest of Russian poets, called "Russia's first university." He is also notable as the first proletarian in secular Russian letters, for he started his career as a poor fisherman's son far north on the White Sea. The first modern Russian history was composed during the reigns of Anna and Elizabeth by Basil Tatishchev, a former collaborator of Peter the Great. The purely intellectual progress in the thirty years after Peter's death was thus considerable, even though (with rare exceptions) it was confined to the aristocracy.

It is a matter of record that when Catherine II came to the throne in 1762 she was already familiar with the theories of the eighteenth-century French political philosophers and would have welcomed an opportunity to apply them. But her position had been won wholly by the aid of the landed gentry and the aristocratic guard regiments, who were unlikely to surrender any of their prerogatives or to consent to any mitigation of the institution of serfdom on which their economic existence was based. The great empress thus contributed little to social progress, and her educational innovations remained for the most part on paper. Yet through her interest in the satirical journal and in the drama, she stimulated the progress of Russian letters even if her social initiatives were weak. In that field others carried the torch. A Russian customs official, Alexander Radishchev, who had studied at Leipzig and digested the liberal philosophy of the day, in 1780 fired the opening gun against serfdom, and though the exploit sent him to Siberia, its echoes did not die away until the institution was abolished. At the same time, the spirit of social service inspired

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pean campaigns were inoculated with the republican ideas disseminated by the French revolution. Essentially patriotic, they were eager to apply these ideals to their own country, to abolish the autocracy, promote republican government, raise the standard of education, and do away with the abuses of serfdom They continued with greater energy, though often with little judgment, the task begun by Radishchev.

Here the Russian revolutionary movement begins among an enlightened fraction of the ruling class. Great writers like Pushkin and Lermontov, each after brief romantic digressions, grew up to treat the seamy side of reality, both in the tragedy of the humble who are scarcely considered human by those they serve, or the misfortune of the gifted individual denied a chance at productive activity by the contemporary organization of society. Both these talents were suspected and harassed by the autocracy, and though each met his death in a duel, they were as truly victims of official conservatism as those young enthusiasts who had participated in the Decembrist conspiracy in 1825 after the death of Alexander I, and paid for it on the scaffold or amid the snows of Siberia. But from 1825 the cleavage between the government and the thoughtful section of society, once opened, was never bridged again.

This mutual hostility first became acute during the reign of Nicholas I from 1825 to the Crimean War. The Decembrist conspiracy had revealed that the turn to the right by Alexander I after 1815 had created great bitterness. The same judicial and administrative abuses that marred Catherine's reign were still rampant, state finances were disordered, and the peasants were rudely exploited. Nicholas at first had some notion of reform, but his suspicion of extragovernmental initiative was such that he hesitated to take any concrete step. The most pressing problem was serfdom: the landlords were heavily in debt and short of capital to provide employment for a rapidly increasing peasant population. Peasant disorders were menacingly frequent, but only in the western Ukraine and in Poland were reforms introduced. Educational institutions were fettered and

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pictures of the decaying landed gentry. Goncharov composed 538
the classic of Russian imagination paralyzed by inertia. Tolstoi 829
studied the peasant problem, painted the first twenty years of the century on the magnificent canvas of his *War and Peace,* and returned to contemporary agrarian and urban problems with *Anna Karenina.* Dostoevski, after poignantly describing the bitter life of the humble in *Poor People,* acquired still deeper sympathy in his exile, and having expounded his doctrine of atonement through suffering in *Crime and Punishment,* attacked the radicals in *The Possessed,* and revealed the whole scope of his psychological penetration and the breadth of his religious philosophy in *The Brothers Karamazov.* With other authors of scarcely less merit describing contemporary life, these three decades constitute an outburst of brilliance unequaled in any world literature. Russian verse of the period was no less meritorious, and even Russian painters chose subjects which reflected the contemporary state of mind.

While the aims of political and social thinkers expanded, 668
the tempo of the reforms gradually slowed down with danger- 175*
ous results. Active revolutionary groups had begun to take shape even in the heyday of reform, and strove for rapid democratization in the public interest. Even in the fifties, literature had ceased to be an exclusive perquisite of the aristocracy and was professionally practiced by many young men from the new middle class who were impatient at the slowness of change. Some of the young radicals made unfruitful efforts to form a community of interest with the peasantry. Others attempted to force the hand of the government by acts of violence. Marxist socialism became known in Russia during the seventies and, while it supplied the young radicals with a more aggressive program, it suggested a transfer of their missionary efforts from the peasants to the urban industrial workers who were expanding in numbers with the progressive industrialization of the country.

The rising tide of radicalism stimulated repressive measures 175*
by the government, which gradually lost much of the sympathy 656
668

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which it had previously enjoyed in more moderate spheres, and even rejected loyal proposals for conservative reforms advanced in order to discourage the repeated outrages of the terrorists. In 1880 the situation came to a head with an explosion in the Winter Palace itself at St. Petersburg in which the whole imperial family narrowly escaped a violent death. Alexander II then called liberal statesmen who enjoyed the public confidence to work out a series of innovations which, though not aiming at a constitution, were at least conciliatory and progressive. These reforms were viewed with apprehension by the radicals, who not only feared to lose their public but also believed (mistakenly, as it proved) that the elimination of the tsar would be the prelude to a great popular uprising. They thus assassinated Alexander II on March 13, 1881.

The results were devastating. Moderate opinion was profoundly shocked, the government relapsed into a reactionary policy which endured until 1917, only briefly interrupted by the revolution of 1905. Political freedom and even political thought were discouraged, and many conscientious liberals were reduced to disillusion and despair by the bitter conviction that progress was impossible. The situation was not helped by the economic crisis of the eighties which followed an inflationary period of hasty industrial overexpansion.

This disillusion is most clearly reflected in the dramas of Chekhov, those twilight pictures of a class which vegetates without hope of change, without faith in its capacity to influence events. To this situation the accession of Nicholas II in 1894 brought no cure; since he was largely surrounded by ministers who deprecated even local self-government as only a step toward constitutionalism. But beneath the surface a new spirit was about to break ground. Some of the younger generation could no longer accept the resignation which Chekhov's characters practiced. For them, failure, however tragic, was not an everlasting stop-signal. Marxism gave them a program and a method. It warned them not to expect salvation from the middle class, and preached the virtues and strength of the so

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far silent but ambitious proletariat. The lower strata of society were no longer looking for sympathy. They wanted power, and if properly led would break down all barriers to its attainment. The voice of the grumbling dispossessed first sounded clearly in Russian literature through Maxim Gorki's early stories, which began to appear in 1892. The best example of the young intellectual who discovered saving graces in Marxism was Lenin. He began to study Marx's *Capital* in 1888, organized a group of Marxists at Kuibyshev (Samara) in 1893, and was a social-democratic propagandist in St. Petersburg the next year. The emergence of Marxism as an active political and economic system in Russia dates from this period.

The rise of the Social Democratic party and the foundation of the more activist section known as the Bolsheviki (the maximalists) headed by Lenin himself preceded the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war by barely one year. At the same time, another radical party, the Social Revolutionaries, revived the tradition of terrorism as practiced before the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. The government pursued a policy of repression even when the necessity of prosecuting a war for which the nation was totally unprepared might well have dictated a more conciliatory attitude. Profound resentment now mastered not only the middle class but the urban proletariat, and though the police resorted to desperate provocatory acts in order to discredit the agitators, a united front against the government was rapidly forming. When open revolution broke out early in 1905, neither the middle-class liberals nor the radical Marxist groups possessed an organization equal to organizing and directing a mass movement. As a result, after the government made various constitutional concessions and the extremists showed every sign of fighting to a finish, the moderate groups gravitated away from the revolutionary idea, leaving the Marxist leaders and the workers isolated. With the urban middle class again passive, the government speedily recovered its sangfroid and applied repressive measures of forbidding severity which were far from supplying any basis for

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reconciliation with society. The new parliament was never allowed to function efficiently, and excessive parcellation of parties within it also prevented the formation of a workable united front against the government, though the fundamental tone was one of hostility.

The first World War began in this atmosphere of mutual distrust between government and society, and only a brief interval of patriotic *entente cordiale* intervened before official incompetence as revealed by repeated military defeats once more opened the breach, which was further widened by a complete collapse of transportation and economic life. General resentment was intensified by evidence of a total lack of comprehension of the situation by the tsar and his advisers, and culminated in the events of March, 1917, by which the tsar was forced to abdicate and a democratic regime was set up. The vacillations of successive moderate provisional governments played into the hands of the Bolshevik leaders, who could always bank on the support of the urban factory workers and certain sections of the army, and on November 7 they were masters of Petrograd. The subsequent fortunes of the Soviets are so close to our own times as to be matters of common knowledge.

The chasm which existed between government and society between 1894 and the first World War did not prevent simultaneous developments in Russian intellectual life. In spite of government surveillance and occasional restriction of educational facilities, a highly educated and talented middle class had evolved in Russia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Though literature declined in some degree after the death of Dostoevski, Tolstoi lived on to combine moral philosophy and creative letters until 1910. Chekhov's later plays expressed his own prevision that an epoch was about to end. A younger generation of prose writers revived traditional Russian realism in a more individualistic spirit without regard to the political and social aims that had inspired their predecessors. In poetry, symbolism sought to penetrate and express deeper

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most natural state is a state inhabited by a single nation with a single national character." This principle provoked a grateful echo in the minds of several outstanding Bohemian scholars and patriots. An ex-Jesuit, Joseph Dubrovski, the founder of Slavic philology as a discipline, was the first modern Bohemian patriot of nationalistic stamp, and his works gave to the whole Bohemian literary movement a pan-Slavist direction. He condemned Germanization, but not the Germans, and sincerely believed the Slavs destined to become the bearers of a new civilization. Through Dubrovski, the Czechs began to feel themselves a part of the great Slavic community, and expected to find support for their national aspirations in the new conception of a Slavic civilization.

Contemporary with Dubrovski (who died in 1839) was Joseph Jungmann, translator of *Paradise Lost* and of Châteaubriand's *Atala* who, by his compilation of the first Czech dictionary, revealed the wealth of the mother tongue and by his studies in literary history disclosed the richness and diversity of prior Bohemian literature. Dubrovski's work was carried on by the great antiquarian Paul Joseph Šafařík, a Slovak by birth, whose studies of the origins and expansion of the Slavs constitute a brilliant apologia for the Slavic nations. What Šafařík accomplished in the broad field of philology was duplicated in history by his younger Bohemian colleague, Francis Palacký, and these patriotic and scholarly efforts laid the foundations for a renaissance of Bohemian literature and of general Slavic intellectual life. The first models of the new literature were the products of the romantic movement in German letters, but Bohemian authors soon passed on to independent creation, and it was Joseph Kollár who, animated by his contacts at Jena with the literature of Young Germany, composed eloquent sonnets in which he called the scattered Slavs to solidarity and coöperation in the great work which he, as a disciple of Herder, believed was their destiny. In particular, Kollár preached a community of interests with the South Slavs, a principle which, had it been properly appreciated by

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the Austrian authorities, might have had incalculable consequences for the maintenance of their Empire. [538] [814]

The ideals preached by Palacký, who was as great a journalist as he was a historian, were first formulated in political terms just prior to the revolutionary year 1848, which signalized the end of Metternich's regime and the dawn of constitutionalism in Austria. It was thus Palacký who advocated an autonomous Bohemia including all the lands which had formerly belonged to the Bohemian crown, together with as much of Hungary as was populated by Slovaks: the principle, indeed, upon which the Czechoslovak state was subsequently erected. It is significant, moreover, that the German elements in Bohemia were inclined to support the Czechs in their agitation for autonomy. But the federal idea was never realized in Austria-Hungary before the monarchy dissolved in 1918, and Bohemian hopes in this direction were dashed by the Austrian Constitution of 1867, which gave the Hungarians a preferred position, as compared with the Slavs, by establishing the principle of dualism, by making Hungary practically autonomous, and by settling the Magyar domination upon Slovaks and Croats. This loss was to some extent offset by educational concessions to the Czechs, since in the previous twenty years Bohemian national consciousness had consolidated to an extraordinary degree through the increased use of the native language and the improved status of both peasants and the middle class. The romantic emphasis laid by Palacký on the glorious past of Bohemia thus proved an altogether healthy spur to the national ambition. 186 642 631 175*

Though after 1867 there was never any real reconciliation between Prague and Vienna, the material prosperity of Bohemia advanced rapidly in the next fifty years, and the part still played by the German element in Bohemia before the war of 1914 is evidenced by the fact that, though they comprised only 37 per cent of the population, they paid 50 per cent of the taxes. But while the Czechs never lost sight of the federalist ideal, this principle was looked on with disfavor by the Viennese 186 563

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186* 558 of his successor, Cyprien Robert, from Anjou, was scarcely less romantic. After the 1848 rising he was suspected of having left for America, with the followers of Cabet, in search of Icaria. This sufficed to give credence to the idea that Slavology tends to unbalance those who profess it.

186* 814 With Louis Léger, it is true, this science found its equilibrium and its discipline. But under Léger's guidance, Slavonic research tended to centre around Philology, and this orientation seems to have been permanent. The instruction gained in solidity what it lost in breadth; its beneficiaries, necessarily restricted in number, have never succeeded in forming a political team of Slavicisers such as would have given our diplomacy the orientation it lacked at the time of the two great crises of the present century.

Apart from what we may call Germanic interference, the Slavs have done a great deal towards helping to obscure or to emphasise their own characteristic features. What chance was there, in the past, of forming impartial ideas about the Russians from Polish testimony, or vice versa? About the Czechs, from Russian testimony? Or about the Catholic Slavs, from the testimony of the Orthodox? Outside an *élite* of thinkers, poets, scholars, who were the promoters and leading spirits of Slavonic Congresses, there was, between these nations, presumed to be of the same stock, nothing but rivalry, quarrels, and mistrust—piously encouraged, moreover, by their powerful neighbours. Denominational differences were stronger than race-solidarity; the Moujik felt that a Rumanian who made his sign of the cross with three fingers was nearer to him than the Slovak or the Croat who made his with his whole hand, or than the Czech philosopher, persecuted by the Austrian authorities as a 'dangerous Panslavist'.

[177] The inter-penetration of the different sections of Slavonic culture was so little developed that the great Russian poet, Pushkin, was deceived by Mérimée's literary hoax, when the latter published, under the title of *Guzla,* a so-called translation of Dalmatian songs.

186* •538 When Russian literature was revealed to the West, the latter greeted it with a defiant, or perverse, curiosity. *Monstrum invenimus.* French scholars saw in it less a new philosophy of life than an intellectual or sentimental pathology. De Voguë, who introduced the Russian novel into France, warned his readers

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that 'The floating soul of Russia drifts about among all philosophies and errors'. He thought he was speaking as a Cartesian and a Catholic. But he added that this soul was redeemed by charity, humility, and that preoccupation with the universal mystery which haunts Dostoyevsky's heroes. He introduced *The Idiot* as a sort of clinical novel, the reading of which would be more beneficial to doctors and psychiatrists than to scholars. On the contrary, Jules Lemaître maintained that, in the Russian authors, there was nothing we could not find in our own. No doubt his temperament, imbued with the clarity characteristic of Touraine, made him ill-prepared to explore the twilight regions, so attractive to Russian thought. Yet Lemaître was nearer the truth than de Vogüé, in feeling that Russian literature would not impose itself by its 'Dantesque' aspects but by its note of sincerity and by its more faithful rendering of human inconsequence.

But, while awaiting a balanced judgement, which was to come only from the pen of André Gide, the picture of the Russian nation which the French gathered from Dostoievsky's novels was in the form of a fresco of grimacing figures leaning over abysmal depths, and of this picture they retained only the disturbed or less desirable aspects. 'Russia, Sir', says Lebiadkin, one of Dostoievsky's heroes, 'is a freak of nature—nothing more'. The well-read Frenchman's judgement on Russia would have been quite different if our nineteenth century had made contact with that country through the medium of Pushkin instead of through Dostoievsky and Tolstoy. The work of Pushkin, the most national of the Russian poets, would have created heroic, romantic stereotypes, which would have appealed to the popular imagination more than the Nihilist gospel of Tolstoy or the anti-Westernism of Dostoievsky. The 'discovery' of Gorky, translations of whose works were first published by *Humanité Nouvelle* in 1899, emphasised the revolutionary aspect, the reflected glare of incendiarism, through which Russian thought appeared to us; 'right-thinking people', and the conventionalists, followed its intrusion with increasing anxiety; for them, Russian influence or Slav influence meant one and the same thing, the revival, through ideas, of the tendency to 'bogging' under which Asia had submerged medieval Europe.

Russian art, on the other hand, cast around the Eastern world

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Chapter Two

RUSSIA AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE SLAVS, OR THE MYTH OF PANSLAVISM

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IN a Latin treatise, published in 1826 and devoted to the universal Slav language, the Slovak writer, Herkel, uses the expression, 'verus panslavismus'. He was the father of a word which, taken in a political sense, was destined, after 1848, to ring through the world.

If the word was new, what it denoted was old. The notion of Slav solidarity, implying a more or less organic plan for union among Slavs, progressed for three centuries along the paths of philology and literature. It was originated by a poet, the Ragusan Ivan Gondoulich (1588–1638), author of *Osman,* an epic poem in the style of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered.* He formulated the idea of mutual assistance among Slavs, with a view to the redemption of the Turk-oppressed race, by singing the victories of Prince Ladislas, the future Ladislas IV, who routed the infidels on the banks of the Dniestr. It was a hymn of gratitude and hope, offered up by the Catholic Slavs of the Adriatic coasts, and addressed to Poland after her ephemeral successes.

Shortly after Gondoulich, a Catholic priest of Croatia, Youraj Krijanich (1618–1683), spoke in burning accents of the 'Slavonic nation'; his work, a mixture of linguistics, history and politics, bears traces of exalted intellectual and sentimental emotions, influenced perhaps, in a confused way, by memories of Byzantium. In Krijanich is shown, for the first time, a clear consciousness, developed beyond the limits of a poetic formula, of the unity of the Slavonic race. Turning no longer towards Poland, but towards Russia, he had a prophetic conception of that country's rôle as a consolidating factor for Slav energies. [198] Krijanich, a Croat, a Papist and a Russophile, expressed himself in a strange dialect—a mixture of Croatian, Russian, and Paleoslav—in the hope of creating an idiom of intellectual solidarity for use among all Slavs, whom he called 'our people'. The result is that we are uncertain whether to class him with Russian or with Croatian literature. Whereas Gondoulich saw

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no oppressor of the Slavonic race other than the Turk, Krijanich added the German. He was the ancestor of the Russian Slavophiles of the nineteenth century. He was completely out of harmony with his age, which could not understand an argument combining the Slavonic idea with Roman Uniatism. He met the usual fate of a precursor. Having offered his services as Librarian to the Czar Alexis Mikaïlovitch, he obtained from Moscow a mission to reform Russian spelling; the manuscript of this work was recovered at Tver in 1888. But it was not long before he was suspected of being a Papist agent, and was deported to Siberia, in circumstances which have never been cleared up. At Tobolsk he drew up a treatise on 'Politics' which, on the lines of Machiavelli's work, was intended to deduce, from the principles of good and evil, the laws of the art of government. Was Peter the Great acquainted with this treatise, and was he influenced by it? Unfortunately, that is a matter which scholarship has not yet been able to decide. After that we lose trace of Krijanich. A Dutch traveller relates that a monk of that name died under the walls of Vienna, in the ranks of Sobieski's army; such would seem to be the crowning adventure of that strange visionary, promoter of a doctrine which was to be revived two hundred years later by a pleiad of thinkers and scholars and which, freed of its denominational utopianism, will remain the 'credo' of the apostles of Slav solidarity.

After the capture of Azov from the Turks by Peter the Great in 1696, the centre of gravity of Slavonic hopes was fixed in Russia. If we exclude the Polish point of view, it remained there for more than two centuries. The three reigns of Peter the Great, Catherine II, and Alexander I, helped to awaken the Russian national conscience by contact with the Slavs of the Balkans, Austria, and Hungary. This contact set up currents of mutual influence between sister-nations, discovering each other after long centuries of isolation and mutual ignorance. A Serbian Academician, M. Stoyanovich, published a series of testimonies from Serbs who were contemporaries of Peter the Great, from which it appears that, from this time onwards, the Southern Slavs considered Russian successes as their own.

Readers will not be surprised at the omission here of any reference to the 'Will of Peter the Great', which the Chevalier d'Eon, of dubious reputation, was said to have brought from

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part of the Quay d'Orsay. How great was his surprise at not hearing, during his audience, any reference to the Franco-Soviet pact! On the point of taking leave of Laval, he ventured to congratulate the latter on the results of his journey to Moscow. Laval cut in: 'Don't talk of it! I wish I could cut off the hand that signed the pact. Take great care you don't do the same!' 186* 648 829

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But, still more than the Western policy of the Soviets, it was their work of 're-nationalisation' which impressed the Slavonic world. The brilliance with which the commemoration of the death of Pushkin was celebrated, in 1937, was the first manifestation of this 'Russian drive' abroad. No poet was more 'national' than Pushkin, despite his African blood. He re-created three centuries of Russian life in a profusion of dazzling images. He rendered, more expressively than any writer, the escapist fever of the men of his time and the nostalgic tonalities of the steppes of his country. Great Russian Literature begins with him, and one of his compatriots wrote: 'In Pushkin lies our whole patrimony'. The *Izvestia* declared that it was only with Sovietisation that the masses of the people got to know the true figure of the poet and the meaning of his work. This paper heaped scorn alike on the 'vulgar sociologists' who made of him a wild revolutionary, and the 'ignoramuses' who found nothing useful for Socialist culture in his poetry. And the Government had his works translated into all the languages of the Union. 186* 538

The extent of this homage was a prelude to a general policy of rehabilitation of Russian values. In the first Bolshevist ideology, Russia was represented as the nonchalant and sub-lunary being typified by Oblomov, the dressing-gowned hero of a celebrated novel by Gontcharov. Oblomov is a sort of Russian 'Triplepatte',* incapable of taking any decision, and established in the lazy, useless life of a country proprietor. We may say in passing that this picture of the Russian people is not a very true one: it confuses the 'moon-struck' state with inertia. Left [57] to themselves, these people do sometimes lack application, or steadfastness, but if well directed, they are capable of prodigies of energy. For having dared to evoke this classical type, and the mentality to which it has given its name, 'oblomovtchina', Bukharin was accused of having borrowed 'a poisoned arrow

* 'Triplepatte' is the hero of a comedy of the same name, by Tristan Bernard and André Godfernaux. (Trans. note.)

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186* from German Fascism against the nation which has shown the
• 538 world the path of emancipation'.

186* About the same time a Proletárian poet, Damian Biedny,
545 had produced, at the Karmerny Theatre, a comic opera entitled 'The Heroes' (*Bogatyri*), making fun of the heroes of Russian legend. Authority intervened to exclude this piece from the Theatre's repertory, on the grounds that it falsified history and represented as brutes or drunkards characters which in the popular imagination embody the heroic traits of the Russian people. And when he scoffs at the conversion of Russia to Christianity, the author sins no less against historic truth—'for', says the decree forbidding the play, 'that conversion was a definite landmark in the history of the Russian people: it contributed to the *rapprochement* between the Slavonic peoples and those of a higher culture'.

186* It was in the same spirit that the Sóviet scientific authorities
538 celebrated, in 1938, an epic poem which, to Russians, represents something like our *Chanson de Roland*: the *Tale of Igor's Band*, an anonymous account of an episode of the twelfth century, in which the author suggests that Russia perished on account of the quarrels of the princes; in short, it would be the work to reflect the first breath of national unity, had not modern scholars (and particularly M. André Mazon) sound reasons for suspecting its authenticity.

186* So, on the eve of the Second World War, the non-Russian Slavs recovered the picture of Russia as their memories and their sentimental traditions had formed it. Certainly, the Slavonic idea had nowhere been evoked by the Governments as an element in international politics. None of the political instruments drawn up in the period between the two wars takes it into account, or makes any mention of it. But the very precaution that the Governments took to prevent its evocation is sufficient to attest its presence. This presence may be discerned in the constant intimacy of the Czecho-Yugoslav relations, in the Serbo-Bulgarian *rapprochement*, despite the 'Macedonian psychosis', in the unavowed renewal of hopes which, in spite of their borrowings (or by very reason of them) from the dictatorial régimes, the Slavonic nations placed in a Russia whose features they had just rediscovered. Weakened or absent during the constructive, post-war period, the notion of solidarity again rose to the surface of Slav consciences, in proportion as the deepening shadow of a fresh tragedy spread over Europe.

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fessor P. N. Sakulin[6] "to the conservation of serfdom and of forms of life tied with it. Besides, Uvarov realized very well this spiritual relationship between serfdom and absolutism, and he definitely expressed the view that autocracy and serfdom, having the same historical source, must have the same historical fate." When the Chaadaev scandal exploded, Count Benckendorff, head of the Russian police and the closest collaborator of Nicholas I, expressed the following opinion: *"Le passé de la Russie a été admirable; son présent est plus que magnifique; quant à son avenir il est au delà de tout ce que l'imagination la plus hardie se peut figurer."*[7]

The establishment of this ideology was not confined merely to official interviews, proclamations, and manifestos. The government had in its hands powerful means with which to imprison the thought of the country within its official ideology. The most efficient weapon was censorship and interdiction of foreign travel. The aim was not only to impose respect for the "three whales" of that ideology but also to eliminate any disaggregating Western influence. I need not mention the fact that in the eyes of the representatives of the *ofitsial'naya narodnost'* the West was considered a source of all kinds of mischievous and dangerous ideas. Strong echos of slogans launched by the official ideology often resounded in the writings of people who from a certain point of view might be considered independent. The most striking example is to be found in the works of a man who, by the way, was one of the closest friends of the Russian Slavophils—I have in mind Nicholas Gogol.

One remembers certainly Chichikov's troika "flying like a whirlwind" on the last pages of the first volume of *Dead Souls*, and one recalls perhaps that the writer compares that troika to a Russia "flying onwards like a spirited troika that nothing can overtake." "The road is smoking under thee," writes Gogol. "The bridges rumble, everything falls back and is left behind. . . .

[6] *Istoriya Rossii v xix Veke*, Ind. A. I. Granata, vol. II, p. 445.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 445.

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What mysterious force is hidden in this troika, never seen before? . . . Russia, whither fliest thou? Answer! She gives no answer. The ringing of the bells melts into music. The air, torn to shreds, whirs and rushes like the wind, everything there is on earth is flying by, and the other states and nations, with looks askance, make way for her and draw aside." Is it possible to read this astonishing "lyrical digression" without being indeed profoundly amazed, especially when one remembers whom Gogol's troika is carrying—Chichikov, Selifan, and Petrushka? This is the Russia for which "other states and nations" must "make way" and "draw aside!" From this point of view Gogol's passage is very characteristic and representative not only as far as the official ideology is concerned, but also the Slavophil. One cannot without amazement see cultivated Muscovite Slavophils like the brothers Aksakov, Khomyakov, Samarin, and many others absorbed in their idealization of the primitive Muscovite institutions and in their disdain for Western civilization.

The Russian philosopher, Vladimir Solov'ev, when criticizing this unjustified Russian messianism and pretension to obtain a privileged situation in the world, asked what benefits Russia might be able to secure to the world. Gogol, of course, had no doubts about this. His *Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends* gives a very eloquent answer: only the Russian Church "like a chaste virgin has been preserved since the times of the Apostles" in her original immaculate purity, and this Church, "changing nothing in the state," might give power to Russia and become a leader of other nations because of the inefficiency of the Western Church. The tsar is the image of God on the earth; the organization of the Russian State awaits the same state of grace: "The more one scrutinizes the organization of the administration of the provinces, the more one is amazed by the wisdom of the founders: one feels that God himself was invisibly building with the hands of the monarchs."

It is true that some of Gogol's assertions were too strong even for Slavophils, and his book awoke consternation not only among

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people like Belinsky but even among some of the Slavophils. However, some of their own texts, which I shall quote later, and texts of writers close to them are not less eloquent. This, for instance, is the case with Nadezhdin.

We may find very similar items in a treatise written immediately after the scandal provoked by Chaadaev's famous *Philosophical Letter*. True enough, Nadezhdin wrote his treatise in order to rehabilitate himself after the unfortunate Chaadaev adventure; nevertheless the text remains striking. Here the author stresses particularly the power of Russian unity under the tsar's leadership, Russian health compared to Western disease, and the patience of the Russian people, which brought to their historical development a special character. "Who was the only one who thought and worked exclusively for us? The tsar! When did we write even one line in our history without the order of the tsar? . . . Our history must not be divided into periods of the life of the nation as Europeans divide their history, but into reigns which represent an unbroken stairway of beneficent activity of the tsars and religious humility of the nation. . . . Our spiritual life is not our achievement but the achievement of our wise and protective monarchs. . . . We have populated a space on which there would be room enough for ten and more Europes. Not in vain have we long been separated from the small corner called Europe. Our destiny is not to be the echo of the decrepit dying civilization whose death convulsions we witness, but to develop among ourselves a new, young, powerful, truly Russian civilization which will renew the old Europe." "The tsar is a father and Russians his children." "We are children, and childhood comprises our happiness. Our history has until now been a great poem in which there is only one hero, only one acting character. . . . Remember with religious humility and with noble pride that your existence is concentrated in your holy master. Without him you are only a line of zeros—with that monarchical 'one' these zeros make a billion."[8]

[8] Lemke, *Nikolaevskie Zhandarmy*, quoted by Jan Kucharzewski, *Od Białego Caratu do Czerwonego*, vol. I, Warsaw, 1923, pp. 301-302.

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186* 829 ●538 What is particularly striking is the arrogance of this constant comparison of Muscovite Russia with not only Europeanized Russia, but the whole of Europe. The later Panslavists such as Tyutchev and Dostoevsky will continue to drive in a Gogolian troika. Gogol himself knew Europe and was, I think, very fond of it—especially of Italy. In his *Dead Souls* he showed even a kind of Ukrainian hatred for Muscovite life; yet in his lyrical digressions he sang his peans to the greatness of Russia. There is an element of duplicity and insincerity in this attitude. The same, as I have said, will appear in the case of Tyutchev, for instance, a highly cultivated and profoundly Westernized man. Similar will be the case of Dostoevsky. Both knew the Russian reality, and in spite of that both constantly sought to announce, proclaim, and greet the "coming" of Russia into Europe.

186* 829 Equally characteristic is another fact—that all these Russian nationalists fought with foreign weapons in their hands. This is a trait which appears continually in Russian nationalistic and imperialistic doctrines. Such was the case of the famous doctrine of "Moscow the Third Rome" and also of the Slavophils and their successors the Panslavists. It is well known that all of them were students and pupils of German philosophy—of Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel. They readily accepted and applied to Russia the German teaching that in different periods of history the universal life reaches its culmination now in one nation, now in another. In their opinion the historical moment for Russia's mission was about to arrive. The teachings of Schiller's *German Greatness*, which may be considered a kind of preamble of Fichte's speech to the German nation, could not but impress the Muscovite dreamers. Schiller explained that the greatness of the German nation is based only on its cultural and moral character. The German spirit is the only one for which "holy things exist." This spirit alone communicates with the spirit of the universe, which has elected the German spirit to work at the imperishable task of culture. "The English look only for riches," says Schiller, "the

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slavists if these same Slavophils and Panslavists had no solution for the fate of a Slavic nation which was within Russia? As in our days, Poland was a test case, and without a just solution of the Polish problem there was no possibility of offering any more or less satisfactory solution for the Slavic problem in its entirety. And just here the whole system broke; and sympathy, justice, and harmony were replaced by pure violence. The usurping character of the whole doctrine and its demagogical essence became obvious in the light of precisely this problem. As a matter of fact, the Slavophils had a precursor in this field—and a great one. This man was Pushkin. And unfortunately he may be considered ideologically responsible for the direction taken by Russian political thought toward Russian-Polish relations. The intransigent and even ferocious attitude which Pushkin took at the time of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31 predetermined the attitude of many generations of Russians toward Poland.[12] His anti-Polish and anti-European odes published immediately after the defeat of the Polish Insurrection could not but create an abyss between Russia and Europe. This historical event was especially tragic because of the fact that its creator was the most outstanding and captivating symbol of Russian Europeanism—a Russian who indeed might be considered the Peter the Great of Russia in the field of her spiritual culture. Pushkin refused to see that Russia's annexations in Poland brought her geographically closer to Europe only at the cost of moral separation. In his odes he expressed not only a violent anti-Europeanism and an aggressive imperialism but also traced the lines for broad Panslavistic, Panrussian conceptions. These vociferous odes, belligerent as they were, became a kind of poetical citadel, an arch of triumph under which passed one generation after another of Russian Russificators and persecutors of Poland as well as all Russian Slavophils and Panslavists. These odes became a canon, a national catechism, a kind of lasso thrown by the powerful hand of the great Russian

[12] I cannot enter into details of Pushkin's role in this case. I have devoted a special book to it.—Cf. *Pouchkine et la Pologne*, Paris, 1928.

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186* poet over the heads of Russian politicians, writers, and poets.
668 From this point of view it would be difficult to evaluate the enor-
648 mity of the moral disaster achieved by Pushkin. And, as I men-
●538 tioned before, the fact that it was just the great European Russian who assumed the responsibility for this makes it particularly painful. One has the right to say that had Pushkin taken a different attitude, the fate of Russian-Polish relations and therefore partly of Russian-European relations could have been different. It is possible, however, that my point of view is too idealistic and that I evaluate too highly the importance of poetical texts in the life of nations; nevertheless I am not at all certain that I am wrong. When examining the works of the Russian Slavophils and Panslavists—the Aksakovs, Khomyakov, Samarin, Pogodin, Leont'ev, Katkov, Danilevsky, Dostoevsky, and even Vladimir Solov'ev (whose opinions were in many respects opposite to those of the Slavophils and especially the Panslavists), whose views are so actual for our own day, one sees how completely Pushkin's poems were in accord with the basic tendencies of Russian nationalistic historical and political thought, and particularly with its anti-Polish aspects. As a matter of fact, the sources of the historic, philosophic, and religious inspirations of the Slavophils were quite different; Pushkin had nothing to tell the Slavophils in this sphere. Yet it is sometimes difficult to resist the impression that they had him in mind and that his "anti-Polish trilogy" was a sort of poetical noose cast over Russian political thought, the coils of which bound even the most courageous and the most spirited.[13] It appeared that the Muscovite Slavophil system was unable to find any solution for the Russian-Polish problem which would harmon-
186* ize with the general conception of Slavic unity. The Slavophil
668 systems, both Russian and Polish (to which I shall come later),
648 failed to produce anything positive and creative: the Russo-Polish
829 antagonism in these systems could be dissipated only at the expense of either Russia or Poland; there was no other alternative. This applies especially to the Russian side—to Aksakov, who in

[13] Cf. my article "Poland and the Slavophil Idea," as mentioned above.

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dilection for the Ivans of Moscow and hatred for Peter the Great were not justifiable. As far as the territorial expansion of Russia is concerned, the Russia of the Petersburgian period did not acquire or "liberate" fewer nations and lands than the tsars of Moscow.[30]

177 53 538

Besides, for every unprejudiced historian one thing is quite clear—that the universal achievements of Russia in the field of spiritual culture were genuinely connected with her collaboration with Western Europe. The Russian national genius was silent or inarticulate for centuries, and only when the magic wand of the West touched the Russian soul did the voice of Avvakum become the melody of Pushkin's poetry. How can we imagine all the great accomplishments of Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Tschaikowsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov—in other words the Russian culture of the nineteenth century—without Europe and her inspiration? This point of view has been strongly stressed on many occasions by Russians themselves, first of all by Vladimir Solov'ev.

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From the moral point of view the ideology of Danilevsky is essentially immoral. Where messianistic arguments are adduced in support love changes quickly and easily into hatred. Danilevsky pays some official tribute to the slogans of "brotherhood" and "Slavic reciprocity" brought to the fore by the first Russian and non-Russian Slavophils. But the essence of his doctrine is pure national selfishness. "Life and theory," says Solov'ev, "somehow very easily and unnoticeably replace the just and human formula of the national idea by the formula of violence and national murder. Not by any means do all the advocates of this idea directly preach subdual and destruction of foreign nations; but there exist roundabout means, softer in appearance although just as murderous in spirit. 'Our nation, by its historical march and by the natural succession of national culture, replaces all other nations who have passed away and are passing away.' This 'replacement' also is not without a cruel, bloody struggle and various national murders, but the final result is attained as if by itself. Such a

[30] This point, by the way, was stressed by Pypin and by Sumner.

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(cf. *ibid.*) However, as early as June 26, 1864, Tyutchev wrote 186* to his sister: "I of course am not one of those who in their gloomy 648 patriotism would like to doom Russia to permanent solitude, isolate and seclude her forever. I admit agreements, but on the condition that they be only *accidental* and that, accepting them, they never forget the truth-dogma, that between Russia and the West there can be no alliance, neither for the sake of interest, nor for the sake of principles, that in the West there exists not a single interest, not a single tendency which would not conspire against Russia, especially against her future, and which would not try to harm us. And this is why the only *natural* policy of Russia toward the Western powers must be not an alliance with one or the other of these powers, but *disunion*, division of them, because, only when they are divided among themselves do they cease to be hostile to us—because of impotence and, of course, never because of conviction. This severe truth will perhaps shock the tender souls, but in the end this is the law of our existence as a tribe and as an empire, and the only way of ignoring this is to cease to be Russian."[34]

The case of Tyutchev is perhaps the most fascinating. Belonging 186* to a distinguished Russian family, a man with intimate ties with 538 ● the court, a diplomat, one of the most brilliant Russian poets, the poet of the *Last Love*, the poet of the metaphysic fear of "the cosmos" and the universal "chaos," the poet of nature, the poet who created new rhythms and melodies in Russian poetry, the Russian poet who translated Goethe, Byron, Schiller, Heine, Lamartine, and who himself wrote poems in French, a man who was plunged in religious indifference and scepticism, a pantheist, an "ashamed atheist" who was "entirely foreign in his domestic life not only to orthodox customs of the church, but alien to the traditions of the Russian church,"[35] (words of Aksakov), a man who had an arrogant disdain for the "gloomy grey Russian life," in which he saw only "offices and barracks, *chin* and *knut*," a man

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.
[35] A. Lezhnev, *Dva Poeta*, Gos. Izd., 1934, p. 22.

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186 who spent most of his time abroad courting Germans, French,
538 Italians, establishing very friendly relations with Heine, Schelling, and other distinguished poets, writers, and intellectuals in Europe, married to two foreign women who did not know Russian, a cosmopolitan in his private life, "entertaining German barons, poets, and diplomats," always speaking French[36]—Tyutchev became not only in his political treaties, articles, and diplomatic reports but also in his poetry the most violent advocate of Slavophil and Panslavistic ideas and of Russian anti-Europeanism.

186* There were, of course, slight distinctions between him and the
648 Muscovite Slavophils. The kind of patriarchial democratism which characterized them, their adulation of the Russian peasant, their theory about the Russian village community—for all these things Tyutchev cared very little. His primary interests were connected with foreign affairs. He was the "minister of foreign affairs" of the Slavophils. Therefore the Slavic problem was always important to him. He wrote and published many political poems addressed to the Slavs and to the Czechs and poems connected with the Polish problem,—but again in a very peculiar way. When Murav'ev the "hangman" plunged the Polish Insurrection of 1863 into massacres and blood, Tyutchev addressed to him a homage of greatest thankfulness and admiration. And when the grandson of Suvorov, the famous hero of the Prague massacre in Warsaw in 1794, appeared decent enough to refuse participation in a collective address to Murav'ev, Tyutchev launched a mischievous and sarcastic epigram in which he made fun of Suvorov's misplaced humanitarianism. Besides, he, in 1866 wrote a poem glorifying Murav'ev's memory. True enough that in 1831 his attitude had been a little different. He wrote at that time a poem by which Poles have very often been lulled and which was usually quoted as a Russian pro-Polish text. First of all there is, I think, a kind of moral insanity in bringing the name of Tyutchev as a symbol of Russian-Polish fraternity; the name of the poet who in the most cynical way sang the glory of Murav'ev! Besides, even

[36] Lenkaev, *ibid.*, p. 20.

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the poem of 1831 gives a rather peculiar consolation to the Poles —this is what Tyutchev says to them: "Believe the word of the Russian nation: we shall sacredly preserve your ashes, and our common freedom as a Phoenix will find its birth in them." 186* 648

In the recent works devoted to Tyutchev such as those of Pigarev, Gippius, Stremoukhov, Lezhnev, one important detail has been revealed. Both the Slavophils and Tyutchev representing the landed Russian nobility, were deeply impressed by the revolutionary movements in Europe. Tyutchev in his anti-revolutionism, became a kind of Russian Joseph de Maistre and he very soon came to the conception that in Europe there existed two powers: Revolution and Russia. He developed this conception in his articles and poems and for many years he was busy with the organization of Russian propaganda in Europe for the spreading of his political ideas.

One of his[1] most significant poems in this respect was the poem *The Sea and the Rock*, in which he gives a picture of how the gigantic foot of the rock will appease the stormy waves of the sea. The idea which was symbolically presented in this poem was developed in a political language in his article *Russia and Revolution* written in 1848.[87] His conception of the greatness of Russia developed as a function of the mission which he attributed to Russia; and here his imagination becomes boundless. In his famous poem *Russian Geography* he mentions Moscow, Petersburg, and Constantinople as the *capitals* of the Russian empire, in which he sees "seven interior seas and seven great rivers from the Nile to the Neva, from the Elbe to China, from the Volga to the Euphrates, from the Ganges to the Danube—this is the Russian empire." 186* 829 538

This was written by a poet who, although he revealed in his lyrical poetry his tenderness for the "original charm" of the "poor villages," "humble nakedness," "boring nature," of the "land of everlasting patience," did not himself care at all for the Russian landscape. This is what he wrote in a letter to his wife:

[87] Pigarev, *op. cit.*, *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, pp. 195-196.

1 [Tyutchev's ---Analyst]

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186* 829 638 "An immense plain—the Scythian plain which you didn't like on my relief map, where it spreads out like an enormous spot, is not more pleasant in reality."[38]

186* 829 814 Not less striking than his *Russian Geography* are his historical views and the formulation of the Russian mission which we find in his two French articles *Russia and Revolution* and *Rome and the Roman Question*, and in a large work which he was preparing — *Russia and the West*. In all these writings he draws an apocalyptic picture of the destruction of the Europe of Charlemagne, of the Europe of the Treaties of 1815, of the destruction of the Papacy, Catholicism, and Protestantism. He demands a definitive formation of a great Orthodox empire, "the legitimate empire of the East, which will be realized by the absorption of Austria by Russia and the 'return' (*sic!*) of Constantinople to Russia and by the union of the two churches." The conclusion of these events will be symbolized by the Russian tsar as the Orthodox emperor in Constantinople, as the master and protector of Italy and Rome, and by an Orthodox pope in Rome as a subject of the emperor.[39] In his article *Papacy and the Roman Question* he constantly attacks all kinds of "usurpatory" tendencies of Western thought and seems completely unaware of the fact that his own conception represents the most fantastic historical usurpation—although not at all unreal in the light of our days. This is the way in which he ends his article: "Permit me to recall in conclusion, an incident connected with the visit which the Emperor of Russia made to Rome in 1846. One may still remember perhaps the general emotion with which the Emperor was received upon his appearance in the Church of St. Peter,—this was the appearance of the Orthodox Emperor who returned to Rome after several centuries of absence—and the electric flash which went through the crowd when it saw him going to pray at the tombs of the apostles. This emotion was legitimate. The prostrated Emperor was not alone; all Russia was prostrated with him.

[38] Leskinev, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[39] Pigarev, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
*[Tyutchev--Analyst]

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a tsar but an actor" and expressed his indignation about "the monstrous stupidity of this ill-fated man." 186* 829

This was one missionary of holy Russia, a prophet who appeared before the world with "a crucifix and a dagger" in his hands. Let us now meet one who for the triumph of his Russian truth was ready to change his crucifix into a dagger.

6. Dostoevsky (1821-1881)

Without entering into a detailed description of Dostoevsky's well-known messianic conceptions about the "God-bearing nation" and all his speculations about Russia and Europe, which he develops in his novels and short stories as well as in his *Diary of a Writer*, I shall confine myself to his general philosophy of history. The first thing I should like to stress is that the book of Dostoevsky is a book almost as much about Europe as about Russia—if not even more about Europe. His "Russian boys" are constantly busy with the Russian God—but even more with the Catholic God—with the Inquisition, with socialism, European rationalism, atheism, revolutionism, and so on. And this is so in spite of the fact that in his novels we remain in Russia, constantly in Russian monasteries, taverns, St. Petersburg apartments or streets, or in some provincial Russian towns. Another thing which should be remembered is that Dostoevsky from his very childhood and youth was a pupil first of all of European literature. If one should try to discover in the texts of Dostoevsky any proof of genuine and real sympathy for that European civilization which formed his art and thought, one would undoubtedly be unsuccessful. He very often declaims his enthusiastic love for Europe, but that love is addressed only to the "holy stones" of the "European cemetery." On the other hand the types of Europeans who appear in his novels—French, Italians, Poles—as well as the pictures of Europe taken either from the gambling casinos, London streets, French railways, or Parisian department stores, are deeply repulsive—with some few exceptions: Mr. Astlee in *The Gambler* and 186* 538 829

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186* Dostoevsky's feeling for Germany, especially for Bismarck.
538 This obvious antipathy, if not hatred, appeared in Dostoevsky
829 after his Siberian exile. One would be willing to explain this by the negative impression which Europe made upon Dostoevsky when he visited it. However, I think that the motives of his feel-
186* ings were of a different nature. Dostoevsky was sent to Siberia
829 because of his European infatuations. We know how deeply he suffered during his exile and indeed how unpleasantly he denied his former opinions and appeared ready to embrace less dangerous and less politically compromising roads of thought, although in his situation it was difficult to be heroic to the end. Dostoevsky suffered because of Europe, and I think that this personal motive has to be taken into consideration. It would be useless here to quote all Dostoevsky's astonishing and fantastic conceptions of what he thought to be the real historical relationship beween Russia and Europe. We know that Dostoevsky was always ready to say that "to be a real Russian means to be a real European," and that some of his heroes felt when abroad that they were the unique Europeans among Europeans, that French were French, English English, Germans German, but only Russians besides being Russians were also Europeans, and have I to recall his really incredible and almost absurd speculations about the "Russian seekers"—Onegin and Aleko—in his Pushkin speech? Only an aberration of mind could bring one to assert that Onegin killed his friend and Aleko his wife perhaps because of their longing for universalistic ideals. Dostoevsky's deep belief was that only the Russian thought was able to embrace universalistic goals. By these trends of his beliefs he certainly closely approached the Slavophils and later the Russian *narodniki* as well as the Panslavists; and in his political articles he very often waved the banners of Slavic brotherhood, of a Panslav union under Russian leadership. And one easily remembers his piercing and hysterical shouts: "Constantinople must be ours!" But not all these slogans which, after all, in Dostoevsky's time had become trivial clichés, should interest us here. More significant, as I mentioned before, is Dostoev-

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slavism of a special order, which would consist of grouping the 000
different Slavic nations under the sceptre of the Romanovs as protected powers. This thought appears from the beginning to the end 186*
in the long Panslavist epos of the Slovak poet Kollár under the 829
title *Slávy Dcera*. The poet visualizes the peoples as united to 538
form a sort of Colossus modeled on the Babylonian Colossus of the Bible. Russia forms its head, Poland its heart, Bohemia and Illyria are its hands and feet. It would be imprudent to contest what the ideas have of the seductive and the dangerous, one must indeed recognize the exxistence of a Russian Panslavism, only one may deny its Slavic character and that it ever could possess the eympathy of any independent Slav."

C. Robert stresses another important point when speaking about 000
the activities of the "great protector" among the Danubian and Adriatic Slavs. He would protect them on the condition that they would never follow the example of Serbia and show any pretension for a distinct national existence. "Let one look through the history of these Russian protectorates since the protectorate has been exercised over the last kings of Poland and Georgia to those which the tsar exercises at the present time over the Serbian and Moldavian-Wallachian principalities and over the crumbling Persian empire. One will see that these various protectorates have always had and still have as a unique aim to prevent the protected nations from rising from their humiliation and being reborn to independence."[87] More than that, the same C. Robert observed that during the upheavals in Cracow and Galicia Russia constantly played the role of an ally of Germany.[88]

On the other hand from time to time, as we may see not only in 186*
the brilliant articles of Marx but also in the extremely interesting 648
recent publications of the Soviet scholar Tarle connected with the Crimean War, the tsardom was ready to utilize the Panslavic conceptions when they appeared advantageous for it. It is quite true, for instance, that for Nicholas I it was not easy to combine his

[87] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1846, pp. 472-473.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 479.

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186 imperialistic views on Constantinople with a policy which would necessarily favor revolutionary movements among the Slavs and compromise the gospel of his legitimism. Nevertheless, Marx, Pokrovsky and Tarle gave, as we saw, striking examples of this Machiavellism of Russian policy. Let us, however, analyze the doctrine itself and try to see what were the concrete historical and cultural realities which it had to face. We saw that one of the chief problems, that of Russo-Polish relations, has not been and could not have been solved within the frame of Slavophil or Panslavistic schemes. But what was the general picture?

197 The main argument of unity among the Slavs was of course that of language. The Slavic languages belong to the same family and it is not difficult to prove that certain similar phenomena which appear in different Slavic languages represent not a result of inter-Slavic influences but an independent parallelism of development. For the tenets of the Slavophil doctrine the fact of a common linguistic origin meant very much theoretically. Language is an expression of the relationship between man and the universe, and therefore this expression reveals a—let us say—philosophical outlook. In other words language possesses an [177] ideological value. On the other hand history differentiated the Slavic peoples. During long centuries they went sometimes not only through different but very often even opposite and contrasting cultural influences; and because of that the languages in their turn also differentiated to such a degree that Slavs are no longer able to understand one another. The amusing point here was the fact that the Slavophils of the various Slavic nations used German in order to communicate with each other. This was indeed a paradoxical situation for those who were trying to unite themselves first of all against Germanism. Of course Russia was and still is suggesting that the Russian language be accepted as the common language for the Slavs. But this generous offer has not 197 so far been adopted. The linguistic divergencies become even 538 more salient when we leave the field of language proper and try to apply the methods of unification to the field of belles lettres,

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especially poetry, even if it be the popular poetry. A synthesis appears absolutely impossible. It would be enough to compare the Czech versification and all the changes it went through with the Russian and Polish to see how great are the differences. Let us take the Russian *byliny* with their assonances, which have no correspondents in other Slavic productions. On the other hand the *Shchedrivky* and the *Koladki* are ritual poems often inspired by historical subjects of a purely Ukrainian character. A quite distinct group is represented by the Serbo-Croatian and Bulgaro-Macedonian popular poetry—heroic rhapsodies which sing of the legendary Serbian hero Kralević Marko, the mother of the Jugović and her sons and many others. This poetry which served the fantasies and mystifications of Mérimée, which enchanted Goethe, Pushkin, Mickiewicz and Nodier, represents a quite special formation and a unique genre in the Slavic world. How different is the medieval Polish poetry, only semi-popular in its most distant origins, with its origin in the Church. Its lyrical starting point is to be found in the *Kyrie Eleison* and *Alleluiah*, refrains of liturgical songs.

Let us abandon for a moment this purely philological statement and turn to a more essential factor which determined the historical development of the Slavic nations: I have in mind religion. Religion divided the whole Slavic world into two parts. Bulgarians, Serbians, Great Russians, Ukrainians, and White Ruthenians embraced Eastern Orthodoxy from a Byzantine source. Czechs, Croatians, Slovenes, Slovaks, and Poles embraced the Catholic religion from its Roman Source. And in addition the Czechs went through Hussism; a part of the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians adopted the Union. The Muscovite Slavophils and Panslavists were fighting against Catholicism. By that very fact they were in opposition to the whole Western Slavic world. Religion determined the cultural differentiation, and if we add to that some other historical factors we shall see that at the time when Russia was under the influence of Byzantium, of the Bulgarian and Serbian messianistic literature which formed her

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795 theory of "Moscow the Third Rome," based on all kinds of im-
563 ported legends and apocryphas, Poland was shining in the sun of
177 the Renaissance. She had her Rabelais—Nicholas Rey, her Ron-
538 sard—Kochanowski, and a wonderfully rich and brilliant political literature connected with Latin republican writers, some of which was soon translated into foreign languages, even English.

The Southwestern Slavs, the Croatians, Slovenes, and Dalmatians also took part in the achievements of the Renaissance. They lived that period in contact with Italy while on the other hand Dalmatia was under the influence of several Byzantines. Let me recall the brilliant Italianism of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the flowering of the Dalmatian literature which followed the songs of the provencals troubadours, and of the *Dolce stil nuovo*. The Dalmatian muses found their inspiration in Petrarch, Boccaccio, Guarini, Tasso, Metastasio; this literature knew all genres from *canzone* to the pastoral drama and *la commedia dell' arte*. The Czechs went through this epoch carrying their religious reform—a heavy burden but rich in immense moral consequences. It is probably this reform that gave the definitive form to the moral and intellectual character of this Slavophil and Slavologist nation, least Slavic in its spiritual physiognomy.

The marvellous flowering of the Russian and Polish literatures in the nineteenth century represents again a kind of exception among the Slavic nations. And in spite of a close parallel development, these two literatures very often, following the same roads of literary evolution, in many ways contrast with each other.[89]

186* So even if one should try to eliminate the purely political bar-
563 riers separating the Slavic nations, such as the political antagonisms existing between Bulgars and Serbs, Serbs and Croatians, Russians and Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Ukrainians and Great Russians, Ukrainians and Poles, etc., the problem of spiritual

[89] I have discussed these problems in a more detailed form in my article, "Existe-t-il un patrimoine commun d'études slaves?" Cf. *Le Monde Slave*, Paris, 1926.

and shares the fusion of *a* and *o* with the majority of this group. 197
Common isoglosses testify a close and prolonged neighborhood with Germanic, Iranian, probably Thraco-Phrygian and foremost with Baltic, which is tied to Slavic by significant innovations both in vocabulary and in grammatical and phonemic, especially prosodic, features. Old loan-words from Iranian pertain mostly to spiritual, and those from Germanic to material culture. Contact with Altaic and Finno-Ugric languages seems to be confined to the late stage of Protoslavic and has left but scanty vestiges in its vocabulary. The long evolution of Protoslavic, which took around three millennia, can be traced up to its final stage—the entrance of the Slavs onto the historical scene (fifth–sixth centuries), [175] the oldest foreign records of Slavic proper and common nouns (fifth–seventh centuries), the formation of the first hereditary Slavic states (ninth–tenth centuries), the appearance of Slavic [508] written literature (ninth century), and the final dissolution of the Slavic linguistic unity toward the beginning of our millennium.

The territory of present-day Poland, Byelo-Russia, and North- 175
western Ukraine seems to exhibit perceptible vestiges of the oldest Slavic settlements. According to the first detailed literary accounts about the Slavs, the sixth century A.D. witnessed a strong Slavic expansion to the South, West, and East. The Slavs swarmed over the Peloponnesos during the seventh century, but were eventually driven back from Greece. With Charlemagne began the protracted retreat of the Slavs in the West and the gradual Germanization of the Elbe and Oder basins in the Northwest and of the Slavic regions of Bavaria and Austria in the Southwest. In the tenth century the Southern Slavs became separated from the Western because of this continuous German offensive toward and the Hungarian intrusion from the East; later they were cut off also from the Eastern Slavs by the extension of Rumanian. While the expansion of the Western and Southern Slavs was curtailed and even repelled during the early Middle Ages, that of the Eastern Slavs has never stopped and particularly their colonization of the East still continued, checked only in the Bering Sea area in the late nineteenth century.

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HISTORY OF THE LITERARY LANGUAGES

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SLAVIC LITERARY ACTIVITIES begin in the ninth century with the rise of the first Slavic national state, Great Moravia, where two Byzantine missionaries brought up in Macedonia (Salonika), St. Cyril (Constantine the Philosopher, an erudite polyglot, formerly professor at the University of Constantinople) and his brother, St. Methodius, organized in the 'sixties a national church with services in Slavic. For this purpose they translated the Bible, liturgic and other ecclesiastic texts into the Slavic dialect spoken in the Salonika region, patterning it after the Greek model and adapting it to the Czechoslovak linguistic habits of Great Moravia. Since the dialectal differentiation of the primitive Slavic language at that time was insignificant, there were no obstacles for the spread of this Macedonian vernacular among the great majority of the Slavs as their first written and liturgic language. The literary activities of the two Slavic apostles were preceded only by a few primary Christian texts (such as the Baptismal Vows, the Paternoster, Credo, etc.) translated probably in Great Moravia in the early ninth century, partly from Latin, partly perhaps from Old High German, and preserved in later copies. The Moravian mission was forcibly terminated in 885, after some two decades of work, but it had given the Slavs many standard translations from Greek and occasionally from Latin, as well as original homilies, legends, prayers, and poems in a new but highly elaborate literary language adaptable for scholarly and poetic expression. Moreover, it bequeathed to them the lasting idea of the propriety and the necessity of using the mother tongue for all, even the highest, cultural purposes. This literary language, called by modern scholars OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC (Old Slavic, or inaccurately Old Bulgarian), penetrated from the late ninth to the eleventh centuries into the whole Slavic world except for its Northwestern margin. It produced several local variants: the MORAVIAN recension itself is known to us only indirectly through later copies made in other areas, the BOHEMIAN recension, which exhibits Latin influence, is preserved as far as indigenous manuscripts

are concerned, in single fragments of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and moreover local literary activities are known through some later foreign, mostly Russian, copies; the MACEDONIAN recension, particularly conservative in its vocabulary and phraseology; the BULGARIAN recension, which weeded out Greek and Moravian words and expressions, created a new rich terminology, and reflected the intense scholarly and literary life of Bulgaria in the early tenth century—these last two recensions are preserved in several manuscripts of the eleventh century and in many later copies; the CROATIAN and SERBIAN recensions, both manifesting a strong Macedonian influence and attested by twelfth century manuscripts; and the Eastern Slavic (usually called RUSSIAN) recension offering the oldest of the dated Slavic manuscripts preserved, Ostromir's Evangelium (written in 1056), as well as some twenty-five Kiev and Novgorod manuscripts of the eleventh century and numerous others of later date—copies of Southern and Western Slavic originals, and in a great part, local creations. This recension derived from the Bulgarian but later tended rather toward the Macedonian and in its further development has shown a repeated reciprocity with the Serbian recension. The Freising Fragments of the late tenth century in Latin letters seem to be a SLOVENIAN modification of Old Church Slavonic. During the twelfth century the language of Cyril and Methodius, wherever it appears in the Slavic world, is essentially modified; the Old Church Slavonic period ends and thenceforth we speak simply of CHURCH SLAVONIC.

With the Great Schism of 1054 and the First Crusade, Latin triumphed as the only liturgic and literary language for all of the Western Slavs and for the Western part of the South Slavic area. Of the Catholic Slavic peoples, only a part of the Croats preserved the use of Church Slavonic in liturgy and literature and spread this use during the thirteenth century, which in general was favorable to the renascence of Church Slavonic culture among the Southern Slavs. In the Czech state this use was abolished toward the beginning of the twelfth century, but its tradition contributed to the rise of a Bohemian vernacular literature in the late thirteenth. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, besides highly developed

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belles-lettres, even Czech science and philosophy turned to the national language and adapted it to the Latin cultural pattern. Rich terminological dictionaries were elaborated; attempts at holding church services in the mother tongue were made, and under the Hussites they became a contagious precedent for the European Reformation. After a weakening of its foremost position in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, literary Czech resurged with the nineteenth century, exploiting the old heritage, borrowing from other Slavic languages (especially from Polish), and quickly adapted to modern cultural needs. The Polish literary language, which especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had been modeled on Czech (the language of the Polish world of fashion until the sixteenth century), reached a world status, first in sixteenth-century poetry and then in Romanticism. In the sixteenth century the Reformation inspired religious texts for the Slovenian, Sorbian, and Kashubian people in their mother tongues. The propaganda of the Counter Reformation, endeavoring to penetrate to the populace, and later the democratic tendencies of the nineteenth century reinforced these vernacular literatures. Particularly modern Slovenian scholarship and literature and their means of expression attained a high level. In both of the smallest of the Slavic speech communities striving for the literary use of their vernacular, the champion writers were American emigrants —the Kashub H. Derdowski (1852–1902) and the Low Sorbian poet Mato Kósyk (1853–1940).

During the whole of the Middle Ages the written literature of Greek Orthodox Slavs was prevailingly ecclesiastic and used Church Slavonic; lay documents and juridical texts, however, were written in the local vernacular. Secular literary works, such as fiction, chronicles, profane itineraries, etc., oscillated between Church Slavonic and the vernacular. Even though the last three centuries have strongly secularized Russian culture and strengthened the vernacular (Middle Russian) stratum in the literary tongue, its traditional hybrid structure, which differentiates Church Slavonic and folk components semantically and stylistically and distributes them in various ways, has remained the pivotal principle of modern Standard Russian and is still the main source of its

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unusual richness. The political conditions of the Moscovite period created two distinct variants of the Eastern Slavic literary language: the Great-Russian pattern on the one hand, and the Southwestern on the other, which, besides a Moscow influence, exhibited a Ukrainian and locally a Byelo-Russian ingredient and which, moreover, was somewhat occidentalized through the Czech and Polish intermediary. To overcome this split, the patriarch Nikon, after the incorporation of the Ukraine into the Moscow Tsardom in the middle of the seventeenth century, initiated a radical revision of the Russian liturgic and literary language along Kievan lines. This reform contributed to the gradual Westernization of Standard Russian which in different ways during the seventeenth century imported a large number of Polish and Czech words, and then under Peter, directly followed Germanic and later on Romance models.

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After a rich development in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Church Slavonic literature waned in Bulgaria and suffered a decline in Serbia with the Turkish invasion, diffusing at the same time a Balkan influence on both Southern and Northern Russia's literary language and giving birth as well to a new, RUMANIAN recension of Church Slavonic which served as the literary and liturgic language of Rumanians from the late fourteenth to the eighteenth century. Toward the sixteenth century, even in the Ottoman court and administration, Balkan Slavic speech came into use. On the other hand, the spiritual life and literary language of Serbia in the seventeenth century underwent a still greater Russian influence, and in the eighteenth century the native recension of Church Slavonic was replaced by the Russian pattern. In that part of the Serbocroatian world which adhered to Western Christianity there appeared, partly under the influence of the Reformation, partly after the model of the Italian Renaissance, regional attempts at raising the vernacular to a literary language with a Church Slavonic tinge. The most fertile of these were the Dalmatian schools of poetry—the western one flourished in the sixteenth century, and that of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in the sixteenth and seventeenth. But the modern standard language, unifying both Serbs and Croats, which developed during the first half of the

538 nineteenth century, was only sporadically linked with earlier
197 attempts: it raised to literary usage a folk dialect of Herzegovina and emphatically rejected Church Slavonic or Russian ingredients and the influence of any older literary heritage. A similar populist tendency characterized the rise at the same period of modern literary Ukrainian which was first used in the burlesques of the very late eighteenth century, and in its further development oscillated between the Western (Polish-influenced) and the Eastern (Russian-influenced) variants. Both Standard Byelo-Russian and Macedonian modestly entered into literature in the nineteenth century and acquired civil rights—the former after the First, the latter after the Second World War. On the other hand, modern Standard Bulgarian, likewise formed during the nineteenth century after some isolated earlier attempts, strongly and consistently continued to borrow from Russian and particularly from its Church Slavonic stock. Toward the middle of the same century, the Slovaks, who had used literary Czech (somewhat adapted to their own habits), inaugurated their own literary language based on the Central Slovak dialect but patterned after standard Czech.

~~197~~ Church Slavonic perseveres as a liturgic language in several
795 slightly distinct variants: Nikon's recension is used by Greek Orthodox Slavs (and—with somewhat stronger orientation toward the old Kievan tradition—by the Greek Catholics); the pre-Nikon, Great-Russian recension is followed by the Old Believers; the Croatian Roman Catholics, in so far as they use Church Slavonic, maintain their own recension, although since the seventeenth century they have incorporated a considerable Kievan strain.

198 In the Slavic standard languages, besides Greek influence, pre-
177 vailing in the area of the Eastern Church, and Latin, predominant in that of the Western, there can be noted a strong Turkic lexical layer in Eastern Slavic and in the majority of Southern Slavic languages, and a German stamp on the vocabulary and phraseology of Slovenian and of Western Slavic languages and on the technical terminology of modern Russian. To some degree all the main Slavic literary languages in their recent phase bear French imprints. Neighboring languages have undergone an appreciable Slavic influence, principally in their vocabulary. This is particularly so

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Slavic Peoples E 16

Certain minor observances of conduct, which we have noticed throughout the so-called patriarchal zone, but which vary considerably from place to place, such as not crossing the feet, using right or left hand for certain operations, wearing certain colours, etc.—in short, at all times a care that everything be done in a way fitting to the conditions, according to some precise ruling of custom—exist because otherwise an evil force can be inadvertently put in motion, or a man work on himself or his associates some kind of auto-curse.[1] Particular care must be taken as regards children and domestic animals, who naturally cannot be expected to understand the importance of such observances, and must therefore be prevented from doing the wrong thing. Hence in part the arbitrary influencing of omens.

B Y 771 795 788

'I fear to go to the four parts of the earth, and over the whole earth,' says the devil in a Greek manuscript (sixteenth century) when he descends to fetch earth for the creation of man. 'Therefore, he made a sign of the cross with his sceptre, saying: "East, west, north and south." Thereupon all the earth came before God.'

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The so-called Bogomil creation legend, slightly varied, occurs in Russia, Transylvania, in Dobrudja, in the Rhodopes, in Western and Southern Bulgaria, and right across the middle of the Peninsula, in Macedonia, in Bosnia and Hercegovina, in Eastern Serbia and in Old Serbia, and probably elsewhere. It is found in manuscripts from the twelfth century, in Old Bulgarian, Russian, Serbian and Bosnian books. On the one hand, there are versions similar to that of the Book of Enoch, the Vision of Isaiah, and the 'Secret Book' of the Bogomils. On the other, it links up a chain of cosmogonic myth shared by the Finno-Ugrian and Ural-Altaic peoples, and in the traditional version known to Slavonic folk-lore it is more like this latter.[2] It is of interest to note that an

Sp 538 795 171

[1] *v. infra.*

[2] Similarities between Slavonic, Finnish and Central Asian cults and mythology first came to the notice of students of Russian custom, notably P. Jacobi and Prof. Aničkov. The latter's views are theories rather than

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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early Russian chronicle attributes a very similar cosmogony to Volhs (*magi*) at Kiev, long before the first traces of Bogomil apocryphal literature in Russia.

The fact of the matter is, that most of the apocryphal literature, important for creating a new source of popular legend in the Balkans—e.g. the Apocalypsis of Baruch, Gospel of St Thomas, the Palaia, Vision of Isaiah, etc.—appeared in Slav versions, often markedly differing from any known Greek originals, as early as the eleventh century, and possibly before Bogomilism as such had established a popular hold or, at any rate, a literature of its own. To Jeremije, the Bogomil, is generally attributed the Slavonic version of the Elucidarium. Here, again, no exact Greek prototype can be discovered. Neither the devil's contract motif, nor that of his appearance over the primeval waters in the form of a diving bird, and other significant details, can be traced with any certainty beyond the Slavonic versions.

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Only on going westwards into Bosnia, it seems certain that the literary form preceded the popularised story. Otherwise, it is clear that the Slav writers of the Middle Ages made considerable use of popular sources, unaware of any inconsistency of doctrine, and tempering their material to taste. In the beginning, according to a Russian monastic writer of the seventeenth century, Almighty God resided in the three chambers of the upper heaven. 'The three chambers of the cross,' he says, in iconographical symbolism. 'The Emperor without beginning, uncreated, unspeakable, not born, not conceived, universal, invisible and unseeable, immortal and immaterial' was there before time. By his thought he gave birth to his Son. 'For the Father is neither created nor begotten, and the Son is begotten and not created. The Holy

substantial history, but there is documentation in his *Jazyčestvo i drevnaja Rus'* (1914), and in more recent articles in *Slavia* and *Revue des Études Slaves* (VIII). More relevant theories are put forward by M. Arnaudov in Sb.N.U. IV. Older works include Spicyn, *Šamanizm v otnošenii k russkoj arheologii*, Zapiski Arheolog. XI; V. Bogoraz, *K psihologii šamanstva* (Etnograf. Obozrenie, XXII, I), where traditions of the type given above will be found.

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186* 812 the Hegelian philosophical construction, whence came the German Ultranationalist ideal, and which was now, through Khomyakov and his school (Kirejevsky, Constantin and Ivan Aksakov, Youri Samarin), to give rise to a powerful anti-Germanist reaction.

186* • 539 Khomyakov's odes constitute what we might call the epigraph of Muscovite Slavophilia. They are a pathetic and prophetic appeal to Slav solidarity: 'Look Southwards over the vast steppes, and the distant West. . . . Numerous are they, in the Carpathians and in the chasm of the Balkans, numerous are our brethren, slaves of the Turk or of the German. . . . Warm them at the fire of your love, and the day will come when the eaglets, our brethren, bursting their bonds with their brazen beaks, will, in their turn, fly off, as eagles fly'. (*Ode to the Eagle,* 1832.) The *leitmotiv* of these odes is the divine mission of Russia, who is to raise up her brethren and snatch them from the oppressor's yoke. But this mission does not go beyond a moral hegemony. 'Be not proud', says the poet elsewhere, 'in your dealings with Belgrade, O Prague, capital of the Czech countries! Despise not the Bohemian sanctuary of Vychegrad, O Moscow of the gilded domes! Brothers in blood, let us all remember that we owe each other equal and fraternal affection'.

186* 208 The Slavophile school, in its early days, had what we should now call a 'bad press'. The Westernists, who then controlled the critics and moulded opinion, represented Khomyakov's [292] friends as Chauvinists and Obscurantists. People made fun of their faith in the native virtues of the *moujik,* their extravagances in the matter of dress, the *mourmolka,* the traditional bonnet which they had adopted with the Russian costume, and especially at their illusions as to the expansion-power of Russian culture at that time. Nothing is so dangerous as a metaphor cast into the whirlpool of international life. Pushkin had one day written this unfortunate line:—

> 'Will the Slavonic streams all come and lose themselves in the Russian Ocean?'

186* That was sufficient to lend credence to the idea that Russia considered herself to have a divine mission, that of liberating her racial brethren, and grouping them around her. When the Russians spoke of 'Slavophilia', the West persisted in understanding 'Panslavism'. Yet they were two very different things.

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the medieval Serbian Empire foundered, and the oath of Tsar Lazar:—

> 'If a man has not fought at Kossovo,
> His hands shall always be sterile;
> His fields shall yield no corn
> And his vineyards no grapes!
> Forward, brother Serbs!
> Liberty is calling you'.

A Bulgar, Ferdinand Kosovskj, proclaimed: 'We are bound to the great Russian nation by our past, our language, our customs. The words "Honour", "Liberty", "Fraternity" are the same in Russian and in Bulgarian. The Bulgarian people will never let themselves be drawn into a war against their liberator, the Russian nation!' His compatriot, Stella Blagojeva, called upon the Bulgarian women to urge the soldiers to turn their arms 'against Hitler, the implacable enemy of Slavism'.

The Croat, Djura Salaj, drew a pathetic picture of the atrocities and the exactions which his country had witnessed—hundreds of thousands of men deported to Germany, 375 members of the Croatian Peasant Party executed at Zagreb, outstanding personalities interned (Machek, the Peasant Leader, Ivan Mestrovich, the sculptor, etc.).

A Czech deputy, Marek Culen, called upon the Slovaks to 'assume their responsibility in the face of history, on the eve of great and decisive battles' and urged their soldiers to go over to the Russians, with their arms.

Two representatives of Poland, the authoress Wanda Wassielewska and the workman Alexander Jocis, drew a picture of the fresh martyrdom of their country, and urged resistance.

A German also spoke—the poet, Johannes Becher—to stigmatise the Hitlerian racial theories, the pretext for their colonial schemes in Eastern Europe. 'The crimes perpetrated by Hitler make every German blush to admit his nationality. . . . German people, understand this: the Slavonic nations, in their liberating war, do not and never will, wish to conquer German lands. . . . Join with all the Slavonic peoples, emancipate yourselves from the accursed Hitlerian domination! Wipe out the shame and the curse which weigh upon Germany!'

The Congress also heard the Slovene, Ivan Regent, and

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186* Yes, Herzen was certainly one of the most brilliant and pene-
829 trating singers of the Russian requiem for Europe, but even in
177 this he was a pupil of the Europeans—of the Saint-Simonists, Fourier, Cabet, and Proudhon, who violently criticized contemporary European civilization. They did for Herzen what later in the seventies Renan did for Strakhov. Strakhov filled his book *The Struggle with the West in Our Literature* with Renan's criticism. But Renan did even more—he suggested some ideas to the Russians which they didn't forget. Strakhov quotes one of them: "There still exists in the world a reserve of barbarian forces, which are almost all in the hands of Russia. As long as the civilized nations conserve their solid organization, the role of these barbarians will be almost null; but without doubt, if (from which God preserve us!) an epidemic of selfishness and anarchy brings our western states to destruction, the barbarians will accomplish their duty, which consists in raising the many forces in spoiled civilizations, in producing the vivifying current of instinct which was lost when reflection destroyed subordination, to show that readiness to sacrifice one's life for faithfulness to one's sovereign (a deed which a democrat considers low and absurd) is a source of power and leads to the possession of the world."[60]

The case of Herzen is particularly eloquent: it shows how demoralizing were the Slavophil and Panslavistic conceptions if a man of Herzen's caliber, Europeanism, and superior generosity could find himself in such a moral and spiritual impass.

186* The ultimate expression of this eastern Messianism suggested
829 by the Russian Westerners is to be found in the *Scythians*, a poet-
539 ical message which Alexander Blok addressed to the West: "Now rejoicing, now sorrowing, now flowing with black blood, she (Russia) looks at you with hatred and with love. . . . We love everything—the heat of cold numbers and the gift of divine visions, everything appeals to us—the perspicacious Gallic thought and the gloomy German genius. . . . We remember everything—the hell of Parisian streets and the refreshing coolness of Venice,

[60] Strakhov, *Bor'ba s zapadom v nashey literature*, St. Petersburg, 1882, vol. I, p. 324.

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the distant aroma of the lemon groves, and the smoky buildings in Cologne. . . . We love the body, the taste and the color of it, and its oppressive deadly odor. . . . Is it our fault if your skeleton cracks in our heavy, soft paws?"

9. Reactions Among the Slavs Toward Panslavic Conceptions

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Southern Slavs attracted no great attention from the world. However, after the Russian-Turkish wars of the time of Catherine II they began to move more distinctly on the political stage of Europe, as Pypin justly says.[61] The fight of Serbia for her independence, the fight of the Montenegrians against the Turks and their resistance against the French (I am still following Pypin), Illyria established by Napoleon—all this revealed the existence of energetic Slavic elements in the Near East. To this should be added facts as Vuk Karadžić's collection of popular songs in which the deeds of Serbian national heroes were glorified. The fights of the Croatians against the Hungarians, the Russian intervention in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, the part which Russia took in the liberation of Serbia, all created an atmosphere in which the Panslavistic conceptions could, of course, count on a sympathetic reaction. However, as far as the final results are concerned, Russian Panslavism was not at all successful even among the Southern Slavs. The Croatians, who in the forties when fighting against the Hungarians were dreaming of Slavic unity, very soon abandoned these dreams and looked more and more toward the West for help against Turkey. The Serbs in spite of their religious ties with Russia were returning closer and closer to the traditions of Obradović and of Vuk Karadžić and his reform which brought the Serbian cultural development away from Russian influences, and to conceptions of a national state, and of the building of a national culture. Russia's tactless approaches to Serbia, the Rus-

[61] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

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186* 175 and that Croatian science would endeavour to elucidate this problem [*sic*].

186* 175 668 Croatia had been the starting-point of the defection which dislocated Yugoslavia, but a Croat, Joseph Broz (Marshal Tito), was at the head of the movement which resuscitated that country. This movement began as a guerrilla war waged by partisans; it grew into the rising of a whole nation. 'Tito', by his previous political activity, by his participation in the Spanish campaign (where he had met Rodnitzev, the future defender of Stalingrad), had made numerous contacts with Soviet generals and statesmen. He had Moscow's unconditional support in organising resistance in the Balkans and, at the request of the Russians, he ousted, in the confidence of the Allies, General Mihaïlovich, one of the earliest rebels, but who was reproached with Serbian exclusiveness and with executions of Communists.

By regrouping, under the ægis of Russia, the Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, and Macedonian populations, Tito made himself the champion of a cause that was specifically Slavonic.

In Bulgaria, Communist opposition and popular sentiment (immemorially attached to Russia, but, since Stalingrad, more enthusiastic than ever as the result of the recovery of the Red Armies) obstructed with increasing boldness the Hitlerophile policy of the Government, which periodic contacts with the Führer failed to stabilise.

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186* 668 544 In order to galvanise and render articulate the new solidarity on democratic lines which was shaping itself among the Slavonic peoples against their common aggressor, congresses were organised. The first was held at Moscow in August, 1941, only a few weeks after Russia's entry into the war. It may be considered the cradle of this rebirth of Slavism. The opening address was pronounced by the Soviet writer, Alexis Tolstoy. 'We reject', he said, 'the old ideology of Panslavism, which we consider reactionary and contrary to the principle of equality among the nations. . . . Slavs, let us unite, that each Slavonic nation may be entitled, as the other nations are, to a free, peaceful existence, that the culture of our nations may flourish without restraint. . . . The fires of Warsaw and of Belgrade are not yet extinct. From the spark springs the flame; the wind of hatred fans these smoking ruins, in which are consumed German

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Fascism's dreams of bloodthirsty domination over the Slavonic world. . . . Slavs, Ukrainian Russians, White Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Bulgars, Slovaks, Ukrainians of Sub-Carpathia, the time has come to unite in the common struggle against German Fascism!' 186* 668 544

The Congress paid tribute to the memory of the three million Slavs who had already died on the field of battle or in camps. 186 668 The Polish authoress, Wanda Wassiliewska, announced that, on Soviet territory, a Polish army was being formed, 'which would fight shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army'. Two days earlier, the Czech Government in London had given the same assurance concerning their compatriots. All civilians of Slav nationality were called upon to sabotage the enemy's means of communication and military equipment, to starve him, to multiply ambushes for him. Before breaking up, the Congress (as in 1867) appointed a Committee to make contact with all the Slav organisations in the world; it was also to publish documents showing how Hitler was carrying out the extermination of the Slavs.

This Congress had been a first contact—a sort of family council. The one held in the following year (April 4 and 5, 1942) was the most extensive, the most eloquent demonstration of Slav solidarity that the world has ever seen. Spokesmen of all the Slavonic nations, each speaking in his own language, succeeded each other on the platform, whence their declarations were broadcast.

The proceedings opened with a call to 'a holy war against Fascism' by Lieut.-General Gondorov (who was to preside over all the great Slavonic Assemblies). They closed on an appeal formulated by the Soviet writer, Nicolas Tikhonov: 'Oppressed brother Slavs, forward for the national war, the war of liberation! This summons will ring like a tocsin in Belgrade destroyed by the German barbarians, in war-torn Warsaw, in Prague, streaming with the blood of her best sons, in the valleys of the Carpathians and of the Balkans, in the Steppes of the Ukraine, in the forests of White Russia and of Poland, on the banks of the Dnieper and the shores of the Adriatic, on the hills of the Vistula and on the blue Danube!'

The Serbian Professor, Bojidar Maslarich, according to the tradition of his country, quoted the epic of the drama in which

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numerous Soviet militants, including the composer, Dmitry Chostakovich, member of the Panslav Committee, who, opposing the Pan-Germanic theories, vindicated Slavonic culture. 'I am proud to be a Russian, I boast of being a Slav. . . . If we must speak of "superior" and "inferior" representatives of humanity, then we can class the German Fascists in the category of the basest! Have they not profaned Yasnaia Poliana (Leo Tolstoy's house), the most sacred treasure of the Russian nation; trodden underfoot Tchaikovsky's scripts at Klin; destroyed at Tikhvina the house where Rimsky Korsakov was born; demolished immortal monuments of Russian architecture at Novgorod and Istra? . . . May all the spiritual forces, all the intellectuals of the glorious family of the Slavonic nations intrepidly fulfil the great mission entrusted to them by history!' 186* 668

The philosophy of this Congress was summed up in an article in the form of a programme, from the pen of the Russian writer, Alexis Tolstoy, and published by the *Pravda* of Moscow:

'We must revise the whole history of the Slavonic peoples. Our contribution to European civilisation has not been less than that of other peoples. During the space of a thousand years, our young blood gave life to Byzantium in its decrepitude. It was thanks to the Slavs that Byzantium preserved ancient civilisation, and transmitted it to feudal Europe. The Slavonic peoples, hard-working, lovers of liberty, peace, and culture had as their neighbours, on the east, nomadic Empires which always cherished the chimerical design of conquering the world, and, on the west, medieval emperors whose imposing cavalcades were no less vain. These aggressions from the east and from the west broke against the intrepid resistance of the Slavonic world. The role of the Slavonic peoples in the formation of European Humanism has not yet been appreciated at its true value. . . . Slavs, to arms! Up, for our mutual relentless struggle!' [544] [829]

Would you not take this—except for the religious note—for a page from one of the Slavophiles of the forties, or a speech by the historian, Pogodin, at the 1867 Congress?

Anticipating Tolstoy's hopes, the Congress had decided on the publication of a monthly review (*The Slavs*), the aim of which was to make known the services rendered to humanity by the Slav civilisation and to tighten the bonds uniting its present representatives. 186* 203

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186* from German Fascism against the nation which has shown the
538 world the path of emancipation'.

186* About the same time a Proletarian poet, Damian Biedny,
545 had produced, at the Karmerny Theatre, a comic opera entitled 'The Heroes' (*Bogatyri*), making fun of the heroes of Russian legend. Authority intervened to exclude this piece from the Theatre's repertory, on the grounds that it falsified history and represented as brutes or drunkards characters which in the popular imagination embody the heroic traits of the Russian people. And when he scoffs at the conversion of Russia to Christianity, the author sins no less against historic truth—'for', says the decree forbidding the play, 'that conversion was a definite landmark in the history of the Russian people: it contributed to the *rapprochement* between the Slavonic peoples and those of a higher culture'.

186* It was in the same spirit that the Soviet scientific authorities
538 celebrated, in 1938, an epic poem which, to Russians, represents something like our *Chanson de Roland*: the *Tale of Igor's Band*, an anonymous account of an episode of the twelfth century, in which the author suggests that Russia perished on account of the quarrels of the princes; in short, it would be the work to reflect the first breath of national unity, had not modern scholars (and particularly M. André Mazon) sound reasons for suspecting its authenticity.

186* So, on the eve of the Second World War, the non-Russian Slavs recovered the picture of Russia as their memories and their sentimental traditions had formed it. Certainly, the Slavonic idea had nowhere been evoked by the Governments as an element in international politics. None of the political instruments drawn up in the period between the two wars takes it into account, or makes any mention of it. But the very precaution that the Governments took to prevent its evocation is sufficient to attest its presence. This presence may be discerned in the constant intimacy of the Czecho-Yugoslav relations, in the Serbo-Bulgarian *rapprochement*, despite the 'Macedonian psychosis', in the unavowed renewal of hopes which, in spite of their borrowings (or by very reason of them) from the dictatorial régimes, the Slavonic nations placed in a Russia whose features they had just rediscovered. Weakened or absent during the constructive, post-war period, the notion of solidarity again rose to the surface of Slav consciences, in proportion as the deepening shadow of a fresh tragedy spread over Europe.

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into genuine trading posts and towns, the importance of which was enhanced by the penetration of foreign merchants at the beginning of the historical period. The rise of trading posts and towns gradually concentrated adjacent agricultural areas under the control of the former, producing at the same time accumulations of wealth in the hands of a new ruling class which appropriated to itself the influence formerly wielded by the elders of family, clan, and tribe. The growing prestige of the towns also broke down the various tribal differentiations, since portions of the same tribal area might fall for reasons of geography and communication under the control of different towns.

In general, the Russian tribes formed three groups distinguishable by their speech, which are reflected in our day by the tripartite division of the Russian language into three basic dialects. The northern group, comprising the Slovenes (Slavs) of Novgorod and the Krivichians, is the forerunner of the modern Great Russian dialect, the standard literary language. The central group, including Dregovichians, Radimichians, Vyatichians, and Severians, divided into two sections, of which the eastern joined the northern, or ultimately Great Russian element, while the western section (Dregovichians, Radimichians) came to form the White Russian element centering around Minsk. The southern group, made up of Polyane, Derevlians, Volhynians, Ulichians, Tivercians, and Croats, evolved into the Little Russian or Ukrainian element. In fact, the term *Ukraina* goes back as far as at least 1187, and means the southern border district. The differences among these three dialects have of course been intensified as time went on by the accidents of political affiliation and by diversified cultural influences. But these three groups are none the less parts of the same nation, so that either a White Russian or a Ukrainian is precisely as much a Russian as the purest Great Russian born in the shadow of the Kremlin.

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to add that, from the last quarter of the nineteenth century up to the Sarajevo outrage, Slavonic problems were localised in the Balkans, and that this did not help to facilitate their understanding, nor to procure for them an impartial judgement? 186* 829 208

European 'volcano,' or 'rheumatism,' 'nest of vipers'—day in, day out, metaphors such as these flowed from the pens of our propagandists and diplomats when they were reviewing Balkan politics, because they were not prepared to admit that the crises in which these politics involved Europe were simply the repercussions of rivalry and scheming among the Great Powers.

If we leave diplomatic and political circles and pass to the public at large, we find that the word 'Slav' aroused more distrust than curiosity. For some people, it smacked of Nihilism or of Revolution; for others (forgetting that more than a quarter of the Slavonic world is Catholic) it held a menace to the unity of the Church. Slav refugees had fought on all the barricades during the nineteenth century; their names figured largely in the police alien records. In short, this word 'Slavism' suggested a set of psychological characteristics, rather than a geographical or national reality, and these characteristics—or their interpretation—made up a picture which the average Frenchman did not find very reassuring for Latin civilisation.

Whereas the political world adopted the caricature of Slavism outlined by the diplomats of the Ballplatz, the intellectual world, in its turn, often fell under German influence when dealing with the problems of Slavonic life. There was, in France, especially after 1870, a brilliant school of Slavicisers, who had studied the question on the spot. But for a long time it was restricted to a small number of enthusiasts, who lacked a sufficiently numerous audience to popularise their teaching. [814]

Moreover, the early history of this teaching was unfortunate. The first holder of the Chair 'of Slavonic Language and Literature' at the *Collège de France* was Poland's most celebrated poet, Adam Mickiewicz. He was denounced to the Senate as a 'Panslavist'—a vague, but serious offence. For the time being, a well-chosen plural was sufficient to remove this offence: the chair changed its title and became the 'Chair of Languages and Literatures of Slavonic Origin'. Later on, however, Mickiewicz, accused of exaggerated mysticism and eccentricity, was obliged to give up lecturing altogether. The fate 186* 558

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186* of his successor, Cyprien Robert, from Anjou, was scarcely less
• 558 romantic. After the 1848 rising he was suspected of having left for America, with the followers of Cabet, in search of Icaria. This sufficed to give credence to the idea that Slavology tends to unbalance those who profess it.

186* With Louis Léger, it is true, this science found its equilibrium
814 and its discipline. But under Léger's guidance, Slavonic research tended to centre around Philology, and this orientation seems to have been permanent. The instruction gained in solidity what it lost in breadth; its beneficiaries, necessarily restricted in number, have never succeeded in forming a political team of Slavicisers such as would have given our diplomacy the orientation it lacked at the time of the two great crises of the present century.

Apart from what we may call Germanic interference, the Slavs have done a great deal towards helping to obscure or to emphasise their own characteristic features. What chance was there, in the past, of forming impartial ideas about the Russians from Polish testimony, or vice versa? About the Czechs, from Russian testimony? Or about the Catholic Slavs, from the testimony of the Orthodox? Outside an *élite* of thinkers, poets, scholars, who were the promoters and leading spirits of Slavonic Congresses, there was, between these nations, presumed to be of the same stock, nothing but rivalry, quarrels, and mistrust—piously encouraged, moreover, by their powerful neighbours. Denominational differences were stronger than race-solidarity; the Moujik felt that a Rumanian who made his sign of the cross with three fingers was nearer to him than the Slovak or the Croat who made his with his whole hand, or than the Czech philosopher, persecuted by the Austrian authorities as a 'dangerous Panslavist'.

[177] The inter-penetration of the different sections of Slavonic culture was so little developed that the great Russian poet, Pushkin, was deceived by Mérimée's literary hoax, when the latter published, under the title of *Guzla,* a so-called translation of Dalmatian songs.

186* When Russian literature was revealed to the West, the latter
538 greeted it with a defiant, or perverse, curiosity. *Monstrum invenimus.* French scholars saw in it less a new philosophy of life than an intellectual or sentimental pathology. De Voguë, who introduced the Russian novel into France, warned his readers

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no oppressor of the Slavonic race other than the Turk, Krijanich added the German. He was the ancestor of the Russian Slavophiles of the nineteenth century. He was completely out of harmony with his age, which could not understand an argument combining the Slavonic idea with Roman Uniatism. He met the usual fate of a precursor. Having offered his services as Librarian to the Czar Alexis Mikaïlovitch, he obtained from Moscow a mission to reform Russian spelling; the manuscript of this work was recovered at Tver in 1888. But it was not long before he was suspected of being a Papist agent, and was deported to Siberia, in circumstances which have never been cleared up. At Tobolsk he drew up a treatise on 'Politics' which, on the lines of Machiavelli's work, was intended to deduce, from the principles of good and evil, the laws of the art of government. Was Peter the Great acquainted with this treatise, and was he influenced by it? Unfortunately, that is a matter which scholarship has not yet been able to decide. After that we lose trace of Krijanich. A Dutch traveller relates that a monk of that name died under the walls of Vienna, in the ranks of Sobieski's army; such would seem to be the crowning adventure of that strange visionary, promoter of a doctrine which was to be revived two hundred years later by a pleiad of thinkers and scholars and which, freed of its denominational utopianism, will remain the 'credo' of the apostles of Slav solidarity.

After the capture of Azov from the Turks by Peter the Great in 1696, the centre of gravity of Slavonic hopes was fixed in Russia. If we exclude the Polish point of view, it remained there for more than two centuries. The three reigns of Peter the Great, Catherine II, and Alexander I, helped to awaken the Russian national conscience by contact with the Slavs of the Balkans, Austria, and Hungary. This contact set up currents of mutual influence between sister-nations, discovering each other after long centuries of isolation and mutual ignorance. A Serbian Academician, M. Stoyanovich, published a series of testimonies from Serbs who were contemporaries of Peter the Great, from which it appears that, from this time onwards, the Southern Slavs considered Russian successes as their own.

Readers will not be surprised at the omission here of any reference to the 'Will of Peter the Great', which the Chevalier d'Eon, of dubious reputation, was said to have brought from

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175* selves in the cities, there was as yet no prospect for the forma-
566 tion of a growing and self-conscious middle class whose aspirations might have sown the seeds of progress. As a result, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all intellectual advance was confined to the aristocratic and ruling minority.

175* In the seventeenth century, however, the door was again
177 opened to Western influence by the need for self-defense. Foreign mercenaries entered the Russian army, which now became a professional force. New mines and arsenals were opened. The foreign colony founded at Moscow by Ivan the Terrible (the German suburb), though scattered during the upheaval of 1598-1612, was soon repopulated with merchants, technicians, and artisans, and their advanced notions of material comfort influenced those Russians who came into contact with them. Artamon Matveyev, the able foreign minister of Michael's son, the Tsar Alexis (in turn Peter the Great's father), married a Scotch lady, and was one of the first Russian nobles to set up his household on a Western scale. Through him notions of contemporary culture penetrated even to the court.
● [512] Natalia Narishkina, Peter the Great's mother, was Matveyev's ward, and though Scotch on her mother's side, was probably the first Muscovite lady of her day to receive even a moderate education and to emancipate herself from the seclusion in which noblewomen had vegetated since the Tartar conquest.

177 While material progress was largely implemented by the
871 German technicians resident in Moscow, new theological and
797 literary ideas penetrated the empire by another route. It may be recalled that Kiev and the Dnieper valley were conquered by the Lithuanians in 1363. Then by the fusion of Poland and Lithuania at the end of the fourteenth century, the whole Ukraine became exposed to Polish colonization and cultural influence. By the sixteenth century, Polish intellectual life was entirely under the control of the Jesuits, who developed an intense but largely unsuccessful proselytizing activity among the Orthodox Ukrainians. As a counterpoise against Jesuit influence, the Orthodox clergy of the Kiev area opened schools

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175 external development. From their primitive homeland located in the
648 basins of the Oder, of the Warta, and of the Vistula, they sought to spread out in all directions. But they encountered in the west the resistance of the Germans; they were unable to overcome it; they were even compelled to give way and they sought to assure their existence and expansion by constant fights and invasions against the Prussians, the Lithuanians, and the Russians. Obviously, the Poles clearly recognized that one of their first tasks was to maintain in the north a wide passageway to the sea and in the west, their frontier on the Oder, if not on the Elbe. Unfortunately all of the advantages, all of the conquests which they gained in this direction were of a purely ephemeral character. A terrible blow fell upon them through the Tatar invasion and through the battle of Legnica--/An German--Liegnitz/ (1241). It broke the bonds which united Silesia with Poland and threw this province into the arms of Germany, who began to Germanize it. Another check was the summons of the Teutonic Knights into the country of Chelm
P and of Loba (1226) which facilitated the Germanization of the seacoast.
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[563] Finally, let us point out the German colonization which the ecclesiastical or lay princes invoked, beginning with the thirteenth century, in Silesia, into Little Poland, Great Poland and Mazovie; these colonies did not become assimilated and remained completely German in language and customs. Thus a grave peril for Polish nationality was created and developed. "Exterminare idioma Polonicum" /exterminate the Polish language/ became the order of the day for the Germans on the western froniter. Beginning with the thirteenth century, the Polish nationality appeared to be gravely compromised.

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175 However, it succeeded in escaping from this peril.[1] The clergy
648 showed themselves to be highly patriotic; literature was born and exercised a happy influence upon all classes of society. The Hussite movement also exercised its influence in Poland against the Germans. The dynasty followed a national political line. It accomplished noteworthy successes,
P especially over the Teutonic Knights, who were defeated at Grunwald
SP in 1410. In truth, the provinces beyond the Oder and to the north
175 could not be saved. The Poles lost three-quarters of their primitive
648 domain; but what they lost in the west, they attempted to regain in the
668 east, that is toward the northeast, and toward the southeast. This double direction was imposed upon them by the very nature of the terrain; in the center, the basin of the Pripet presented an inhospitable and insurmountable area; to the south rose the barrier of the Carpathians. The Polish flood had to direct itself on the one hand towards Lithuania,

1 [Germanization of the Polish nationality beginning with the 13th century -- Analyst]

S.P. C. 175 167 and especially Premysl Otakar II (1253-1278) and their successors; the nobility and the clergy, /104/ particularly the monks, followed their example. As a result of this colonization, the Czech element found itself blockaded in the interior of the country by a belt of German cities and towns, a belt which continually drew tighter; at first below the Metallic Mountains and the Boehmerwald, then on the lower Elbe, then in the areas of Liberec (Reichenberg), Trutnov, Kladsko (Glatz) and in the region of the Jeseniky (Gesenke) Mountains. Moreover, German groups settled in the interior of the country. From the thirteenth century Bohemia and Moravia became bilingual countries. S.P. C. [191]

From the standpoint of area the German zone was neither wide nor compact; it formed itself especially in the clearings of the forests on the west and northwest.

S.P. C. 101 563 In the fourteenth century, according to Professor Sedlaczek, the frontier of the nations in Bohemia ran from Kynwart* toward Zdar*, Kralupy, Chomutov (Komotau) which was German, toward Most, then toward Duchcov and Decin. Bilina and Teplice were still Czech. Then the frontier ran to Benesov* which was German, to Jablonna*, crossed Mount Iestied* and reached the sources of the Jizera (Iser). From the fourteenth century Liberec (in German, Reichenberg) was German. The Germans were settled in the mountains beyond Vrchlaby* (today Hohenelbe) which was still Czech. Pilnikov (Pillnitz), Trutnow, Zacler, Stare Buky* were already German. Starkov* remained Czech, but the region of Brumov*, and the country of Kladsko /105/were Germanized. Olesnica and Rokytnice* were Czech. Beyond Policzka* and Litomysl* the situation was as it is today. At Nemecky Brod there was a German island; Jindrichuv Hradec was mixed, as well as Budejovice (Budweiss). Krumlov and Prachatice were mixed; the Kasperk Mountains were German; in the region of Domazlice the frontier was Czech. Klatovy was mixed, Tachov German.

S.P. C. 175 167 S.P. [565] Less is known about the German penetration into Moravia and into Silesia. From the thirteenth century the greater part of the fortified towns in Moravia have been German. In many of the cities, notably at Brno and at Olomouc, from the thirteenth century on a German bourgeoisie developed. The religious orders and the clergy contributed in summoning the Germans, especially Bishop Bruno who has been called the greatest Germanizer of Moravia. In the Teschen area the Czecho-Polish frontier has been the same from the fourteenth century

SP C: 101

conflicts which are breaking out constantly along the Czecho-German frontier, we are very well acquainted with this boundary and it is the one which has been studied most among the Slav peoples. Beginning west of Novy Postrekov* near Domazlice it runs to the north of Klence*, goes around Stankov*, runs toward Manetin, goes around Rakovnik, passes west of Rouny, to Terezin (Theresienstadt) on the Elbe.

On the Oharka River the Czech element has penetrated recently into the industrial basins of Duchcov, of Most (Brux) and of Teplice (Teplitz). From Litomerice (Leitmeritz) the boundary follows in general the right bank of the Elbe, passes by Libechov*, by Bela* (Weiswasser*), runs up north towards Svetla*, passes by Skuhrov*, and reaches near the frontier the most northern Czech village, Paseky*; then it descends to the southeast in the direction of Jaromer and goes up towards Upice, where it passes into Prussian Silesia in which a dozen Czech villages may be counted. Then it runs south again, goes around the Orlice* Mountains and enters Moravia at Silperk*. In this province, the boundary /113/ through Pisarov*, Bludov*, Podstat*, meets the Silesian frontier, runs around Novy Jicin, goes up again to the Silesian frontier and runs towards Neplachovice* on the Prussian frontier. It goes into the interior of Prussian Silesia and reaches the Polish frontier (1) at Sulov* where it descends again towards the south-

1. We omit here a long enumeration of localities which it would be impossible to find except upon a detailed map.

west, towards Hodonin and follows the course of the Morava; then it runs to Dacice, to Chlumice*, to Suchodol*, to Kaplice where it goes up towards the northwest by Krumlov, Vimperk, Lusice*, and joins Postrekov*.

S.P. C. 101 ●563

In this Czech region[1] there is a certain number of German islands:

That of Budejovice (Budweiss) includes several communities. In the district about this city the number of Germans is diminishing greatly; Jihlava (Iglau) in Moravia; Brno (Brunn). That of Rousinov*, of Vyskov*, and of Olomouc (Ollmutz) in Moravia, and the largest, the most feared of all in the region of Lanskroun*, Mohelnice*, Moravska Trebova* (Moehrisch Trubau*), Svitau* and Brezov*, surrounded by Czech towns. The towns of Krumlov in Moravia, and of Hodonin also have a majority of Germans. (1) There are on the other /114/ hand

1 [Morava — Analyst]

S.P. c. 101 563

1. The following were the numbers of Czechs and of Germans in a certain number of the towns in 1900: Brno, 38,365 and 68,762; Olomouc (Olmutz), 6,798 and 13,982; Jihlava, 4,228 and 19,765; Znojmo, 1,854 and 14,014; Hodonin, 3,987 and 4,976; Krumlov, 879 and 1,233.

Czech islands, but rather weak ones, in Lower Austria and in Prussian Silesia, where one may find names which recall national traditions, such as those of Husinec, and of Podebrady, of Tabor Veliky and Tabor Maly., etc.

S.P. c. 101

On the other hand, the Czechs are very numerous in Vienna (more than 350,000), in Linz, Budapest (4,100), Berlin, Dresden (3,188), and Svitavy (Zwittau). They are still to be found in Galicia in the district of Zolkiew, in the Hungarian Banat, in Croatia-Slavonia (31,587 of them have been counted; they came mainly between 1880 and 1890). In Hungary many of the localities which are named Csehi recall the memory of former colonies. Some of them already are Slovakized. In Russia, in the Volhynia, beginning in 1868, colonies were established in the districts of Dubno*, Rovny*, Lutsk, Zhitomir, Ostrog, Vladimir, Glinsk*, Zdolbonov, and Kupichevo*--the last three are the most considerable--in the Crimea, at Bohemka and Czechobrod* and near Novorossiisk* at Kirilovka-Metodievka and Gliebovka*, in Poland at Kuczow*, Zelow*, Lodz. 50,385 Czechs have been counted in Russia, 50% of whom are in Volhynia, 4,978 in the government of Lodz, 3,360 in the Caucasus. In Bulgaria, there are Czech colonies at Voivodov* and at Brslianisi* near Plevna.

On the other hand, many Czechs have settled in the United States, notably in Illinois, Minnesota, Nebraska, the /115/ states of New York, Ohio, Texas, and Wisconsin; the number is estimated at half a million. In New Zealand there is near Auckland the Czecho-German colony of Puhoj (about 800 Czechs).

S 22. The region of the Slovaks is now very well known in Hungary. It starts at Devinska Nova Ves--near the place where the Morava empties into the Danube--runs along the Moravian frontier and that of Galicia (1) towards Stropkov (Hung., Sztropko) to the north

1. This line envelops a few Polish and Russian localities.

of Zemplen. From Stropkov it runs to Breznice, Papin*, V. Remety in the county of Uzhorod (Ungvar), reaches Huta*, the most eastern Slovak village, then it turns about towards the west through Lucenec, Levice, Vrable, whence it thrusts out a point towards the south as far as Nove

1: Niederle--78 E-5 1911 Slavic Peoples E1C
czechoslovakia EB1

S.P. c. 543 162 In Bohemia 50,000 Jews declared themselves to be Czechs, and in Moravia 6,792; 40,521 in Bohemia and 34,261 in Moravia declared that they were Germans. Hungary actually possesses one-tenth of the Jews of the entire world, and they are increasing more rapidly than the other national groups (14.8%). Almost all of them claim that they are Magyars.

S.P. c. 177 668 In studying the history and the ethnography of the Czecho-Slovaks, one sees that the Czechs began by losing much more territory than they gained. But this unfortunate situation has ceased; the national consciousness has developed; the spirit of an entire people has set up a solid barrier against the Germanic invasion. Certain losses are still inevitable, but they can be retrieved. The most threatene section is made up of the frontier of northern Moravia where the Germans today are concentrating their strength. They wish to unite their compact masses with the islands of Lanskroun, Zabreh, Olomouc and to cut Bohemia from Moravia. It is here that the Czech nation should especially think of acting and defending itself.

S.P. c. 161 Moreover, the increase of the Czechs with respect to that of the Germans is good. During the last ten years the Czechs have increased by 8.49% and the Germans only by 1.96%.

/124/ In the German region the Czechs have increased by 0.1% and in the Czech region the Germans gave decreased by 0.5%. The least favored region from a Czech viewpoint is that of Moravska Ostrava (Mochrisch Ostrau), where the Czechs are greatly decreasing.

000 It is important to reinforce the Czech element upon the frontier, to raise Czech capital in opposition to German money, to set up Czech schools as opposed to German schools, and, in order to stand against all assaults, to strengthen the national consciousness. It is necessary to build up the Czech element from an economic and physical viewpoint, to improve the general well-being, to increase the means of exchanging ideas.

In brief, the progress of the Germans upon the frontier has been so insignificant for the past century, that it will still be hundreds of years before it becomes a cause of concern.

What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing

Danube and of the Sava. Towards 1481, 50,000 of them emigrated /153/ form the region of Krusevac, and these migrations were repeated several times from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, especially after the defeat of the Turks before Vienna, in 1683, and after the treaty of Karlovci (Karlowitz) in 1699, as a result of which the Turks were compelled definitely to give up Hungary and Transylvania. The Serb colonization was favorably regarded by Austria, and the Court of Vienna did not hesitate to promise liberties and privileges, of which only very few were later realized. Also, on numerous occasions, notably in 1750 and 1752, the Serbs left the Austrian State and went to settle in Russia, in New Serbia, of which we shall speak later on.[1]

SP Sb 175 167

From the outset of the fifteenth century, we find Serb colonies in the island of Czeplo, then later in Srem (Syrmien), Backa (Baczka), the country of Torontal and of Timisoara (Temesvar). The great migration into these countries took place in 1690, under the leadership of Arseniye III Tsmoievitch, patriarch of Ipek (Petch), who led, it is said, 80,000 persons; another took place in 1737 under the leadership of Arseniye Iovanovitch. In Styria, there were Serb colonies near Ptuj from the sixteenth century. The original Slavic domain of ancient Serbia was depopulated to such an extent that it was occupied by Albanian refugees; we can testify even today to the existence of this Albanian wedge which becomes sharper every day, which penetrates into the very heart of ancient Serbia, as far as Kosovo Polje, and which thrusts its point as far as the present kingdom. /154/ Today the region of Kosovo Polje is called Arnautluk (the country of the Arnaut or Albanians) and, according to the information furnished by Nusic, there are very few villages which do not contain Albanians, and there are some which have no Serbs at all, even though they bear Serbian names. Three quarter of the population is made up of Albanianized Serbs. A few years ago the Albanians were even settled in the Principality of Serbia, on the Toplica, Jablanica, and Morava Rivers; they left after the war of 1878 and the region has again been occupied by the Serbs. In 1900 only 2,151 Albanians were counted in Serbia, almost all of them in the district of Vranie, where 205,000 Serbs are found alongside them.

SP Sb 167 563

This withdrawal of the Serb national group toward the north was the result of the Turkish wars, and it is only during the past few

SP Sb 167 175

1 [cf. cat. 11b, p.101 -- Analyst]

years that Serbia has recognized how much she has lost and how little she has gained: for the region of Novi Pazar and of Kosovo is the keystone of her future. The Albanian question is a vital question to Serbia. S.P. SB. 167 175 000

Furthermore, in the Serbian section of the Balkan peninsula, there have been many internal migrations between the different regions, migrations which recently have been studied by Mr. Cvijic. In these movements Serbia played a passive role; an active role was played by Hercegovina, by Montenegro, and by a portion of Macedonia. S.P. SB. 166

/155/ If the Serbs in the southwest withdrew before the Albanians, in the northeast they withdrew before the Rumanians. This is what is found not only in the Hungarian Banat, where a great number of Rumanian villages bear Serb names, but also in the Kingdom of Serbia where, at a bend of the Danube, between Milonovac and Zajecar, the Rumanians have penetrated in compact masses and where the Serbs have been unable to absorb them. It even appears, according to Mr. Resetar, that they are increasing in numbers, even though the official statistics try to diminish their number. For 1900, 89,873 of them[1] were enumerated; but there were also 32,556 bilingual persons speaking Serbian. To compensate for these losses, one may point out the success of the Serbo-Croat national group in Dalmatia, where the sea-coast which previously was Roman, is rapidly becoming Slavisized. This Slavisation did not take place immediately upon the arrival of the Slavs in Roman Dalmatia, but was the result of a long process which in part Slavisized the Romans and in part forced them to migrate. It was only in the Seventeenth Century that the Romans disappeared,[2] and a few vestiges of their former tongue remained as a sort of slang in the island of Krk (Veglia) until the end of the nineteenth century. S.P. SB. 167 563 S.B. [191] S.B. 167 S.B. C. [191]

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Split (Spalato) and Dubrovnik (Ragusa) were already Slavic. At the time of the Turkish invasions the Adriatic seacoast was first depopulated, then colonized again. From the neighborhood of Zadar (Zara) Slav colonies crossed into southern Italy /156/ where their descendants can still be found today. We shall speak of them in a short while. S.P. C.r. SB. 175 167

On the western frontier of Serbia between the Morava, the Timok, and the Pirot, there was for a long time a transitional zone S.P. SB

[1] [Rumanians in the Kingdom of Serbia--Analyst] 563

[2] [Along the Dalmation coast--Analyst] 167

S.P. Sb. 163 167

between Serb territory and Bulgar territory. The nationality of the inhabitants of this region has been for a long time a matter of controversy. But since the Serbs have occupied it and have brought to it their civilization, it can no longer be differentiated from the Serbian group. According to Mr. O. Brosh, an analogous phenomenon occurred in the south, in the section of Serbian territory called Old Serbia.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 101

S 30. Territorial Boundaries.--

The Serbo-Croats are divided today among several states. The Croats belong entirely to Austria-Hungary. In fact, they occupy the Slavic section of Istria and of the seacoast, a section of Dalmatia and of Bosnia, all of Croatia and Slavonia, with the exception of Srem (Syrmien), and are scattered besides in western Hungary. The Serbs have their principal nucleus in the Balkan peninsula. They are settled in the independent kingdom, in Bosnia-Hercegovina annexed to Austria, and in a section of Dalmatia, in the independent principality of Montenegro, in the northern sections of the Turkish vilayets of Scutari (Skadar) and of Skoplje, in the north of Slavonia, and they /157/ form sizeable islands in South Hungary.

Because of the great size of the area over which they are scattered, their boundary is poorly defined and it is difficult to trace its outline. It is still more difficult to trace the boundary which separates the Serbs from the Croats. This is how one could mark it approximately: It starts out at the little stream of Dragonja and from the Croat town of Buzet (Pinguente), where the Croats of the two dialects kaikavski and cakavski meet the Slovenes and the Italians; then the border runs down to the south and passes into Istria through Beram (Vermo), Vodnjan (Dignano), and reaches Pula (Pola), then it follows the seashore of the Adriatic as far as the Bojana, which runs into the lake of Skadar (Scutari). Certain cities, Rijeka (Fiume), Zadar (Zara) are in great measure inhabited by the Italians. On the other hand, Sibenik, Trogir (Trau), Split (Spalato) are Slav. However, there are in the Kvarner (Quarnero) Islands some Italian localities.

S.P. Cr. [197]

S.P. Sb. 101

From the Bojana the line which separates the Serbs from the Albanians runs through the middle of the lake of Skadar (Scutari) and passes to the south of the frontier of Montenegro through Sutorman, Vila, Gusinje, Plav, near Pec /Ipek/, then below Djakovica, Prizren, it reaches Mount Chardagh and Mount Karadagh and comes to Vranje

S.P. Cr. Sl. 163 the net increase 0.98%.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, the rate, for a period of ten years, was still greater; gross total, 14.8%, net total, 14.2%, otherwise speaking, the birth rate exceeded the death rate by 1.48%. During these latter years, one notes a much more considerable increase but it results from the large number of migrations of persons fleeing from the Turkish territory. The same may be said for Bosnia and Hercegovina, where, as a result of immigration, an abnormal increase was produced at the end of the last century (from 1879 to 1895, 2.15% on an average). Between 1901 and 1904, the increase was only 0.95% per year.

In the north, the Croats and the Serbs are threatened by the Magyars in Hungary and by the Germans in Croatia. The Magyars and the Germans are greatly increasing in number in Croatia. In the space of ten years, from 1880 to 1890, the Serbo-Croats in this province increased by 12.23%, the Germans by 41.3%, the Magyars by 66.1%. In the years 1890 to 1900, the Slavs increased by 8.96%, the Germans by 13.12%, the Magyars by 36.3%. Thus, between 1880 and 1900, the relative number /168/ of Slavs decreased from 90.48% to 87.22%; that of the Germans increased from 4.4% to 5.53%, that of the Magyars from 2.19% to 3.74%.

000 This state of affairs is not yet very serious, but nevertheless it gives rise to concern about the future.

S.P. Cr. Sl. 167 The Serbs and the Croats should agree to resist with a common front, all the more as their birth rate is weak, weaker in the areas inhabited solely by them than in the areas with mixed population and as they are constantly diminished by emigration. Between 1880 and 1900 this took away from them more than 100,000 souls and in these recent times the Croats have emigrated in rather large numbers into the two sections of America.

S.P. Sb. 795 162 We have already pointed out the decrease in the numbers of Serbs in the area of Novi Pazar and Kosovo. Alongside the Orthodox Serbs there are to be found today in this zone many Albanianized Mohammedan Serbs--notably of the tribes of the Gash and of the S.P. Berish, also 6,000 Cherkessians who settled there in the years 1858-[563] 1862. In this zone there are no Turks properly speaking.

S.P. Cr. 177 101

to see them as an entirely independent tribe. All are Catholics. No one knows when they arrived. But they probably have been here since the fifteenth century. The latest statistics show them partly as Serbs, partly as Croats, and the Croats also claim them.

Here are still a few other groups. The purely Kajkavski inhabitants of the zupaniate (1) of Zagreb in the western region, between

1. Prefecture.

Samobor and Zumberk, call themselves Prigorci (mountaineers), those who live near the sources of the Kupa, Brajci; one also finds in the neighborhood of Zagreb the names of Berzjaci, Puhovci.

Istria is especially interesting from the viewpoint of such groups. In the north one first meets the Fuckovci who speak Kajkavski and who are so called because of the whistling manner /178/ in which they speak; to the south are the Cicovci, descendants of a Bosnian colony which came in 1532; in the southeast the old Istrian Cakavci distinguish themselves clearly from the later Stokavci colonists who came from Dalmatia and from the ancient Romans, called Vlasi or Morlaci by their neighbors. In Istria, the Rumanians /Romans?/ still maintain themselves in the villages of Zejani, Brda, Grobnik, Iesenovik, Sutnjevica, Lelaj and Nova-Ves. According to the latest statistics the pure-blooded Rumanians form three groups, one of 389, another of 516, the third of 217 persons.

S.P. Cr. Sb. [563]

S.P. Sb. 101

In Serbia a large number of local names has sprung up, borrowed from those of rivers, of mountains, of areas, and of towns. (1) Their

1. We shall not translate them. Translator.

origin is not difficult to trace. In Hungary the ancient name of Rasciens, inhabitants of the Raska, an ancient Serbian province has been kept for the Orthodox Serbs.

Local names have developed also in Bosnia from the names of towns and areas. (2)

S.P. Sb. [563]

2. There are in Bosnia a few groups of Roman origin, who still speak a Romance language. But the greater part declare themselves to be Serbs. They are called Cincari, Achani.

S.P. M. 101

Montenegro has preserved the former division into tribes, whose names are still known by the people. Beginning in the north, one

S.P. M. 101 finds the Hercegovinians who came from Hercegovina; then to /179/ the northeast the Brda (1) and between the sea and the lake of Skadar

1. This word in Serbian means "mountains." Translator.

(Scutari) the Crna Gora (Black Mountain), so-called, with the Krajna. In Montenegrin Hercegovina there are seven tribes: Grahovo, the Banjani, Opushna, Rudina, Nikticke Rudine, Nikticka Zupa, Piva, Drobnjaci, Saranci. In the region of Brda there live seven tribes which are, beginning from the west: (2) the Bjelopavlici, the Piperi, the

S.P. M. [144]

2. According to Hassert and Kovacevic, the Kuci are of the Albanian race, according to Erdelianovic, of the Serbian race. A certain number of them, the Drekanovici, present a strong mixture of Albanian blood. Erdelianovic considers certain among them (the Boukimirs) as Slavisized Romans.

Bratonozici, the Kuteki, the Vasojevici, the Moracani, the Rovcani. In ancient Montenegro four nahias are distinguished, each of which is divided into tribes: the nahia of Katun (Cetiniani, or people of Cetinie, Njeguchi, Zeknici, Couče, Kcevo, Ozrinici, Bielice, Komani, Zasarcani, Pjeshivtsi, Lukovo), the nahia Ljeshanska (Zecani), the nahia of Rieka (Cekliniani, Liubotinjani); the nahia of Crmnitsa contains a whole series of little tribes called "brotherhoods." In an area which was previously Serbian there are settled today Albanian and Serbian Mohammedans whose principal tribes are those of the Mrkojevici and of the Mikulici, close to Antivari (Bar).

S.P. M. [563]

According to Zanetov, there is still another special tribe, that /180/ of Siren, on the upper reaches of the Lim and of the Bosnian Bistrica.

000 We have attempted to show the respective situations of the Croats and the Serbs, the difference in their political development despite their close kinship, the divergent tendencies, which, as a result of their historic traditions, they both follow with a view to assuring their future.

S.P. 578 Cr. 36. 186 Up to the present, numerous conflicts have occurred between these two groups,[1] and one would be mistaken in believing that the relative calm which prevails today is a guarantee of tolerance and peace. Leaving aside the double ideal of a great Croatia and a great Serbia, an contradictory ideal if there ever was one, we run into an entire series of delicate questions, of conflicts which are constantly aggravated. They are met with in Croatia-Slavonia, in Dalmatia

[1] [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Analyst]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

Passau and Vienna, and the area devastated by the Magyars 000
was largely reoccupied by the year 1000.

At this period,[1] German missionary work in the Slavic dis- 175*
tricts south of the Danube proceeded not from Regensburg or 797
Passau, which were mainly occupied with the German settlements along the Danube, but from Bamberg. Missionaries from this diocese lived among the Slavs of Carinthia which was rapidly settled by colonists from Franconia and the middle Rhineland, as opposed to the predominantly Bavarian origin of the German settlers in Austria itself. While Bamberg was thus active in Carinthia (roughly the valley of the Drave east and west of Villach), Bavarian missionaries from Freising in Bavaria occupied themselves with Carniola (Krain), the region of the Save valley somewhat further southwest (the hinterland of Trieste), and here the colonists were again Bavarian. The Slovene population found by these German newcomers in Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria (originally a portion of Carinthia), was less driven out or exterminated than it was repressed. Documentary evidence reveals German and Slavic personal and place names side by side. The politically and socially [563]
dominant class was everywhere German. In Austria along the Danube, from which the Slavic population had been driven by the Avars before Carolingian times, the peasantry was almost exclusively Bavarian. But in Carinthia and Carniola, German peasants lived in close proximity to the native Slovenian peasantry which remained most numerous southwest of the Mur river in the valleys of the Drave and Save. Peculiar conditions on the right bank of the Danube thus explain the southward contraction of the Slovenes away from this river and their constant subservience in later days to Austrian political influence.

German influences in Moravia and their unfortunate conse- 175*
quences for the mission of Constantine and Methodius have 177
already been mentioned. Even while the brothers were still active, the struggle for Frankish supremacy was going on and

[1] [10th century -- Analyst]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

Levant passed through Breslau and Cracow. The German /75* settlers therefore followed the line of least resistance and were 72/ spared the usual hard pioneer work because the soil they occupied had already been under cultivation for long periods. The colonists received exemption from taxes over a certain fixed term, and could build their towns as they desired, living under their native customs and enjoying absolute home rule.

By the middle of the fourteenth century there were some /75* 150 German village settlements in the modern province of Posen alone, and at the same time cities destroyed by the Tartars were resettled by German colonists, who also founded new towns in Polish territory. Among the rebuilt cities largely populated by Germans in the fourteenth century we may note Sandomierz, Cracow, and Breslau, and among major German settlements at previous Polish centers, Gnesen, Posen, Kalish, Lublin, and even Warsaw itself. As late as 1480, three quarters of the burghers of Warsaw had German names. By the metropolitan cities of Germany these settlements were rightly regarded as outposts of German trade and civilization. The pro- [563] portion of German population in Poland at the middle of the fourteenth century is estimated at 25 per cent, though many of the German colonists were polonized by the sixteenth. The wave of German settlement extended even beyond Cracow into Eastern Galicia toward Przemysl and Lemberg (Lvóv). Until 1470, indeed, no one but Germans sat on the Lemberg city council.

Simultaneously with the conflict between the Teutonic Order and the Prussians, German conquest and colonization pursued its way up the Baltic seaboard toward the Gulf of Finland. Settlers from Lübeck established themselves for trading purposes at the mouth of the Dvina as early as 1150, but the conquest of Livonia did not begin until the year 1200. Riga was founded as a city and as a missionary bishopric in 1201. The militant Order of the Sword Bearers was then organized to combat the Finnish tribes of the seacoast and the Letts of the interior. They were subject to the Bishop of Riga, and

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

the Austrian authorities, might have had incalculable consequences for the maintenance of their Empire.

The ideals preached by Palacký, who was as great a journalist as he was a historian, were first formulated in political terms just prior to the revolutionary year 1848, which signalized the end of Metternich's regime and the dawn of constitutionalism in Austria. It was thus Palacký who advocated an autonomous Bohemia including all the lands which had formerly belonged to the Bohemian crown, together with as much of Hungary as was populated by Slovaks: the principle, indeed, upon which the Czechoslovak state was subsequently erected. It is significant, moreover, that the German elements in Bohemia were inclined to support the Czechs in their agitation for autonomy. But the federal idea was never realized in Austria-Hungary before the monarchy dissolved in 1918, and Bohemian hopes in this direction were dashed by the Austrian Constitution of 1867, which gave the Hungarians a preferred position, as compared with the Slavs, by establishing the principle of dualism, by making Hungary practically autonomous, and by settling the Magyar domination upon Slovaks and Croats. This loss was to some extent offset by educational concessions to the Czechs, since in the previous twenty years Bohemian national consciousness had consolidated to an extraordinary degree through the increased use of the native language and the improved status of both peasants and the middle class. The romantic emphasis laid by Palacký on the glorious past of Bohemia thus proved an altogether healthy spur to the national ambition.

Though after 1867 there was never any real reconciliation between Prague and Vienna, the material prosperity of Bohemia advanced rapidly in the next fifty years, and the part still played by the German element in Bohemia before the war of 1914 is evidenced by the fact that, though they comprised only 37 per cent of the population, they paid 50 per cent of the taxes. But while the Czechs never lost sight of the federalist ideal, this principle was looked on with disfavor by the Viennese

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

186 autocrats, who felt that any increase in Bohemia's degree of
●563 independence would only weaken the whole structure of the unified Austro-Hungarian state. This difference in political philosophy was aggravated by the fact that there was too little will to compromise and too much reverence for history among the Bohemian leaders. Oppressed nations always overestimate the practical importance of past tradition. The dominant position long occupied by the kingdom of Bohemia in the Holy Roman Empire, if the Czechs had only realized it, was of far less moment than any rational compromise which would have permitted Bohemia to enjoy to the full the material advantages it commanded as the most highly industrialized section of Austria-Hungary and, at the same time, to cultivate a national spirit, language and literature, without making itself obnoxious to its neighbors by always harping on the same string. It is, however, an unfortunate truth that the composition, within a state, of quarrels rising from linguistic differences complicated by racial, temperamental, and confessional motives and by the carefully cherished traditions of the past which are, or suppose themselves to be, oppressed, is a problem of baffling complexity. On the other hand, the experience of the twenty years before 1939 definitely showed that this problem is not solved by merely setting up these disaffected areas as national units.

175* Now while it is true that the Czechs did not find themselves
565 precisely in clover under the Hapsburg monarchy, the fact
186 remains that they achieved a high level of material prosperity and culture during the nineteenth century. They had, to be sure, advanced further along the path of social evolution than the Poles, among whom the middle class had actually contracted when the partitions interrupted the evolution of the nation. When Poland fell there were virtually but two classes in the country, the landowning gentry and the peasants. Serfdom was abolished in the Prussian section in 1821, with a subsequent rapid economic improvement in the peasants' status. After the partitions, the middle class evolved most speedily
in the Russian section, and at a slower rate under the German regime.

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Chapter One

SLAVISM MENACES THE WEST

178 THE collapse of Germany inaugurated a revolutionary era in Europe. In the political domain, it was the prelude to transfers of strength whose full consequences cannot yet be gauged, although we can say definitely that it is the Slavs—and primarily the Russians—who will benefit by them.

[162] In this connection, the war has simply hastened a process to which a relentless impulse had already been given by the demographic rhythm of modern Europe. To-day, out of every three Europeans, one is a Slav. In three-quarters of a century from now, with the differing birth-rates in Western and in Eastern Europe, we shall find this ratio reversed.

• 563 [161] On the eve of the war, our continent had 454,400,000 inhabitants. The Slavs numbered 145,072,000, distributed as follows: Poland, 27,181,000; Czechoslovakia, 13,611,000; Yugoslavia, 12,017,000; Bulgaria (a Slavicised rather than a Slav country), 6,080,000; Great Russia, 55,548,000; Little Russia, 27,664,000; White Russia, 4,204,000.[1] It should be mentioned, in passing, that Russia, which common opinion (by metonymy) considers as the 'Slav country' *par excellence,* is on the contrary the only one which, within its State frontiers, includes at least an equal proportion of inhabitants of other races. For this reason it is also, whatever its political structure, the country where the national problem is at least easily reducible to a concept of ethnical homogeneity. It is as well not to forget this.

As far as any biological factor can do so, this prospect of demographic superiority in Europe gives stability and solidity to the political advantages which the Slavonic world may derive from the collapse of its age-long enemy—Germanism.

563 829 We shall use the term 'Slavonic world' or 'Slavonic community', rather than 'Slavonic race'. It was at the time when science was abandoning its convictions regarding race-discrimina-

[161] [1] Between 1930 and 1939 the population of Russia rose from 158 to 192 million, i.e. an annual increase of 3,700,000 persons—which constitutes a world record.

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tion that Hitlerite Germany adopted this discrimination as a creed. We have seen whither this folly led. A less dangerous, but more general, illusion leads historians to falsify the time-perspectives of the events they record by giving to the words 'national conscience' a racial import which is, more often than not, simply a gross anachronism. The most one can concede is that 'race' intervened as a disturbing element in international life at a time when the latter had, to all appearances, lost its homogeneity and its original authentication marks. The case of the Slavs is, in this respect, irrefutably eloquent. If we accept what the learned Genevan anthropologist, Professor Eugène Pittard,[2] has written, we lack precise information, and even clarity, regarding the original populations of the Slav countries; the data are too scanty for us to write their history on an anthropological basis and to establish definite relationships. Great Russians, White Russians and Little Russians present rather widely differing morphological characteristics. Neither does the Polish nation constitute a pure race. The Czechs of Bohemia and those of Moravia cannot be placed on the same level as the Russians and the Poles; on the other hand, Lusatians, Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks *do* seem to be the offshoots of one single ethnical stock. According to M. Pittard, the Slovenes would appear to be only Slavicised; a large proportion of them can be attached to the Adriatic or Dinaric race. The Croats and the Serbs used to form one single group; many of them must belong to this same Dinaric race: they are, again, Slavicised people, anthropologically far removed from the Slavs of the North, that is to say, of the districts today considered as the most specifically Slavonic. The same can probably be said of the Bosnians and the Montenegrins. The Bulgars do not represent a pure race, and different origins are attributed to them: Thracian, Tartar, and others; they too are Slavicised. In short, and without forgetting the reserves with which M. Pittard surrounds conclusions which he is very careful not to put forward as final—the Slavs of the South are probably not related to the Slavs of the North, and the identity of race of the former is apparently itself unconfirmed. Comparing this picture with the emotive manifestations of Slavonic solidarity which

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[2] *Les Races et l'Histoire*, in the collection "L'Evolution de l'Humanité," pp. 273 *sqq.*

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Europe has witnessed during the past century, one is tempted to wonder whether the modern nations are not groups of human beings, mainly united by a common illusion as to their origins and an identical aversion to their neighbours. 563 829 144

But history is often only a distortion of the legend concerning the lives of nations. It matters comparatively little if scholars criticise and refute theories which human societies, wittingly or otherwise, have turned into living realities. Up to the sixteenth century the French believed in their Trojan origin, and even today they place an exaggerated faith in their 'Latinity'. 000

Consequently, as far as the Slavonic community is concerned, we will keep to the idea of it which is held by its component nations, without discussing its basis. Now it is evident that the feeling of this community, existing in embryo in former centuries, has gone on intensifying during the past hundred years, and to-day constitutes a fundamental factor in European life.

* * *

'The first nation to impose its virile will on the invaders, and decree the destruction of the enemy, was a Slavonic nation', said the German novelist, Heinrich Mann, in a letter he addressed to the Association of Soviet Authors, in May, 1942. It was, indeed, the Russian armies which, at the cost of never-to-be-forgotten steadfastness and unheard-of sacrifices, annihilated the most formidable military organisation the world has ever seen.

This victory represents more than the physical balance-sheet of a trial of strength, the settlement of an account, outstanding for a thousand years, between two nations. Regarded from the angle of European destinies, it is an event of quite different magnitude. It is the prelude to a reintegration of the Slavonic world, hitherto split up among the powers and interests which speculated on its division. For a century, the Western Chancelleries used and abused the word 'Panslavism'. We shall see, later, what to think of this word, which is unknown in the Russian language. But it was nothing more than a diplomatic slogan, a scarecrow utilised by the Habsburg monarchy in times of crisis, with a view to mobilising the West against Tsarist diplomacy. It is only today that we can speak of a Slav 186x 829 648

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186* 829 648 solidarity capable of disturbing the balance of power in Europe. And even so, we have to give an objective definition of this solidarity—a task rendered difficult by the traditional prejudices, the historical misinterpretations which, in the minds of many Westerners, have falsified the laws and motives which govern the expansion of Slavism.

• 563 829 No need to go far afield to see the effects of this ignorance of Slavonic realities, even when it is not reinforced by a feeling of animosity. In witness, I will simply cite this passage from a speech pronounced in the Tribunal of the French Senate on May 4, 1933, by the Chairman of the Committee for the Budget on Foreign Affairs:—

> 'That is a point to be noted, *viz.*, the awakening of the Slavonic race. . . . The objection is raised that Rumania is not essentially Slavonic; agreed. But there is Poland, there are the Baltic States, and, farther off still, the wholly Slavonic U.S.S.R., which is, so to speak, the mother of all the Slavonic nations of Central and Eastern Europe'.[3]

These few sentences, from the mouth of an authoritative speaker, contain as many errors as there are words. Rumania is not Slavonic, either essentially or in appearance. Still less the Baltic States. Far from being entirely Slavonic, the Soviet Union is hardly more than fifty per cent so. As for considering it the original habitation of the Slavonic tribes of Central and Eastern Europe, to do this is to settle, with an enviable assurance, a problem whose solution the most eminent ethnologists are still seeking.

Such was, however, the idea current in our official circles, on the eve of this War, concerning one of the determining factors of European peace.

186* 829 208 Even so, the honourable Parliamentarian who pronounced these gross untruths before his colleagues of the Senate was not prompted by malevolence when he spoke of an awakening of the Slavonic nations. This was not always the case with our journalists and their supporters. It would be possible to compile an anthology of ill-disposed or apprehensive judgements on the Slavonic world, from the pens of French intellectuals, or of men responsible for pronouncements on foreign policy. Is it necessary

[3] *Journal Officiel* of May 5 (1933), p. 791, col. 1.

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feature which most reveals the Russian exclusivism that animated the Slavophiles is the very fact that their campaign did not succeed in creating a more effective current of intellectual exchanges. In 1850, a young Russian aristocrat asked for a passport to go abroad, in order to study 'Slavonic peoples and ways'. His application was refused, on the grounds that 'between Moscow and Kamchatka there was ample space in which to pursue this branch of study'. 186* 668

Among the Orthodox Slavs there was, moreover, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, only one State exhibiting a certain independence, and that was Montenegro. After a long period of subjection to Venetian influence, it passed entirely under Russian tutelage. Its prince-bishops sent their nephews to study in Russia, to prepare themselves for rule. Many young Montenegrins settled there, and their descendants included several of the Russian generals who opposed the Great Army. [563] •

With this exception, intellectual relations between Slavs and Russians were intermittent and restricted. If, once they had regained their independence, the Serbs and the Bulgars sent their statesmen to St. Petersburg, their students went to Vienna, to Leipzig, or to Paris. Even the Orthodox seminarists often preferred the Protestant Faculty of Tübingen to the Russian religious institutions. In short, the ascendency of Western civilisation remained the chief obstacle to an assimilation of Russian culture by the Slavonic peoples. 186* 177

The Slavophiles, despite the lack of support (and, very soon, the distrust) which their initiative experienced from the Imperial Government, did not allow themselves to be discouraged. The Moscow Slavonic Committee, founded immediately after the Congress of 1867, and its St. Petersburg branch, set up in the spring of 1868, were continually active in the years that followed. Among other activities, they established charitable societies, which educated young Slavs from the oppressed regions, and publishing houses, which produced books, dictionaries, maps, reviews, etc., intended to propagate the common ideal. Between 1875 and 1878 the two organisations were very much in favour in Russian society; millions of roubles flowed into the collections sponsored by them; Aid Committees came to the assistance of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina; arms were sent to the Christians in revolt against Islam; a legion of Russian 186* 668 575

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Club) and the *Skupshtina*. But only secondary questions were dealt with, to be re-examined—without any more practical result—in the following month in Prague. These questions included the creation of a Slavonic Bank, a Slavonic Telegraphic Agency, the preparation of an Exhibition, the extension of Sokolism. . . . The time of heroic debates had passed. 186* 668

Then, in the speculations founded on an identical destiny for the Slavonic community, there was one disturbing element—Poland. Towards that country, Tsarist Russia displayed implacable aversion. Had she pursued a really Slavonic policy, she would have tried to utilise the powerful factor formed by the persecuted Poles beyond her own frontiers. A Slavonic policy would have succeeded in making of Russian Poland, governed with tolerance and understanding, a centre of attraction, if not for Little Poland (where the Viennese policy of Austro-Polonism gave the illusion of some measure of individuality), at least for the savagely persecuted Poles in East Prussia, in Posnania, and in Upper Silesia. 186* 563* 648

For their part the Poles were inclined to think that there existed only two Slavonic peoples, Russia and themselves, and, of the principles of Slavism, to grasp only that directed against Germany.

It was precisely in the measure in which she appealed to the Slavonic idea that Russia caused them uneasiness. As for the other Slavonic peoples, their relations with them were only occasional. *Bohemi Polonorum infestissimi inimici* ran an old saying. The seventy-seven Polish deputies who made up the *Kolo Polsko,* and together stood for all the parties represented in the Reichsrat, rarely cast their votes with those of the Slav bloc formed by the Czech, Slovene, Serbo-Croat parties of Istria and Dalmatia. Yet the Slavonic Union of 1907 proved—though for a very short time—that, with them, the Slavs would have secured an absolute majority in the Parliament of Vienna. The *Kolo Polsko* adopted a realistic and short-sighted policy; its members derived temporary advantages, but consolidated a régime which the other Slavs declared to be inhuman and condemned by the evolution of the modern world. The Poles saw the Serbs only as Orthodox Christians and vassals of the Russians. They boycotted the last Slav Congresses, in order not to sit at the same table as the Russians. In 1911, the Serbs succeeded in [646]

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186* •563 648 getting them to attend the Slavonic Press Congress which was held during the summer in Belgrade. A characteristic incident spoiled the atmosphere of this gathering. The Poles agreed to attend the banquet offered to the members of the Congress only on condition that the Imperial hymn, *Boje Tsaria Khranyi,* should not be played. In an attempt to conciliate all parties, it was agreed not to play either the Russian or the Polish hymn, but to replace them with the Panslav hymn, *Ei Sloveni.* But no one had thought of the fact that this is sung to the same tune as that of Dabrowsky's hymn, *Jeszcze Polska nie zginela* ('Poland is not lost'). Hence an altercation between Poles and Russians, with the result that the latter refused to take part in the proposed outing to the Iron Gates.

It was jokingly said in Belgrade that the Poles were first and foremost Poles, then Catholics, and Slavs when they had time. Yet Bethmann-Hollweg, as President of the Prussian Council in 1912, had, by his famous Expropriation Law, reawakened among the Poles the feeling of a community of destiny with the Slavs. In the Prussian Landtag Korfanty exclaimed, 'At a time when, in the Balkans, the cannon is thundering for the liberation of the Slavs, we Poles, Slavs in Prussia, are the victims of a fresh act of vile oppression and persecution'.

But the Russians did not wish, or did not know how to profit by these divisions. The idea of easing the situation came to them too late, at the time of the First World War, after Pilsudski had organised the 'legions' in Krakow, and the P.O.W. (*Polska organizacya wojskowa*), the Polish secret organisation in Russia; it was only then that Grand-Duke Nicholas proclaimed the hypothetical independence of Poland.

186* 771 The first Russian Slavophiles' die-hard attitude in matters of religion greatly contributed to disturbing the currents of sympathy between Muscovites and the Slavs of Central Europe. Yet denominational differences were not calculated to alarm the Czechs. In 1848, the populace of Prague crammed Wenceslas Square to hear the Serbian Archpriest, Stamatovich, sing the office of the Orthodox rite; a wave of emotion passed through them when the celebrant intoned the *Gospodi pomiluj* for the repose of the soul of John Hus and of Zizka, the hero of the Hussite Tabor. The fact was that the Serbs, not very much given to mysticism, saw the faith chiefly as a counterpart of

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national sentiment. It is not irrelevant to mention that the Orthodox Slavs of the Balkans are the least practising of Orthodox Christians, among whom it is the Serbs who have the largest number of unbelievers. It is said that, for a given number of inhabitants, there would be six times as many churches in Greece as in Serbia, four times as many in Rumania, and twice as many in Bulgaria. 186* 771

Muscovite Slavism differed from Czech Slavism not only in its internal tendencies but in its psychological structure. The patient mysticism of the Russians aimed at achievements on the basis of a millenary evolution. The Czechs, of less nebulous mentality and of intense volitional power, sought immediate results. In Moscow they talked of the divine mission of Eastern Christianity; in Prague, of the boycotting of German goods and the disposal of the products of Czech industry. Between two nations with such a differing mental outlook, it was difficult to maintain concomitant moral action for very long. 186* 563* 185

The breach became apparent when the Czech, Karel Kramár, created the 'Neo-Slavism' which held its first Assembly in Prague in May, 1908. A Pole, Roman Dnowski, and a Bulgarian, Stevan Bobtchev, were in agreement with him to rejuvenate the old Slavonic ideal under a new climate. It was a doctrine tending towards cultural unity and the spiritual and economic collaboration of all Slavs, without distinction of religion, and on a footing of perfect equality. An anti-hegemonic conception of Slav solidarity thus replaced 'Russo-Orthodox-Panslavism', relegated to the order of romantic myths. It seemed to provide the positive basis and the practical aims which agreement among Slavs had always lacked. 186* 668

But, among the other Slav peoples, this movement did not meet with the success its founder anticipated. Too many of these peoples still had to contend with foreign domination. Kramár more or less approved the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Dual Monarchy. He saw in it the legalisation of a state of things which implied an increase in the number, and therefore in the influence, of the Slavs within Austria-Hungary; it was for the inverse reason that the German Liberals in Austria had, thirty years earlier (1878), unleashed furious opposition to the occupation of these same provinces. But bound up with this question were the security and the independence of the Serbian 186* 668 648

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Anglo-Saxon, or Latin nations. The treaties of the earlier war had thus sanctioned a traditional exclusiveness in this respect. 728 131 175

On the other hand, Slavism scored a point—the only one—in an acquisition of territory. This was achieved by the clauses which allocated to the Czechs Sub-Carpathian Russia—an ethnical mosaic, with predominant Russian or Ukrainian elements, which was to form an autonomous unit within the framework of the Czechoslovak Republic. This allocation, demanded by the Ruthenians of America, was decided upon chiefly because the signatories to the treaties considered the Prague government as the best mentor they could give to a dangerously backward Slavonic population. Indeed, Czechoslovakia was, within a few years, to improve Sub-Carpathia, that Cinderella of the Slavonic world; at the cost of heavy budgetary sacrifices, she turned this territory entrusted to her into a real 'Civilisation Front'. [186]

As is well known, at the Peace Conference the Czechoslovaks intervened—another gesture of pure Slavonic inspiration—to try to secure for the Serbs of Lusatia the benefit of the protection accorded to minorities. These Lusatians are the remnant of a powerful tribe who people a corner of Saxony and Brandenburg, with its centre at Bautzen. Theirs was for long the *terra incognita* of the Slavonic world; they were discovered by the learned circles of Czechoslovakia and Poland in the nineteenth century. [563]

The return of Poland to an independent life, and the Sovietisation of the Russian State, modified the nature of the relations between the two peoples. Immediately after the earlier war and the Treaty of Riga, one could not say that these relations had been clarified. It is certain that the Government of Moscow was then pursuing a Eurasiatic policy, which drew it away from European affairs. But no one could imagine that this disinterestedness would last very long. In Moscow they still, as under the Tsars, spoke of the 'Jesuitism' and the 'Jagellonism' of the Poles; in Warsaw, they talked about the hegemonic appetite of Russia, and her propaganda. 'Atheism' and 'Marxism' had replaced 'Orthodoxy' and 'Panslavism' as passwords. 648 829

The Polish-Sovietic War of 1920 complicated inter-Slav relations. The Poles bitterly reproached the Czechs with having refused 648 578

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that in neither of these capitals did they suspect that the big Slav brother would one day re-awaken from the dead, and become once more a factor of prime importance in world politics. 186* 829

Already, at the Genoa Conference, Chicherin and the Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nintchich, had, unknown to their colleagues, held conferences *in camera*, discussing the international situation, not as plenipotentiaries, but, according to Chicherin's own expression, 'among Slavs'. 186* 648 829

The question of official relations with Russia was brought forward for the first time in July, 1924, by the ephemeral government presided over by the democratic leader, Davidovich. In his ministerial declaration the latter alluded to the expediency of contact 'with Sister Russia' (*bratska Rusija*). But it was then only a pious hope. This question was complicated by the presence in Belgrade of a powerful 'white' emigration (to which Wrangel belonged),[7] and of a 'legation', directed by Strandtman (the former Chargé d'Affaires of Tsarist Russia), in his capacity as 'General Delegate of Russian Emigration'. [563]

A few months later, on the orders of Moscow, the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in Warsaw, Bessiedovsky, approached Simich, the Yugoslav Minister in that capital. These overtures seem to have been the result of the visit which Stiepan Radich, the Croat agrarian leader, made to Moscow during the summer of 1924. The Muscovites had visualised Radich as the possible artisan of a peasant revolution in Yugoslavia, but he disappointed them by his muddle-headed fluency of speech and his absence of positive views. They dubbed him a 'little Leftist Bourgeois, hopping all over the place'. Nor did they derive more benefit from the Simich-Bessiedovsky discussions, revived shortly afterwards by the Soviet Ambassador in Berlin with Balougdjich, the representative of Yugoslavia. Nothing came of these private talks. It needed the Hitlerian nightmare and the Czech drama to restore—too late—the official relations between Belgrade and Moscow to their historical setting.

On the Slavonic side Czechoslovakia was the State most ready to give prompt recognition to the Soviet State. In this 829

[7] Generals, Slavophiles, prelates like the ex-Metropolitan of Kiev, Mgr. Antoine, had fled to Belgrade, where rest the ashes of General Alexeiev and of Wrangel. Philosophers and scholars sought shelter, for preference, in Czechoslovakia.

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186* 648 Prague and Belgrade should be of the same quality as those existing between Warsaw and Bucharest, or between Belgrade and Warsaw—which no one can claim to be the case. Rather, it is precisely regarding the manner of averting the Teutonic peril that Czechs and Yugoslavs have held views which, if not conflicting, were at least divergent: in Prague they feared a restoration of the Habsburgs more than the *Anschluss*, while the reverse was the case in Belgrade.

To the credit side of the relations between Belgrade and Prague must be put the action, both sentimental and positive, of the Slovene statesmen and propagandists, many of whom, [665] moreover, had studied in Bohemia. Immediately after the First World War, Abbé Korochetz' Popular Party (Catholic), which had come under the influence of the Czech Popular Party (*Lidova Strana*), was the one which, in its organ, the *Slovenets*, dealt most fully with questions relating to the Serbo-Bulgarian reconciliation and with Soviet Russia. The Czech Government was for a time tempted to intervene as mediator in the dispute between Belgrade and Sofia. It wisely abstained; the Serbs would certainly have been offended. At least its press always treated this dispute with tact and discretion.

Summing-up, let us say that, between the two wars, the atmosphere of the Czech-Yugoslav relations was one of the positive factors in the spirit of Slav solidarity.

* * *

If the Russo-Polish relations (and, in a certain measure, the Polish-Czech) are the touchstone of this solidarity in Central Europe, in the South-East it is through the Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations that crises are manifested. We have defined the place that Bulgaria, a Slavicised rather than a Slav people,[12] holds in the ethnical community, and the alternations of Russophilia and Russophobia through which she has passed. In 1915 she

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[12] It will be remembered, however, that in 1933, when MM. Gömbös and Kanya, respectively Hungarian Chairman of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, returned from Sofia (where Gömbös had conferred, in the Serbo-Croat language, with Mouchanov, the Bulgarian President), they declared to the Hungarian newspapers that they had 'visited Bulgaria, a country related to them by blood'. The Bulgarian press was unanimous in protesting against this expression; Bulgars and Magyars can be friends, but not relatives. The argument of ethnical relationship (Finnish) had nevertheless been put forward by certain Bulgarian propagandists in 1916–1917; it was the time when the poet Cyrille Kristov called himself a 'Tartaro-Bulgar'.

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Then there is the 'Balkan fact', with all that it implies of suspicion and particularities. It is commonly explained by the geographic configuration of the Peninsula, furrowed by valleys which have no inter-communication. No doubt the physical relief tends to perpetuate the clan spirit throughout all the various changes of sovereignty. But the ethnical variety does not give an exhaustive image of the Balkan mentality. Nor does the long practice of the *Divide ut imperes* principle, which was the Alpha and Omega of the Habsburg policy in the Balkans. These States, before becoming the successors to Austria-Hungary, were the heirs of Byzantium, and we may wonder whether the passion-charged atmosphere, the complex of distrust and turbulence which characterise them, are not a survival of Byzantine influence, in opposition to that Roman continuity and that tendency to universalism whose determining effects on Western civilisation have been analysed by Fustel de Coulanges, Dopsch and Pirenne.

* * *

An event of incalculable significance for the Slavonic world occurred about the year 1933: the reappearance of Moscow on the European diplomatic stage—coinciding, if not tallying, with the rehabilitation by the Soviets of national values in Russian history.

In its critical years, the Bolshevist régime had relegated the racial idea to the status of romantic nonsense. 'Slavophilia', frowned upon as it was by the last Tsarist governments, still had about it an odour of reactionary and religious mysticism which would have been sufficient to keep it on the black-list, even had the idea of ethnical solidarity found a place in Marxist terminology. On the other hand, the policy of nationalities pursued by the U.S.S.R. had breathed new life into hitherto inorganic or unrecognised ethnical groups. In the time of the Tsars, who would have dreamed that Russia comprised no less than fifty nationalities or ethnical groups? It would have been ill-timed to give these people the impression that there existed in the U.S.S.R. a privileged race, whose traditions or ambitions dominated the life of the country, relegating the allogeneous republics to the condition of satellites. Decentralisation diluted Russian Slavism, and the plurality of tongues favoured by the Socialist Revolution deprived it of its trump card.

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648 793 795 to do with the protesting prelates,[11] or openly dissociated themselves from their attitude.

771 626 795 By way of retort, the first number of the *Moscow Patriarchy* published a message from the Council of Russian Bishops, assembled for the election, inviting Christians to pray for the victory of the Red Army and the fulfilment of the scriptural text invoked by Alexander Nevsky: 'He who strikes with the sword shall perish by the sword'. On September 8, this same Council had excommunicated 'as adversaries of the Cross of the Lord, all who have been guilty of treason to the common cause of the Church and gone over to Fascism'; the bishops and clergy guilty on this head were removed from their sacred office.

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186* 563 To conclude, the only obstacles to a general reconciliation of the Slavonic peoples came from the Poles. To summarise here the vicissitudes of Soviet-Polish relations since the pact of December, 1941, would mean not only relating the most stormy chapter in the Allies' war diplomacy, but also recalling the relations of the various groups among the Polish exiles, the antagonism between the London Committee and that of Lublin, the frontier problem, and also the perhaps more tragic problem of the political, religious, and social concepts on the basis of which the Polish State was to be re-born. Once again it was made very clear that Poland occupied a place apart on the map of the Slavonic world, and formed an obstacle to the realisation of full Slav solidarity.

727 177 Like the other Slavonic States, however, she had been caught up in the advance of the Russian armies sweeping across Eastern Europe—an onrush which settled the fate of the Slav nations, with or without their consent, as a consequence of their liberation. For three or four years Germany had been the second Slavonic power in the world. She had imposed on her Serbian, Croatian, Slovak, and Bulgarian satellites not only the horrors of the occupation, but also ideologies strongly opposed to their temperaments and their history; an impersonal and tyrannical idea of the State, a 'New Order' which was nothing but a hypocritical subjection, anti-Semitism which—with the exceptions of Poland and Imperial Russia—the Slavonic nations had always regarded with horror. When the collapse came, all these nations turned

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[11] Among these, however, we must include the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Argentine.

[J. Poland - Analyst]

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A sceptic might have observed that, despite the oratorical manifestations of harmony and goodwill, three specifically Slav problems which had arisen in 1919 still appeared on the agenda of questions at issue in 1946—the allocation of the Teschen Basin, the definitive status of Macedonia, the fate of the Lusatian Serbs.

Indeed, the Macedonian question does not seem to have been finally settled by the creation of a Macedonian Republic within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation. That is why, at the end of 1946, Yugoslav newspapers demanded the incorporation of the Bulgarian districts (Petrich, Gornya-Djumaïa, Nevrekop) in the Popular Republic of Macedonia, and reproached the new Bulgarian constitution with submitting every project for the transfer of territory to the decision of the legislature—a step which Belgrade considered as a stipulation derogatory to the 'Macedonian minority's' right to self-determination.[2] In other words, in Yugoslavia the Macedonian population of Bulgaria was still considered as non-Bulgarian in character. Latent, but still discernible, it was the old quarrel which had, for half a century, set the two peoples in opposition to each other. It was recalled in the Sobranje on December 12, by an Agrarian Deputy, who asked the Government whether it did not consider the Yugoslav claims as an interference in Bulgarian Home Affairs. And early in 1947 a much-talked-of action brought at Skoplje plainly pointed to the survival of the famous ORIM (Macedonian Internal Revolutionary Organisation) directed by Vanka Mihaïlov—that organisation which had been so widely discussed at the conclusion of the previous war.

[2] An action which the French Press Agency described (on January 27, 1947) as 'typically Macedonian' was brought against Albanians, Yugoslavs of Albanian or Turkish origin and 'real Macedonians', accused of having organised, in 1945, an illegal society—*National Chiptare Demokratia*—to overthrow the Albanian Government of Enver Hodja and set up a 'Great Albania', including a part of Western Macedonia, with Kossovo and Metova. The conspirators were in league with Mihaïlov's Revolutionary Committee—the famous ORIM (Macedonian International Revolutionary Organisation), whose hand had already been detected in a separatist Macedonian plot which had been judged in November 1946. In this plot was involved no less a person than Metodijé Andorov Cento, one of the most popular figures among the Macedonian 'partisans' and, up to the spring of 1946, President of the Macedonian Liberation Assembly. Cento was sentenced to eleven years' hard labour. Decorated by Tito, he was in opposition to the Government, criticising its Communist affiliations, and in conflict with Lazar Koulichevsky, Prime Minister of the Macedonian legislature.

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666 result even exceeded the expectations of M. Gheorgiev, who took
175 fright at the excitement stirred up in the country by the Communists—hence this appeal to the population: 'Victory often intoxicates men, and defeat makes them lose their self-control. Tension resulting from elections, if not rapidly mastered, may help to foster a state of excitement prejudicial to order and tranquillity. The Government earnestly exhorts all citizens strictly to observe the laws'.

Spectacular as was the triumph of governmental coalition, it did not reach the overwhelming majorities of which Russia and Yugoslavia held the secret. In particular, the ministerial fraction belonging to the *Zveno* was beaten, so that the country had modified, to the advantage of the Communists, the relative strengths within the coalition. Now, in a nation which had neither capitalism nor trusts nor large industrial concerns nor *latifundia*, the word *Communist* had a meaning which was much more political than social.* It was above all the victory of the 'Russianisers', long held in check by the official policy.

• [563] It must moreover be admitted that, renewing the gesture of the liberating Tsar, the Soviet Union had just saved the Bulgarian people by protecting them from the consequences of their rulers' collusion with the Axis. The question that still remained was whether Russia would not have preferred to be defended in Sofia by traditionally 'national' elements, rather than by a party too openly connected with Moscow, and whose leader, George Dimitrov, the hero of the Leipzig trial, was thought to be a tool of Russia.

642 As a logical consequence of the elections, a new Government
175 was in fact formed by Dimitrov on November 23.[1] It included ten Communists, five Agrarians, two Socialists, two members of the *Zveno* and one Independent. The ex-President, Kimon Gheorgiev, held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. The semi-official press saw it as 'the most democratic Government Bulgaria has ever had', whilst the Opposition emphasised the complete hold on power which the Communists had obtained.

648 This Government's vital tasks were to be signing the peace
175 and voting the Constitution. On February 12, 1947, it secured

[162] * The working-class strengths, on which the Communists rely, are very small; indeed, 80% of the population are engaged in agriculture, not to mention tradesmen, civil servants, and members of the liberal professions.

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648 175 ference, which, while treating her as a conquered country, nevertheless left her Southern Dobrudja which she had obtained from Rumania under a friendly agreement concluded under the auspices of the Axis.

728 175 By her memoranda addressed to the Four Powers on May 7 and June 20, she had asked to be designated in the peace treaties, not as an Axis 'Satellite State' but as a 'Co-belligerent Ally'. Her delegate to the Paris Conference maintained that the moral responsibility of the Bulgarian people had not been involved in the policy of collaboration with Germany,[11] that, moreover, no Bulgarian soldier had borne arms against the Red Army, and that the country's heroic resistance, at the critical moment of the war, entitled her to the Allies' sympathetic consideration.

This request was rejected, however, as well as that which aimed at securing access to the Aegean Sea (the famous 'outlet' of Article 48 of the Treaty of Neuilly) or, more clearly, that part of Western Thrace which had been under Bulgarian sovereignty between 1913 (Treaty of Bucharest) and 1919 (Treaty of Neuilly) and which, at the time of which we are speaking, formed part of Greece. This request, as well as the claim for indemnity for 'investments and improvements' effected by the Bulgarian troops on Greek soil during the occupation, at the Luxembourg Conference provoked vigorous reaction on the part of the Greek Premier, M. Tsaldaris, who reproached the Bulgarians with having attacked his country three times in the space of a single generation.

[648] Much more: Messrs. Byrnes and Bevin took the opportunity of M. Kolarov's visit to Paris to intimate to him the dissatisfaction their Governments felt at the way in which the • [563] Opposition was treated in Sofia. Moreover, the British delegate demanded the insertion of a special clause intended to protect Jewish minorities, although it was well known that—except in the last war, and even then, not without the exercise of great restraint[12]—the Jews had never been the object of discriminating measures.

[11] Almost word for word, this was the thesis maintained at the end of the previous war by M. Mollov, the Bulgarian delegate to the League of Nations: 'Bulgaria . . . was drawn into the war by events contrary to the manifest will of the majority of the people, and of the political parties'.

[12] The opposition of the Bulgarian people to racial laws spared the Jews the atrocities to which they were subjected in other Eastern European countries.

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accused the hierarchy, in connection with the Kielce pogrom,[18] of not having adopted a sufficiently bold attitude towards anti-Semitism, and of having refused to sign the declaration of all political parties, condemning this racial crime. 136* 659 798

The Cardinal addressed to the foreign press declarations in which, while deploring the acts of violence, he attributed them largely 'to the dominant position assumed by the Jews in the Polish Government, and to the efforts made to give Poland a governmental structure that the majority of the country did not desire'. As may be imagined, these words aroused passionate comments. The same remark applies to the pastoral letter addressed to the faithful on the eve of the elections, asking them to vote only 'for persons, lists or programmes in favour of Catholic teaching and morals'. Without mentioning the Marxist Parties by name, the pastoral reminded Catholics that they must not belong to 'organisations whose principles are contrary to this teaching and this morality'. The Cardinal was anxious, he said, to 'reconcile the Christian faith with a sound revolutionary movement'.

* * *

It was in Czechoslovakia that the adaptation of political and social life to the new state of affairs was achieved with the minimum of clashes and the maximum of realism. The Second Republic was stabilised under the form of a 'Socialising Democracy' (according to President Benes's term), half-way between Communism and the Bourgeois State. It no longer had the same exterior structure as Masaryk's republic, having adopted a *sui generis* type of bi-national community, with equal rights for Czechs and Slovaks. There was another innovation—a still more vital one—the elimination of minorities, whose presence and militancy had hindered its development, before contributing to its dislocation under the Hitlerian onrush. 642 563 175

[18] In this locality,[1] on July 4, 1946, there was a pogrom, arising out of a trifling cause, in the course of which 45 Jews were massacred. Nine of the presumed authors of this massacre were condemned to death. The clandestine organisations were accused of having fomented anti-Semite passions, whereas, in reality, the latter had remained very much alive in Poland—as witness the testimony of Dr. Shoskes, South America's representative in the Society for Assistance to Jewish Immigrants, and M. Segal, delegate to the World Jewish Congress of New York. Despite the frightful losses they suffered during the occupation, which reduced them to an insignificant minority, the Polish Jews, for the most part, aspire to leave the country. This is one of the indirect aspects of the Palestinian problem. 798

1 [in Kielce - Analyst]

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sent as Papal Nuncio. In November, Mgr. Joseph Beran, a Dachau deportee, was appointed Archbishop of Prague. Czechoslovakia was then the only Slav State having accredited diplomatic representation with the Holy See. 648

In Slovakia the clergy had to suffer from the fact that a priest, Joseph Tiso,[21] who succeeded Father Hlinka as Leader of a Peoples' Party, had controlled the so-called 'Independent' State under the Nazi occupation. In some cases, proceedings against 'collaborators' took on the aspect of an anti-Catholic drive; some Associations, and even some religious communities, were dissolved. 798

As regards foreign policy during this period, it was dominated by two questions, the claim on Teschen and the 'liquidation' of the Hungarian minorities. The Teschen problem has been dealt with above, in connection with Poland; we will simply remind the reader that the Prague Government was adamant in its claim. 'Czechoslovakia will not give up one scrap of Teschen', declared President Benes on July 18, 1946. The treaty of alliance of March 10 left the matter in suspense until 1949. 648 563 728 175

The evacuation of the Hungarian populations raised a bitter and prolonged dispute between Prague and Budapest.

An agreement concluded on February 27, 1946 provided for an exchange between Hungarians in Slovakia and Slovaks in Hungary, on a parity basis, to the number of 150,000 persons. The Government of Budapest was to make this agreement widely known amongst the Slovaks placed under its jurisdiction.

But the intention of the Czechs was to expel from their territory the whole of the Hungarian minority, which was far more numerous than the Slovak minority in Hungary.[22] And so they asked that country to take over 200,000 other members of the Magyar minority, and a further 60,000 Hungarian minority subjects, expelled as war criminals or political offenders. The Hungarians in Czechoslovakia who might escape these various transfers would be 're-Slovacised', and would cease to enjoy any minority privileges. Prague emphatically insisted that

[21] His trial opened on December 2, 194(5?) before the High Court of Bratislava.

[22] Out of the 645,000 Magyars who lived in Czechoslovakia in 1939, 110,000 were in Carpathian Ruthenia, ceded to the Russians. There remained 435,000, more than half of whom were considered to be 'inassimilable'. [728]

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648 •563 728 175

the minorities had been the instrument which had upset and dismembered Czechoslovakia, and that their complete elimination was an essential condition for the security of the new State.

Hungary resisted this claim. Apart from general humanitarian considerations, she maintained that it was economically impossible for her to meet the needs of such an increased population. First she asked for a frontier revision, which was categorically refused by Prague. Later on, the two Governments accused each other of sabotaging the February agreements. A joint commission was set up, to accelerate the exchange. Its work was interrupted in September, when the Czechs presented a demand for the expulsion of a further 70,000 persons. In that same month the matter was taken before the Political and Territorial Commission, charged by the Peace Conference with the preparation of the treaty with Hungary; it was connected with a Czech request for frontier rectification (extension of Bratislava on the right bank of the Danube)—a request which was naturally resisted by the Hungarians. The Commission, setting aside forcible solutions, urged the two countries to come to a direct understanding on the problems of the minorities; should such an agreement not be reached within six months, Czechoslovakia would be authorised to lay the matter before the Council of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.[23]

The dispute broke out again in November, when the Hungarians remaining in Czechoslovakia were requisitioned and transferred, for the most part, to the Sudetenland, in virtue of the law for the mobilisation of man-power. A demand from Budapest for an explanation, dated March 23, was left unanswered by Prague, where it was considered that a general measure needed no justification. On November 21 the Hungarian National Assembly registered a solemn protest against these forcible displacements. This protest was echoed abroad, particularly in London, in the House of Lords, and in a section of the English and American press, which felt obliged to remind

[23] The *Magyar Hirlap*, the organ of the Prime Minister, Nagy, published an article on the Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations containing the following remarks: 'Between the two World Wars, the Government of Hungary considered that it ought to be the ally of the power which was the enemy of Czechoslovakia; but later on, it was realised that this power was the common enemy, and had enslaved Hungary as well as Czechoslovakia'.

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the Prague Government that the sufferings inflicted on the Hungarians did not compensate for those the Slovaks had endured; they simply increased the total amount of suffering. 648 563 728 175

Negotiations between the two Governments were resumed in January, 1947, following the visit of the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Gyöngyösy, to Bratislava, where he met the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, M. Clementis, and had with him a preliminary discussion in view of a general settlement of the problem. At that time a total of 11,655 Slovaks (as against the agreed figure of 40,000) had returned to Slovakia from Hungary; of these 3,535 had not been officially transferred, but had simply fled.

Exchanges of population were resumed from April 11 to 18, but on a very small scale, while settlement was taking place, in Bratislava, of the financial problems raised by these operations.

In the whole matter, Czechoslovakia had had Russia behind her. 'We have the support of the Soviet Union in the question of the minorities', said M. Gottwald. But we should fall short of the truth were we to omit to mention that Czechoslovakia's conduct was rather severely judged in the Anglo-American countries, where people were not very familiar with minority disputes, and attached too much importance to respect for the individual, to approve of these mass exoduses—at least in Europe. [829]

The case of the German minority had been the object of Czechoslovak declarations, even before the end of the war, and on this point the Potsdam agreements had merely had to sanction the decision taken by M. Benes and his Ministers to create a homogeneous national State. Consequently, the expulsion of the Germans from the Sudetenland did not give rise to any disputes —eliciting, at the most, humanitarian recommendations on the part of the Western Allies. The 'ceiling' for the expulsions had been fixed at 2,500,000 by the Potsdam agreements; in October, 1946, 750,000 had been sent into the Russian zone, 1,415,135 into the American zone, and 310,000 were authorised to remain on Czech territory; these were skilled workmen, miners, anti-Fascists, relatives of Czechs, old or sick people.[24] There is no

[24] It should be noted that Czechoslovakia adopted a special treatment for Germans of Austrian nationality residing or temporarily domiciled in her territory. She did not class them with the Sudeten Germans as necessarily to be expulsed, unless they had been members of the Nazi Party.

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648 doubt that, although their departure corresponded to a legitimate
•563 policy of internal peace and security, yet it created in Czech
728 economic life a void that was difficult to fill.
176

648 The Americans' remarks on the subject of the deportations
457 were not the only cause (and, in any case, they were passing
175 ones) of the frigid relations between themselves and the Prague Government. The latter had negotiated and obtained a loan of fifty million dollars from the Export-Import Bank—a loan which was to help to finance the 'two-year plan' for Czechoslovakia's economic reconstruction. On October 16 the State Department notified that they had blocked this credit for an indefinite period, because the borrowing country had not provided any compensation for American nationals dispossessed by nationalisation. Another argument advanced was the cutting and, at the very least, injudicious tone adopted by certain Czech newspapers which, at the very moment when their Government was seeking financial aid, accused the United States of using credits as an instrument of economic imperialism. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs blamed the Russians for the latter accusation and expressed regret at Washington's decision.

On the other hand, in November, 1946, England granted a loan of two and a half million sterling, spread over four years, to enable Czechoslovakia to buy surplus British materials. So that Prague's fears of a synchronised Anglo-American policy in the matter of loans were allayed.

[186] Like those of Poland, Czechoslovakia's aims in the discussion on the German treaty were chiefly directed towards disarmament and denazification of the Reich. For the Czechs, the problem of their security was partly settled by the presence of Soviet Russia in the Danube Basin. The dream of one of their thinkers had come true: 'The lime, our Slavonic emblem,[25] is supported by the powerful Russian oak'. And, celebrating the anniversary of the pact of December 12, 1943, between Stalin and Benes, the *Nurodni Ozvobozeni* declared: 'Treaties are usually entered into for a fixed period. Afterwards, they are extended, or they lapse. This one must stand for eternity'.

[25] The lime was the emblem of the Slavs. At the time of the riots which took place in Ljubljana at the beginning of this century between German and Slovene students, the former sported a cornflower and the latter a lime-leaf.

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Human exoduses afforded the solution of the minority problems, which the 1919–1920 treaties had endeavoured to settle by the establishment of *ad hoc* international law. In short, it was a return to the policy of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. In this conception of European statics lay the sole innovation brought about by the latest peace treaties. Is it progress or the reverse? Whatever we may think, from the humane point of view, of this over-simplified settlement of a complex problem, we are obliged to admit that, as time goes on, it will consolidate the physical bases of the new order and ensure its duration. 648 728 175 [563]

Let us hasten to add, however, that scarcely were the treaties signed, when a campaign for their revision was launched. For perhaps the first time in history, this campaign included victors and vanquished, victims and beneficiaries of the new state of affairs. The Yugoslavs maintained their claim to Julian Venetia, Carinthia, and, more discreetly (at least before the international forum), to Aegean or Greek Macedonia. The Bulgarians returned to the attack, with a view to obtaining a territorial outlet on the Aegean—a claim they had relentlessly pressed between the two wars. Hungary, who again saw Eastern Transylvania eluding her grasp, maintained her traditional attitude on revision. It was difficult for Rumania to forget that, after Germany, she was the chief victim of the war. If Polish official circles, for reasons easily understood, did not raise their voices, it was not because that country willingly accepted the loss of her Eastern Marches, whose inhabitants had been 'invited' to settle on the evacuated borders of Prussia and Silesia. 648 175

The 1947 treaties settled the two problems on which formerly depended the peace of Europe—the relative strengths of the Germany-Poland-Russia trinomial, and Balkan equilibrium.

Both these problems were settled, without right of appeal, by Russia, the victorious liberator. The axiom formulated by M. Gyöngösy, a Hungarian Minister, applies here: 'In crucial periods of her history, a small nation has no liberty of choice'.

The first of these problems was solved in such a way as to ensure security for Poland, at the price of her diplomatic liberty. It used to be maintained in Warsaw that the Poles could be fully masters of their fate only on condition that Germany and Russia should be neither allies nor enemies—a formula which was as

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648 175 687 The Yugoslav Government replied by trying, in Sarajevo, some White Russians, naturalised Soviet citizens, who, after having served the occupying authorities during the war, were said to have become agents for anti-Tito propaganda; on December 9 they were condemned to imprisonment for a term of years.

648 175 In the shade of Soviet-Yugoslav antagonism, the old quarrel between Belgrade and Sofia over Macedonia was reawakened.

Early in August, 1947, Tito and Dimitrov met at Bled and signed a protocol providing for closer collaboration between the two Governments: this protocol was to find its application in the 'pact of collaboration and mutual assistance' concluded on November 27 following, at Euxinograd.

648 563 175 [185] Yet, at Bled, there were signs of disagreement. Tito would have liked to see the formation of a Federation of Southern Slavs. But such a federation would imply the inclusion of Bulgarian Macedonia in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—which would have the effect of committing the Macedonians in Bulgaria to a policy for the future, on the lines of the old Serbian aspirations. Dimitrov shelved the solution of the Macedonian problem until the federal pact should be concluded. The Yugoslavs then insisted that psychological conditioning for the union should be ensured by the granting of 'cultural rights' to the Macedonians in Bulgaria. Now the Sofia Government refused to consider the latter as a minority, and therein lay the germ of the new Bulgarian-Yugoslav crisis.

Later, on December 20, 1948, after the Soviet-Yugoslav rupture, Blagoje Neskovitch, Vice-President of the Belgrade Government, was to claim that the quarrel unleashed by the Kominform arose simply out of the pressure brought to bear by the Bulgarian leaders, with a view to securing recognition of their territorial claims on Vardar Macedonia.

Then Belgrade reproached the Bulgarian Popular Republic with having refused a statute of autonomy and the designation of a 'nationality' to the Pirine Macedonians.

648 175 Thereafter the Macedonian Question remained in the forefront of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations: a Macedonian, Poptomov, became Minister of Foreign Affairs in Sofia and, when Bulgaria denounced the pact of November 27, 1947, Yugoslavia accused her of violating the peace treaty by refusing to pay the repara-

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helplessness; Benes capitulated before Gottwald's ultimatum. It was the end of the Putsch which Hubert Ripka later described as a 'prefabricated revolution'. On March 9[1] Jean Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote a personal letter to Stalin, in which he denounced the intervention of Zorine, the Soviet Ambassador, in the events of February: 'When a time of mortal danger for the country, and for all Slavs, comes, you will have in Prague nothing but a Government hated by the country, despised by the *élite*, and relying entirely on the bayonets of its police organisations'. The next day Masaryk committed suicide: contradictory versions of his death were circulated, although the above-mentioned letter had made clear his intention of ending his life.

Thus the inspirer of two Czech liberations, heir to the thought of Thomas Masaryk, disappeared in shameful oblivion; the commentaries in the Communist press, in which he was later accused of having betrayed the interests of the country, lead us to wonder whether his inglorious end did not save him from an even more tragic fate. Posterity will pronounce a mixed judgment on his political achievement. His tomb might fittingly have been engraved with this epitaph, taken from one of his books (*Whither the Slavs?*): 'The existence and the prosperity of all the Slav States is inseparably bound up with a régime of true democracy, that is to say, a régime in which the elementary principles of individual liberty, liberty of conviction, liberty of religion, liberty of political expression and liberty of public opinion, are guaranteed and fully respected'.

As for Benes, whose authority was henceforth without scope, on June 7, 'for health reasons', he resigned his presidential office, which he had held since June 19, 1946, in a message by which he invited his fellow-citizens 'to encourage liberty and consciously enjoy it'. He died a few months later, on September 3, 1948.

The events of February were to be mentioned at the United Nations Security Council, with a view to appointing a commission of inquiry—which was opposed by a Soviet veto (May 24).

On March 9, 1948, was voted the Constitution which made Czechoslovakia a 'democratic peoples' republic'. It instituted a Single House system, and proclaimed the equality of Czechs and Slovaks: the republic was to be a bi-national State. Unlike

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642 175 563 the preceding Constitutions, this one contained no clause designed to protect minorities.

[666] The elections, postponed until May 30,[1] gave 88 per cent of the votes (6,429,145) to the National Front, but the figure of 770,100 blank voting slips exceeded that anticipated by the Government. The latter was, however, fully master of the situation. On June 14 Clement Gottwald was elected President of the Republic, on the unanimous vote of the 296 deputies present. Under the chairmanship of Zapotocki, he formed a Cabinet on the lines of the previous one (sixteen Communists or supporters, and six non-Communists); the portfolio of Foreign Affairs remained in the hands of Klementis, who replaced Masaryk. The new Head of the Government announced implacable repressive action against 'those guilty of disorder or confusion, who seek to hinder the reconstruction of the country'.

[661] 659 798 175 Indeed, during the months that followed, there was a vigorous purging of diplomacy, the army, the police. But, in 1949, it was the religious question which was to dominate political life, owing to an offensive conducted against the Roman Church, opposing the old Czech Hussite spirit to Catholicism, the dominant trait in the Slovak national character.

Gottwald and his ministers, relying on this 'religious geography' peculiar to Czechoslovakia, embarked upon a struggle with the clergy in the domain of monopoly of the schools. They pursued the contest by seeking to alienate the Catholic Church from her natural hierarchy, and by encouraging the 'schism' of the Czech 'National' Church. To protest against the obstacles put in the way of the exercise of the cult, the bishops drew up a pastoral letter, setting forth the conditions required in order to regularise relations between the Church and the State. The Government forbade the distribution of the pastoral; infringements of this decree, specially numerous in Slovakia, were sternly repressed. Mgr. Beran, Archbishop of Prague, was detained in his palace; the civil authority created 'Catholic Action', an official organisation placed under the control of priests with Communist leanings. At the head of this movement was the Minister of Public Health, Father Plojhar, suspended by the ecclesiastical authorities for having sought a legislative mandate without his bishop's permission.

Tension rose with the 'resolutions' passed on June 28 by the

1 [1948-- Analyst]

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especially poetry, even if it be the popular poetry. A synthesis appears absolutely impossible. It would be enough to compare the Czech versification and all the changes it went through with the Russian and Polish to see how great are the differences. Let us take the Russian *byliny* with their assonances, which have no correspondents in other Slavic productions. On the other hand the *Shchedrivky* and the *Koladki* are ritual poems often inspired by historical subjects of a purely Ukrainian character. A quite distinct group is represented by the Serbo-Croatian and Bulgaro-Macedonian popular poetry—heroic rhapsodies which sing of the legendary Serbian hero Kralević Marko, the mother of the Jugović and her sons and many others. This poetry which served the fantasies and mystifications of Mérimée, which enchanted Goethe, Pushkin, Mickiewicz and Nodier, represents a quite special formation and a unique genre in the Slavic world. How different is the medieval Polish poetry, only semi-popular in its most distant origins, with its origin in the Church. Its lyrical starting point is to be found in the *Kyrie Eleison* and *Alleluiah*, refrains of liturgical songs.

Let us abandon for a moment this purely philological statement and turn to a more essential factor which determined the historical development of the Slavic nations: I have in mind religion. Religion divided the whole Slavic world into two parts. Bulgarians, Serbians, Great Russians, Ukrainians, and White Ruthenians embraced Eastern Orthodoxy from a Byzantine source. Czechs, Croatians, Slovenes, Slovaks, and Poles embraced the Catholic religion from its Roman Source. And in addition the Czechs went through Hussism; a part of the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians adopted the Union. The Muscovite Slavophils and Panslavists were fighting against Catholicism. By that very fact they were in opposition to the whole Western Slavic world. Religion determined the cultural differentiation, and if we add to that some other historical factors we shall see that at the time when Russia was under the influence of Byzantium, of the Bulgarian and Serbian messianistic literature which formed her

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795 theory of "Moscow the Third Rome," based on all kinds of im-
563 ported legends and apocryphas, Poland was shining in the sun of
177 the Renaissance. She had her Rabelais—Nicholas Rey, her Ron-
538 sard—Kochanowski, and a wonderfully rich and brilliant political literature connected with Latin republican writers, some of which was soon translated into foreign languages, even English.

The Southwestern Slavs, the Croatians, Slovenes, and Dalmatians also took part in the achievements of the Renaissance. They lived that period in contact with Italy while on the other hand Dalmatia was under the influence of several Byzantines. Let me recall the brilliant Italianism of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the flowering of the Dalmatian literature which followed the songs of the provencals troubadours, and of the *Dolce stil nuovo*. The Dalmatian muses found their inspiration in Petrarch, Boccaccio, Guarini, Tasso, Metastasio; this literature knew all genres from *canzone* to the pastoral drama and *la commedia dell' arte*. The Czechs went through this epoch carrying their religious reform—a heavy burden but rich in immense moral consequences. It is probably this reform that gave the definitive form to the moral and intellectual character of this Slavophil and Slavologist nation, least Slavic in its spiritual physiognomy.

The marvellous flowering of the Russian and Polish literatures in the nineteenth century represents again a kind of exception among the Slavic nations. And in spite of a close parallel development, these two literatures very often, following the same roads of literary evolution, in many ways contrast with each other.[89]

186* So even if one should try to eliminate the purely political bar-
563 riers separating the Slavic nations, such as the political antagonisms existing between Bulgars and Serbs, Serbs and Croatians, Russians and Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Ukrainians and Great Russians, Ukrainians and Poles, etc., the problem of spiritual

[89] I have discussed these problems in a more detailed form in my article, "Existe-t-il un patrimoine commun d'études slaves?" *Cf. Le Monde Slave*, Paris, 1926.

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unity among the Slavs would still appear very difficult. The cultural differentiation in the march of historical development became so deep that the parental affinities in the Slavic family have been completely lost. And today the cultural type of a Russian differs greatly from the cultural Polish type, and this would be true for all other Slavic examples.

How significant, although in part paradoxical in the light of the events of this war, are the following remarks of Vladimir Solov'ev: "Poland is in Eastern Europe the representative of the spiritual principle which became the basis of Western history. In its spiritual essence the Polish nation, and with it all Catholic Slavs, belong to the Western world. The spirit is stronger than blood; in spite of a blood antipathy toward Germans and blood nearness to Russia, the representatives of Polonism would accept Germanization rather than a union with Russia. A Western European, even a Protestant, is nearer by spirit to a Catholic Pole than an Orthodox Russian. Being the foremost fighters for Western principles, Poles see in Russia the East, hostile to their spiritual essence, an alien and dark force. . . ."[90] "The East," says Solov'ev, "worked out an order of ideas in which man was subordinated to supernatural power. The West created the ideal of the independence of man. In the East the state enslaved the peoples, while Greece elaborated the ideal of the freedom of the peoples. The supernatural element and the predominance of the state have given rise to the idea of resignation. Greece and Rome with their republics developed the principle of spiritual energy and popular activity." (Cf. *ibid.*)

Cultural differentiation represents progress, and the idea of racial unification might be considered as essentially reactionary. And indeed the Panslavistic doctrine is an anti-historical, anti-cultural, and anti-European idea, not only because of its anti-European political implications but because Panslavism refers first of all to theories of racial superiority, supporting them by dubious

[90] V. S. Solov'ev, *Velikii Spor i Khristianskaya Politika.* Cf. *Sobr. Soch.* v, IV, 15.

S.P. c. 175 167 and especially Premysl Otakar II (1253-1278) and their successors; the nobility and the clergy, /104/ particularly the monks, followed their example. As a result of this colonization, the Czech element found itself blockaded in the interior of the country by a belt of German cities and towns, a belt which continually drew tighter; at first below the Metallic Mountains and the Boehmerwald, then on the lower Elbe, then in the areas of Liberec (Reichenberg), Trutnov, Kladsko (Glatz) and in the region of the Jeseniky (Gesenke) Mountains. Moreover, German groups settled in the interior of the S.P. c. [191] country. From the thirteenth century Bohemia and Moravia became bilingual countries.

From the standpoint of area the German zone was neither wide nor compact; it formed itself especially in the clearings of the forests on the west and northwest.

S.P. c. 101 563 In the fourteenth century, according to Professor Sedlaczek, the frontier of the nations in Bohemia ran from Kynwart* toward Zdar*, Kralupy, Chomutov (Komotau) which was German, toward Most, then toward Duchcov and Decin. Bilina and Teplice were still Czech. Then the frontier ran to Benesov* which was German, to Jablonna*, crossed Mount Iestied* and reached the sources of the Jizera (Iser). From the fourteenth century Liberec (in German, Reichenberg) was German. The Germans were settled in the mountains beyond Vrchlaby* (today Hohenelbe) which was still Czech. Pilnikov (Pillnitz), Trutnow, Zacler, Stare Buky* were already German. Starkov* remained Czech, but the region of Brumov*, and the country of Kladsko /105/were Germanized. Olesnica and Rokytnice* were Czech. Beyond Policzka* and Litomysl* the situation was as it is today. At Nemecky Brod there was a German island; Jindrichuv Hradec was mixed, as well as Budejovice (Budweiss). Krumlov and Prachatice were mixed; the Kasperk Mountains were German; in the region of Domazlice the frontier was Czech. Klatovy was mixed, Tachov German.

S.P. c. 175 167 Less is known about the Germán penetration into Moravia and into Silesia. From the thirteenth century the greater part of the fortified towns in Moravia have been German. In many of the cities, notably S.P. c. [565] at Brno and at Olomouc, from the thirteenth century on a German bourgeoisie developed. The religious orders and the clergy contributed in summoning the Germans, especially Bishop Bruno who has been called the greatest Germanizer of Moravia. In the Teschen area the Czecho-Polish frontier has been the same from the fourteenth century

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619 presence of a patronymic suffix in early Russian tribal names
621 indicates that these tribes actually passed through a stage when membership depended on kinship, but the attachment of the same suffix to place names also implies that the original implication had been forgotten before the historical period.

567 Prior to the evolution first of a commercial and subsequently
565 of an official ruling class, the primitive Slavic population was divided into three distinguishable strata. At the lowest point in the scale stood the slaves, composed of captives taken in war, men who had lost their freedom for debt, and descendants of slave parents. At least in their early history, the attitude of the Slavs toward their slaves was exceedingly mild. Above the slaves stood the great group of freemen, governed by the elders of their communities and later by tribal chieftains supported by a council of elders.

581 Polygamy and concubinage were common to all primitive
595 Slavs. In spite of the evidence for considerable promiscuity, a sense of the sanctity of marriage as a permanent tie is also demonstrated by early accounts of pagan Slavic wives who committed suicide upon the death of their husbands, so that the fidelity of the Slavic women was almost universally commented on with favor by foreign observers. Survivals of primitive custom among the Russian peasantry down to modern times indicate nevertheless that great freedom was allowed
462 both sexes prior to marriage. The Slavic women enjoyed no equality in the household, though a surviving widow was authorized to take her husband's place as head of the family.
583 Marriage by capture or by purchase was common Slavic practice.

177 In the course of their history, even before the dispersion, the
326 Slavs were exposed to a series of foreign influences, especially Iranian and Germanic, which rapidly placed at their service the techniques common to adjacent ethnic groups. Linguistic evidence demonstrates that the mass of the Slavs, like the German and the Baltic peoples, was familiar with iron, gold, silver, and lead from the earliest times, at least from the second half

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into genuine trading posts and towns, the importance of which was enhanced by the penetration of foreign merchants at the beginning of the historical period. The rise of trading posts and towns gradually concentrated adjacent agricultural areas under the control of the former, producing at the same time accumulations of wealth in the hands of a new ruling class which appropriated to itself the influence formerly wielded by the elders of family, clan, and tribe. The growing prestige of the towns also broke down the various tribal differentiations, since portions of the same tribal area might fall for reasons of geography and communication under the control of different towns.

In general, the Russian tribes formed three groups distinguishable by their speech, which are reflected in our day by the tripartite division of the Russian language into three basic dialects. The northern group, comprising the Slovenes (Slavs) of Novgorod and the Krivichians, is the forerunner of the modern Great Russian dialect, the standard literary language. The central group, including Dregovichians, Radimichians, Vyatichians, and Severians, divided into two sections, of which the eastern joined the northern, or ultimately Great Russian element, while the western section (Dregovichians, Radimichians) came to form the White Russian element centering around Minsk. The southern group, made up of Polyane, Derevlians, Volhynians, Ulichians, Tivercians, and Croats, evolved into the Little Russian or Ukrainian element. In fact, the term *Ukraina* goes back as far as at least 1187, and means the southern border district. The differences among these three dialects have of course been intensified as time went on by the accidents of political affiliation and by diversified cultural influences. But these three groups are none the less parts of the same nation, so that either a White Russian or a Ukrainian is precisely as much a Russian as the purest Great Russian born in the shadow of the Kremlin.

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Kiev in 1240. No remnant of it now survives except the ruins of its foundations. 175* 346

In Vladimir's day the clergy rapidly assumed a place among the ruling class. Apart from introducing new notions of judicial procedure derived from the Greek *Nomokanon*, the early clergy also undertook to advise Vladimir on affairs of state and local policy. In 992 the bishops advised the substitution of corporal punishment for fines in order to suppress brigandage and similarly suggested that the proceeds of fines in other cases should be spent on military equipment for defense against the menacing nomads. The ecclesiastical courts also assumed jurisdiction over numerous social problems and offenses which took new significance in the light of the Christian moral code: bigamy, divorce, heresy, sacrilege, witchcraft, and adultery. Vladimir thus tolerated the fusion of church and state on the basis of contemporary Byzantine usage. 175* 793 565 693 [681] [684] [688]

By the process of conversion among the various Slavic groups, the bases of cultural and political differentiation were thus laid before the year 1000. Exposed to Christian influences since the seventh century, the Slovenes were converted by Bavarian clergy, and after their absorption into the Carolingian empire in 788, remained until the first World War in submission to one German state or another. The Croats, though in contact with the mission of Constantine and Methodius, reverted to Rome after the disciples of Methodius were expelled from Moravia, and have come down through the ages as Catholics, whatev[illegible] [illegible]eir political allegiance. The Slavs along the Elbe and the Baltic were subjected to the most violent political and religious pressure from Saxon priests and nobles with the result that, despite heroic revolts, they were slowly pushed back toward the former Polish frontier. The Byzantine influence in Moravia lasted but a quarter of a century before the work of the proto-apostles, Constantine and Methodius, collapsed, and the Moravians, like the Czechs, remained under the pastoral care of bishops of the Roman rite. Though the 175* [797] 795

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earlier, and is reflected in the increased importance of the more remote northeastern domains of Rostov, Suzdal, and Murom, between the Oka and the Volga where the nomad menace did not reach.

While the inarticulate masses bore the brunt of the crisis, the wealth of the ruling class was for the moment not impaired, but rather enhanced. As long as the princes and their retainers were prosperous, the wealth of the Church also increased by grants and gifts. Monasteries multiplied and new churches were erected. Contact with Byzantium was still preserved. Through the expansion of the hierarchy under Greek guidance and example, the intellectual progress initiated by Yaroslav was intensified. To be sure, this culture remained aristocratic and ecclesiastical, but in this respect it hardly differed from the contemporary civilization of Western Europe, even though deprived of the continuity of classical tradition which lay at the root of the culture developed under the aegis of Rome. Marital alliances with German, Hungarian, and Polish princely families show at the same time that the Russian princes attached but slight importance to differences between the Eastern and Western Churches even after the schism of 1054.

No sooner had Vladimir Monomach died in 1125 when strife among the princes became rife once more. Competition for the control of Novgorod developed between the prince of Kiev and Monomach's son George whose domain lay at Suzdal in the northeast. Rival princes sacked and plundered one another's domains. One unpopular prince was even lynched by the angry Kievan populace. In 1149, Prince George captured Kiev himself, thus proving the vitality and resources of the northeastern area, but was unable to hold the metropolis permanently before 1155. When George died in 1160, however, the city had been fought over so constantly in the previous thirty years that practically all its dependent territory had been nipped off by neighboring principalities and it had been stripped of every element of its political prestige. Hence the possession of Kiev no longer conferred upon the ruling prince

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186 autocrats, who felt that any increase in Bohemia's degree of
563 independence would only weaken the whole structure of the unified Austro-Hungarian state. This difference in political philosophy was aggravated by the fact that there was too little will to compromise and too much reverence for history among the Bohemian leaders. Oppressed nations always overestimate the practical importance of past tradition. The dominant position long occupied by the kingdom of Bohemia in the Holy Roman Empire, if the Czechs had only realized it, was of far less moment than any rational compromise which would have permitted Bohemia to enjoy to the full the material advantages it commanded as the most highly industrialized section of Austria-Hungary and, at the same time, to cultivate a national spirit, language and literature, without making itself obnoxious to its neighbors by always harping on the same string. It is, however, an unfortunate truth that the composition, within a state, of quarrels rising from linguistic differences complicated by racial, temperamental, and confessional motives and by the carefully cherished traditions of the past which are, or suppose themselves to be, oppressed, is a problem of baffling complexity. On the other hand, the experience of the twenty years before 1939 definitely showed that this problem is not solved by merely setting up these disaffected areas as national units.

175* Now while it is true that the Czechs did not find themselves
565 precisely in clover under the Hapsburg monarchy, the fact
186 remains that they achieved a high level of material prosperity and culture during the nineteenth century. They had, to be sure, advanced further along the path of social evolution than the Poles, among whom the middle class had actually contracted when the partitions interrupted the evolution of the nation. When Poland fell there were virtually but two classes in the country, the landowning gentry and the peasants. Serfdom was abolished in the Prussian section in 1821, with a subsequent rapid economic improvement in the peasants' status. After the partitions, the middle class evolved most speedily
in the Russian section, and at a slower rate under the German regime.

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in the Russian section, and at a slower rate under the German regime. After 1867, the Poles under Austrian sovereignty enjoyed the greatest relative degree of freedom. The local administration passed entirely into Polish hands, the universities of Cracow and Lemberg were Polonized, and Polish was admitted as the official language everywhere except in the military and the postal services. In the Prussian area, the German administration adopted a liberal policy until 1830, when German became the official language, though the local church and the school system remained Polish.

Before 1848, however, pan-Slavic ideals filtered in from Bohemia, and that year saw open revolt in the Posen area. As the middle class grew in numbers, the influence of the nobility waned, and improved educational facilities favored the dissemination of Polish culture and national ideals among the masses. As industry grew in western Germany, there was also a considerable emigration of German residents from the Polish province. German authorities estimate that this movement shifted some three million Germans out of this area during the last half of the nineteenth century. Their places in the cities, which had hitherto been predominantly German, were taken by Polish workers who came in from the country, with the result that the proportion of German population in the Polish cities under German rule declined. At the same time, the general prosperity of Germany benefited the Polish district, the wealth and productivity of which were greatly enhanced during the nineteenth century, and educational opportunities naturally far surpassed those available in either Russian Poland or Galicia.

This survey of relations between German and Slav from the earliest times to the last century demonstrates with reasonable clarity that once the barbarities of the medieval German expansion period were over, every advance in civilization which the Germans experienced was passed on to such of the Western Slavs as were ripe to receive it. Though the Bohemians lost their political independence in the sixteenth century, they had already acquired such a high degree of culture that they were

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186* 648 829 175 in the fight for liberation, at a time when Russia could not intervene. His dictatorial attitude, his personal prestige, aroused distrust on the part of the Kremlin. On the Yugoslav side, they were shocked by the conceit of the Russians, who lavished instructions and counsel on a nation which considered its own political experience superior to that of the Russians, and who, in the course of history, had won and rewon its independence entirely by its own efforts. Serbian pride, wounded by the demands made by Moscow, precipitated the rupture.

•565 423 175 On the other hand, Yugoslavia is peopled by an emancipated peasantry; it has made its own agrarian reforms, and has not had to suffer the yoke of political dynasties (as has been the case with Rumania), nor (like Hungary) that of a landed aristocracy. Communism could not get a footing there, either in the same form or at the same speed, as in the other 'popular democracies'.

Finally, the systematic enslaving of the economy of Yugoslavia to Russian interests was bound, one way or another, to provoke violent reaction in Belgrade.

186* 665 648 175 687 It was nevertheless a surprise for the world when, on June 28, 1948, the Kominform communiqué pronounced the condemnation of Tito and his collaborators, accused of desiring to establish themselves by a régime of terror, of over-estimating the possibility for their country of safeguarding its independence without the assistance of the other Communist Parties; finally, of seeking the support of the capitalist States.

Dr. Pijade, the theoretician of Tito's régime, felt able to reveal[1] that the Kominform's resolution simply reproduced a text prepared in Moscow: he stated that the hands of waverers had been forced by a lying assurance that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party contained spies on behalf of England and the United States.

175 648 [439] Then began a diplomatic battle between Moscow and Belgrade: at first it took the form of a criss-cross exchange of notes, then that of an economic boycott and, finally, of a vast scheme to detach Yugoslavia from the other popular democracies and reduce her to isolation.

The diplomatic notes at first (July-August, 1948) dealt with the fate of Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia; then (August-

[1] Speech made on July 8, 1949, at Novi Sad.

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national state and a world power, the need for trained personnel in the government services and in commerce became evident if only for practical considerations. Ivan the Terrible himself was comparatively well-educated, while Boris Godunov, his progressive but ill-fated minister and eventual successor, was obliged by the innate conservatism of the clergy to abandon a promising project for the establishment at Moscow of an academy with learned foreigners as teachers.

For, despite isolated outbreaks of rationalism which manifested themselves in heretical movements, the intellectual horizon of the Russian clergy was discouragingly narrow. After the Council of Florence, they considered themselves the sole repository of Orthodox rectitude and resented even competent criticism. That learned scholar from Mount Athos, Maxim Grek, who had studied in Italy and heard Savonarola preach, was accused of heresy and imprisoned when he ventured to suggest textual corrections of the accepted liturgy, and though he lived on into the reign of Ivan the Terrible, he was always regarded with suspicion and never allowed to return to his native country until his death in 1556.

Whatever material progress was registered under the Muscovite princes, the introduction of new intellectual concepts encountered serious barriers. From a social standpoint also the Muscovite regime was responsible for the establishment of one institution which cast its dark shadow over Russia far down into the nineteenth century. Though slavery was not unknown, universal agrarian serfdom does not date from the origins of Russia. On the contrary, its evolution was gradual. In the early Muscovite period there were two classes of peasants: first, those who had lived for some time on state, church, or private land and payed various fixed duties on the parcels they occupied; second, the so-called movable peasants who rented parcels on term contracts. As the princes assigned estates to deserving officials who did not belong to the old landed aristocracy, some competition developed among proprietors for peasants to till their lands, with the result that by the middle of the sixteenth

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566 175r century any transfer of the so-called fixed, or black, peasants was forbidden. The movable peasants, on the other hand, enjoyed the customary privilege of changing landlords when they desired. Ivan III's legislation thus guaranteed them the right to shift within the weeks on either side of St. George's day, in the autumn of each year, though the tax they paid for the enjoyment of the privilege was relatively high.

On the other hand, the need for help was so acute that landlords might frequently pay this tax and whatever other debts a movable peasant owed in order to induce him to settle on their estates, but a peasant not thus aided could no longer move and, if the advances received from his landlord in cash or kind were considerable, he too became permanently attached to the soil unless another landlord bailed him out. With increasing frequency, since a shift of landlord was rapidly becoming impossible, the peasants bound themselves not to withdraw, but to remain in permanent service under one master, under penalty of being returned by force in case they ever broke this contract. Apart from these developments, the fact that the majority of peasants had no capital whatever also tended to reduce to effective servitude such peasants as borrowed from landlords and bound themselves to serve the lender on his estate until the loan was liquidated. In principle such a borrower could free himself by paying the debt. In practice, however, all his labor was devoted to paying the interest rather than wiping out the capital, so that he never succeeded in liberating himself. The operation of this system was legally restricted during the sixteenth century, but it was at one with the other tendencies which contributed to immobilizing and enslaving a rural population which at its origins had been unattached and free. In the sixteenth century it was still free in theory, but in the seventeenth even this theoretical freedom vanished when the master wanted the peasant's labor and the government his taxes. To indemnify the landlord for his collective responsibility for the tax payments of the peasants on his estates, the latter were literally turned into the chattels of

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the landlord. In this way, under the early Romanovs, between 1630 and 1650, freedom of agricultural labor was abolished in Russia, and this situation prevailed until 1861.

The Muscovite system suffered a severe blow in 1598 when Theodore, Ivan the Terrible's son, died intestate and the old dynasty tracing its descent from Rurik became extinct. Since the realm and its inhabitants were regarded as the absolute property of the sovereign, the disappearance of the ruling family was a major catastrophe. Any tsar, however legitimately elected by the general assembly convoked by the patriarch of Moscow, was bound to be weakened by his dynastic illegitimacy. Hence with the reign of Boris Godunov began a period of violent revolution which lasted until 1613, largely motivated by the effort of the nobles to free themselves from exactions and restrictions which tradition forced them to endure from a scion of the old line, but which they would not suffer from anyone else.

When Michael, the first of the Romanovs, was finally elected to the throne in 1613, political self-consciousness had developed to the point where there was some realization that the sovereign actually depended on the people and not the reverse. On the other hand, this realization was strongest among the great nobles, the landowners, and the high officials, and they set up the new dynasty at the price of privileges not otherwise obtainable. It is also notable that the rudiments of parliamentary government, typified by a popular assembly, likewise existed in the early years of Michael's reign, but failed to mature because the level of popular political intelligence was not high enough to appreciate that elective representatives of the people had a real weapon in their potential control of finances. Hence there was no protest when the governing class allowed it to lapse. The government became intensely centralized, and with the establishment of serfdom the nobility and the gentry inevitably became a permanent ruling class upon which the crown was dependent. Since townsmen were forbidden to move into the country, and peasants could no longer establish them-

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selves in the cities, there was as yet no prospect for the formation of a growing and self-conscious middle class whose aspirations might have sown the seeds of progress. As a result, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all intellectual advance was confined to the aristocratic and ruling minority.

In the seventeenth century, however, the door was again opened to Western influence by the need for self-defense. Foreign mercenaries entered the Russian army, which now became a professional force. New mines and arsenals were opened. The foreign colony founded at Moscow by Ivan the Terrible (the German suburb), though scattered during the upheaval of 1598-1612, was soon repopulated with merchants, technicians, and artisans, and their advanced notions of material comfort influenced those Russians who came into contact with them. Artamon Matveyev, the able foreign minister of Michael's son, the Tsar Alexis (in turn Peter the Great's father), married a Scotch lady, and was one of the first Russian nobles to set up his household on a Western scale. Through him notions of contemporary culture penetrated even to the court. Natalia Narishkina, Peter the Great's mother, was Matveyev's ward, and though Scotch on her mother's side, was probably the first Muscovite lady of her day to receive even a moderate education and to emancipate herself from the seclusion in which noblewomen had vegetated since the Tartar conquest.

While material progress was largely implemented by the German technicians resident in Moscow, new theological and literary ideas penetrated the empire by another route. It may be recalled that Kiev and the Dnieper valley were conquered by the Lithuanians in 1363. Then by the fusion of Poland and Lithuania at the end of the fourteenth century, the whole Ukraine became exposed to Polish colonization and cultural influence. By the sixteenth century, Polish intellectual life was entirely under the control of the Jesuits, who developed an intense but largely unsuccessful proselytizing activity among the Orthodox Ukrainians. As a counterpoise against Jesuit influence, the Orthodox clergy of the Kiev area opened schools

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pean campaigns were inoculated with the republican ideas disseminated by the French revolution. Essentially patriotic, they were eager to apply these ideals to their own country, to abolish the autocracy, promote republican government, raise the standard of education, and do away with the abuses of serfdom They continued with greater energy, though often with little judgment, the task begun by Radishchev.

Here the Russian revolutionary movement begins among an enlightened fraction of the ruling class. Great writers like Pushkin and Lermontov, each after brief romantic digressions, grew up to treat the seamy side of reality, both in the tragedy of the humble who are scarcely considered human by those they serve, or the misfortune of the gifted individual denied a chance at productive activity by the contemporary organization of society. Both these talents were suspected and harassed by the autocracy, and though each met his death in a duel, they were as truly victims of official conservatism as those young enthusiasts who had participated in the Decembrist conspiracy in 1825 after the death of Alexander I, and paid for it on the scaffold or amid the snows of Siberia. But from 1825 the cleavage between the government and the thoughtful section of society, once opened, was never bridged again.

This mutual hostility first became acute during the reign of Nicholas I from 1825 to the Crimean War. The Decembrist conspiracy had revealed that the turn to the right by Alexander I after 1815 had created great bitterness. The same judicial and administrative abuses that marred Catherine's reign were still rampant, state finances were disordered, and the peasants were rudely exploited. Nicholas at first had some notion of reform, but his suspicion of extragovernmental initiative was such that he hesitated to take any concrete step. The most pressing problem was serfdom: the landlords were heavily in debt and short of capital to provide employment for a rapidly increasing peasant population. Peasant disorders were menacingly frequent, but only in the western Ukraine and in Poland were reforms introduced. Educational institutions were fettered and

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175* This process was occasionally delayed, if not arrested, by the
643 appearance of competent princes who reëstablished for brief periods the stability and prestige of Kievan authority. For example, Vladimir Monomakh (1113-1125), grandson of Yaroslav, fought during his entire adult life either against the nomad Polovtsi or to maintain the unity of the principality against his kinsfolk, but such formal agreements as were reached for the assignment of domains to the various princely families were seldom of long standing. At the same time, the minor principalities of the western border were exposed to Polish or Hungarian aggression, and many southern frontier towns in the steppe country were either wiped out by the Polovtsi or abandoned because they might be.

175* The confusion which prevailed during the sixty years after
661 Yaroslav's death in 1054 marks the onset of the decline of Kiev.
567 While the feuds and disputes among the kindred princes were fought out by the princes themselves and their servitors, the lower classes of the population—the free peasants and the humble urban artisans—saw their fields laid waste and their earning power curtailed. If one prince occupied by force the domain of another and then was forced to withdraw, he frequently dragged off with him on his retirement the peasantry of the area he had temporarily occupied, and turned them into slaves in his own district. The result was a decrease in the free population and an enormous increase in the number of slaves available for work on princely estates.

175* By the end of the reign of Yaroslav the steppe country for
162 one hundred miles or more south of Kiev had been settled by
166 an agricultural population composed partly of free farmers, partly of war captives whom Yaroslav had located there, and partly by semicivilized pagans who had given up their nomad existence to live peacefully among their former foes and to form a sort of border militia. It was on this frontier population that the raids of the Polovtsi fell most heavily. The resulting migration from these exposed positions was most marked after 1125, but it began almost half a century

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feature which most reveals the Russian exclusivism that animated the Slavophiles is the very fact that their campaign did not succeed in creating a more effective current of intellectual exchanges. In 1850, a young Russian aristocrat asked for a passport to go abroad, in order to study 'Slavonic peoples and ways'. His application was refused, on the grounds that 'between Moscow and Kamchatka there was ample space in which to pursue this branch of study'. 186* 668

Among the Orthodox Slavs there was, moreover, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, only one State exhibiting a certain independence, and that was Montenegro. After a long period of subjection to Venetian influence, it passed entirely under Russian tutelage. Its prince-bishops sent their nephews to study in Russia, to prepare themselves for rule. Many young Montenegrins settled there, and their descendants included several of the Russian generals who opposed the Great Army. [563]

With this exception, intellectual relations between Slavs and Russians were intermittent and restricted. If, once they had regained their independence, the Serbs and the Bulgars sent their statesmen to St. Petersburg, their students went to Vienna, to Leipzig, or to Paris. Even the Orthodox seminarists often preferred the Protestant Faculty of Tübingen to the Russian religious institutions. In short, the ascendency of Western civilisation remained the chief obstacle to an assimilation of Russian culture by the Slavonic peoples. 186* 177

The Slavophiles, despite the lack of support (and, very soon, the distrust) which their initiative experienced from the Imperial Government, did not allow themselves to be discouraged. The Moscow Slavonic Committee, founded immediately after the Congress of 1867, and its St. Petersburg branch, set up in the spring of 1868, were continually active in the years that followed. Among other activities, they established charitable societies, which educated young Slavs from the oppressed regions, and publishing houses, which produced books, dictionaries, maps, reviews, etc., intended to propagate the common ideal. Between 1875 and 1878 the two organisations were very much in favour in Russian society; millions of roubles flowed into the collections sponsored by them; Aid Committees came to the assistance of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina; arms were sent to the Christians in revolt against Islam; a legion of Russian 186* 668 575

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186* 668 575 volunteers was armed and sent to Serbia a year before Russia's declaration of war, which was not made until April, 1877.

In the other Slavonic countries, the movement borrowed an ever-increasing offensive power from the general upward thrust of the nationalities. While the Czech deputies refused to sit in the Cis-Leithan Parliament, the Slovenes claimed the rights of their race and their language; the Croats, under the leadership of Mgr. Strossmayer, made of Zagreb a centre of national culture; the Serbs completed their emancipation and the Bulgarians, in two stages (1860 and 1870), secured the creation of the Exarchate. The Slavonic world was in full effervescence. Germanism grew alarmed. 'If necessary, we will put the Slavs up against the wall', Chancellor de Beust had said.

[648] The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 was to some extent the military epilogue of this period of effervescence. The Congress of Berlin supplied Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield with the opportunity of repressing the outbursts of the Slavonic race, and of checkmating ethnical propaganda, under colour of ensuring European peace.

* * *

186* 178 During the years that followed, the interest taken by Russia in the Slavonic countries appeared to decrease. Internal affairs absorbed the attention of the Imperial Government, and the disappointments following the Congress of Berlin kept Russian society of the time of Alexander III in a mood of weariness or of apathy. This disaffection became more marked at the beginning of the reign of Nicholas II. Whilst Europe saw Panslavism as a volcano for ever in eruption, Tsarist diplomacy kept in quarantine the heirs of Slavophile thought. The word *bratouchka* (little brother), coined in 1877, at the time of the liberation of Bulgaria, lost its touching significance, to become a scornful term, synonymous with 'cadger', applied to the Balkan Slavs. German influence, exercised in St. Petersburg by the Baltic barons and the Court, took advantage of the repugnance felt by Liberalism and the Western type of Intellectualism to a movement which claimed to bring the country back to the real sources of its tradition.

186* 668 The Slavonic Congress held in St. Petersburg in May, 1908, was attended by members of the Duma, of *Kolo Polsko* (Polish

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The Yugoslavs of Austria aimed at the dismembering of the Dual Monarchy and at the total emancipation of the Slav populations living under its sway. But they found themselves prevented from conducting a policy of integral Slavism, by the caution which the war-map forced them to observe with regard to Russia [2] and to Italy, owing to the Serbo-Bulgarian dispute and the Macedonian problems, and even by the difficulties encountered at the outset of the negotiations between Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs, for the formation of a single Yugoslav state.

There were, however, some attempts at understanding among the various emigrations, especially between the Polish National Committee (Dmowski, Paderewski), the Czechoslovak National Council (Masaryk, Benes, Stefánik) and the Yugoslav Committee (Troumbich, Hinkovich). These contacts lasted until the Peace Conference. But they never led to the elaboration of a programme, or of any organic agreement.

The Dual Monarchy, moreover, did not lack support among its Slav nationals. Stiepan Radich, a Russophile, a hundred per cent Slav and a poet into the bargain, addressed a rhymed call to arms against the Tsar to his brothers of Austria and of Hungary:—

> '. . . All persecuted, even to the shedding of blood, by the East,
> All having received their Faith from Rome,
> All having their fields bathed by the Danube'.

It is true that this same Radich, when things went badly for the Central Empires, reassured his friends, anxious about the fate reserved for Croatia: 'Have no fear', he said, 'nothing can happen to you as long as Russia exists'. This guileless inconsequentiality is rather reminiscent of the whole history of Slavism, adapted by each nation to the daily round of its own politics. Even the war made no change in this behaviour. Russia disappointed her Serbian ally by signing the London Pact, which stupidly dismembered the Dalmation coast, to the advantage of Italy, through ignorance of the fact that there were

[2] A slight incident will show how much the latter had remained attached to her prejudices. On the Feast of the Epiphany, 1916, the divisions of Serbian and Croat volunteers in Russia arranged for a religious service, at which prayers were recited for all Christians, 'Orthodox and non-Orthodox'. The Russians did not hide their disapproval, and declared this initiative to be 'not very liturgical'.

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186* 814 In Russia, this same year 1942 saw an unprecedented output of works on Slavonic history and philology. Nicolas Derjavin studied Slavonic palæology, Russo-Bulgarian intellectual relations, the origin and history of the Slavs up to the eleventh century. The literature and history of the Slavonic nations were included in the syllabus of the High Schools; a chair of Slavonic Philology was created in the University of Leningrad; in May, 1942 the chair of Slavistic in the University of Moscow became a 'centre of studies in the history of the Slavonic peoples and of their role in intellectual evolution and in progress'.

186 608 829 The Ethnographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences undertook a huge investigation into the origin of the Slavonic settlements. A Tass Agency communication of July 4, 1943, announced the first results of this inquiry; the Slavs were aboriginals, not invaders. Professor Gudaltov proved that they descended from tribes settled between the Elbe and the Vistula. He pointed out the direct relationship between the Scythians of the Dnieper and the Polanes who played a decisive role in the formation of the State of Kiev.

186 533 536 Literature, the theatre, the arts, vied with each other in contributing to this revival of Slavonic spiritual life. An exhibition of the theatrical art of the Slavonic nations was held in Moscow in July, 1942. Chebalin's *Slavonic Quartet* obtained the Stalin Prize in 1943. The Musicians' Congress, which met in Moscow in January, 1943, praised Victor Belyi's 'Slavonic Suite' (Hymn of Anger, Serbian Guerrilla, To Arms!), the libretto of which, borrowed from Serbian folklore literature, is the work of the Montenegrin poet, Radoul Stiyensky.

186* • 575 668 But the essential task remained a political one. Five committees were formed, for liaison with sympathisers in the allied countries—Panslav Committee, Youth Committee, Committee of Savants, Feminine Committee, Jewish Committee. The Panslav Committee launched message after message to oppressed Slavs, insurgent Slavs, Slavs in exile. They received from the Yugoslav Vetché—a political organisation struggling with Tito for independence—a telegram thanking them for their assistance with a view to the establishment of a 'Democratic Yugoslavia, federal and equal in rights', which concluded as follows: 'Long live the fraternal solidarity of all the Slavs in the struggle against German Fascism!'

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The Third Panslav Congress opened in Moscow on May 9, 1943. Two thousand people assembled—authors, artisans, soldiers, partisans, priests of the Eastern rites. There were seen, side by side, the Soviet General Alexander Gondorov, the Czech Colonel Svoboda, the Colonel of the Polish 'Kosciuszko' Division, Sigmund Berling, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Nicolas. Once more the union of all the oppressed Slavs was urged; the Czechs were invited to evade the total mobilisation which the Germans were organising in their country. Already the partisans were everywhere at work; the Soviet victories guaranteed the triumph of the common cause. The Congress voted messages to Stalin, to Churchill, to Roosevelt, to all the Slavs in the world. 186* 668

In the month of July,[1] an exhibition in Moscow showed specimens of the independent Slav press—of more than a hundred reviews and newspapers which were then appearing in the United States, in Great Britain, in Canada, in Australia, in the Argentine. 186* 204

The Panslav Committee held its sixth full Assembly in Moscow on October 16 and 17, 1943. It voted congratulations to the Red Army, to the Yugoslav partisans, to the first Czecho-Slovak Brigade in Russia—which was about to leave for the front—to the Union of Poles (since October 12 the Kosciuszko Division had been in the firing line). The Czech Zdenek Mejedli, Professor of Musical Art in Prague, spoke of the reconstitution of Czechoslovak unity; the Metropolitan Nicolas told of the German Army's atrocities on Russian territory; the Academician Derjavin recounted the exploits of Russian military history—the defeat inflicted by Alexander Nevsky on the Teutonic Knights on the ice of Lake Peipus (1242), the prophecy of the victor, 'He who attacks us with the sword will perish by the sword', which, for seven centuries, was the watchword of the Russians; the crushing of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg (Grunwald) in 1410; Frederick's defeat in the Seven Years' War (Jagersdorf, Kunersdorf) which carried the Muscovite troops to Berlin; the failure of the German adventure in Ukraine in 1918. 186* 668 575

'We see', Derjavin was to write, 'the Slavonic peoples' hatred of the Fascist invader grow under our eyes. . . . One single front of national revolt unites the Slavs against Hitlerism in the name of the defence of liberty, of political independence, of civilisation and honour'.

1 [1943 -- Analyst]

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Solidarity between Slavs in Europe and those in America

among whom the attitude of a part of the population, Polish in origin, maintained a dangerous schism—was revived by a mission sent to Moscow, at the end of 1946, with M. Leon Krycky, Leader of the United States Panslav Congress, as its President; he was received by Stalin. The latter is reported to have declared to him that the Soviet Union and the United States were the only two countries capable of guaranteeing world peace. This was the outcome of the Third Congress of Slavs in North America (held in New York on the previous September 23), during which the meeting had cheered the name of Stalin and booed that of Mr. Byrnes, who had recently, in Stuttgart, made a speech reopening the question of Poland's western frontiers.[1] At this meeting the Polish delegate, M. Lange, emphasised the role the Slavs could play as permanent links between the United States and their countries of origin. But this American-Slav Congress failed in its task; prepared during the Roosevelt era, but actually meeting under the Truman administration, it functioned in a very different atmosphere from that which its organisers had anticipated. It was vigorously attacked by a section of the American press.

186* 668 575•

After a preparatory Conference of the Panslav Committees, held in Prague in May, 1946, the first great post-war Panslav Congress took place at the Kolarats University, in Belgrade, from December 8 to 12 of the same year. It was attended by delegates from the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the Serbs of Lusatia, and the Slavs of North America.

Its organisers made very marked efforts to prevent the Congress from assuming the aspect of a demonstration of Slav nationalism. On the contrary, they emphasised the benefits which could accrue to the cause of peace and universal democracy from harmony among the Slav States. Consequently the agenda was restricted to very general questions, bound up with cultural propaganda and the struggle against Fascism. Alexander Gundorov, President of the Moscow Panslav Committee, and a veteran of these assemblies, declared that 'the Congress would reveal to the world the truth about the Slavonic peoples and destroy the lies propagated by reactionary circles

[1] This Congress gave rise to a diplomatic incident, arising out of the refusal of the American visa to eight Yugoslav delegates who owed allegiance to the Communist Party. 648

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186* 829 648 sels. Lelewel "told him about the primitive democratic Polish municipality, about the agrarian Slavic collectivity, about brotherly institutions and customs distorted later by the class structure and the enslavement of people which came from the West. At that time he conceived a new goal for himself which was "a Russian revolution and a republican federation of all Slavic lands, and the establishment of one indivisible Slavic republic; federative only as regards administration, and politically centralized."[51] At that time, under the influence of western European populism and socialism on one side and, on the other, of his intimate contacts with the Polish emigration in Paris, Bakunin started to crystallize his own Russian populist and revolutionary ideas. The first manifestation of these crystallized ideas took place in Paris in 1847 when he delivered his famous Polish speech at the commemoration of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31. In this speech he attacked Nicholas I, he asserted that the Russian and Polish nations must be reconciled, that both were paying for the discord introduced by Russian autocracy, and that the Russian revolution would bring freedom to both nations. He said that this task could be realized only through the Russian-Polish alliance: without the liberation of Poland, Russian freedom could not be born. And finally he called for the liberation of all Slavic nations in order to bring about the final collapse of despotism in Europe.

186* 668 [575] A little more complicated was the atmosphere of the Slavic Congress in Prague, in which he took part and delivered several speeches. At that Congress, as we know, Palacký advocated the idea of a Slavic federation with Austria in which the Czechs would play the dominant role. This idea was not popular among other Slavs, and the atmosphere of the Congress was not at all encouraging.

Bakunin first of all stressed the fact that Russia, by enslaving Poland and especially by giving a part of her to the Germans—the main enemies of the Slavic race—tore herself away from Slav-

[51] J. Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 161-162; cf. also V. Polonsky, *M. A. Bakunin*, vol. I, Geo. Ind., 1925, pp. 155 156.

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was formulated in *The Scientific Dictionary*, a Czech Encyclopedia.[64] The article referring to Panslavism is very reserved. The speculations of the Muscovite Slavophils on the item of Hussism as a purely Slavic movement which presumably had its ties with Slavic Orthodoxy did not appear very convincing to the Czechs. 186* 175

In general, the Prague Congress of 1848 reduced the Panslavic tendencies to a formula of political organization of Austria which would satisfy the national political demands of the Slavs. In this way was developed a special Austrian Panslavism directed against Russia and later called Austroslavism. The same trends might be discovered in the so-called "Slavic Union" in the Vienna Parliament of 1908. However, under the leadership of the Czech Kramař there developed at the same time the so-called neo-Slavism, which stressed the political solidarity of all Slavic nations on the condition of complete cultural equality, but which certainly contained pro-Russian tendencies. The movement was created in 1908 at the Slav Congress in Prague, followed by a Congress in Petersburg in 1909 and one in Sofia in 1910. There took place only vague and very general formulations of Slavic mutual respect, sympathy, and efforts to calm the inter-Slavic antagonisms —Russian-Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Serbo-Bulgarian, and so on. In spite of the participation in this movement of several important political leaders among the Slavs, it did not reach any concrete results. Most Poles and Russians very soon abandoned it. The War of 1914 brought again to the fore ideas of Slavic union, proclaimed this time by representatives of Russian public opinion and by the Russian government. I should also mention the outstanding activity aiming at spiritual and intellectual collaboration among the Slavs of the brilliant Polish scholar, thinker, and writer Marian Zdziechowski, who established his Slavic Club in Cracow with its review *The Slavic World* before the War of 1914 and who entertained close relations with the Russian sympathizers of these trends, about whom I shall speak below. 186* 668 575

[64] Quoted by Pypin, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153.

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186* Almost at the same time there reappeared in Russia a spiritual, ●575 idealistic, mystic approach to the Slavophil conceptions. It was a kind of continuation of neo-Slavic trends. One may find in the writings of distinguished and honest politicians, poets and writers such as V. I. Ivanov, S. N. Bulgakov, and Prince E. N. Trubetskoy items connected with this idealism and mysticism. These trends reappeared during the War of 1914. They were preceded by the old Muscovite "Society of Slavic Reciprocity" which was a quite honorable institution and by the subsequent "Society of Slavic Culture" in which the progressive elements among Russian and Polish politicians and scholars met, such as Professor Korsh, Prince E. N. Trubetskoy, Alexander Lednicki, and some others. The aim of this society was to pacify inter-Slavic relations primarily by the help of cultural activities.[65]

186* Some of the Czechs belonging to the period preceding neo-Slavism, however, remained faithful to their pro-Russian feelings in face of the opposition of Palacký and Havlíček. So Kollár, who even in his *Slávy Dcera* excluded Emilia Plater, the Polish heroine of 1830-31, from paradise "because this sister fought against brothers, a Slav girl against Slavs," and yet, as Kucharzewski observes, granted a place in that paradise to Suvorov and Nicholas I, behaved quite disgustingly at the Slavic Congress in Moscow in 1867, where in the absence of the Poles he did his best to please their Russian persecutors.[66]

186* Thus the Bohemian Panslavism found practically no expression 814 in the nineteenth century other than a purely scientific one—in the fields of Slavic archaeology, Slavic ethnography, Slavic philology, and Slavic history. I can devote no space to Slavic philology here, but I should like to stress the enormous achievements in this field of, besides the Czechs, Polish, Russian, and Serbian scholars, to whom should be added German, French, Italian, Eng-

[65] Details connected with neo-Slavism, with events preceding the First World War, the policy of Izvolsky, the activities of Count Bobrinskoy on one hand—and on the other, activities of people such as Dmowski among the Poles the attitude of the Ukrainians, and the situation in the Balkans preceding the War of 1914 may be found in Dr. Alfred Fischel's *Der Panslavismus bis zum Weltkrieg*, Berlin, 1919.

[66] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, Warsaw, 1925, p. 303.

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nant admonitions of Ruskin, the anxiety of Renan, not to mention 000
the period of the *fin de siècle* and the modern European pessimism of Spengler's jeremiads?

This does not change the fact, however, that in the light of the events of the 19th century and especially in the light of the present tragedy of Poland, the Polish "message to Europe" becomes particularly poignant. History has repeated itself almost textually with, however, one exception—that the present betrayal of Poland by the Western democracies has followed an even more cynical and indecent road. And has not the same fate overtaken Yugoslavia?

Of course in all Slavophil and Panslavistic texts one may find political hyperbole, exasperation, dreams, vain hopes, idealistic universalistic conceptions of fraternity of nations, beliefs in international justice, aspirations for national independence, imperialistic pretensions, the ideological play with various historical traditions. But as I stressed above, all that Slavic polyphony starts and ends with a dirge for Europe. Indeed we see all of them—those brilliant prophetic writers like Tyutchev, Dostoevsky, Mickiewicz, Krasiński, and so many others, involved in a great ideological battle, in which clashed their most essential thoughts about humanity and civilization, as if petrified by the same vision of Europe which we find in Herzen's terrible suggestions about "*facies hippocratica*, by which the doctors recognize that death has raised its scythe."

14. Post Scriptum

I mentioned on several occasions the fact that we are witness- 186
ing a kind of revival of the Panslavistic conceptions under the 668
Soviet sponsorship. Indeed there was created in Moscow in 575
1941 a new Panslavic committee under the chairmanship of a general, A. Gundorov, and with representatives of different Slavic nations as its members. This committee started to organize first of all Panslavic meetings in Moscow. Then later Panslavic meet-

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186* ings, manifestations, and commemorations in America; in June
668 1942 such meetings and congresses took place in New York, in Pittsburgh, in Detroit, in Kansas, in Cleveland, in San Francisco,
● 575 in Oakland, and also in Canada, Argentina, etc., organized by local Slavic committees. These organizations in America and in other countries represent ramifications of the Moscow center; and at each meeting they manifested this relationship by sending addresses and telegrams not only to the Panslavic committee in Moscow but to Stalin, Kalinin, Molotov, and so on. Around the Muscovite center were organized during the war all kinds of Slavic national committees and unions of patriots at the head of which one could find the members of the Panslavic committee in Moscow. These committees and unions were nuclei from which originated the "democratic governments" imposed by Russia to the Slavic and non-Slavic countries (similar committees were organized for Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria) which found themselves in the sphere of Russia's influence.

[208] For the task of propaganda of these Panslavic ideas of union and fraternity of the Slavs under the protection of Soviet Russia and under her cultural leadership there has been established a monthly review under the title *The Slavs*, published in Moscow in Russian.

186* It is paradoxical enough that if one takes different Soviet encyc-
829 lopedias one may find a radical refutation of Panslavic con-
651 ceptions; the Panslavism of the 19th century has been always qualified there as a bourgeois imperialistic doctrine. It would be very difficult, however, to find any salient difference between the Panslavistic imperialistic conceptions of Tsarist Russia, as far as their essence is concerned, and the Panslavistic policy of the Soviets, even though their motives and ultimate goals are not identical. In order to save appearances the official Soviet press still stresses that difference; so N. Leonidov in his articles *The New Phase in Slav History* published in *New Times* in Moscow in September, 1946, said: "The Russian people never identified themselves with the imperialistic chauvinistic Panslavism of the

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186 666 glorifying the outstanding Soviet generals and, of course, men like Molotov, Lenin, "the great son of Slavdom"; and Stalin, "son of the nations of Russia"—it would be rather difficult to make of him a Slav. There are also articles about different manifestations of old and modern Slavic culture, biographies of great Slavs, predominantly Russian. Copernicus, one of them, had a rather amusing fate under the pen of Soviet clerks writing under the *Politburo's* dictates. The *Small Soviet Encyclopedia* (1926) calls Copernicus the "greatest Polish scholar"; and later, its *Great* brother leaves the reader with the impression that he was a German Scholar. Finally, the review *The Slavs* emphasizes his Polish patriotism and the prestige of the University of Cracow!

186* 575 668 The activities concerning the further organization of Panslavic meetings abroad have not been abandoned. On the contrary, recently at the end of 1946 there again took place such meetings in America and in Belgrade with the predominant role played by official and unofficial agents and delegates of Soviet Russia, ending with telegrams and addresses expressing loyalty to Soviet Russia, sent to Stalin, Kalinin, and Molotov. All these facts must lead one to the conclusion that we are witnessing here the organization of a new International, of a Slavic International, parallel to the Comintern, and that the numerous ramifications of this organization outside of Russia represent nuclei of a Slavic fifth column in the countries which are outside of the immediate zone of Soviet influence. Within this zone Russia is much less interested in the development of the Panslavic movement through any special organizations, as she has there at her complete disposal the governments of the countries which are under Russian political domination. I do not have to stress what I mentioned before—that Stalin has in his hands means of Russification about which Goldmann and Katkov could only dream.

Not without interest is the fact that the Inter-Slav Bureau of Foreign Contacts had during the war six sections—for the United States, Canada, Central and South America, Australia and New Zealand, the Near and Middle East, and Great Britain. A seventh

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section dealt with the "occupied countries" and came partly under the jurisdiction of the Bureau and partly under that of the Committee for Active Struggle Against Fascism. In 1942 the All-Slav Committee's budget amounted to 320,000,000 roubles, in 1943 to 400 million, and in 1944, when the financial division had ceased to come under the control of the Secretariate, the Committee's budget had risen to 550 million roubles. The All-Slav Congress which took place recently in Belgrade has afforded some indications of the place which the All-Slav Committee holds in Russia's post-war political propaganda apparatus. The main speech of the Soviet delegate, General Gundorov, was an invitation to the Slav peoples to ignore "the sinister forces of world reaction" and submit to Communist guidance. Two resolutions passed by the Belgrade Congress deserve attention. The first, which makes Belgrade the center of the All-Slav Committee and Maslavitch its chairman, is an indication of the importance attached in Soviet policy to Slav sentiment in the Balkans, where to some extent it is a substitute for nationalist sentiment. The second resolution provides for the participation in the work of the All-Slav Committee of representatives of "the largest progressive Slav organization from non-Slav countries, with the right to an advisory vote."

In order not to be misunderstood I feel it necessary to stress that in spite of some striking parallelisms in the use of Panslavic conceptions by Soviet foreign policy and by the Russian tsarist governement, the differences remain enormous—but not at all in the sense of Mr. Leonidov's views. As I mentioned before, the Russian tsarist government of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was bound by international and public law; and because of this the fate of the Russian subject of those times cannot be compared to the fate of the modern Russian citizen. Russia was not hidden behind an iron curtain from the world, and foreign travellers could visit Russia and freely observe her life. Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Russians were sent to Siberia, but tsarist Russia did not know concentration camps; and the conditions of

S.P. T.R. 181 mores and customs. And this difference is further emphasized by their historical careers and in these latter years by their political divergences. These divergences go so far that they sometimes result in a rupture of all of the ties of kinship. The representatives of the intellectual class among the Ukrainians are unwilling to consider themselves as Russians, as a nation of the same origin and of the same character as the Russians. They tear the unity of the Russian world into two segments, into two nations: the one located to the north is made upof the Great Russians, the Russians Kat'eksokhln, /among the foreigners/ otherwise called Rossiani, the Moskali or the Moskvichi. The others, the people of the south, are the Little Russians, the Yugorusi (1), or, /51/ according to a more recent appellation, the Ukrainians.

S.P. T.R. 181 S.P. T.R. 186

1. Russians of the south.

S.P. T.R. 101 Up until now there is no agreement as to the names to be used. The Great Russians and the foreigners, conforming to tradition, most frequently use the expressions: Great Russians, Little Russians, bearing in mind the historic name of Little Russia (excepting Galicia and Vladimir). The appellation of Iugorusi is less frequently encountered (for example in Pypin and in Kostomarov). The Little Russians do not care for these two names and forsome time have preferred that of Ukrainians. The Galicians employ the term Rusin with the adjective 'ruski' opposed to Rossianin, 'rossisky' for the Great Russians. This name has been adopted beyond the Russian borders, but it has not been accepted within them. The Gorals of Galicia willingly call themselves Rusniaks. The Germans, following the Latin, use the form 'Ruthenian' which also has been admitted into French. The conflicts between the two nationalities have engendered ironic and insulting appellations. Thus the Ukrainians call the Great Russians "Katsapy" (Goat-head, because of their beard) or Khazars, and the latter call the Ukrainians "Khokli" (from Khokhol, "top-knot," because of the manner in which the Cossacks formerly dressed their hair).

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Thus there is conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. This interesting conflict has very old and quite /52/natural causes. The differentiation between the Russians of the north and of the south occurred a long time ago; it has developed little by little, but without pause. Furthermore, there have been grievances and misunderstandings for a very long time between Great Russia and the Ukraine, and their entire life has been completely distinct throughout

S.P. T.R. 578 186 centuries. However, formerly the conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, did not exist in its present day sense. On the contrary, the two parts had a sense of kinship, or even of unity, as may be seen in an examination of the motives for which Bohdan Khmelnitskyj gave himself to Moscow and to Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (in 1653), after detaching the Ukraine from Poland.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 The conflict[1] between the two Russian nations did not in fact break out until the Nineteenth Century.

Its basic causes were:

1. The efforts of the Ukrainians to create or to revive a language and a literature of their own.

2. A whole series of scientific discussions upon the question as to what were the connections between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, especially from a linguistic and an anthropological viewpoint.

Finally and above all:

3. The actual political and social status of the Ukrainians in the Empire and the general development in these latter years of social and democratic ideas.

/53/ Thus today the conflict is moving more and more from the literary and scientific field into the political field.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 538 The conflict began in 1798, when J.P. Kotljarevs'kji published in Ukrainian his Aeneid. From that date on there has been a great effort to create an indigenous literature. But these tendencies were quickly opposed by the government, which feared that this literary separatism might be prejudicial to national unity. And upon various occasions, especially in 1847, 1863, and 1876, it was forbidden to print or publish, save for a few rare exceptions, books in Ukrainian. But the result of these prohibitions was completely opposite from that which was intended. The tendencies toward literary emancipation asserted themselves so much the more strongly as they were more rigorously suppressed, and they found favorable soil in eastern Galicia, which belongs, as we know, to Austria.

S.P. T.R. 197 814 829 On the other hand, the conflict[1], strengthened by the scientific discussions concerning the ties between the two nations, became aggravated. There were arguments about the antiquity of the Ukrainian idiom, especially in the Kiyev region, about the question of

1 [Between Great Russians and Ukrainians, cf. ch. 116, #35-37. Ed.]

S.P. Cr. Sl. 795 162

in 12. During the first years which followed the Austrian occupation, emigration was quite considerable; it still continues, but it is slowing down. The official figures for 1906 give 590,900 Mohammedans, 760,000 Orthodox, and 360,000 Catholics. Mr. Florinskii figures for the entire Balkens 820,000 Mohammedan Serbs.

In Dalmatia in 1900 there were 96,279 Orthodox, 496,778 Catholics which gives 16.2% and 83.6%. The other Austrian areas are Catholic (Istria 99.6%, the seacoast 98.5%). In Croatia and in Slavonia there are 1,721,416 Catholics, and 616,518 Orthodox, that is 71.2% and 25.5%. The total figures for the censuses of Budapest and Zagreb are not completely in accord, but the proportion remains the same. In Montenegro, according to Vrbanic, there are 87.5% Orthodox, 3.1% Catholics, and 9.3% Mohammedans whom Vrbanic considers as Slavs.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 212

From the viewpoint of education /173/ the Serbo-Croats are very much behind. Throughout Austrian territory the number of illiterates reaches 74.14%, in Croatia 54.4% and even 56%, if one is to believe the Hungarian statistics. It is especially Dalmatia which is backward. In 1900, 64.8% of the men and 86.6% of the women did not know how to read or write. Teaching is also greatly neglected in Istria and still more in the Balkan countries about which we do not have any documentation except in the Serbian statistics. There are in Serbia only 21.3% literate (55% in the towns and 15% in the villages).

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162

With regard to occupations, the Serbs and the Croats are primarily an agricultural people. In Istria and in Dalmatia there are 86.9% farmers (industry 4.6%, commerce 3.8%, public services 4.7%). In Bosnia-Hercegovina 88.34%. In the Kingdom of Serbia 85.23% of the population devote themselves to agriculture and to raising cattle.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 578

S 32. Internal Differentiation.--The Serbs and the Croats do not differ greatly either from the physical viewpoint, or from that of linguistics or in the manner of living. Differences have been created solely by the political situation, by religion, and by literature. There are, however, certain shades of differences and certain special groups which we mentioned a short time ago.[4]

S.P. Cr. Sb. 144

From the anthropological viewpoint there is, a far as we know at present, a much greater /174/ difference between the Serbo-Croats and the other Slavs than between the Serbs and the Croats

[4] [cf. cat. 116, pp. 92-95, pp. 105-106, p. 107 -- Analyst]

S.P. M. 101 finds the Hercegovinians who came from Hercegovina; then to /179/ the northeast the Brda (1) and between the sea and the lake of Skadar (Scutari) the Crna Gora (Black Mountain), so-called, with the Krajna. In Montenegrin Hercegovina there are seven tribes: Grahovo, the Banjani, Opushna, Rudina, Nikticke Rudine, Nikticka Zupa, Piva, Drobnjaci, Saranci. In the region of Brda there live seven tribes which are, beginning from the west: (2) the Bjelopavlici, the Piperi, the Bratonozici, the Kuteki, the Vasojevici, the Moracani, the Rovcani. In ancient Montenegro four nahias are distinguished, each of which is divided into tribes: the nahia of Katun (Cetiniani, or people of Cetinie, Njeguchi, Zeknici, Couce, Kcevo, Ozrinici, Bielice, Komani, Zasarcani, Pjeshivtsi, Lukovo), the nahia Ljeshanska (Zecani), the nahia of Rieka (Cekliniani, Liubotinjani); the nahia of Crmnitsa contains a whole series of little tribes called "brotherhoods." In an area which was previously Serbian there are settled today Albanian and Serbian Mohammedans whose principal tribes are those of the Mrkojevici and of the Mikulici, close to Antivari (Bar).

1. This word in Serbian means "mountains." Translator.

S.P. M. [144] 2. According to Hassert and Kovacevic, the Kuci are of the Albanian race, according to Erdelianovic, of the Serbian race. A certain number of them, the Drekanovici, present a strong mixture of Albanian blood. Erdelianovic considers certain among them (the Boukimirs) as Slavisized Romans.

S.P. M. [143]

According to Zanetov, there is still another special tribe, that /180/ of Siren, on the upper reaches of the Lim and of the Bosnian Bistrica.

We have attempted to show the respective situations of the Croats and the Serbs, the difference in their political development despite their close kinship, the divergent tendencies, which, as a result of their historic traditions, they both follow with a view to assuring their future.

S.P. 578 Cr. Sp. 186 Up to the present, numerous conflicts have occurred between these two groups,[1] and one would be mistaken in believing that the relative calm which prevails today is a guarantee of tolerance and peace. Leaving aside the double ideal of a great Croatia and a great Serbia, an contradictory ideal if there ever was one, we run into an entire series of delicate questions, of conflicts which are constantly aggravated. They are met with in Croatia-Slavonia, in Dalmatia

[1] [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Analyst]

Serbs E F6
Croats E F3
Bulgaria E F1

S.P. 578 Cr. 36 186 (for example Dubrovnik (Ragusa), and especially in Bosnia. This province is truly an apple of discord between these two national groups. Here the Austrian government is attempting to do things somewhat by chance without having a clearly defined idea regarding nationality.

000 What will come of this? What will happen to the country after the annexation? What will be the new relations between Croats and Serbs? We cannot yet tell today.

From the viewpoint of science and of the Slav idea, one should at least proceed with honesty and not shut one's eyes to the true facts. At the outset it would be necessary to determine through an accurate census the relative situation of the Serbs and the Croats and to treat with justice all of the national and political groups. Furthermore, it will no longer be necessary to invent a third Croato-Serbian nation, the Bosnian (1) nation, as was conceived of by the

1. Certainly, the concept of a Bosnian nation existed before. One may read in the twelfth century chronicle of Kinnamos: "Bosthna...ethos idia para taute zon," (Bosnia...is a nation living by itself), and one often finds that the Bosnians are considered to be a nation. But this designation, which was based upon political considerations, is no longer justified.

Kallay government a few years ago. Moreover, this innovation was in no wise successful. Since 1907, the official designation "Bosnian" has been replaced by the correct designation "Serbo-Croat."

VIII
THE BULGARS

S.P. B. 101 S 33. Historical Introduction. ---The last Slav people produced by the differentiation of the South-Slav group, is the Bulgars.

Almost all of them live on the Balkan peninsula.

S.P. B. 101 174 Like the other South-Slavs they had their cradle much farther north, somewhere, near the Carpathians, in the vicinity of the Russians. Between the third and the fifth century, they abandoned the Carpathians, began to push through the Thracian and Scytho-Sarmatian tribes, towards the lower Danube, and in the sixth century reached the Balkans. At this time the Slavic tribes of the Peninsula did not have a common ethnic name. They were called Slavs like their neighbors the Serbs

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favoured Bulgaria's Macedonian claim. Yet they refused to associate themselves with the efforts of the Serbian Government to restore the former Patriarchate of Petch. But, if their preference went to Bulgaria, it was because the latter was one day to open to them the route to Constantinople. So the realism of the Sofia Cabinet practised an intermittent Russophilia. Two-thirds of the governing classes of the Bulgarian nation were pupils of Russia, but their number also included some Russophobes—Stambulov, Marinov, Chanadiev (except at the end of his life), Radoslavov and his associates. The Slavonic idea found an indefatigable apostle in the person of Stevan Bobtchev, a volunteer of the 1877 War, a jurist, professor, and diplomat, who presided over the Slav Congress at Sofia in 1910, when the Neo-Slavism of Kramár and Miloukov triumphed. But currents of dissension appeared on various occasions, especially in the reactions in favour of Catholicism at the time of Marinov, and in the reminder of the Tartar or Finno-ugrian origins of the Bulgarian nation, every time they entered into conflict with Russia.

The Russophilia of the Serbs often took on the aspect of a quasi-religious veneration. But it did not cause them to forget that the Tsarist government had abandoned them on several occasions. Apart from the pro-Bulgarian attitude it maintained in the Macedonian question, it agreed to the annexation of Bosnia at the time of the Isvolsky-Aehrenthal interview in Buchlau (Sept. 16, 1908) and, later on, its ambassador, Benckendorff, signed the secret agreements in London (April 26, 1915) which, by ceding to Italy the eastern coasts of the Adriatic, bade fair to ruin the plans for Jugoslav unity.

Now this unity had been a fixed idea with all Serbian statesmen since the Battle of Sadowa, which had awakened as many hopes in Serbia as in Italy. As long ago as July 30, 1866, Garachanin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, said to Botmiliau, France's representative in Belgrade, 'No matter what efforts diplomacy may make, in reality, the Austrian Empire no longer exists. Three nationalities will arise in its place, the Hungarian, Bohemian, and Slav (Yugoslav). Sooner or later, the Austrian Germans will join the other German peoples. . . . The Turkish Empire will fall, as the Austrian Empire has done. The Yugoslav State will be founded—not without warfare, perhaps, but it

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186* was obliged to join the European concert which forced
829 Montenegro to raise the siege of Scutari.
648

Russian society took no interest in these questions. Its members were frequently heard to say, 'God bless these "bratouchki"! Wouldn't it be better to live without them? Shan't we be happier when we have abandoned the Slavonic chimera and the dream of providential vocation, and think only of our own immediate interests?'

With the crisis of July, 1914, Russia was, for the third time, faced with the possibility of a renunciation. This time she pulled herself together. Austria was imposing on her a trial of strength in which her rank as a Great Power was at stake. On learning of the ultimatum from the Ballplatz to the Belgrade Cabinet, Nicholas II telegraphed to his minister, 'Tell the Serbs they can count on me'. With this historic sentence, another cycle in the history of the Slavonic world was closed.

186* In fact, under a common denominator of origin, of sufferings
• 578 and reflexes, the Slavonic peoples were inspired by different aims —independence, territorial expansion, and the acquisition of sovereign rights. Consequently, every event which brought them nearer to their respective goals had, as its first result, the relaxation or removal of their connecting bonds. It was the negative aspect of Slavism, which, having reached the stage of realisation, animated ideals which involved neither the same aims nor the same volitional power. This had been proved during the Balkan War of 1912–1913, when Serbs and Bulgarians fell upon each other, after having jointly waged war on the Turks. It was to be seen even more clearly during the World War of 1914–1918, when, some fighting under the flags of the Entente, others under those of the Central Empires, the Slavs exhausted each other in fratricidal conflict.

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Chapter Three

THE TRIUMPH OF THE NATIONALITIES, OR SLAVISM WITHOUT RUSSIA

THE 1914–1918 War has often been regarded as a settling of accounts between Slavs and Teutons. And it was certainly the Germans who did the most to popularise this over-simplified viewpoint. At the time of the Balkan crisis, Bethmann-Hollweg, the Chancellor of the Reich, reduced the possibility of a European war to a struggle between Teutonism and Slavism: *Ein Kampf zwischen Germanentum und Slawentum.* For his part, General von Moltke wrote, on February 12, 1913: 'Sooner or later will come the war between Germanism and Slavism, for which all the standard-bearers of Germanic culture and spirit must prepare'.

At the time when it was formulated, this prophecy might have been found surprising. Indeed, in the course of the ages, Teutonism had secured solid positions against the Slavs, whom, in nine centuries, it had pushed back from the Elbe to the Vistula. It had colonised, plundered, or subdued their western tribes. It penetrated into Russia by two means—the Baltic nobility, and dynastic marriages. Eleven Tsars or Tsarinas since Peter the Great were either of German blood or under German matrimonial influence. This fact alone will give an idea of the fatality which, since the eighteenth century, weighed upon the destiny of Russia. In face of this infiltration, we think of the terrible phrase addressed by Skobelev to a delegation of Serbian students in Paris: 'In our own country, we are not at home'. In short, history presented itself to the Teutons as an uninterrupted process of absorption of their eastern neighbours, or of domination over their politics.

Moreover, von Moltke's prophecy implied a Slav solidarity which was then in the realm of conjecture. History offered no recent example of it. In 1848, the Slavs had nearly all fought for a cause which was foreign to, even if not opposed to, Slavism. In 1885, and again in 1913, the Serbs and the Bulgars had cut each others' throats. And twelve months later, in 1914,

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186* the Slavs were to split up between the two camps into which
• 578 Europe would be divided. So that, except in congresses, where
175 ethnography and philology were discussed, this solidarity remained a myth. Russian egoism bore heavily upon the little 'Pravoslav' countries, in which the Tsarist policy affected to take an interest. Much more than that; certain territories, caught between two Slavonic currents—such as Macedonia, the Ukrainian Marches, the Teschen district of Silesia—kept alive the spirit of dissidence within the Slavonic family.

175 What remained of von Moltke's declarations was the
167 obsession of an inevitable reckoning between the two races. Germany, who, from age to age, had extended her sphere of domination at the expense of the Slavs, dimly felt that, one fine day, the latter would grow tired of the role of 'fertilisers' (*Düngervolk*) to which the Pan-Germanic school condemned them. In Merovingian times, a slow but continuous migration, by easy stages, peopled the Eastern Teutonic states with Slavs. These tribes had reached the Elbe and the Oder by the fourth century. To designate the Teutonic peoples, they forged the collective appellation, *Niemtse*, which has remained in the modern vocabulary of the Slavonic peoples, and signifies 'dumb ones', *i.e.*, speaking a language unintelligible to Slavs. But, little by little, the ebb of the Teutonic tribes pushed them back. With the exception of a few descendants of the Pomeranians (the Kachoubes and the Slovinces) and of the Sorabes (Lusatians), the vast group of Western Slavs of the Elbe and the Baltic disappeared in the struggle waged against them by the Germans in the four centuries from the time of Charlemagne to the twelfth century.

829 This withdrawal is explained by the state of dissension—a
167 hereditary defect with the Slavs—in which these populations
181 lived. An Austrian historian of this century, J. Peisker,[1] was so struck by such a large-scale backward drive, that he sought a different explanation for it. The past, he said, shows such a succession of conquests, and establishments of Teutonism in Slavonic territory, that we cannot attribute it to the fortune of war. We are obliged to suppose the existence of some factor which paralysed the resistance of the Slavs. This factor must

113 [1] *Die Älteren Beziehungen der Slawen zu Turkotataren und Germanien.* Berlin, 1905.

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But a new Slavonic problem was brought to the forefront—the problem of the Ukraine. A Ukrainian National Committee was formed, and began to negotiate with the Allies. Its action divided the Slavs; Poles and Russians greeted it with equal hostility; the Yugoslavs displayed disapproval or indifference; the Czechs adopted a half-and-half attitude, advocating the administrative and cultural autonomy of the Ukraine within the framework of the reviving Slav solidarity. 186* 648 578

Moreover, it was quite natural that, once in possession of their ethno-linguistic frontiers, the Slavonic peoples should cease to have any other horizons than these frontiers, within which they still had to build up a political, economic, and social organisation. They sought their vocation in their own history. We are continually forced back to this fundamental fact—Slavism has been, in its essence and from the force of circumstances, a revolt of the nation against the State, whether the latter was called Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Turkey. In Russia itself, the Slavophile school maintained the rights of the country (*zemlia*) against the encroachments of the State. With this tendency is connected the tinge of anarchy which the West is apt to associate with the word 'Slav'. The nation, in the spirit of the 1919–1920 treaties, being identified with the State, the Slavonic idea was doomed to lose the centrifugal opposition, the dissolving power which had long characterised it, and under whose action the Habsburg Empire had collapsed. 186* 668

And in fact, the triumph of the nationalities, ratified by the treaties of Saint-Germain and of Trianon, restored Slavism to its academic origins. Reminders of racial fraternity now seemed to serve no other purpose than to warm up the atmosphere for after-dinner speeches, or for inaugural meetings of congresses. The Slavonic nations lacked that basis of common culture which gives to Hispanism, for instance, the only positive value to which it can lay claim.

In the political order the counter-indications showed up all the more clearly, inasmuch as the territorial settlements were no longer made in virtue of force, but on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination. Now there were some populations which were caught between two opposing Slavonic currents; the Teschen district of Silesia, Macedonia, the Ukraine. A cynic has remarked that, the farther the distance between Slavonic 186* 728

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186* 728 nations, the better they understand each other; witness the Poles and the Bulgarians, the Czechs and the Yugoslavs. But to say that living side by side no more ensures agreement among nations than it does among individuals is to state a commonplace.

• [578] Yet the reshuffling of the map did, nevertheless, satisfy the essential aspirations of the Slavs. It gave Yugoslavia her unity, Czechoslovakia her independence, Poland her liberty. But some irredentism still remained. Bulgaria claimed Macedonia (although she had lost it before the war). The Yugoslavs regretted that the Slovenes of Istria and Carinthia had remained outside the frontiers of their State, Poland remained in dispute with Russia on her Eastern Marches, and with Czechoslovakia in the Teschen Basin. The Ukraine question was assuming a fresh form and acuteness. Even after the recasting of Eastern Europe, there still remained seeds of discord between the Slavonic nations.

131 175 Much more; looked at as a whole, the new map seemed to be based on an age-long law which shuts the Slavs off from the sea. It was because it was cut off from all the seas that the original Slavia remained as unknown to the Ancients as Central Africa was to the Europeans of fifty years ago. One after the other the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Goths, the Huns, the Avars, the Khazars, the Tartars, all barred them from the Black Sea. It was not until the eighteenth century that the Russians became effective masters of the northern shore of this sea. Similarly with the Baltic, where Scandinavian, Finnish, and Baltic peoples settled; until the Second World War, Leningrad was a Slavonic breach in Finnish territory. As for the White Sea, it was inaccessible to the Russians before the sixteenth century. The Finns, and perhaps the Lapps, had got in before them.

728 131 175 Now the 1919–1920 treaties took the Baltic territories and Finland from Russia. They refused Danzig to Poland, Fiume and Trieste to Yugoslavia. Following the coasts of the Baltic, from the borders of Esthonia to the Free Port of Danzig there was no real Slavonic port, even though the hinterland might be entirely populated with Slavs. On the Adriatic, the Dalmatian coast offered nothing but indifferent outlets, backed by steep slopes—and yet the hinterland was wholly Slavonic. The Aegean had no Slavonic outlet. The Slavs were allowed no possibility of becoming maritime powers, capable of rivalling the Germanic,

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Anglo-Saxon, or Latin nations. The treaties of the earlier war had thus sanctioned a traditional exclusiveness in this respect. 728 131 175

On the other hand, Slavism scored a point—the only one—in an acquisition of territory. This was achieved by the clauses which allocated to the Czechs Sub-Carpathian Russia—an ethnical mosaic, with predominant Russian or Ukrainian elements, which was to form an autonomous unit within the framework of the Czechoslovak Republic. This allocation, demanded by the Ruthenians of America, was decided upon chiefly because the signatories to the treaties considered the Prague government as the best mentor they could give to a dangerously backward Slavonic population. Indeed, Czechoslovakia was, within a few years, to improve Sub-Carpathia, that Cinderella of the Slavonic world; at the cost of heavy budgetary sacrifices, she turned this territory entrusted to her into a real 'Civilisation Front'. [186]

As is well known, at the Peace Conference the Czechoslovaks intervened—another gesture of pure Slavonic inspiration—to try to secure for the Serbs of Lusatia the benefit of the protection accorded to minorities. These Lusatians are the remnant of a powerful tribe who people a corner of Saxony and Brandenburg, with its centre at Bautzen. Theirs was for long the *terra incognita* of the Slavonic world; they were discovered by the learned circles of Czechoslovakia and Poland in the nineteenth century. [563]

The return of Poland to an independent life, and the Sovietisation of the Russian State, modified the nature of the relations between the two peoples. Immediately after the earlier war and the Treaty of Riga, one could not say that these relations had been clarified. It is certain that the Government of Moscow was then pursuing a Eurasiatic policy, which drew it away from European affairs. But no one could imagine that this disinterestedness would last very long. In Moscow they still, as under the Tsars, spoke of the 'Jesuitism' and the 'Jagellonism' of the Poles; in Warsaw, they talked about the hegemonic appetite of Russia, and her propaganda. 'Atheism' and 'Marxism' had replaced 'Orthodoxy' and 'Panslavism' as passwords. 648 829

The Polish-Sovietic War of 1920 complicated inter-Slav relations. The Poles bitterly reproached the Czechs with having refused 648 578

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648 to allow the passage through their territory of reinforcements
578 which the Poles were expecting from abroad. They complained no less bitterly at seeing the Czechs, like the Yugoslavs, model their attitude towards them on their own behaviour towards Moscow. It is true that Prague and Belgrade had enthusiastically greeted the resurrection of Poland, following the Allies' victory—a very different result from the changes in 1916, which, for the Poles, had substituted the duty to fight beside the Central Empires, for the right to do so. But in 1920, in these same capitals, they were wondering whether Poland was fighting Bolshevism or the Russian nation, and this differentiation, which inspired many newspapers, was regarded in Warsaw as definitely unfriendly. The ex-Minister of Poland in Yugoslavia, Erasmus Piltz, felt it necessary to address this warning to the Yugoslavs: 'Nothing separates us: on the contrary, everything unites us. . . . There is not a Pole who does not consider the alliance with Yugoslavia as a most highly fruitful and desirable achievement. But, if one of the most popular Serbian propagandists does not hesitate to claim that Polish-Yugoslav relations must depend on our relations with Russia, then I feel I may say, without fear of contradiction, that no Polish government, no Polish party, will accept such reservations, or such a presentation of the question'.

The leader-writer of *Przeglad Wisczorny* mournfully summed-up the origins of this misunderstanding: 'In Warsaw, we have been in the habit of viewing Serbia through Viennese or Budapest spectacles, whilst the Serbs have observed us through Russian spectacles. And the result is that each side has a false picture of the other'.[3]

[829] Finally, a conception of their own greatness, dear to the Poles, helped to foster a feeling of friction between them and the sister nations, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—which the Poles considered as being on a lower hierarchical plane than themselves—for were they not a Great Power? Perhaps we shall not be far wrong in affirming that between the two wars the Poles maintained more regular, if not more cordial, relations with the Rumanians and the Hungarians than with the other Slavonic states.

* * *

[3] Of May 22, 1920.

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721 in Danzig; German criminals, dressed in Polish uniforms,
648 attacked German villages in Upper Silesia to provide Hitler with
175 the pretext for an invasion. This was launched on September 1, at 5.45 a.m. The curtain was raised for the greatest drama in history.

186* But, beyond this, the historian who, with these
578 facts as his starting-point, sought to establish synchronism
648 between the feeling of a common destiny among the Slavs and the great wars of the twentieth century would very soon conclude that no such feeling existed. At all times of threatened crisis, there have appeared more or less general impulses towards *rapprochement*; the first result of all actual crises has been to set the Slavs one against the other. In this Second World War, as in that of 1914–1918, we were again to find the Bulgars, the Croats, and the Slovaks ranged with Germany, Bohemia trampled upon, Poland quartered, Serbia crucified, Russia at grips with the Teutonic colossus.

Much more: the Slavs participated in the spoils. Poland rewarded herself at Czechoslovakia's expense, Russia at Poland's, and Bulgaria at Serbia's.

175 Just as the 1914–1918 war had started with the crushing of
648 Serbia, so that of 1939 had as its prologue the carving-up of
721 Czechoslovakia. The latter succumbed to the fate which had forced her to look for support to the Western Democracies, with whom she had no territorial connection, and whose diplomacy, wavering or swept along by the back-wash of internal policy, had been able neither to ensure peace nor to provide for war. The inconsequentiality of France, signing a pact with Moscow, then hastening to evade its consequences, encouraging Yugoslavia to be on her guard against Fascist megalomania, then signing the Four-Power Pact and observing it no more than she had done the previous pacts; all this culminated in the Munich Pact, which—whether justified or not by our military unpreparedness—completed the state of confusion among the nations for whom France was the greatest asset in peace as in war.

It was not only by its inaugural phase—the dismembering of Czechoslovakia and the aggression against Poland—that the war once again seemed destined to become a reckoning between Slavs and Teutons. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler had reproached

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occupied by the Russian armies would be entrusted to the Committee. 642 175

It will be noticed that in both documents the word 'Government' was avoided. No doubt that explains why neither London nor Washington received notification of the establishment of this new organism. But the Poles in London reacted indignantly. For them, this new institution was juridically valueless and, in practice, without authority. They declared that out of the fifteen members composing this Executive Directory seven were unknown, while eight were notorious Communists. The President, M. Osubka-Morawski, was a thirty-five year old workman, excluded from the Socialist Party in 1940 on account of his affiliations with Moscow. They therefore asked London and Washington to disavow these 'usurpers'. 648 175 578

Russia's might, and the role of the Soviet armies in the joint military effort, scarcely permitted an unfriendly attitude in regard to an initiative to which the Soviets had already given their sanction. London had not, for years, 'hedged' over misunderstandings which set the London and the Moscow exiles at loggerheads, only to take a final decision just when the Russian armies were achieving advances which left their allies far behind. So London simply announced that Great Britain continued to recognise M. Mikolajczyk's Government, whilst hoping that it would find some way of coming to an agreement with the organisation which had been set up in opposition to it. In the United States, where the Polish question caused very violent discussion during an election year, Mr. Cordell Hull entrenched himself in the silence which was his usual refuge when he was questioned concerning Eastern European problems.

In view of this negative attitude on the part of London and Washington, M. Mikolajczyk decided to seek an interview with Marshal Stalin. He went to Moscow, accompanied by his Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Romer. But his interview only served to make him realise the insurmountable prejudices which Soviet circles cherished against the London exiles.

Yet the Allies could not allow the Polish question to remain in this state of uncertainty just when a general settlement of the war was within sight. So this question was included on the agenda of the Crimean Conference in February, 1945. The Three Powers decided that the evolution of the international

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situation necessitated the creation of a new Polish Provisional Government on a wider democratic basis than that which had governed the establishment of the organism which functioned in the liberated regions of Poland (first the Lublin, then the Warsaw Government). M. Molotov and the ambassadors of Great Britain and the United States received a mandate to carry out this reorganisation in conjunction with the members of the Provisional Government and the Polish democratic leaders both in Poland and abroad. This new Provisional Government would, as soon as circumstances permitted, organise free elections with a secret poll.

The Yalta decision provoked a split in Polish circles in London. The Government-in-exile, at the head of which M. Arciszewski had replaced M. Mikolajczyk, declared that neither that Government nor the Polish nation would recognise the decision; but M. Mikolajczyk and the Peasant Party, the majority of the Christian Democrats, and nearly half the Socialists, immediately signified that they would have nothing to do with this uncompromising attitude.

On April 21, 1945, whilst awaiting the application of the Yalta decisions, the Warsaw Polish Government, presided over by M. Osubka-Morawski, signed a treaty of friendship and mutual aid with the Soviet Government. This confirmed the Russian point of view, according to which the Warsaw Cabinet remained the nucleus of the future reconstructed Government. 'This reconstruction', said Marshal Stalin in a declaration to *The Times*, 'will have the effect of favouring a policy of friendship towards the Soviet Union instead of a policy of a "sanitary cordon" directed against her'. Moscow remembered the experience of 1919 and the 'barbed wire fence'.

At Yalta, the desire for prudence by which Mr. Roosevelt was inspired meant that the procedure in connection with the enlarging of the Polish Government was left very vague. Hence Mr. Hopkins' mission to Moscow in order, among other things, to set this procedure in action. As the result of the Stalin-Hopkins interview, a Soviet note was sent on June 13 convening in Moscow the Three Power Commission and the representatives of the Warsaw Government, together with the Polish leaders abroad.

The forwarding of this note had been speeded up in the hope

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of enabling Poland to be admitted, at least *in extremis,* to the San Francisco Conference. For as the result of London and Washington's refusal, on April 18, to allow an invitation to be sent to the Warsaw Government, it looked as though Poland, the first victim of German aggression, might be absent from the discussion of the statute destined to preserve the world against the recurrence of similar attacks. 648 175 578

The invitation found the London Poles divided. Of the three organisations invited, M. Mikolajczyk, ex-President of the Council, and M. Stanczyk, Vice-President of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party, accepted; M. Witos declined the invitation on health grounds, and M. Zakowski, the representative of the Socialist Party, reflected the discord which had apparently developed in that party by refusing to join the delegation.

The trial of sixteen Poles who had been detained in Moscow for several weeks, charged with sabotage and anti-Soviet activities, interfered with the negotiations. In vain did the Poles in London try to secure their release, by emphasising the role these men had played in the Resistance; Marshal Stalin declared that the Conference must not prevent the trial from taking place. At the hearing certain of the accused pleaded guilty to acts of terrorism directed against Soviet troops, and attributable to the *Armija krajowa* (Armed Forces of the Interior), which had been recognised on the previous August 30[1] by the English and the Americans, and to a political organisation called *Niepodlegosc* (Independence). The verdict returned on June 21[2] was mitigated; the chief offender, General Okulicki, was condemned to ten years' imprisonment, while the remaining accused were either acquitted or received very light sentences. 687 661 175

The objects of this trial, synchronised with the Conference from which, on principle, was to come the reconciliation of the Warsaw Poles and the London Poles, seem to have been as follows. Firstly, to discredit the leaders of the Government-in-exile and their staffs; secondly, to give (by the verdict) an example of the Russians' spirit of moderation; and thirdly, to emphasise their unshakeable determination to put an end, once for all, to anti-Soviet propaganda on Polish territory.

So the agreement reached on June 23[2] found the atmosphere 648 175

1 [1944 -- Analyst]
2 [1945 -- Analyst]

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648 cleared, and awakened a reasoned optimism in English and
175 American circles.

642 Twenty-four hours after the arrival in Warsaw of the Poles
175 invited by Moscow to join the new 'National Unity' Government the former Osubka-Morawski Cabinet resigned, and was reconstituted with the addition of these elements representing the exiles or the home Resistance movements.

The new Government included representatives of the Communist Party (which were not, as the London exiles maintained, in the majority) as well as of the Socialist, Peasant, and Democratic Parties. For the greater part it was composed of the ministers who had resigned from the Warsaw Cabinet. It kept at its head the ex-President, Osubka-Morawski, supported by two Vice-Presidents, MM. Gomulka and Mikolajczyk.

At the same time, the composition of the National Council—a sort of pre-Legislature—was also modified. Its Presidium, which played the role of provisional Chief of State, was under the leadership of M. Bierut, a Communist, who was, however, given two Vice-Presidents—M. Witos, leader of the Peasant Party, and Professor Grabski, National-Christian.

This Government declared that the first question on its agenda was that of repatriation of the Poles still residing abroad.

648 As soon as the formation of the National Unity Ministry was
175 known, the British authorities negotiated with the former exiled Government in London, with a view to its prompt dissolution.

• [578] But on June 25[1] the Government-in-exile published a declaration, affirming that it refused to acknowledge any transmission of power, and proclaimed the new Warsaw Government to be 'illegal'. At the same time, it issued a manifesto to the Polish people justifying its attitude of protest, and declaring itself willing, as far as the fate of the country was concerned, to abide by a free election.

On July 5 London recognised the new Provisional Government, already approved by Moscow and Washington. This meant a break between the British authorities and the Cabinet-in-exile, which England had for so long supported and encouraged. The B.B.C. ceased to broadcast Polish programmes, and the various services installed in London were invited to wind up as quickly as possible.

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

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atheistic circles. But the international crisis which swept the country was complicated by a religious crisis. This became evident when the Council of Ministers decided, on September 17, to denounce the Concordat, accusing the Vatican of having violated its clauses by the publication, during the occupation, of laws contrary to its engagements (an allusion to the nomination of bishops of German nationality in Posnania). 186* 795 [618]

Poland had lost the liberty of choice which, for so long, had enabled her to seek her equilibrium between the Teutonic and the Russian world. Willy-nilly, she had to accustom herself to the new state of affairs; but she brought to the situation the germ of serious civil discord. And her exiles, maintaining a more than century-old tradition, were to keep alive, especially in Anglo-American and in Catholic circles, an atmosphere of opposition—not to mention the clandestine resistance, all the centres of which were not extinct in Poland itself. Our grandchildren will talk of the 'Polish Question' just as our grandparents used to do. [578]

* * *

In her foreign policy Bulgaria has a 'spare ideology' which enables her to reverse her international situation according to whether she is at peace or at war. Thus she periodically takes her stand beside the Power which seems able to help her to realise her territorial aspirations. This is the effect of that 'Macedonian psychosis' of which we have spoken. But her evil genius has invariably inspired her to 'back the wrong horse'. 648 175

In the Second World War, she passed through three phases.

Feeling sure that Germany was invincible, but profiting by her previous disappointments, she first tried to gain Hitler's support at the lowest possible price. This was the period of so-called 'passive belligerency', limited to platonic manifestations—adhesion to the Tripartite Pact and to the anti-Comintern Pact.

But the Axis soon saw through this ruse. In April, 1941, it allowed Bulgaria to settle in Western Macedonia (Serbia) and in Eastern Macedonia (Greece). In return, it expected its troops to have right of passage through and of quartering in Bulgarian territory. Such was the *leit-motiv* of the three interviews which took place between Hitler and King Boris, between March, 1941,

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in Yugoslavia, where it has two aspects: one external—that concerned with relations between Moscow and Belgrade, the other internal—the *entente* between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. 186*

The personality of Marshal Tito, who had the confidence of the Russians and was the animator, first of resistance to the Germans, then of the liberation movement, considerably simplified the question of relations between Yugoslavs and Sovietics. 648 175 578 •

Before the soil of Yugoslavia had been liberated, a Government-in-exile (presided over, at the end, by Dr. Ivan Choubachich) continued to function in London, whilst in Yugoslavia Marshal Tito directed the war of liberation. During the winter of 1944–1945, King Peter II tried to bring about an agreement between Tito and the exiled Government. Various obstacles retarded the conclusion of the agreement, and they were later on to paralyse its enforcement.

These obstacles included the conduct of the King during the war. He was reproached with having lived far removed from his people and with not having imitated the example of his grandfather, King Peter I of Serbia, who in 1876 under the name of 'Peter Mrkognich', led a detachment of rebels in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or his father, the Regent Alexander, who had fought in 1917–1918 on the Salonica front. 643 175

He was further reproached with his inopportune marriage, contracted far away from the country, and against the advice of his friends and counsellors. On March 21,° 1944, at the Yugoslav Embassy in London, he had married Princess Alexandra of Greece, who, on July 17 of the following year, gave birth to a son.

Now, in Serbia, dynastic loyalty is not (as in Croatia, for example) founded on any fundamental attachment to the monarchical idea. It exists simply in respect of the monarch's patriotic function—what the Serbs call *narodni rad* ('national work')—a name which takes on its full significance only in a country which is periodically reduced to slavery.

The authority of King Peter II was also weakened by the support he had given to General Draja Mihaïlovich. The latter had been the first to rise against the occupation, and his heroic resistance had rallied the best elements of the old army in Southern Bosnia and in Montenegro. But he was reproached 725 648 175

° March 20, according to Keesing (trans.).

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founded on despotism and personal power? The law of August 25, 1945 on the control of the press banned not only the ex-'collaborators', but also the publishers of 'alarmist' news or of news 'contrary to the general interest'—as conceived by the Government, naturally. A well-informed police organisation, modelled on Russian methods, ceaselessly exercised a very close watch over public opinion and, naturally, indulged in arbitrary arrests and acts of violence. 656 204 625

This policy led to dissension within the Government. The leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, Milan Grol, resigned on August 19[1]; on October 8[1] he was followed into retirement by Dr. Ivan Choubachich and the Minister Chouteï, both Croat Agrarians. 578 175

Choubachich's resignation was serious, for it upset a ministerial equilibrium which had been agreed upon among the Allies. Yet what was this agreement worth, since Tito, repudiating the terms of the compromise which had sanctioned his authority, had pronounced against the monarchy? 'Not one of our combatants thought that anything new could be created under the leadership of the King, especially as the Nediches and Mihaïloviches committed their crimes in his name. . . . The point is, whether the monarchy is compatible with the new system of Yugoslav Federal Democracy. . . . For several reasons, I think it is not'.

The next day (August 8, 1945) King Peter replied to this declaration by withdrawing from the Regents the power they held from him.

Tito was not intimidated by this retort. He declared that the Government acted in agreement with all the creative and constructive forces of the country, with all sincerely democratic parties. The masses of the populace had acquired, during the war, firmly-rooted political knowledge which had nothing in common with the electoral catchwords with which they previously used to be taken in.

The Opposition replied that free elections would prove the truth of this assertion, whereas those to which the country had been called were not free. The Americans and the English repeatedly emphasised the reserves they made regarding their attitude towards the régime which would result from this poll. 666 829 175

The elections took place on November 11.[1] They gave to the

1 [1945-- Analyst]

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666 National Front 80–90 per cent of the votes cast.[4] It is true that
829 the Opposition abstained from voting (its Belgrade organ,
175 *Demokratia*, was suspended) and that the electoral system favoured the Coalition Government. But the Anglo-Americans took no action. They declared the results of the poll to be 'acceptable'. On these results were based the two Assemblies (Union Assembly and Assembly of the Nationalities) which, following Russian lines, were to control the country's constitutional life.

• 578 In short, both at home and abroad, Tito was master of the
643 situation. He had armed forces, the levers of control, fanatical partisans, a 'Youth' following, attached to a régime which had radically reorganised the whole staffing of the army, the administrative services, and diplomacy. But certain large sections of opinion were not with him. In the provinces the old parties were still solidly rooted. Those circles criticised the 'personal' and 'plebiscite' character of the régime, which was an unprecedented innovation in Serbian political life. Against the Marshal were the Monarchists, the old army, Serbian nationalism, Croat par-
[659] ticularism, Slovene 'Clericalism'. For a long time he alienated the Catholic clergy; on October 18, Radio-Vatican broadcast a letter from the Yugoslav bishops to the Belgrade Government, accusing the latter of systematically persecuting the Roman Church.

And this was only criticism of internal affairs. Tito was further reproached with having reorganised relations between the Yugoslav populations on anachronistic bases. How would this State turn out—a State of twelve million inhabitants, with six autonomous Governments, capped with a Federal Government? Where would the frontiers of Croatia and Serbia be? And those of Serbia and Macedonia? Could the Macedonian question be considered as settled by the granting of autonomy? And would not the Bulgaro-Yugoslav *entente*, advertised as a victory for the régime, be submitted to a severe test when autonomy gave rise to political disputes in this country which, for a century, had been torn by undercurrents of passion and foreign intrigue? Was

666 [4] According to official statistics, out of 8,383,455 electors and 7,413,214 votes cast, 6,574,975 went to the National Front. The franchise had been given to women; the electoral age had been lowered to 18, and even lower for those who had fought in the liberation.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

the resurrection of Montenegro, a country of 200,000 inhabitants, which had disappeared since 1918, and of Bosnia, which had not been heard of in history since the Middle Ages, in keeping with the ideas of a 'new world' that were current in Tito's circle? And had not Tito himself, by liberating atomic nationalisms, super-Balkanised his country at a time when means of communication were suppressing distances—in other words, had he not inaugurated a policy which was opposed to history, progress, and common sense, in order to realise the midsummer night's dream of a Slavophile of the 'Forties'? 578* 643

The federal régime, it will be said, has representatives in Europe—Switzerland, Russia, Austria. But Switzerland has maturity, Russia has extent, Austria has an historical and cultural homogeneity to safeguard its unity. 000

Was not the Yugoslav community in imminent danger from this 'State power' given to regions hitherto divided by so many memories? The Croats used to oppose the Serbs in religious matters. Between the two wars, rivalry between Catholics and Orthodox had subsided somewhat. But the elections in Austria and Hungary showed that, after the liberation, the attachment of the populations of Central Europe to the Roman Church had lost none of its force. Croatia—*antemurale Christianitatis*—could not escape this deeply-rooted tendency, still less at a time when Russia, the protectress of the Yugoslav State, reaffirmed the Orthodox tradition on which her relations with the Serbs had formerly been based. How was it possible not to see in this renewal of religious antagonism between Belgrade and Zagreb a threat of secession? [795]

In Yugoslavia the Crown used to be (as in Belgium) the link between different peoples, traditions, and trends. On November 29, 1945, obedient to Tito's watchword, the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly, composed of the Union Assembly and the Assembly of the Nationalities, proclaimed the Federative Republic. It deposed and condemned to exile the dynasty of the Karageorgevich. 642 175

This vote was the logical conclusion of the elections and also —it must be admitted—of the errors of the young King. The latter raised a protest which was greeted, in London circles, with more sympathy than encouragement. The fate of the monarchy in Yugoslavia seemed, indeed, to be definitely settled.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E18

A sceptic might have observed that, despite the oratorical manifestations of harmony and goodwill, three specifically Slav problems which had arisen in 1919 still appeared on the agenda of questions at issue in 1946—the allocation of the Teschen Basin, the definitive status of Macedonia, the fate of the Lusatian Serbs. 186* 668

Indeed, the Macedonian question does not seem to have been finally settled by the creation of a Macedonian Republic within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation. That is why, at the end of 1946, Yugoslav newspapers demanded the incorporation of the Bulgarian districts (Petrich, Gornya-Djumaïa, Nevrekop) in the Popular Republic of Macedonia, and reproached the new Bulgarian constitution with submitting every project for the transfer of territory to the decision of the legislature—a step which Belgrade considered as a stipulation derogatory to the 'Macedonian minority's' right to self-determination.[2] In other words, in Yugoslavia the Macedonian population of Bulgaria was still considered as non-Bulgarian in character. Latent, but still discernible, it was the old quarrel which had, for half a century, set the two peoples in opposition to each other. It was recalled in the Sobranje on December 12, by an Agrarian Deputy, who asked the Government whether it did not consider the Yugoslav claims as an interference in Bulgarian Home Affairs. And early in 1947 a much-talked-of action brought at Skoplje plainly pointed to the survival of the famous ORIM (Macedonian Internal Revolutionary Organisation) directed by Vanka Mihaïlov—that organisation which had been so widely discussed at the conclusion of the previous war. 563 578 648 175

[2] An action which the French Press Agency described (on January 27, 1947) as 'typically Macedonian' was brought against Albanians, Yugoslavs of Albanian or Turkish origin and 'real Macedonians', accused of having organised, in 1945, an illegal society—*National Chiptare Demokratia*—to overthrow the Albanian Government of Enver Hodja and set up a 'Great Albania', including a part of Western Macedonia, with Kossovo and Metova. The conspirators were in league with Mihaïlov's Revolutionary Committee—the famous ORIM (Macedonian International Revolutionary Organisation), whose hand had already been detected in a separatist Macedonian plot which had been judged in November 1946. In this plot was involved no less a person than Metodijé Andorov Cento, one of the most popular figures among the Macedonian 'partisans' and, up to the spring of 1946, President of the Macedonian Liberation Assembly. Cento was sentenced to eleven years' hard labour. Decorated by Tito, he was in opposition to the Government, criticising its Communist affiliations, and in conflict with Lazar Koulichevsky, Prime Minister of the Macedonian legislature. [668]

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

131 war, now had only three—Russia, Germany, and Czechoslovakia.
175 One aspect of her new position which represented an innovation was her transformation into a great maritime nation, thanks to the three ports, Stettin, Gdynia, and Danzig, and to her 312 miles of coast-line. Nevertheless, her destiny would henceforth be more closely bound to that of Central Europe, while remaining subordinate to the *entente* with Moscow.

666 The western frontiers were approved by the plebiscite of June 30, which covered not only the frontier-ratification, but also the abolition of the Senate and the economic organisation of the
[471] State (Agrarian reform and nationalisation of key industries).
[423] The first ballot gave 10,534,697 in favour and 995,584 against; the second gave 7,844,522 in favour and 3,686,029 against; the third, 8,896,106 in favour and 2,634,446 against.

• 578 This popular referendum did not have the tranquillising
648 effects that had seemingly been expected. Poland continued to
661 be a prey to 'terrorist' agitation, the repression of which, in
175 turn, gave rise to scenes of violence and to exactions. While dissociating himself from the extremists, the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, M. Mikolajczyk, himself protested against the way in which the referendum had been carried out (except in Cracow, where the 'Noes' had been in the majority). So the British Government reserved its opinion on the legitimacy which this poll conferred on the régime, and awaited the general elections before giving legal recognition to the new state of affairs. And the whole of 1946 was taken up with exchanges of subacid notes between London and Washington on the one side and Warsaw on the other. The Anglo-Americans denounced the persecution to which the Opposition was subjected, and considered that the Polish Government was failing in the undertaking given in execution of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, to guarantee the liberty of elections. But the Russians interpreted quite differently both the scope of these agreements and the meaning of the word 'liberty'. And so the most obvious result of the diplomatic offensive on the part of England and the United States was to intensify Polish-Sovietic solidarity.

648 The formation, in June, of a National Unity Government
175 under the Presidency of M. Osubka Morawski seemed, for the
[642] time being, to dissipate the apprehensions of the Anglo-Americans, although the dissident Polish Government in London

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•578 175 The problem of the relations between Prague and Bratislava was difficult to settle. It had handicapped the political development of the country from 1919 to 1938, and six years of separate life (from 1938 to 1944) had not failed to add fresh grievances to the old ones. In addition to all this, Slovakia herself suffered from an internal crisis—antagonism between a heterogeneous Catholic majority and a united, combative, Communist minority. The Democratic Party, which comprised the Catholics, presented a front only in the struggle against Marxism, the Soviet stranglehold, and Czech Centralism. In the face of constructive problems it was divided. It suffered, moreover, under the suspicion of having owed its electoral triumph only to the Autonomists and to the former 'collaborators'. Here, as elsewhere, the Communist Party sought to monopolise all the merit of the Resistance.

And Slovak particularism had not disarmed. This was made clear when, in the summer of 1946, the central Government ordered exchanges between Czech and Slovak military units; this order met with violent resistance.

However, that is a problem which the Czechs have had time to study, and in which they have acquired bitter, but profound, experience. It is a psychological rather than a political problem, affected by social and religious reactions, not to mention the campaign against the régime carried on by Slovak exiles in America, under the leadership of M. Stephan Osusky, former Czechoslovak Minister in Paris. It is possible that the fundamental difference between the two peoples may lie in the fact that one was under the heel of the German, the other of the Magyar.

642 175 On June 24 was concluded an agreement destined to become the foundation of the new Czechoslovak community, based on a formula which lies half-way between decentralisation and autonomy. This is how it works. Apart from the three reserved departments (Foreign Affairs, National Defence, and Foreign Trade), Slovakia has her own organs of representation and government: a National Council of one hundred members, drawn from the parties, empowered to settle purely Slovak questions; an Executive Council composed of fifteen Commissars appointed by the Czech Government on the nomination of the Slovak National Council. These Commissars are, at one and the same time, real Ministers as far as Slovak affairs are

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666 175 98.89 per cent (110,180 blank votes), the electors having no other option than to vote for the 'Front' or to register a blank vote.

185 175 Faithful to the guidance of Benes, Jean Masaryk and Ripka, the Third National Front Government, presided over by Gottwald, endeavoured to secure the triumph of a policy of equilibrium between East and West, between Liberalism and Marxism. 'In our country', declared Benes, 'under the pressure of the masses, Communism has become national.'

648 175 The first signs of Soviet pressure were seen when, after the Czech Cabinet had decided, in July, 1947, to accept an invitation to attend the Paris Conference for the application of the Marshall Plan, it was forced, on orders from Moscow, to withdraw its acceptance.

• [578] The final crisis was reached in February, 1948. An exceedingly violent press campaign was launched against Vaclav Nosek, Minister of the Interior, as the result of a purge which followed the discovery of illegal arms deposits. The Communist Party accused the National Socialists (Benes Party), the Popular Democrats and the Slovak Democrats of attempting to constitute an 'anti-Communist bloc' within the Government, and of paralysing the legislative power of the National Assembly. Tension reached its peak with the approach of the elections, then fixed for April 11, 1948.

668 642 175 The partisans of obedience to Moscow centred their efforts around the nucleus of the police and the trade union organisations. A 'Central Action Committee' was established, to back up, by mass movements, the offensive led by President Gottwald and his Communist colleagues against the moderate section of the Government. On February 20, 1948, the Ministers belonging to the three incriminated parties resigned. The Marxists held demonstrations in the streets; a political strike was declared on February 4, and the Congress of Works' Committees demanded the removal of the 'reactionaries'. President Benes, taken unawares by the suddenness of this attack, rejected the idea of a Government of Civil Servants and, on February 25, he formed a new National Front Ministry, with Gottwald as President, Gapotocki as Vice-President, Jean Masaryk at the head of Foreign Affairs. The Communists secured entire control of this Cabinet, which was in favour of unconditional collaboration with the Soviet Union. The opposition was reduced to

6; Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

177 .64 175 origin), as Minister of Defence in the Warsaw Cabinet; he took as his deputy General Wladislaw Korczye, Chief of Staff of the Polish Army. This appointment was naturally interpreted as a further step in the subordination of Poland to the Soviet interests.

648 175 696 And the Polish-Sovietic *rapprochement* (at governmental level) had an unexpected result: the expulsion or the trial, on the ritual charge of spying, of French diplomats and nationals (Wroclaw case), thus creating a state of tension between two countries whose friendship had historic and spiritual roots of such strength that no political vicissitudes had hitherto been able to affect them.

* * *

186* 648 578 175 Thus the events of 1948–1949 once more disturbed that 'Slav solidarity' which had been revived by the Second World War. It cannot be said that there exist, between the Soviet Union on the one side, and Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, on the other, ties which are stronger than, or of any different nature from, those which unite Moscow to Budapest or to Bucharest. The 'collaboration' operates exclusively on the basis of Stalin-Marxism and obedience to Moscow.

On the contrary, the Soviet Union's Enemy Number One is Tito's Yugoslavia. There is violent and complete rupture between the Southern Slavs for the one part, the Bulgarians, Eastern and Northern Slavs for the other.

The historic current which has, periodically, split up the world of the Slavs, has reasserted its mysterious disintegrating force.

Two small but typical facts may serve as a postscript to this study. On Stalin's seventieth birthday the only country which sent no 'homage' to the master of the Kremlin was Yugoslavia. And the President of the Panslav Congress in the United States, George Pirinsky, was imprisoned in Chicago as belonging to an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the American Government by force.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

619 presence of a patronymic suffix in early Russian tribal names
621 indicates that these tribes actually passed through a stage when membership depended on kinship, but the attachment of the same suffix to place names also implies that the original implication had been forgotten before the historical period.

567 Prior to the evolution first of a commercial and subsequently
565 of an official ruling class, the primitive Slavic population was divided into three distinguishable strata. At the lowest point in the scale stood the slaves, composed of captives taken in war, men who had lost their freedom for debt, and descendants of slave parents. At least in their early history, the attitude of the Slavs toward their slaves was exceedingly mild. Above the slaves stood the great group of freemen, governed by the elders of their communities and later by tribal chieftains supported by a council of elders.

581 Polygamy and concubinage were common to all primitive
595 Slavs. In spite of the evidence for considerable promiscuity, a sense of the sanctity of marriage as a permanent tie is also demonstrated by early accounts of pagan Slavic wives who committed suicide upon the death of their husbands, so that the fidelity of the Slavic women was almost universally commented on with favor by foreign observers. Survivals of primitive custom among the Russian peasantry down to modern times indicate nevertheless that great freedom was allowed
462 both sexes prior to marriage. The Slavic women enjoyed no equality in the household, though a surviving widow was authorized to take her husband's place as head of the family.
583 Marriage by capture or by purchase was common Slavic practice.

177 In the course of their history, even before the dispersion, the
326 Slavs were exposed to a series of foreign influences, especially Iranian and Germanic, which rapidly placed at their service the techniques common to adjacent ethnic groups. Linguistic evidence demonstrates that the mass of the Slavs, like the German and the Baltic peoples, was familiar with iron, gold, silver, and lead from the earliest times, at least from the second half

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648 728 175 tion, and the reconstruction of German economic life subordinated to the reconstruction of the devastated countries.

648 175 On the United Nations' Security Council the Polish delegation fastened on the Spanish problem, displaying all the more energy, inasmuch as none of their positive interests was at stake. They backed the views supported by France and the Soviet Union on rupture with Franco, and decided, on April 5, 1946, to recognise the Giral Government--an eminently platonic gesture, for Franco's Spain and Poland had no diplomatic relations.

*186 659 [798] The religious question, too, was a serious preoccupation of the Government, which refuted the widespread accusation of wishing to persecute the Catholic Church. It had, moreover, always included 'practising' Catholics among its members, for Poland is certainly one of the few countries where 'Leftists' are just as good Catholics as 'Rightists'. Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland and Archbishop of Warsaw, himself declared that, in spite of the denunciation of the Concordat of 1925, and the absence of relations between Chruch and State, there was no question of a Kulturkampf in Poland.

• [586] There is no doubt; however, that the law (which came into force on January 1, 1946) rendering civil marriage compulsory and authorising divorce conflicted with the consciences of a large section of the population. The education reforms had dealt a death-blow to the religious schools. In the face of these measures, the Church adopted an attitude of restrained disapproval, in order not to make the situation worse; moreover, she had her 'Red Bishops', such as Mgr. Adamski, Bishop Katowice, whose sympathies were known to lie with the Soviet Union.

One of the reasons why the hierarchy avoided clashes was the fear of reviving accusations brought against certain of their members as the result of their attitude during the occupation; this in spite of the courageous conduct of the enormous majority of the prelates, and the murder by the Germans of four bishops and two thousand priests.

*186 659 798 It was, moreover, evident that the Warsaw Government's hostility was directed less against the Polish Church than against the Vatican, which they reproached with its policy during the war and its attitude in certain actions brought against agents of the occupying authorities. Yet M. Osubka-Morawski likewise

Bulgaria EE1
Slavic Peoples E16
Serbs EF6

The typical form is shown by a house of the village of Zianoszene of the Berkof district, built in 1890 (Fig. 41) «In these areas», says Zlatev (p. 98), «southward and northward of the Haimos, in the plain or even in the mountains, this house is the normal type used. The portico here appears in various forms and positions, depending on the construction, which is here primitive and without any particular sense of shape». Part of the space under the portico has been enclosed with oak-tree boards and it is used as a pig-sty. The walls of the ground-floor are made of stone, and those of the upper floor of daubed wicker-work (Bulg.: pletarka). The floor of the upper storey is made of oak planks, roughly planed, and plastered with a thick layer of clay. Windows are few and small, and thus results a poor lighting in the house. The height of the basement is of 2 metres, and that of the upper floor 2 - 2.5 metres. The portico, formed on the frontage and called «islak» (Greek: ἡλιακός), appears as a non-organic part, attached to the main body, although its roof is a part of the whole roof of the house. It is mainly used for the drying of fruits [1]).

B 342
B [231]
B [354]
B [251]

The need to house a large family, as e.g. the so-called zadruga, created a difficult problem which remained architecturally unsolved in the case of the Serbs and the other Slavs: the young people and the young couples sleep in separate small buildings (vajat, klijet, staja or koliba from the Greek καλύβη = hut) which are constructed alongside or around the family house (called kuc'a), having no hearth and being also used as a stable or a store house [2]). The number of klijeti existing round the kuc'a gives the number of couples living in that cluster [3]). As for the Bulgarians, this problem has been solved through the following two methods: 1. By the addition of rooms, in direct organic connection with the original region of the hearth. 2. By the unification of two independent bipartite or tripartite houses through covered entrances or corridors.

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The first method is shown by the house in the village Zabel (Zlatev, fig. 16), one of the oldest houses in NW Bulgaria, which, «some

B [592]

1) It is interesting to note the nomenclature of each part of the wooden bone in W. Bulgaria, which is often similar to that used in Thessaly and Epirus (Zlatev, p. 101, fig. 86) 1. Temel (θεμέλιον) = the basis of the post. 2. Direk = the post. 3. Gredi = (γρεντιά) beam. 4. Pope (παπᾶς = priest) (cf. **Megas**, Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 20).

2) See **J. Cvijić**, La Peninsule Balkanique, Paris, 1918, p. 233 and foll.

3) See **L. Niederle**, Manuel de l'antiquité Slave, Vol. 2 Paris 1926, p. 109.

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Another characteristic of the Slav house, the «kleti», a small separate building, that was originally constructed by the Slavs near their own house, without any hearth, and was used as a store-room and at the same time as stable and as bedroom for young couples, it exists in the Serb houses, as well as in the Russian ones. This is a proof that the Jugoslav were aware of its existence already in the 6th and 7th centuries, when they arrived at the Greek peninsula. This space appears, even to-day, either as a store-room, or a chamber without any hearth, to be used especially by married members of the family. Thus in the Serb farm-houses belonging to one zadruga, one may count as many klijets i.e. small wooden buildings round the family kuc'a, as there are couples in the family.

From the above we may conclude that, when establishing themselves on this side of the Danube in lands of the Byzantine empire, the Jugoslavs knew only the simpler, the primitive forms of Slav houses and consequently the entire evolution which is shown by the Jugoslav house, especially in the purely Serb countries, has been accomplished on Balkan soil under the influence of the building methods in use in the Balkan peninsula from ancient times.

We have already said that Cvijic' distinguishes a type of Greco-mediterranean house which «probably originates from the old Byzantine houses». «We can also see this house», he writes, «in all the Koutsovlach villages, even in the ones with a continental climate, as well as in the Slav populations of Mijaci and Mavrovci, at the centre of the peninsula».

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According to Cvijic', «the Greco-mediterranean house differs slightly or not at all from the house of the Vardar district (maison vardarienne) for which it is used as the model (le prototype)». The same may be said of the Morava valley house (maison moravienne) whose one component, the portico (auvent), has the obviously Greek name doksat (Greek δοξάτος) while this same component, more to the South, in the Vardar district, is called by another Greek name: krevet (Greek κρεββάτι)(1). As we have seen, even the first of the additions to the kuc'a, namely the place where various articles are kept, is called

1) J. Cvijic' op. cit. p. 224 Cf. the κρεββάτα of the houses of Ambelakia, Rapsani, Arta etc. (G. Megas, Θεσ. Οἰκ., pp. 86 foll., 95 foll. and the δοξάτον of the Kastoria noble houses (A. Orlandos, Ἀρχεῖον Βυζαντ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος B p. 181 foll. p. 196 foll.).

113, 593, 831, 864, 867 Slavic Peoples E16

For information on family life, child training, and obscenity among Slavic peasants, see 11: Malinowski, OL6 Trobriands, category 116, pp. 36-38, 40-44, 51-54, 64, 105.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

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6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 814 In Russia, this same year 1942 saw an unprecedented output of works on Slavonic history and philology. Nicolas Derjavin studied Slavonic palæology, Russo-Bulgarian intellectual relations, the origin and history of the Slavs up to the eleventh century. The literature and history of the Slavonic nations were included in the syllabus of the High Schools; a chair of Slavonic Philology was created in the University of Leningrad; in May, 1942 the chair of Slavistic in the University of Moscow became a 'centre of studies in the history of the Slavonic peoples and of their role in intellectual evolution and in progress'.

186 • 608 829 The Ethnographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences undertook a huge investigation into the origin of the Slavonic settlements. A Tass Agency communication of July 4, 1943, announced the first results of this inquiry; the Slavs were aboriginals, not invaders. Professor Gudaltov proved that they descended from tribes settled between the Elbe and the Vistula. He pointed out the direct relationship between the Scythians of the Dnieper and the Polanes who played a decisive role in the formation of the State of Kiev.

186 533 536 Literature, the theatre, the arts, vied with each other in contributing to this revival of Slavonic spiritual life. An exhibition of the theatrical art of the Slavonic nations was held in Moscow in July, 1942. Chebalin's *Slavonic Quartet* obtained the Stalin Prize in 1943. The Musicians' Congress, which met in Moscow in January, 1943, praised Victor Belyi's 'Slavonic Suite' (Hymn of Anger, Serbian Guerrilla, To Arms!), the libretto of which, borrowed from Serbian folklore literature, is the work of the Montenegrin poet, Radoul Stiyensky.

186* 576 668 But the essential task remained a political one. Five committees were formed, for liaison with sympathisers in the allied countries—Panslav Committee, Youth Committee, Committee of Savants, Feminine Committee, Jewish Committee. The Panslav Committee launched message after message to oppressed Slavs, insurgent Slavs, Slavs in exile. They received from the Yugoslav Vetché—a political organisation struggling with Tito for independence—a telegram thanking them for their assistance with a view to the establishment of a 'Democratic Yugoslavia, federal and equal in rights', which concluded as follows: 'Long live the fraternal solidarity of all the Slavs in the struggle against German Fascism!'

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* must have become ingrained in the Slavic vocabulary before
177 400 A.D., and made their entry into the common speech prior
197 to the spread of the Southern Slavs into the Balkans, which began about a century later.

175* While for 200 years the Goths were the dominant ethnic element in southern and western Russia, they constituted only a numerically inferior ruling class which controlled the Slavic natives and such Iranian elements as were left from the period of Scythian and Sarmatian supremacy. It would otherwise be difficult to explain the process by which the Goths disappeared completely from the steppe country during the two centuries after the overthrow of the Gothic kingdom by the Huns in 370. The Huns themselves were a Turko-Tartar tribe whose western movement, begun in the first century A.D. after 300 years of strife with the Chinese in southern Mongolia, brought them to the Caspian Sea in the second. They were a nonagricultural nomadic people possessed of little culture of their own. What civilization they exhibited, and particularly their military organization, they borrowed from their Sarmatian vassals. Some of the Ostrogoths joined the advancing Huns. That portion of the Gothic population which had settled in the Crimea, though also subjected to the Huns, disappeared more slowly, and some small remnants preserved their Gothic identity as late as the eighteenth century. While the authority of the Huns does not appear to have been oppressively exercised in the steppe country, it nevertheless dealt a fatal blow to the flourishing civilization composed of combined Oriental and Greek elements which had adorned the north shore of the Black Sea for nearly a millennium. The Huns were the last Asiatic people to impinge upon the eastern section of the Slavs before their dispersion and expansion.

613 The primitive social organization of the early Slavs is, it must be admitted, a highly controversial subject. An exclusively patriarchal and tribal organization is found, after all, only among purely nomadic peoples, but is immediately re-

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

solved as soon as peoples become fixed, in consequence of the 613
necessity of integrating nonkindred elements into the social complex. The originally kindred groups become contaminated with extraneous elements, though still conceived as fictitious clans or tribes. When we first encounter the Slavs, they are [361]
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1: Niederle--29 E-5 1911 EN Slavic Peoples E16
Tsarist Russia R2

S.P. T.R. 212 If one eliminates from the population the children below the age of nine, the number of literates rises to 41% for Poland and 30% for Russia. In 1897, in the area where Russian is spoken, 29.6% literate men and 9.34% women were estimated, which gives an average of 19.78%. In Austria, the Russians are also very poorly educated. The Austrian statistics of six years ago figured that there were only 21.8% literate persons among the Russians and Ruthenians. They, therefore, occupy the lowest rank among the Austrian Slavs, just as the Russians do among the civilized peoples of their Empire.

S.P. T.R. 619 S. 6. Differentiaton Within the Nation. --

The Russians, like the other great nations, have never formed a completely homogeneous people. From the first centuries of their history, a series of distinct and more or less divergent units appear, and, even after their grouping into a single political nation under the name of Russia, the former shadings of difference did not disappear. In part they cancelled each other out, they assumed new forms, a new development, /39/ and in some instances they became even more pronounced. This sharpening of differences became so pronounced during the last century that many people were unwilling to recognize a single Russian nation, but insisted that there were two nations: the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, and alongside them, a third national unit, less distinct it is true and less developed, the Belorussians.

000 I have explained above (S. 3), how this tri-partition of the Russian realm took place. Putting aside for the moment the question of linguistics, I shall content myself with pointing out only what are today the internal and external affinities of these groups, wherein today lie the tendencies which, for political or scientific reasons, claim to make of them, instead of a single Russian nation, two peoples, the Great Russian and the Little Russian, otherwise called Ukrainian.

S.P. T.R. 197 The relationships of the three Russian groups have been studied particularly from a linguistic viewpoint. But it would be an error to believe that it is only a question of shades of dialect. There are verified differences in the domestic life of the people, in character and physical appearance, in historic traditions. However, language affords us with the element most susceptible of analysis, and it is from a linguistic point of view that the three groups may thus be distinguished:

1 According to Sobolevskii and Karskii, the territory of Great
[Cf. cat. 116, pp. 11-17 -- Analyst]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

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326 Slavs were exposed to a series of foreign influences, especially Iranian and Germanic, which rapidly placed at their service the techniques common to adjacent ethnic groups. Linguistic evidence demonstrates that the mass of the Slavs, like the German and the Baltic peoples, was familiar with iron, gold, silver, and lead from the earliest times, at least from the second half

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VI

German and Slav

While speaking of the process by which the Western and some of the Southern Slavs were converted to Christianity, it has been mentioned that German missionary efforts were accompanied by widespread colonization not only along the Danube but likewise in Central Germany itself. It may be recalled also that, after the Germanic migrations, the Slavs by the sixth century had expanded from their former boundary at the Vistula westward to the Elbe and simultaneously occupied the Baltic coast from the peninsula of Jutland eastward to the former Polish corridor. While they were in Bohemia and Moravia, as well as in the Vistula basin, they set up large and comparatively strong Slavic social and political organizations which, despite many handicaps, have maintained themselves down into modern history. But the Slavs who occupied the course of the Elbe and the Baltic seaboard formed nothing more than weak tribal federations which not only possessed little internal cohesion but also collapsed easily at any external shock. At the same time the Slavs south of the Danube, and especially the Slovenes, were unable to form lasting ties with any more powerful Slavic group which would guarantee them against German pressure and infiltration; consequently they were gradually forced to contract into their present restricted frontiers.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

IV

SOURCES OF ANCIENT MAGIC AND MEDICINE

I

During the pagan and semi-pagan period the Slavs lived in small, independent tribes, later forming loose federations within territorial limits. For long the Greeks were unable to negotiate with them, because they did not agree among themselves and had no central authority. The organisation of a united state in Rascia coincided with the establishment of state Christianity, and the pagan empire of Bulgaria was comparatively short-lived.

SP 619 771 175 SP [659]

The tribal religious cult was likely to have been an extension of a domestic cult, probably rarely accompanied by the specialised functions of an official priesthood. The domestic cult lasts to the present day. The head of the household officiates in ceremonial, and the assistance of an outsider is not essential. In ceremonial which involves the whole tribe or village, the heads of households—the tribal elders—are again responsible; but that they have not an entire monopoly of ritual is evident in ceremonies which are performed by a group without a specially chosen leader, particularly those which belong to the younger people, or ceremonies conducted by old women doctors, etc.[1]

Y B SP 795 771 793 174

[1] The rites of the peasants hint also at an independent development. It is not true only that the non-Christian element enjoyed a revival, tended to revert to type, after the fall of the mediaeval empire. A direction was taken at that time, perhaps, in which the popular religion continued a course of development and adaptation. The popular religion, or sometimes a popular aversion to religion as well as to social forms that flourished under a feudal church, must have sought new outlets much earlier. Local forms of peasant cults must be of comparatively recent growth, and contain more than the survivals of an ancient paganism. The *slava*, for instance, is a typical example of a domestic rite which does not require a special priesthood. It has become perhaps the central

SP 174 771 795 793

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6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

175 648 aggressive policy, or against any other State which might revive this policy, under any form whatsoever.

Backed both without and within by the might of Moscow, Tito's régime seemed to be irresistibly established.

Its[1] first care had been to renew its claim to the territories of which Yugoslavia had been defrauded immediately after the First World War. It raised the question of Trieste and its hinterland. The Yugoslav delegation in London warmly defended a case supported by detailed and absolutely pertinent documentation, based on ethnographic and economic considerations. But they were imprudent enough to allow it to be understood that they would lay claim to Aegean or Hellenic Macedonia—which was bound to alienate the goodwill of Great Britain. They also mentioned the exorbitant sum which they intended to demand from Italy by way of reparations—thereby upsetting the United States, from whom Italy was at the same time seeking material aid to help her out of her desperate financial situation.

642 661 175 Yet, to tell the truth, the distrustful atmosphere which grew up around the Yugoslav claims arose more directly from the form of government and the political principles established by Tito. Under colour of anti-Fascism, the régime exercised the same reprisals against all its detractors. It was accused of borrowing the methods of the totalitarian régimes; the Opposition said that it had introduced the word 'Democracy' into the name of the State in order to dispense with it in reality, as, in the past, Pavelich gave the name of 'Independent State of Croatia' to a political offshoot of the Axis. He governed, on Russian lines, a very sensitive nation, which perhaps had not a very 'Western' notion of democracy, but had always shown itself stubbornly attached to the external forms of its independence. Certainly Tito had succeeded in grouping around him zealous young men, who had been tested under fire and were indifferent to the juridical or constitutional rites which, in the West, accompany the exercise of liberty. Certainly, too, the Yugoslav National Front represented itself not as a single party but as a synthesis of all the various energies resolved to work for the restoration of public life.

656 204 •625 Nevertheless to Anglo-American eyes the régime appeared to be a dictatorship. Was not its slogan—'No liberty for the enemies of liberty'—calculated to justify an administration

1 [Tito's régime's -- Analyst]

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

founded on despotism and personal power? The law of August 25, 1945 on the control of the press banned not only the ex-'collaborators', but also the publishers of 'alarmist' news or of news 'contrary to the general interest'—as conceived by the Government, naturally. A well-informed police organisation, modelled on Russian methods, ceaselessly exercised a very close watch over public opinion and, naturally, indulged in arbitrary arrests and acts of violence. 656 204 625

This policy led to dissension within the Government. The leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, Milan Grol, resigned on August 19[1]; on October 8[1] he was followed into retirement by Dr. Ivan Choubachich and the Minister Chouteï, both Croat Agrarians. 578 175

Choubachich's resignation was serious, for it upset a ministerial equilibrium which had been agreed upon among the Allies. Yet what was this agreement worth, since Tito, repudiating the terms of the compromise which had sanctioned his authority, had pronounced against the monarchy? 'Not one of our combatants thought that anything new could be created under the leadership of the King, especially as the Nediches and Mihaïloviches committed their crimes in his name. . . . The point is, whether the monarchy is compatible with the new system of Yugoslav Federal Democracy. . . . For several reasons, I think it is not'.

The next day (August 8, 1945) King Peter replied to this declaration by withdrawing from the Regents the power they held from him.

Tito was not intimidated by this retort. He declared that the Government acted in agreement with all the creative and constructive forces of the country, with all sincerely democratic parties. The masses of the populace had acquired, during the war, firmly-rooted political knowledge which had nothing in common with the electoral catchwords with which they previously used to be taken in.

The Opposition replied that free elections would prove the truth of this assertion, whereas those to which the country had been called were not free. The Americans and the English repeatedly emphasised the reserves they made regarding their attitude towards the régime which would result from this poll. 666 829 175

The elections took place on November 11.[1] They gave to the

1 [1945 - : Analyst]

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

648 793 795 to do with the protesting prelates,[11] or openly dissociated themselves from their attitude.

771 626 795 By way of retort, the first number of the *Moscow Patriarchy* published a message from the Council of Russian Bishops, assembled for the election, inviting Christians to pray for the victory of the Red Army and the fulfilment of the scriptural text invoked by Alexander Nevsky: 'He who strikes with the sword shall perish by the sword'. On September 8, this same Council had excommunicated 'as adversaries of the Cross of the Lord, all who have been guilty of treason to the common cause of the Church and gone over to Fascism'; the bishops and clergy guilty on this head were removed from their sacred office.

* * *

186* 563 To conclude, the only obstacles to a general reconciliation of the Slavonic peoples came from the Poles. To summarise here the vicissitudes of Soviet-Polish relations since the pact of December, 1941, would mean not only relating the most stormy chapter in the Allies' war diplomacy, but also recalling the relations of the various groups among the Polish exiles, the antagonism between the London Committee and that of Lublin, the frontier problem, and also the perhaps more tragic problem of the political, religious, and social concepts on the basis of which the Polish State was to be re-born. Once again it was made very clear that Poland occupied a place apart on the map of the Slavonic world, and formed an obstacle to the realisation of full Slav solidarity.

727 177 Like the other Slavonic States, however, she had been caught up in the advance of the Russian armies sweeping across Eastern Europe—an onrush which settled the fate of the Slav nations, with or without their consent, as a consequence of their liberation. For three or four years Germany had been the second Slavonic power in the world. She had imposed on her Serbian, Croatian, Slovak, and Bulgarian satellites not only the horrors of the occupation, but also ideologies strongly opposed to their temperaments and their history; an impersonal and tyrannical idea of the State, a 'New Order' which was nothing but a hypocritical subjection, anti-Semitism which—with the exceptions of Poland and Imperial Russia—the Slavonic nations had always regarded with horror. When the collapse came, all these nations turned 600

[11] Among these, however, we must include the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Argentine.

[1. Poland - Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Slavic People E16

had been stoned to death "many, many years ago." He never failed to add at least half a dozen stones and a multitude of curses to any heap we passed by the way. M 754

Vuk Vrchevitch, in his book on old customs at minor religious festivals, collected in the Bocche di Cattaro, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina, mentions in a footnote that it was customary in the middle of the nineteenth century in Montenegro, when "a man made a statement and at once recognized he had made a mistake, to strike it on a stone (u kamen udariti). He scratched a stone with the nails of his right hand to transfer the error to the stone." As the author thought it necessary to explain this custom to Serbian readers, it is clear that the custom was a local one. M 789 Sb 626

It is noteworthy that I can find no reference to swearing upon stones in old Serbian ballads, though swearing enough takes place in them. 783

That it is a custom of extreme antiquity there can be no doubt.

Lavrov (*v.* Jirecek) states that the Macedonian Slavs of old worshipped trees and stones. But tree- and pillar-worship is common to very many lands and existed in the Balkans long before the advent of the Slavs. Sir Arthur Evans describes the cult at Mycenæ and Dodona (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi). The oath on the stone may, therefore, belong to all and any of the Balkan people. SP 771 783 627

The Northern Slavs appear to have had some such oath. Helmoldus, in his *Chronica Slavorum* (*c.* 1160), tells that they "showed great reverence to their holy places, which were frequently sacred groves or springs, and would not lightly take an oath there, lest they should be overtaken by the wrath of the avenging god." When the church at Oldenburg was built and dedicated to St. John the Baptist in 1066 by the Saxons, "the Count bade the Slavs gather in the church to hear the Word of God . . . and the Slavs were restrained in future from *swearing by trees, fountains, and stones*; they were to bring those accused of crimes to the priest to be examined by the iron or the ploughshare" (*c.* 83). The steps taken by various races to "civilize" others are very interesting. Here the Saxons evidently consider the practice of ordeal by hot iron a more Christian method than that of swearing innocence upon an object believed to be sacred by the swearer.

Helmoldus's statement shows that this ordeal was not Slavonic. We must, therefore, suppose that the hot-iron ordeal, recommended in Stefan Dushan's Code (1349) as a means of testing serfs accused of crime, was borrowed from a neighbour land. Be this as it may, the ordeal was in use in South Slav districts till well into the nineteenth century.

Swearing on a stone has survived only in Albania as a means of self-justification; and it is not impossible that it has existed from A 783 627

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167 chians and Tivercians between the Dnieper and the Dniester as late as the ninth century, remarking that their settlements once extended as far as the coast of the Black Sea. These are, however, the same tribes who later took refuge in the eastern Carpathians and are the ancestors of the modern inhabitants of Subcarpathian Russia. In any case, after the elimination of the Avars, the East Slavic process of southward settlement was resumed until it was once more interrupted by the passage of the Magyars across southern Russia after the middle of the ninth century, and by subsequent inroads of the Pechenegs (Patzinaks), another wave of Turko-Tartar nomads, in the tenth 631 century. Hence, among the earliest traditions preserved in the [651] medieval Russian annals is that the South Russian Slavic tribes were ancient Khazar tributaries. In the early ninth century these subject tribes extended up the Dnieper as far as the river Sozh, well north of Kiev, and thus brought the whole initial extent of the subsequent principality of Kiev under Khazar tutelage.

The Khazars were a progressive race capable of rapid intellectual development and avid in the absorption of foreign ideas. Despite close diplomatic relations with Byzantium, they carefully sidestepped all influence toward conversion to Christianity with its political implications. Persecutions of the Jews in Byzantium during the reign of Leo III (717-740) caused a considerable Jewish migration from the Empire to the Khazar cities around the straits of Kerch. Since these Khazar centers (Kerch and Phanagoria, together with Itil, at the mouth of the Volga) were the chief transit points for Asiatic trade with the west, the Jewish settlers found abundant scope for their innate commercial talents, and rapidly came to exert a pronounced intellectual influence which culminated in the eighth century in the conversion of the Khazar ruling classes to Judaism. A remarkable feature of the Khazar polity was its religious tolerance, which guaranteed equal privileges not only to Jew and Moslem, but also to Christian refugees fleeing the rigors of the iconoclastic movement in Byzantium itself.

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175* the Volga artery. It is a historical fact of prime importance that
439 the Scandinavian warrior-merchants who settled among the
361 primitive Eastern Slavs founded no new towns themselves, but by their superior energy and military prowess made themselves the ruling class in urban centers of population which already existed. They were not the creators of the river-borne commerce from which they gained their livelihood. The routes and staples of this commerce had been defined far back in the early ages of the Mediterranean world, and the Russes who built up prosperous commercial relations with Byzantium simply renewed a system of exchange temporarily disjointed by the vicissitudes of nomadic movements.

175* Kiev was the chief trading post of the lower Dnieper valley,
631 the center at which merchandise was collected for shipment to the Crimea or to Byzantium. The Viking or so-called Varangian chief who controlled Kiev was thus likely to surpass in wealth and prestige his competitors in the more northern cities. The domestic activity of a Kievan prince of the early tenth century consisted chiefly in collecting tribute in kind, the proceeds of which not only supported his family and the retainers on whom his military power was founded, but also served as a basis for trade, which was under the prince's direct control. As the early Varangian princes imposed their sovereignty over successive towns, they delegated a viceroy to each, but the practice of assigning junior princes of the ruling family to subject cities begins only with Prince Sviatoslav (956-972), father of Vladimir I, under whom the Russians were converted. By the early tenth century, the outlying tribes had been tied together in a loose confederation connected with Kiev by economic interests dictated by trade with Constantinople, and this trade was regulated by a formal treaty as early as 907.

175* The magnificence of the Byzantine capital early exercised its attraction on the Kievan aristocracy. Vladimir's grandmother, the Princess Olga (a lady of pure Scandinavian stock) not only administered the principality after her husband's violent death, but in 975 became a convert to Christianity and

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made a ceremonial visit to Constantinople, where she was 175*
sumptuously entertained by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who has left us a detailed account of the occasion. Her son Sviatoslav, Vladimir's father, remained a convinced pagan, and is best known to history for his overthrow of the Khazar khanate in 962, his extension of Kievan authority to the upper Volga, and his disastrous attempts to subjugate Bulgaria between 968 and 971. He was, in fact, slain by the nomad Pechenegs at the rapids of the Dnieper while returning home from a crushing defeat at the hands of the Byzantine emperor John Tzimisces.

After his father's death Vladimir, who at the time was prince 175*
of Novrogod, opened hostilities against his half-brother who 643
had succeeded Sviatoslav, and by his opponent's death became heir to Kiev. Before his conversion he had consolidated his power in the Dnieper valley, confirmed his father's conquest of the region between the Dnieper and the upper Volga, pushed his domains to the northeastern river courses feeding the Baltic, and made important gains at the expense of the Poles in Volhynia and Galicia. His ingenuity transformed a loose confederation with but weak control of its periphery into a unified Russian domain. That this unity was maintained with difficulty under his immediate descendants and was eventually dissolved was a consequence of local particularism aggravated by economic derangement, of feuds in the princely family, and of the pressure of nomad invaders.

The principality of Kiev became a state of European im- 175*
portance by Vladimir's conquests and conversion. The reign of 643
his son Yaroslav the Wise from 1017 to 1054 is the meridian 631
of its greatness. Yaroslav himself was a prince of rare intelligence and broad international contacts. He had himself married Ingigerd, a Swedish princess who had earlier been engaged to King Olaf Haraldsson of Norway. His sister Maria married King Kizimir I of Poland; of his daughters, one married King Henry I of France; a second Harald the Severe, King of Norway; a third King Andrew of Hungary. His son Vsevolod

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175* was the husband of a Greek princess, and the son of this union
643 eventually became the consort of Gytha, daughter of the Saxon
631 Harold who fell at Hastings in 1066. Kiev was thus united with contemporary European states by a series of dynastic alliances foreshadowing the customs of modern times.

175* Yet for all his power and wealth, Yaroslav governed by the
643 same simple mechanism that had prevailed under Vladimir. The prince won his position by force and maintained it by personal supremacy, supported by Varangian mercenaries recruited from Scandinavia whenever domestic levies proved insufficient or disloyal, and consulting with his chief military aides, with the city elders, or with church dignitaries on matters of general
[671] policy. Yaroslav began the codification of customary civil and ecclesiastical law, encouraged both translations and original
[795] literature, and endeavored without success to emancipate the Russian Church from the Byzantine patriarchate. By his crushing victory over the nomad Pechenegs before the walls of Kiev in 1036, he made the marches of his principality safe for thirty-five years.

175* Beside rebuilding his father's Church of the Tithe after it
643 was damaged by fire in 1017, he carried out a large-scale con-
346 struction program which made Kiev one of the most notable
532 medieval cities. His great cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev, with its five apses and thirteen cupolas, still contains the largest extant yardage of eleventh-century Byzantine frescoes and a series of remarkably preserved mosaics of impressive beauty. This is the one medieval Russian church which has been exhaustively studied by American archaeologists in coöperation with native Russian colleagues.

175* The underlying weakness of the Kievan principality lay in
643 the fact that its stability was assured only by the prestige and
186 ability of the ruling prince. There was as yet no sentiment of
631 solidarity, national unity, and group interest which guaranteed that the whole system would not be overthrown by some ambitious and resolute rival from among the kindred princes in outlying cities loosely subject to the authority of the prince of Kiev and envious of his power and wealth.

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Kiev and envious of his power and wealth. Yaroslav himself was unable to obviate this danger. Before his death he endeavored to perpetuate the system his father and he had created by assigning the succession at Kiev to his eldest surviving son, and by apportioning to his younger sons the other important cities in the order of seniority of the princes and of the relative prestige of their several districts, with the recommendation that the younger brothers should regard the eldest as their sovereign and as the arbitrator of eventual disputes. Yet he omitted from his assignment his grandson and the descendants of his deceased brother, who thereupon constituted a potential threat to the tenure of the ruling line, even if the latter managed to keep peace among themselves.

The mode of succession established by Yaroslav thus placed the principality in the hands of a fraternal partnership. The apportionment of domains on the basis of seniority was theoretically feasible, however, only as long as the ruling family was small. But with the normal increase of direct and collateral descendants, mutual jealousies were bound to produce internal strife and to enfeeble the whole structure of the state. Mere seniority was no proof of either innate capacity or of the energy and tact required to allay disputes or to pacify ambitious rivals, and any weakness of the central authority impeded effective resistance to nomad attacks on the southern frontier. These attacks demanded at all times a vigorous defense, since cutting the Dnieper trade route meant decline of trade with Byzantium and interruption of the economic exchanges on which the prosperity of the principality depended. As it turned out, Prince Iziaslav, Yaroslav's son and successor, was unable to keep his rivals in check or even to maintain discipline among the unruly population of his capital. The Pechenegs, abolished as a menace by Yaroslav, were succeeded from 1062 by the nomad Polovtsi, whose boldness depended on what resistance they encountered. The disorders of Iziaslav's principate thus foreshadow a centrifugal movement destined to grow in volume until the preponderance of Kiev was utterly lost.

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earlier, and is reflected in the increased importance of the more remote northeastern domains of Rostov, Suzdal, and Murom, between the Oka and the Volga where the nomad menace did not reach.

While the inarticulate masses bore the brunt of the crisis, the wealth of the ruling class was for the moment not impaired, but rather enhanced. As long as the princes and their retainers were prosperous, the wealth of the Church also increased by grants and gifts. Monasteries multiplied and new churches were erected. Contact with Byzantium was still preserved. Through the expansion of the hierarchy under Greek guidance and example, the intellectual progress initiated by Yaroslav was intensified. To be sure, this culture remained aristocratic and ecclesiastical, but in this respect it hardly differed from the contemporary civilization of Western Europe, even though deprived of the continuity of classical tradition which lay at the root of the culture developed under the aegis of Rome. Marital alliances with German, Hungarian, and Polish princely families show at the same time that the Russian princes attached but slight importance to differences between the Eastern and Western Churches even after the schism of 1054.

No sooner had Vladimir Monomach died in 1125 when strife among the princes became rife once more. Competition for the control of Novgorod developed between the prince of Kiev and Monomach's son George whose domain lay at Suzdal in the northeast. Rival princes sacked and plundered one another's domains. One unpopular prince was even lynched by the angry Kievan populace. In 1149, Prince George captured Kiev himself, thus proving the vitality and resources of the northeastern area, but was unable to hold the metropolis permanently before 1155. When George died in 1160, however, the city had been fought over so constantly in the previous thirty years that practically all its dependent territory had been nipped off by neighboring principalities and it had been stripped of every element of its political prestige. Hence the possession of Kiev no longer conferred upon the ruling prince

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175* the slightest claim of primacy. Indeed, George's able son An-
631 drew entertained no respect for Kiev at all and concentrated his
721 efforts on enriching and adorning his own northeastern domain, which he ruled so autocratically that he was assassinated in 1174. Andrew's son Vsevolod who possessed equal capacity and better judgment, was recognized as a leader by all adjacent local princes, though he interfered but little in Kievan affairs and on the western Russian frontier the prestige of Vsevolod's domain was balanced by the rise of a powerful Galician principality. Kiev itself was disastrously sacked by the Polovtsi in 1203, and of this event a chronicler wrote, "No such woe had ever befallen Kiev during the whole time since conversion."

Amid the uncertainties of Russian political life at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the shadows of future events were already gathering. The German knights were moving up the Baltic coast, where Riga was founded in 1201. Their intrusion impelled the threatened Lithuanian tribes to unity, with the result that a Lithuanian state arose which began to absorb the northwestern Russian cities, though Russian culture
[648] in turn absorbed the conquerors. The Russians were not friendly to the Latin Empire of Byzantium after 1204, and it was in 1206 that the Mongols under Temuchin (better known as Genghis Khan) began their military expansion. But the Russian princes continued their petty quarrels, not suspecting the catastrophe that was impending.

The Mongols or Tartars first reconnoitered the country west of the Caspian in 1220, and the next year they menaced the Crimea and the steppe country, thus forcing the Polovtsi to apply for support to the Russian princes against whom they had so often fought. Since 1212, Kiev had been in the possession of Prince Mstislav, a member of the ruling family of Smolensk, able, courageous, and erratic; his wife was the daughter of a Polovtsian khan. The princes of Kiev, Chernigov, and Volhynia thus united with the Polovtsi against the Tartars, whom they met on the river Kalka, in the steppes near the

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Sea of Azov, in May 1224. Though the Russians were defeated 175*
and Mstislav of Kiev with other princes was slain, the Mongols 631
contented themselves with pursuing the fleeing remnants of 721
the Russian force to the Dnieper and then retired to Asia. Since the casualties at the Kalka entailed several dynastic changes, the domains of Chernigov, Kiev, and Galicia were now drawn into a loose confederation, while Suzdal controlled Novgorod, which opposed the Teutonic order and subjected the Finns of Esthonia and Karelia.

Meanwhile Genghis Khan had died in 1227, and eight years later his son and successor decided to renew the campaign into Europe under the command of Genghis Khan's grandson Batu. In 1237, after subjugating the Volga Bulgars near Kazan, Batu crossed the Volga to capture and sack the city of Ryazan, about one hundred miles southeast of Moscow. During the winter of 1237-38, the Mongols turned northward and burned the city of Vladimir, east of Moscow, after a successful siege. When Prince George II of Suzdal, whose family had perished, attacked the Tartars, he was defeated and killed. The invaders next started for Novgorod, but suspended the campaign because of the spring thaw, and went into summer quarters in the south near the mouth of the Don. Chernigov fell in 1239. The following autumn the Mongols appeared before Kiev and, as the *Chronicle* says,

> *The Tartars took Kiev, and sacked St. Sophia and all the monasteries. And they took the icons, the holy crosses, and all church ornaments. But all the people, from small to large, they slew by the sword. This woe occurred before Christmas, on St. Nicholas' day.*

By the fall of 1241, the Tartars had defeated the Poles at 175*
Liegnitz, crushed the Hungarians, and appeared before Vienna. But the fortunes of Europe changed, for Ugedei, the Great Khan, died, and Batu retired east to await the election of his successor. Yet he maintained his hegemony over Russia and

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from the Tartars if a prince lost or surrendered his previous holdings. Hence the princes came to set more store by personal estates, and since the Tartars in their own interest were unlikely to tolerate any large principalities, the resulting dismemberment of the major units produced a large number of smaller domains, or appanages, which passed on by inheritance, whether or not the holder might become prince of some other area by the tender mercies of the Tartars. At the same time, the Tartar invasions greatly increased the number of landless peasants—dispossessed or impoverished small farmers—who became tenant farmers for large landlords on a quitrent basis.

Under Tartar hegemony the princes of Vladimir maintained at least a nominal control over the neighboring principalities and were the spokesmen of the Russian princes before the Tartar khans. These functions were, at any rate, sufficiently important and lucrative to inspire some rivalry for the possession of the title. In 1367 Prince Dmitri Donskoi erected a stone kremlin, or citadel, at Moscow and endeavored to subject the neighboring princes to his will. He met with some resistance from Prince Michael of Tver, who tried to purchase Tartar approval for himself, but was later forced to become Dmitri's vassal. The conditions of vassalage were such that dependent princes were obliged to supply Dmitri, as their overlord, with military aid, and when Dmitri won his famous victory over the Tartars in 1380 (the first case of successful Russian resistance), they supported him in this way.

The decline of the Tartars, manifested by conflicts of authority in the khanate itself, had begun almost a century before, and even prior to the year 1300 there were moments when the existence of two competing khans placed the Russian princes in a quandary. The struggle for supremacy between the princes of Tver and Moscow (which first became critical shortly before the year 1300) for supremacy as holders of the title Prince of Vladimir was also fought out in this interval. The dominance of Moscow was recognized in 1327 when Prince Ivan I secured authority to farm the Tartar taxes and began to in-

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mined independently of the princes, for one can appreciate that 642
normal life went on even when princes shifted through inherit- 632
ance or dynastic quarrels.

As a matter of fact in Novgorod, which was comparatively 175*
remote from either Kiev or Vladimir-Suzdal, the resident 642
princes were merely delegates of the dominant state which mo- 632
mentarily enjoyed the lordship over the northern metropolis, but these resident princes changed so often that the citizens began to choose elective burgomasters early in the twelfth century. Eventually the princes surrendered even their control of the local courts, and in the course of time the whole administration of Novgorod and the areas it controlled became elective. The resident prince was thus transformed into a mere figurehead whose chief duty was to lead the military forces of this city-state. Popular sovereignity was expressed in the city assembly made up of all free citizens of whatever rank, and since this body was able to signify its will only by acclamation and sometimes even by pitched battles, the executive functions were exercised by a council composed of the bishop and various high elected officials, whether active or retired. The outlying 175*
domains of Novgorod—for eventually the republic colonized 631
the territory as far as the White Sea and the Kola peninsula—enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy, but always under the surveillance of a viceroy from the metropolis, though there are cases where citizens of these colonies participated in the city assembly at Novgorod itself. Pskov began its historical career as a dependency of Novgorod, but established its independence in 1347, when the men of Novgorod bound themselves by treaty not to send any viceroy to Pskov or to exercise any further judicial rights there.

The republican principle thrived in Novgorod and Pskov 642
because actually the princes had contributed nothing to the 175*
civic and economic growth of these areas, which owed their ex- 421
pansion purely to the energy of their own citizens. But in northeastern Russia the situation was quite different. There, of the two dominant forces in contemporary society (the city assembly

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175* and the prince) only the prince remained, and became a landed
642 proprietor who organized the economic activity of his subjects.
421 If he shared his authority at all, it was not with the community but with other landed proprietors and with organs of the church to which he resigned judicial rights and the collection of dues. As early as the second half of the twelfth century, when immigration from the Kiev area to the northeastern principalities assumed large dimensions, Vladimir Monomach's grandson Prince Andrew already ruled as an autocrat in the domain of Suzdal and refused to recognize the rights either of nobles or of commoners as expressed in the town assemblies. This policy cost him his life, but after his assassination the older towns in this area were unable to maintain the principles of urban democracy even before the Tartar conquest wiped out this ideal. These towns were few in number, and the rural settlements were too scattered to acquire political cohesion. Later the onslaught of the Tartars so much impoverished even such towns as then existed that their pauperized inhabitants were more concerned about their daily bread than about political rights. Furthermore, the choice and confirmation of princes depended for the time being on the caprices of the invaders, so that this function, which had formerly belonged in practice to the city assembly, died out altogether, and when the assemblies occasionally convened, it was generally with the intention of rioting and revolting against Tartar exactions. The prince, ruling on Tartar sufferance, thus became the sole remaining possessor of local authority.

175* As we have seen, not until the middle of the fifteenth cen-
421 tury was it absolutely clear that the nucleus of statehood in
● 631 eastern Russia was definitely located at Moscow. By that time, the regional princes were permanently attached to their several domains which they ruled as feudal lords, supported by the contributions paid by the subjects who worked their lands, and there was no difference between minor and major princes in their proprietary attitude toward their landed possessions. Since their interests were thus predominantly economic, these

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princes began to develop a new group of aids who administered these interests, and such aids (who were actually officials, not nobles concerned with warfare) evolved into a new form of prince's council, or *duma*. The larger domains were split up into districts around important towns, and the districts into minor administrative divisions, all handled by appointees of the prince. These officials were far less concerned with the maintenance of public order or of civil rights than with seeing that the prince received his due financial return from the subject population, although church properties were usually exempt from their attentions. It is thus an open question whether there was any public law whatever in the early Muscovite period. In any event, the system shows the characteristic features of medieval feudalism: the dismemberment of state authority and its fusion with land ownership.

The rise of Moscow naturally produced a slow recovery from this parcellation, as the minor regional princes either voluntarily or under pressure surrendered their domains to the more powerful center. Novgorod was annexed outright by Ivan III after conquest had seriously diminished its outlying possessions. But especially during the last half of the fourteenth century, the gravitation toward Moscow moved with ever-increasing speed. On the other hand, the early Muscovite princes handled their new acquisitions purely as personal property. They bequeathed sections of it to their heirs, although soon it was the recognized practice to bequeath the lion's share to the oldest son. The logical conclusion from this tendency was first drawn by Ivan III after witnessing as a youth the vicissitudes of his father Basil II, who had almost lost the Muscovite domain because of feudal rivalries. Ivan refused to dismember his domain even in the interest of members of his family. His title of Great Prince (or Grand Duke) of all Rus he interpreted not merely in an honorific but in a juridical sense, and made it clear that he considered the whole domain as his personal patrimony. In this attitude he was confirmed less by pure selfishness than by the realization that only a unified state could

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175* resist both the Tartars and Lithuania, though in his will he did
631 not break entirely with tradition, but bequeathed to his eldest
421 son two-thirds of his landed possessions. Even so, however, the remaining regional princes ceased to be a menace, and the fact that his younger son was bound to serve Basil III as his overlord made the latter "sovereign of all Rus" in fact as well as in name. Such few regional princes as still existed merely held estates with rights of judgment and tribute, and were factually subject to the prince of Moscow. The title of tsar was first used by Ivan III in 1484, and in 1502 his son, Basil II, added the title "autocrat" (*samoderzhets*).

175* Such is the political, economic, and ideological process by which the power of Kiev was dissipated and, despite the competition of Lithuania, what was once a mere hunting lodge of the princes of Suzdal and Vladimir became the nucleus around which the modern Russian state took shape. It would be idle to pretend that this ideal was not realized without abundant propaganda from the Orthodox clergy who, particularly after the fall of Constantinople, wished to see the Prince of Moscow the head of Orthodox Christianity and the heir of Rome. Under the pressure of this new tradition, Basil III in particular, as the son of a princess of Byzantium, adorned his court with new ceremonial and assumed the device of the doubleheaded eagle which had belonged to his Byzantine forebears.

175* Thus the personal rule which had its origins in the decline of
643 republican usages in northeastern Russia both before and since the Tartar conquest evolved into an absolutism founded upon dynastic tradition and supported by a nationalistic legend propagated by the church. The Muscovite tsar was not only the owner of his domain; he was God's anointed whom his subjects could approach only with fear and awe. The tsar's will was the will of God. As the heir of the Byzantine emperors, he acquired new authority over the church as the defender of the Orthodox faith. He confirmed the appointment of metropolitans and archbishops, even sometimes naming them without calling church councils, and clerics referred their disputes

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VI

German and Slav

While speaking of the process by which the Western and some of the Southern Slavs were converted to Christianity, it has been mentioned that German missionary efforts were accompanied by widespread colonization not only along the Danube but likewise in Central Germany itself. It may be recalled also that, after the Germanic migrations, the Slavs by the sixth century had expanded from their former boundary at the Vistula westward to the Elbe and simultaneously occupied the Baltic coast from the peninsula of Jutland eastward to the former Polish corridor. While they were in Bohemia and Moravia, as well as in the Vistula basin, they set up large and comparatively strong Slavic social and political organizations which, despite many handicaps, have maintained themselves down into modern history. But the Slavs who occupied the course of the Elbe and the Baltic seaboard formed nothing more than weak tribal federations which not only possessed little internal cohesion but also collapsed easily at any external shock. At the same time the Slavs south of the Danube, and especially the Slovenes, were unable to form lasting ties with any more powerful Slavic group which would guarantee them against German pressure and infiltration; consequently they were gradually forced to contract into their present restricted frontiers.

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the Austrian authorities, might have had incalculable consequences for the maintenance of their Empire.

The ideals preached by Palacký, who was as great a journalist as he was a historian, were first formulated in political terms just prior to the revolutionary year 1848, which signalized the end of Metternich's regime and the dawn of constitutionalism in Austria. It was thus Palacký who advocated an autonomous Bohemia including all the lands which had formerly belonged to the Bohemian crown, together with as much of Hungary as was populated by Slovaks: the principle, indeed, upon which the Czechoslovak state was subsequently erected. It is significant, moreover, that the German elements in Bohemia were inclined to support the Czechs in their agitation for autonomy. But the federal idea was never realized in Austria-Hungary before the monarchy dissolved in 1918, and Bohemian hopes in this direction were dashed by the Austrian Constitution of 1867, which gave the Hungarians a preferred position, as compared with the Slavs, by establishing the principle of dualism, by making Hungary practically autonomous, and by settling the Magyar domination upon Slovaks and Croats. This loss was to some extent offset by educational concessions to the Czechs, since in the previous twenty years Bohemian national consciousness had consolidated to an extraordinary degree through the increased use of the native language and the improved status of both peasants and the middle class. The romantic emphasis laid by Palacký on the glorious past of Bohemia thus proved an altogether healthy spur to the national ambition.

Though after 1867 there was never any real reconciliation between Prague and Vienna, the material prosperity of Bohemia advanced rapidly in the next fifty years, and the part still played by the German element in Bohemia before the war of 1914 is evidenced by the fact that, though they comprised only 37 per cent of the population, they paid 50 per cent of the taxes. But while the Czechs never lost sight of the federalist ideal, this principle was looked on with disfavor by the Viennese

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175* lish, through Chancellor's expedition to the White Sea in 1553, At the same time the Eng-
721 opened up the northern sea route. Ivan was also conscious of
706 the economic advantages of owning a Baltic port and began
716 operations against the Livonian order of German knights which controlled both the Gulf of Riga and the Gulf of Finland. After capturing Narva, he founded the Russian navy a century and a quarter before Peter the Great by confiscating and arming a number of German merchant vessels, for which he employed German and Swedish officers as commanders. Ivan's early successes proved a boomerang, however, since the Livonian order was dissolved and Esthonia was turned over to Sweden. This event automatically produced a collision with that country, allied with Lithuania, so that war became incessant on the western front until Ivan's death in 1584.

175* By that date the formation and the future policy of modern Russia was clearly defined. It was a foregone conclusion that future Russian sovereigns would extend Russian territory to the Black Sea. It was only a question of time when the weakening of Poland and Lithuania would bring the Dnieper valley and White Russia under Muscovite sway. It had become a cardinal item of Russian policy to control the Finnish Gulf, and maritime commerce with the west would traverse those waters
[177] as soon as ports were either conquered or developed. The long period of Russian isolation from Europe was ended, and the difficult process of acquiring modern European techniques was about to begin. Russia had graduated from oriental domination and was on its way to becoming a major European power, never to approach the East again, save in the hope of conquest.

642 In view of the gradual evolution of Muscovite sovereignty,
● 632 it is important to understand also the origins of autocracy in Moscow itself. For autocracy was by no means inevitable or universal in medieval Russia, and in the principality of Kiev the early princes had always had to reckon with town assemblies which supervised and even frequently deposed them. The influence of these assemblies was large in any medieval Russian city of which the economic and political status had been deter-

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mined independently of the princes, for one can appreciate that 642
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The republican principle thrived in Novgorod and Pskov 642
because actually the princes had contributed nothing to the 175*
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pansion purely to the energy of their own citizens. But in northeastern Russia the situation was quite different. There, of the two dominant forces in contemporary society (the city assembly

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(3) A basis of reaction against Western culture and the influence of Catholicism. 186* 829

(4) More generally, a card of introduction to main European politics.

To ensure for herself the mastery of the Balkan Peninsula, St. Petersburg played the Serbian and the Bulgarian cards alternately, without considering the emancipation movements in those two countries as anything more than a trump card for Russian diplomacy in its struggle with Austria. With naïve egoism, Tsarism looked upon the Orthodox Slavs as the natural defenders of its interests, even at the expense of their own!

To tell the truth, none of these nations was blind to this political exploitation of a sentimental bond. In their collaboration with Russia they accepted what was capable of forwarding their aspirations but declined to play the role of clients. That explains the diplomatic games of general post in the Balkans. The end of last century saw the Serbs relying upon Austria against the Bulgarians backed by Russia; on the eve of the First World War, it was the reverse. Bismarck used to say, 'I am an Austrian in Belgrade, and a Russian in Sofia'. About 1890, the *Videlo*, a Serbian newspaper, expressed what many Balkan statesmen were thinking, but were careful not to admit: 'We have carefully studied the writings of the champions of the Slavonic idea in Russia and among the other Slav nations. These writings contain many phrases about the 'liberty' and the 'unity' of the Slavonic peoples. And amongst us there have been those who, in the inexperience of youth and the enthusiasm of poetry, have believed that Slavonic fraternity was a common temple, in which each of our peoples had the altar of its liberty. . . . The matter would not be very serious, if the Slavonic idea were merely a chimera, but, in actual fact, it is also the unexpected instrument which enables a powerful Slav State to oppress its 'brothers'. The weaker a nation is, the more removed from the form of a State, the more it is attached to the Slavonic idea. It is highly significant that the nation which is most faithful to this idea should also be the one which is the most isolated and the most powerless—the Slovak nation'. 186* 648

The movement of the nationalities was indeed drawing the Slavonic peoples towards far less abstract aims. The age of the bards and the philologists was over. They were no longer con- 186* 641• 829

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186* cerned with taking the census of a common patrimony, but with
•641 working out their own destiny. It was the question of their
829 future State, and of its frontiers, which demanded a solution, and was becoming yearly more imperative.

Now, if there were two ideas which were foreign to Russian Slavism, they were those two, State and frontiers. Born in an atmosphere of romanticism, the Slavophile school had no constructive views. The forces it had more or less unconsciously set in action were, above all, anti-State. The State meant Austria for the Czechs, Hungary for the Croats, Turkey for the Southern Serbs. And for the Poles it was Russia herself, or else Prussia.

As for what the possible frontiers of the liberated Slav States might one day be, Russian officialdom had not the slightest idea. In the *Memoirs* of President Masaryk, we read a suggestive anecdote. During the War he had a conversation with General Alexeiev, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army, regarding Russia's war aims. He was astounded to hear the general express the hope that the victory of the Allies would carry the Czechs to Fiume and the Serbs to Uzhorod (Carpatho-Ukraine). Seventy-five years of 'Slavonic fraternity' and Slavophile demonstrations culminated in the formulation of such an enormity!

* * *

186* Thus Tsarist Russia left the Balkan Slavs a joint heritage of
829 good and bad memories. She had, by turns, favoured or
648 restricted their emancipation, according to the state of her relations first with the Turks, then with the Central Empires.

The Bulgarians are commonly considered to have been her spoilt children. They speak, with tender recollection, of the 'Liberating Tsar', Alexander II, whose monument stands in front of the Parliament House in Sofia. In 1915, when Bulgaria went to war with Russia, his statue was veiled. But would the 'Great Bulgaria' (still-born of the Treaty of San Stefano) have satisfied the longings of the patriots? Would she not have been converted, by the Imperial diplomacy, into a 'Trans-Danubian Province', such as the Kaulbars government endeavoured to set up? The Russians, it is true, obtained from the Porte the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, which, freed from obedience to the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople,

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175* lish, through Chancellor's expedition to the White Sea in 1553, At the same time the Eng-
721 opened up the northern sea route. Ivan was also conscious of
706 the economic advantages of owning a Baltic port and began
716 operations against the Livonian order of German knights which controlled both the Gulf of Riga and the Gulf of Finland. After capturing Narva, he founded the Russian navy a century and a quarter before Peter the Great by confiscating and arming a number of German merchant vessels, for which he employed German and Swedish officers as commanders. Ivan's early successes proved a boomerang, however, since the Livonian order was dissolved and Esthonia was turned over to Sweden. This event automatically produced a collision with that country, allied with Lithuania, so that war became incessant on the western front until Ivan's death in 1584.

175* By that date the formation and the future policy of modern Russia was clearly defined. It was a foregone conclusion that future Russian sovereigns would extend Russian territory to the Black Sea. It was only a question of time when the weakening of Poland and Lithuania would bring the Dnieper valley and White Russia under Muscovite sway. It had become a cardinal item of Russian policy to control the Finnish Gulf, and maritime commerce with the west would traverse those waters
[177] as soon as ports were either conquered or developed. The long period of Russian isolation from Europe was ended, and the difficult process of acquiring modern European techniques was about to begin. Russia had graduated from oriental domination and was on its way to becoming a major European power, never to approach the East again, save in the hope of conquest.

642 In view of the gradual evolution of Muscovite sovereignty,
632 it is important to understand also the origins of autocracy in Moscow itself. For autocracy was by no means inevitable or universal in medieval Russia, and in the principality of Kiev the early princes had always had to reckon with town assemblies which supervised and even frequently deposed them. The influence of these assemblies was large in any medieval Russian city of which the economic and political status had been deter-

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mined independently of the princes, for one can appreciate that 642
normal life went on even when princes shifted through inherit- 632
ance or dynastic quarrels.

As a matter of fact in Novgorod, which was comparatively 175*
remote from either Kiev or Vladimir-Suzdal, the resident 642
princes were merely delegates of the dominant state which mo- 632
mentarily enjoyed the lordship over the northern metropolis, but these resident princes changed so often that the citizens began to choose elective burgomasters early in the twelfth century. Eventually the princes surrendered even their control of the local courts, and in the course of time the whole administration of Novgorod and the areas it controlled became elective. The resident prince was thus transformed into a mere figurehead whose chief duty was to lead the military forces of this city-state. Popular sovereignity was expressed in the city assembly made up of all free citizens of whatever rank, and since this body was able to signify its will only by acclamation and sometimes even by pitched battles, the executive functions were exercised by a council composed of the bishop and various high elected officials, whether active or retired. The outlying 175*
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175* and the prince) only the prince remained, and became a landed
642 proprietor who organized the economic activity of his subjects.
421 If he shared his authority at all, it was not with the community but with other landed proprietors and with organs of the church to which he resigned judicial rights and the collection of dues. As early as the second half of the twelfth century, when immigration from the Kiev area to the northeastern principalities assumed large dimensions, Vladimir Monomach's grandson Prince Andrew already ruled as an autocrat in the domain of Suzdal and refused to recognize the rights either of nobles or of commoners as expressed in the town assemblies. This policy cost him his life, but after his assassination the older towns in this area were unable to maintain the principles of urban democracy even before the Tartar conquest wiped out this ideal. These towns were few in number, and the rural settlements were too scattered to acquire political cohesion. Later the onslaught of the Tartars so much impoverished even such towns as then existed that their pauperized inhabitants were more concerned about their daily bread than about political rights. Furthermore, the choice and confirmation of princes depended for the time being on the caprices of the invaders, so that this function, which had formerly belonged in practice to the city assembly, died out altogether, and when the assemblies occasionally convened, it was generally with the intention of rioting and revolting against Tartar exactions. The prince, ruling on Tartar sufferance, thus became the sole remaining possessor of local authority.

175* As we have seen, not until the middle of the fifteenth cen-
421 tury was it absolutely clear that the nucleus of statehood in
631 eastern Russia was definitely located at Moscow. By that time, the regional princes were permanently attached to their several domains which they ruled as feudal lords, supported by the contributions paid by the subjects who worked their lands, and there was no difference between minor and major princes in their proprietary attitude toward their landed possessions. Since their interests were thus predominantly economic, these

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the landlord. In this way, under the early Romanovs, between 175*
1630 and 1650, freedom of agricultural labor was abolished 566
in Russia, and this situation prevailed until 1861.

The Muscovite system suffered a severe blow in 1598 when 175*
Theodore, Ivan the Terrible's son, died intestate and the old 643
dynasty tracing its descent from Rurik became extinct. Since the realm and its inhabitants were regarded as the absolute property of the sovereign, the disappearance of the ruling family was a major catastrophe. Any tsar, however legitimately elected by the general assembly convoked by the patriarch of Moscow, was bound to be weakened by his dynastic illegitimacy. Hence with the reign of Boris Godunov began a period of violent revolution which lasted until 1613, largely motivated by the effort of the nobles to free themselves from exactions and restrictions which tradition forced them to endure from a scion of the old line, but which they would not suffer from anyone else.

When Michael, the first of the Romanovs, was finally elected 175*
to the throne in 1613, political self-consciousness had developed 642
to the point where there was some realization that the sovereign actually depended on the people and not the reverse. On the other hand, this realization was strongest among the great nobles, the landowners, and the high officials, and they set up the new dynasty at the price of privileges not otherwise obtainable. It is also notable that the rudiments of parliamentary [646]
government, typified by a popular assembly, likewise existed in the early years of Michael's reign, but failed to mature because the level of popular political intelligence was not high enough to appreciate that elective representatives of the people had a real weapon in their potential control of finances. Hence there was no protest when the governing class allowed it to lapse. The government became intensely centralized, and with 175*
the establishment of serfdom the nobility and the gentry in- 566
evitably became a permanent ruling class upon which the crown was dependent. Since townsmen were forbidden to move into the country, and peasants could no longer establish them-

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pean campaigns were inoculated with the republican ideas dis- 178
seminated by the French revolution. Essentially patriotic, they 177
were eager to apply these ideals to their own country, to abolish the autocracy, promote republican government, raise the standard of education, and do away with the abuses of serfdom They continued with greater energy, though often with little judgment, the task begun by Radishchev.

Here the Russian revolutionary movement begins among an 185
enlightened fraction of the ruling class. Great writers like 538
Pushkin and Lermontov, each after brief romantic digressions, grew up to treat the seamy side of reality, both in the tragedy of the humble who are scarcely considered human by those they serve, or the misfortune of the gifted individual denied a chance at productive activity by the contemporary organization of society. Both these talents were suspected and harassed by the autocracy, and though each met his death in a duel, they were as truly victims of official conservatism as those young enthusiasts who had participated in the Decembrist conspiracy in 1825 after the death of Alexander I, and paid for it on the scaffold or amid the snows of Siberia. But from 1825 the cleavage between the government and the thoughtful section of society, once opened, was never bridged again.

This mutual hostility first became acute during the reign of 175 *
Nicholas I from 1825 to the Crimean War. The Decembrist 642
conspiracy had revealed that the turn to the right by Alexander I after 1815 had created great bitterness. The same judicial and administrative abuses that marred Catherine's reign were still rampant, state finances were disordered, and the peasants were rudely exploited. Nicholas at first had some notion of reform, 175 *
but his suspicion of extragovernmental initiative was such that 185
he hesitated to take any concrete step. The most pressing prob- [566]
lem was serfdom: the landlords were heavily in debt and short of capital to provide employment for a rapidly increasing peasant population. Peasant disorders were menacingly frequent, but only in the western Ukraine and in Poland were reforms introduced. Educational institutions were fettered and

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far silent but ambitious proletariat. The lower strata of society were no longer looking for sympathy. They wanted power, and if properly led would break down all barriers to its attainment. The voice of the grumbling dispossessed first sounded clearly in Russian literature through Maxim Gorki's early stories, which began to appear in 1892. The best example of the young intellectual who discovered saving graces in Marxism was Lenin. He began to study Marx's *Capital* in 1888, organized a group of Marxists at Kuibyshev (Samara) in 1893, and was a social-democratic propagandist in St. Petersburg the next year. The emergence of Marxism as an active political and economic system in Russia dates from this period.

The rise of the Social Democratic party and the foundation of the more activist section known as the Bolsheviki (the maximalists) headed by Lenin himself preceded the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war by barely one year. At the same time, another radical party, the Social Revolutionaries, revived the tradition of terrorism as practiced before the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. The government pursued a policy of repression even when the necessity of prosecuting a war for which the nation was totally unprepared might well have dictated a more conciliatory attitude. Profound resentment now mastered not only the middle class but the urban proletariat, and though the police resorted to desperate provocatory acts in order to discredit the agitators, a united front against the government was rapidly forming. When open revolution broke out early in 1905, neither the middle-class liberals nor the radical Marxist groups possessed an organization equal to organizing and directing a mass movement. As a result, after the government made various constitutional concessions and the extremists showed every sign of fighting to a finish, the moderate groups gravitated away from the revolutionary idea, leaving the Marxist leaders and the workers isolated. With the urban middle class again passive, the government speedily recovered its sangfroid and applied repressive measures of forbidding severity which were far from supplying any basis for

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reconciliation with society. The new parliament was never allowed to function efficiently, and excessive parcellation of parties within it also prevented the formation of a workable united front against the government, though the fundamental tone was one of hostility.

The first World War began in this atmosphere of mutual distrust between government and society, and only a brief interval of patriotic *entente cordiale* intervened before official incompetence as revealed by repeated military defeats once more opened the breach, which was further widened by a complete collapse of transportation and economic life. General resentment was intensified by evidence of a total lack of comprehension of the situation by the tsar and his advisers, and culminated in the events of March, 1917, by which the tsar was forced to abdicate and a democratic regime was set up. The vacillations of successive moderate provisional governments played into the hands of the Bolshevik leaders, who could always bank on the support of the urban factory workers and certain sections of the army, and on November 7 they were masters of Petrograd. The subsequent fortunes of the Soviets are so close to our own times as to be matters of common knowledge.

The chasm which existed between government and society between 1894 and the first World War did not prevent simultaneous developments in Russian intellectual life. In spite of government surveillance and occasional restriction of educational facilities, a highly educated and talented middle class had evolved in Russia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Though literature declined in some degree after the death of Dostoevski, Tolstoi lived on to combine moral philosophy and creative letters until 1910. Chekhov's later plays expressed his own prevision that an epoch was about to end. A younger generation of prose writers revived traditional Russian realism in a more individualistic spirit without regard to the political and social aims that had inspired their predecessors. In poetry, symbolism sought to penetrate and express deeper

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the Austrian authorities, might have had incalculable consequences for the maintenance of their Empire. [538] [814]

The ideals preached by Palacký, who was as great a journalist as he was a historian, were first formulated in political terms just prior to the revolutionary year 1848, which signalized the end of Metternich's regime and the dawn of constitutionalism in Austria. It was thus Palacký who advocated an autonomous Bohemia including all the lands which had formerly belonged to the Bohemian crown, together with as much of Hungary as was populated by Slovaks: the principle, indeed, upon which the Czechoslovak state was subsequently erected. It is significant, moreover, that the German elements in Bohemia were inclined to support the Czechs in their agitation for autonomy. But the federal idea was never realized in Austria-Hungary before the monarchy dissolved in 1918, and Bohemian hopes in this direction were dashed by the Austrian Constitution of 1867, which gave the Hungarians a preferred position, as compared with the Slavs, by establishing the principle of dualism, by making Hungary practically autonomous, and by settling the Magyar domination upon Slovaks and Croats. This loss was to some extent offset by educational concessions to the Czechs, since in the previous twenty years Bohemian national consciousness had consolidated to an extraordinary degree through the increased use of the native language and the improved status of both peasants and the middle class. The romantic emphasis laid by Palacký on the glorious past of Bohemia thus proved an altogether healthy spur to the national ambition.

Though after 1867 there was never any real reconciliation between Prague and Vienna, the material prosperity of Bohemia advanced rapidly in the next fifty years, and the part still played by the German element in Bohemia before the war of 1914 is evidenced by the fact that, though they comprised only 37 per cent of the population, they paid 50 per cent of the taxes. But while the Czechs never lost sight of the federalist ideal, this principle was looked on with disfavor by the Viennese

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Chapter Five

RUSSIA AS ARBITER OF THE SLAVONIC NATIONS

IN the conditions under which it was realised, the liberation of Eastern Europe by the Soviet armies radically transformed the factors in the Slavonic problem. All the aims that the feeling of historical and racial solidarity had assigned to the Slavs were suddenly outstripped.

The First World War had resulted in their emancipation. As we have pointed out, this emancipation was due no less to the collapse of Tsarist Russia than to the victory of the Western Democracies. It had 'set up a home' for the Slavonic nations, free of mortgage on their national sovereign rights, without predominance of any one nation over the others. The two tasks imposed on them had been, on the one hand, the creation of inter-Slav ties—political, economic, and spiritual—on the other, a reorganisation of their relations with Russia.

The first of these tasks had been but imperfectly realised. The evolution of the international situation between the two wars was calculated rather to dissociate than to regroup the energies of the Slavonic world. And once again in history the Second World War had found the Slavonic nations in opposing camps.

As for relations with Moscow, they were diffident and inconsistent; where they did issue in positive agreements, these were hedged with cautious circumlocutions, and lacked a well-defined scope.

With the liberation, and the presence of the Red armies on their territory, the Slavonic peoples glimpsed a plan of their international life which was very different from the one they had known between 1919 and 1940. The new Governments had been formed under the eyes of the Liberator and, in the majority of cases, from elements devoted to the Soviet ideology. Under colour of 'anti-Fascism' a tidal wave swept away the old groups, accused of having, before or during the war, supported Axis designs. In reality the 'purge' marked an operation of a revolutionary nature, characterised by the rise to power of the

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648 175 only settled by being shelved. The English and the Americans were in a delicate position with regard to Poland; the former because it was difficult for them to forget that they had entered the war in order to safeguard Poland's independence, the latter because in the United States there is a large Polish emigration, whose electoral influence is by no means negligible. (It should not be forgotten that Roosevelt was the candidate of the minorities, the allogeneous groups, and the Catholics.)

But the entry of Soviet troops into Polish territory put an end to all hopes of postponing until the end of the war the solution of the dispute between the Polish exiles in London and the 'Association of Polish Patriots' set up in Moscow to tie the future of Poland to that of Russia. As in the case of the Baltic peoples, the Kremlin intended to deal only with a Polish authority constituted on her territory and consisting of members not suspected of any anti-Sovietic affiliations or tendencies.

Yet M. Stanislas Mikolajczyk, leader of the Peasant Party, who, on July 5, 1943, had replaced General Sikorski at the head of the Polish Government in London, sought to gain time. The Soviet press conducted a violent campaign against him and his collaborators, representing them as survivors of a retrograde Poland, the inheritance of the 'Colonels' Government', and as reincarnating the anti-democratic, anti-Russian tradition of Pilsudski.

On the day when Radio-Moscow announced the entry of the Red armies into Chelm, the communiqué was followed by the Soviet anthem, then the Polish. From this entry of the Reds into Poland dates the formation, on Russian-occupied territory, of the 'National Liberation Committee', whose first act was to repudiate allegiance to M. Mikolajczyk's Government. Thenceforward there were two Polish authorities.

642 175 The National Committee issued a manifesto to the 'People of Poland', announcing that in the Committee was invested the 'sole legal authority' existing in Poland, since it was actuated by the spirit of the democratic constitution of 1921, whereas the London Cabinet had resulted from the authoritarian constitution of April, 1935. The Committee considered itself, thenceforth, as the sole provisional legal organ of the executive power; moreover, this claim was supported by a Soviet communiqué announcing that the administration of the Polish territories

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occupied by the Russian armies would be entrusted to the Committee. 642 175

It will be noticed that in both documents the word 'Government' was avoided. No doubt that explains why neither London nor Washington received notification of the establishment of this new organism. But the Poles in London reacted indignantly. For them, this new institution was juridically valueless and, in practice, without authority. They declared that out of the fifteen members composing this Executive Directory seven were unknown, while eight were notorious Communists. The President, M. Osubka-Morawski, was a thirty-five year old workman, excluded from the Socialist Party in 1940 on account of his affiliations with Moscow. They therefore asked London and Washington to disavow these 'usurpers'. 648 175 578

Russia's might, and the role of the Soviet armies in the joint military effort, scarcely permitted an unfriendly attitude in regard to an initiative to which the Soviets had already given their sanction. London had not, for years, 'hedged' over misunderstandings which set the London and the Moscow exiles at loggerheads, only to take a final decision just when the Russian armies were achieving advances which left their allies far behind. So London simply announced that Great Britain continued to recognise M. Mikolajczyk's Government, whilst hoping that it would find some way of coming to an agreement with the organisation which had been set up in opposition to it. In the United States, where the Polish question caused very violent discussion during an election year, Mr. Cordell Hull entrenched himself in the silence which was his usual refuge when he was questioned concerning Eastern European problems.

In view of this negative attitude on the part of London and Washington, M. Mikolajczyk decided to seek an interview with Marshal Stalin. He went to Moscow, accompanied by his Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Romer. But his interview only served to make him realise the insurmountable prejudices which Soviet circles cherished against the London exiles.

Yet the Allies could not allow the Polish question to remain in this state of uncertainty just when a general settlement of the war was within sight. So this question was included on the agenda of the Crimean Conference in February, 1945. The Three Powers decided that the evolution of the international

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648 175 cleared, and awakened a reasoned optimism in English and American circles.

•642 175 Twenty-four hours after the arrival in Warsaw of the Poles invited by Moscow to join the new 'National Unity' Government the former Osubka-Morawski Cabinet resigned, and was reconstituted with the addition of these elements representing the exiles or the home Resistance movements.

The new Government included representatives of the Communist Party (which were not, as the London exiles maintained, in the majority) as well as of the Socialist, Peasant, and Democratic Parties. For the greater part it was composed of the ministers who had resigned from the Warsaw Cabinet. It kept at its head the ex-President, Osubka-Morawski, supported by two Vice-Presidents, MM. Gomulka and Mikolajczyk.

At the same time, the composition of the National Council—a sort of pre-Legislature—was also modified. Its Presidium, which played the role of provisional Chief of State, was under the leadership of M. Bierut, a Communist, who was, however, given two Vice-Presidents—M. Witos, leader of the Peasant Party, and Professor Grabski, National-Christian.

This Government declared that the first question on its agenda was that of repatriation of the Poles still residing abroad.

648 175 As soon as the formation of the National Unity Ministry was known, the British authorities negotiated with the former exiled Government in London, with a view to its prompt dissolution.

[578] But on June 25[1] the Government-in-exile published a declaration, affirming that it refused to acknowledge any transmission of power, and proclaimed the new Warsaw Government to be 'illegal'. At the same time, it issued a manifesto to the Polish people justifying its attitude of protest, and declaring itself willing, as far as the fate of the country was concerned, to abide by a free election.

On July 5 London recognised the new Provisional Government, already approved by Moscow and Washington. This meant a break between the British authorities and the Cabinet-in-exile, which England had for so long supported and encouraged. The B.B.C. ceased to broadcast Polish programmes, and the various services installed in London were invited to wind up as quickly as possible.

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

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own Government, which he forced to resign. The Choubachich Cabinet disregarded this and on January 23, 1946 published a communiqué, according to which the sovereign would not return to the country until a Constituent Assembly had pronounced on the question of the régime. In his absence, the royal power would be delegated to a Council of Regency whose members would be chosen from the London Government and from the Tito Government. 643 661 648 175

On January 30 the King finally agreed to this formula, as recommended by Moscow, London, and Washington.

Then Choubachich went to Belgrade to agree with Tito on the names for the new Government. Prolonged and painful haggling resulted in the formation of the Provisional Cabinet on March 7,[1] in which Tito kept the Presidency and the War Ministry, while Choubachich assumed control of Foreign Affairs. A Serbian democrat, Milan Grol, and a Croat Agrarian, Chouteï, entered the new administration. 642 175 [695]

Yugoslavia was to be reconstituted on a federative basis; the State itself officially took the name of 'Democratic and Federal Yugoslavia'. So the constitution of the 'Yugoslav' Government was followed by the formation of 'National' Governments, six in number—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia. Care had been taken not to give this federal organisation a statute and frontiers, on account of the conflicts these would not have failed to provoke; the National Assembly would, in due course, decide upon the internal structure of the State.

It remained to be seen whether Tito would bring to the management of affairs the eminent qualities of which he had given proof in the Resistance. Would history salute him not only as a detached figure in the epic background against which the tragedy of the Serbian nation is played, but also as a reconstructor of the State? 000

Born in 1893 in the Croat village of Klanyets, Joseph Broz was the son of an artisan. He had known hardship in his youth, and soon exhibited a revolutionary temperament. At seventeen he engineered a strike, and showed himself to be an agitator. It is said that he took his appellation of 'Tito' from the bishop of medieval Crete whose relics rest in the Church of St. Mark in Venice. Taken prisoner by the Russians in 1914, he took part 175 643

[1] [1946 -- Analyst]

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175 648 aggressive policy, or against any other State which might revive this policy, under any form whatsoever.

Backed both without and within by the might of Moscow, Tito's régime seemed to be irresistibly established.

Its[1] first care had been to renew its claim to the territories of which Yugoslavia had been defrauded immediately after the First World War. It raised the question of Trieste and its hinterland. The Yugoslav delegation in London warmly defended a case supported by detailed and absolutely pertinent documentation, based on ethnographic and economic considerations. But they were imprudent enough to allow it to be understood that they would lay claim to Aegean or Hellenic Macedonia—which was bound to alienate the goodwill of Great Britain. They also mentioned the exorbitant sum which they intended to demand from Italy by way of reparations—thereby upsetting the United States, from whom Italy was at the same time seeking material aid to help her out of her desperate financial situation.

• 642 661 175 Yet, to tell the truth, the distrustful atmosphere which grew up around the Yugoslav claims arose more directly from the form of government and the political principles established by Tito. Under colour of anti-Fascism, the régime exercised the same reprisals against all its detractors. It was accused of borrowing the methods of the totalitarian régimes; the Opposition said that it had introduced the word 'Democracy' into the name of the State in order to dispense with it in reality, as, in the past, Pavelich gave the name of 'Independent State of Croatia' to a political offshoot of the Axis. He governed, on Russian lines, a very sensitive nation, which perhaps had not a very 'Western' notion of democracy, but had always shown itself stubbornly attached to the external forms of its independence. Certainly Tito had succeeded in grouping around him zealous young men, who had been tested under fire and were indifferent to the juridical or constitutional rites which, in the West, accompany the exercise of liberty. Certainly, too, the Yugoslav National Front represented itself not as a single party but as a synthesis of all the various energies resolved to work for the restoration of public life.

656 204 625 Nevertheless to Anglo-American eyes the régime appeared to be a dictatorship. Was not its slogan—'No liberty for the enemies of liberty'—calculated to justify an administration

1 [Tito's régime's -- Analyst]

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the resurrection of Montenegro, a country of 200,000 inhabitants, 578
which had disappeared since 1918, and of Bosnia, which had 643
not been heard of in history since the Middle Ages, in keeping with the ideas of a 'new world' that were current in Tito's circle? And had not Tito himself, by liberating atomic nationalisms, super-Balkanised his country at a time when means of communication were suppressing distances—in other words, had he not inaugurated a policy which was opposed to history, progress, and common sense, in order to realise the midsummer night's dream of a Slavophile of the 'Forties'?

The federal régime, it will be said, has representatives in 000
Europe—Switzerland, Russia, Austria. But Switzerland has maturity, Russia has extent, Austria has an historical and cultural homogeneity to safeguard its unity.

Was not the Yugoslav community in imminent danger from [795]
this 'State power' given to regions hitherto divided by so many memories? The Croats used to oppose the Serbs in religious matters. Between the two wars, rivalry between Catholics and Orthodox had subsided somewhat. But the elections in Austria and Hungary showed that, after the liberation, the attachment of the populations of Central Europe to the Roman Church had lost none of its force. Croatia—*antemurale Christianitatis*—could not escape this deeply-rooted tendency, still less at a time when Russia, the protectress of the Yugoslav State, reaffirmed the Orthodox tradition on which her relations with the Serbs had formerly been based. How was it possible not to see in this renewal of religious antagonism between Belgrade and Zagreb a threat of secession?

In Yugoslavia the Crown used to be (as in Belgium) the link 642
between different peoples, traditions, and trends. On November 29, 1945, obedient to Tito's watchword, the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly, composed of the Union Assembly and the Assembly of the Nationalities, proclaimed the Federative Republic. It deposed and condemned to exile the dynasty of the Karageorgevich. 175

This vote was the logical conclusion of the elections and also —it must be admitted—of the errors of the young King. The latter raised a protest which was greeted, in London circles, with more sympathy than encouragement. The fate of the monarchy in Yugoslavia seemed, indeed, to be definitely settled.

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*642 829 Marshal Stalin sent his congratulations to Tito and his good wishes to the 'sister nation' of Yugoslavia. The establishment of the republic was greeted everywhere as a victory for the spirit of democracy. In actual fact it is hard to believe that there is more 'democracy' in the Balkan republics than in the Scandinavian or British monarchies.

000 The real question still remains to be seen—whether Tito's régime ensures a new lease of life for Yugoslav unity or whether it portends, sooner or later, a disruption of that unity, which might this time be irreparable. It is by no means impossible that in the next few years, even months, the evolution of Yugoslav life may be characterised by a gradual weakening of the ties between the Serbs and the Croats and a correlative strengthening of solidarity between Serbs and Bulgars—in other words, by an end of the union of Southern Slavs, and an attraction of part to the East.

On the international scale, the future of Yugoslavia is at the mercy of the super-powers who are the arbiters of peace. So that all depends on the importance which the Balkan world holds in the policy of Russia who, in Central Europe and in Asia, is occupied with interests of far wider scope. And here it is as well not to forget that, during the time of the Tsars, the Balkan peoples always bore the brunt of all efforts at *rapprochement* between Russia and Austria-Hungary. Will they, tomorrow, form the medium of exchange between the U.S.S.R. and the Anglo-American democracies, without whose capital it would be difficult for them to exploit their natural resources?

* * *

Of all the liberated Slav States, it was, as might be expected, Czechoslovakia which showed most practical sense. She managed her return to liberty without any unnecessary clashes or violence.

642 643 175 No serious difficulty arose between the London Government-in-exile and the Resistance. On May 8, 1944, Benes signed an agreement with Moscow concerning the administration of the liberated territories. On the following October 29 he declared that, after the war, the affairs of the Republic would be so organised as to avoid a repetition of the events of 1938. 'Czechoslovakia will be a fully decentralised Republic, organised

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on the basis of respect for the principle of nationalities'. No reference to a federal system. 642• 643 175

He returned to Czechoslovakia early in March, 1945, and, from Kosice, he followed the last stages of the liberation. On May 10 the national flag again floated from Prague Castle and Cathedral; a few days later Benes made a triumphal entry into the city.

The Government (formed on April 5, under the presidency of M. Fierlinger, and composed of twenty-five members, seven of whom were Communists) avoided the mistake made by the majority of the liberated countries, by postponing the elections until passions had had time to subside a little. The authorised [646] political parties, four in number, agreed on the allocation of mandates to the Provisional National Assembly, which numbered 300 deputies, including 100 for Slovakia. On April 14[1] an electoral body chosen by the local National Committees nominated the members of this Assembly. 'The Czechs', Benes said, 'must take radical measures, while at the same time avoiding extremism'. That was the whole programme of the Czechoslovak Popular Front. 181 186 643

In the international order, the Government observed the same prudence. Benes's realistic attitude towards Soviet Russia is well known. 'The Czechs are a Slavonic people, and they are specially drawn towards the Russians, whom they understand better than any other people'. But Czech culture, and the democratic education of the Czech people, are fundamentally Western. The President continually returned to that assumption. Czechoslovakia is an intermediary region between two civilisations; its historical evolution, its psychology, its intellectual and social structure, all have affinities with the Anglo-American and French democracies.

The Soviet orientation was represented by the Communists, under the leadership of the Deputy Prime Minister, M. Clement Gottwald, and the Minister of National Education, Zdenek Nejedly, a celebrated musicographer, who attended the Moscow Panslav Congresses. But their influence was exerted moderately, and solely on the lines of the national interest. In reality, the Czech people, with their habits of thrift, their appreciation of property, their aversion to conformity, are fundamentally opposed to the Marxist ideology.

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

6: Mounet H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

648 175 As for the question of the Polish-Czech frontiers, the Prague Government wanted a return to the pre-Munich *status quo*; it will be seen later that the claim to the Teschen Basin, occupied by the Poles since 1938, delayed the return to normal status in the relations between Warsaw and Prague.

As regards the Serbs of Lusatia (Wends and Sorbs), they sent petition after petition to the peace arbitrators, claiming a hearing and justice. They submitted two memoranda, one on February 1, 1946, to the United Nations, the other in the month of May, to the Four Powers Conference in Paris. They returned to the attack on July 6, to ask for the separation of Lusatia from Germany. They were invariably put off until the German problem should be discussed by the Conference. Czechoslovakia, who had already espoused their cause at the time of the discussion of the Versailles Treaty,[3] signified that she saw in their separation from the Reich a guarantee for her own security.

101 These Lusatians are the remnant of a large tribe which must formerly have been the vanguard of the Slavs on the march towards Bavaria. In the ninth century the country was erected into a principality. But, of all the Slavonic groups, this is the one which has encountered the least favourable conditions for the development of a lasting political unity.

* * *

000 Now a few words on the evolution of the internal and external policies of each of the small Slav States while the treaties were in the negotiation stage.

642 175 On January 15, 1946, Yugoslavia voted her Federal Constitution, which set up the six People's Republics mentioned in the previous chapter. (The 'People's Republic of Serbia' included the two autonomous provinces of Voïvodin and Kossovo). Each of these republics sent twenty-five deputies to the Peoples' Council. They were sovereign States—except for the functions reserved to the central power (peace and war, internal security, basic legislation, currency, transport, postal services, radio, Customs, immigration, etc.)—*i.e.*, essentially in matters of education, public health, and social justice.

As in Russia, actual power lay with the Presidium of the Legislature, composed of thirty members, elected by the Assembly

[3] See above, p. 41.

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and responsible to it. The Assembly comprised two Chambers, the Federal Council and the Council of Nationalities; the former was elected by all the citizens, the latter appointed by the republics and autonomous districts. The Constitution established the right of referendum, compulsory military service, the separation of Church and State. Private property was recognised, up to a maximum of 25–30 hectares. But foreign trade and the greater part of the means of production, mining resources, springs, hydraulic power, woods, transport, wireless, etc. were under State control.[4] The Federated Republics were organised, and elected their Governments, early in 1946 (Bosnia-Herzegovina on February 15, Serbia on February 20, Slovenia on February 23; it will be noticed that the latter took the name of 'Popular Republic of the Slovenes'—obviously with the intention of serving as a magnetic centre for the Slovenes who remained under Italian or Austrian domination).

The promulgation of the new Constitution closed the first stage in post-war developments. The new Federal Government was introduced to the Legislature on February 2, 1946. Its President was Tito, who held the portfolio of National Defence, assisted by two Vice-Presidents, one Communist, the Slovene Edward Kardelj, a militant member of the Slovene Workers' Associations and principal instigator of the Constitution, and one Republican, the Serb, Jasa Prodanovich. Foreign Affairs were entrusted to Stanoje Simich. Kardelj was President of the Federal Control Commission, an all-powerful organism which supervised the acts of the Ministers and of the President himself. The spokesman of the Communist Party was Milovan Djilas, who was responsible for the Youth Movement. The President of the Presidium was a Croat, Ivan Ribar, a former Deputy of the Serbo-Croat Coalition, President of the Constituent of 1921 and one of the authors of the so-called Constitution of Vidovdan. After having joined the Democratic Party, he left it at the time of the dictatorship of King Alexander. Under the occupation he did liaison work between the Republicans and the

[4] The arms of the Federal State represent a field, between two sheaves of corn, connected by a ribbon inscribed: '22nd November, 1943'. Between the tips of the ears of corn is a five-pointed star; in the middle of the field five torches, bending over, converge into a single flame. The federal flag is red, white and blue (with the red at the bottom), and has a red star in the middle.

6; Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

648 175 —in other words, renounce the very principles for which they would have been elected.

Pressed by solicitations or criticisms from London and Washington, M. Gheorgiev placed himself under the ægis of Moscow. He went to Russia on January 7, 1946. 'I am glad', he said on landing, 'to be within the fortress of the Slavonic peoples, which, thanks to the wise direction of Generalissimo Stalin, has become the hope of the whole of democratic humanity'. And to give a yet more decisive proof of the credit which he enjoyed in Moscow, his visit was immediately followed (on January 10) by that of M. Vyshinsky to Sofia.

[661] These manifestations did indeed strengthen the Bulgarian Government majority, but they disarmed neither the English nor the Americans, who protested, in diplomatic notes, against the police tactics of the régime, and the arrests of politicians.[8] In return, the Russians accused the Western Democracies of giving a false interpretation to Moscow's decisions affecting Bulgaria, and of encouraging subversive elements.

•642 175 In Sofia, they showed signs of anxiety over the persistence of this lack of harmony on the eve of the conclusion of the peace treaties, on which the future of Bulgaria was to depend. M. Gheorgiev hoped to clarify the situation by resigning on March 22. But the Opposition imposed, as a condition of its accepting office, the exclusion of any Communist from the Ministry of Justice and the Home Office. Agreement proved impossible; another Gheorgiev cabinet, restricted, like the previous one, to the parties of the Patriotic Front, was formed on March 29, 1946.

A few days later, this Government promulgated a decree convening the National Assembly, charged with revising the Constitution on Republican lines. The monarchical régime was denounced to the country as the cause of all its misfortunes—a statement which could, with greater truth, have been applied to the Treaty of San Stefano and the Macedonian psychosis it had

661 [8] For three months, the arrested men included Assen Stamboliiski, son of the famous Agrarian leader, assassinated in 1923, and a member of the Central Committee of the Agrarian Party. One of the grievances harboured by the Bulgarian Agrarians against the Communists was the attitude of neutrality maintained by the latter at the time of the *coup d'état* of June 9, 1923, which had marked the triumph of 'reaction' over Stamboliiski's régime.

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engendered. For the occasion, they forgot the fact that the monarchy had, more than once, had its prerogatives disputed by dictatorships. Only by assassination did Ferdinand get rid of Stamboulov, and Boris of Stamboliiski. And M. Gheorgiev himself had been able to overthrow parliamentary government only because the army had given him a helping hand. The will of the sovereign had entered little into that event. 642• 175 [662]

However that might be, the fate of the monarchy was settled. By doing away with it, the Bulgarian people were convinced that they were clarifying their destiny. The young King Simeon II, then aged 8, was living in Vranja with his mother and his sister, in an isolation which was practically exile, while the royal duties were performed by three regents appointed by the National Front. On September 8, 1946, the Bulgarian nation, by a huge majority (3,800,000 votes to 179,000), voted in favour of the republic, which was proclaimed on the 15th of the same month. The following week Simeon II, under the care of the Queen-Mother, who was dressed in deep mourning, embarked on a Turkish vessel bound for Egypt, where he was to join his maternal grandfather, ex-King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy. One newspaper *Otetchestvene Front* (Homeland Front) published, by way of farewell, an article by General Hristo Stölkov, reproaching the defunct monarchy for having isolated Bulgaria from the other Slavonic peoples. 'It is no accident if, at the time of the first imperialist war, all the Slavs [*sic*] were on the side of the Allies, whilst Bulgaria alone threw in her lot with Germany'. [666]

The convening of the electoral body for October 27[1] gave rise to a diplomatic passage of arms among the Allies. The British Government protested against the obstacles put in the way of the Opposition's campaign, and against the persecution to which the Agrarians were subjected. And Mr. Byrnes asked the Allied Control Commission, sitting in Sofia, to take adequate measures to guarantee the integrity of the poll. Russia's representative on the Commission, General Birousov, opposed the consideration of this request, which he denounced as foreign interference with Bulgarian home affairs. 648 175

The elections gave the anticipated results; the Home Front secured 346 seats (of which 277 went to the Communists) as against the Opposition's 101 seats. It would appear that this 666 175

1 [1946 - Analyst]

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666 result even exceeded the expectations of M. Gheorgiev, who took
175 fright at the excitement stirred up in the country by the Communists—hence this appeal to the population: 'Victory often intoxicates men, and defeat makes them lose their self-control. Tension resulting from elections, if not rapidly mastered, may help to foster a state of excitement prejudicial to order and tranquillity. The Government earnestly exhorts all citizens strictly to observe the laws'.

Spectacular as was the triumph of governmental coalition, it did not reach the overwhelming majorities of which Russia and Yugoslavia held the secret. In particular, the ministerial fraction belonging to the *Zveno* was beaten, so that the country had modified, to the advantage of the Communists, the relative strengths within the coalition. Now, in a nation which had neither capitalism nor trusts nor large industrial concerns nor *latifundia,* the word *Communist* had a meaning which was much more political than social.* It was above all the victory of the 'Russianisers', long held in check by the official policy.

[563] It must moreover be admitted that, renewing the gesture of the liberating Tsar, the Soviet Union had just saved the Bulgarian people by protecting them from the consequences of their rulers' collusion with the Axis. The question that still remained was whether Russia would not have preferred to be defended in Sofia by traditionally 'national' elements, rather than by a party too openly connected with Moscow, and whose leader, George Dimitrov, the hero of the Leipzig trial, was thought to be a tool of Russia.

• 642 As a logical consequence of the elections, a new Government
175 was in fact formed by Dimitrov on November 23.[1] It included ten Communists, five Agrarians, two Socialists, two members of the *Zveno* and one Independent. The ex-President, Kimon Gheorgiev, held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. The semi-official press saw it as 'the most democratic Government Bulgaria has ever had', whilst the Opposition emphasised the complete hold on power which the Communists had obtained.

648 This Government's vital tasks were to be signing the peace
175 and voting the Constitution. On February 12, 1947, it secured

[162] * The working-class strengths, on which the Communists rely, are very small; indeed, 80% of the population are engaged in agriculture, not to mention tradesmen, civil servants, and members of the liberal professions.

1 [1946 - Analyst]

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from England the legal recognition which she had refused to a non-Communist Ministry. However, the Foreign Office felt bound to state that this recognition 'by no means implied that Great Britain considered the methods previously employed by the Bulgarian Government to consolidate its position, or the conditions under which the elections had been organised, as conforming to the spirit and the letter of the Yalta declaration concerning Liberated Europe'. 648 175

The Bulgarian reply dismissed these objections, but expressed the Sofia Government's satisfaction and its desire to respect the peace treaty.

The Constitution submitted to the Legislature had to reconcile the exigencies of a very Leftist democracy with the specific traits of the Bulgarian nation, and the laws of its historical development. It was not federal, like the Russian or Yugoslav constitutions, but unitary. Bulgaria was to be a parliamentary republic, in which authority belonged to the people, whose will was expressed by means of elections or a referendum. The President was elected for four years (by a two-thirds majority) by the Legislature, plus one representative from each Cantonal Council and five representatives from each Departmental Council. The Legislature was elected for four years, on the basis of one member for every 25,000 inhabitants. 642 175 [182]

The Constitution sanctioned the right to private property and the right of inheritance, but placed in the hands of the State the country's natural resources, its sub-soil, transport, marine and fluvial navigation, communications, radio, and external trade. The new Bulgarian economy was inspired by the co-operative principle as understood in the Slavonic tradition (*mir* or *zadrouga*) rather than by pure collectivism. [181]

In his ministerial declaration M. George Dimitrov had defined friendship with U.S.S.R. as 'the corner-stone of his foreign policy', but promised to endeavour to normalise relations with London and Washington. He expressed his gratitude 'to the sister nations—and particula ly the new Yugoslavia[10]—for the help they had rendered to Bulgaria at the Peace Conference'. 648 175

Indeed, Bulgaria had no reason to complain of the Con-

[10] Who, on the previous June 15, had wiped out certain Bulgarian reparations.

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131 war, now had only three—Russia, Germany, and Czechoslovakia.
175 One aspect of her new position which represented an innovation was her transformation into a great maritime nation, thanks to the three ports, Stettin, Gdynia, and Danzig, and to her 312 miles of coast-line. Nevertheless, her destiny would henceforth be more closely bound to that of Central Europe, while remaining subordinate to the *entente* with Moscow.

666 The western frontiers were approved by the plebiscite of June 30, which covered not only the frontier-ratification, but also the abolition of the Senate and the economic organisation of the
[471] State (Agrarian reform and nationalisation of key industries).
[423] The first ballot gave 10,534,697 in favour and 995,584 against; the second gave 7,844,522 in favour and 3,686,029 against; the third, 8,896,106 in favour and 2,634,446 against.

578 This popular referendum did not have the tranquillising
648 effects that had seemingly been expected. Poland continued to
661 be a prey to 'terrorist' agitation, the repression of which, in
175 turn, gave rise to scenes of violence and to exactions. While dissociating himself from the extremists, the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, M. Mikolajczyk, himself protested against the way in which the referendum had been carried out (except in Cracow, where the 'Noes' had been in the majority). So the British Government reserved its opinion on the legitimacy which this poll conferred on the régime, and awaited the general elections before giving legal recognition to the new state of affairs. And the whole of 1946 was taken up with exchanges of subacid notes between London and Washington on the one side and Warsaw on the other. The Anglo-Americans denounced the persecution to which the Opposition was subjected, and considered that the Polish Government was failing in the undertaking given in execution of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, to guarantee the liberty of elections. But the Russians interpreted quite differently both the scope of these agreements and the meaning of the word 'liberty'. And so the most obvious result of the diplomatic offensive on the part of England and the United States was to intensify Polish-Sovietic solidarity.

648 The formation, in June, of a National Unity Government
175 under the Presidency of M. Osubka Morawski seemed, for the
• [642] time being, to dissipate the apprehensions of the Anglo-Americans, although the dissident Polish Government in London

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accused the hierarchy, in connection with the Kielce pogrom,[18] of not having adopted a sufficiently bold attitude towards anti-Semitism, and of having refused to sign the declaration of all political parties, condemning this racial crime. 136* 659 798

The Cardinal addressed to the foreign press declarations in which, while deploring the acts of violence, he attributed them largely 'to the dominant position assumed by the Jews in the Polish Government, and to the efforts made to give Poland a governmental structure that the majority of the country did not desire'. As may be imagined, these words aroused passionate comments. The same remark applies to the pastoral letter addressed to the faithful on the eve of the elections, asking them to vote only 'for persons, lists or programmes in favour of Catholic teaching and morals'. Without mentioning the Marxist Parties by name, the pastoral reminded Catholics that they must not belong to 'organisations whose principles are contrary to this teaching and this morality'. The Cardinal was anxious, he said, to 'reconcile the Christian faith with a sound revolutionary movement'.

* * *

It was in Czechoslovakia that the adaptation of political and social life to the new state of affairs was achieved with the minimum of clashes and the maximum of realism. The Second Republic was stabilised under the form of a 'Socialising Democracy' (according to President Benes's term), half-way between Communism and the Bourgeois State. It no longer had the same exterior structure as Masaryk's republic, having adopted a *sui generis* type of bi-national community, with equal rights for Czechs and Slovaks. There was another innovation—a still more vital one—the elimination of minorities, whose presence and militancy had hindered its development, before contributing to its dislocation under the Hitlerian onrush. 642 563 175

[18] In this locality,[1] on July 4, 1946, there was a pogrom, arising out of a trifling cause, in the course of which 45 Jews were massacred. Nine of the presumed authors of this massacre were condemned to death. The clandestine organisations were accused of having fomented anti-Semite passions, whereas, in reality, the latter had remained very much alive in Poland—as witness the testimony of Dr. Shoskes, South America's representative in the Society for Assistance to Jewish Immigrants, and M. Segal, delegate to the World Jewish Congress of New York. Despite the frightful losses they suffered during the occupation, which reduced them to an insignificant minority, the Polish Jews, for the most part, aspire to leave the country. This is one of the indirect aspects of the Palestinian problem. 798

1 [in Kielce - Analyst]

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The problem of the relations between Prague and Bratislava was difficult to settle. It had handicapped the political development of the country from 1919 to 1938, and six years of separate life (from 1938 to 1944) had not failed to add fresh grievances to the old ones. In addition to all this, Slovakia herself suffered from an internal crisis—antagonism between a heterogeneous Catholic majority and a united, combative, Communist minority. The Democratic Party, which comprised the Catholics, presented a front only in the struggle against Marxism, the Soviet stranglehold, and Czech Centralism. In the face of constructive problems it was divided. It suffered, moreover, under the suspicion of having owed its electoral triumph only to the Autonomists and to the former 'collaborators'. Here, as elsewhere, the Communist Party sought to monopolise all the merit of the Resistance.

And Slovak particularism had not disarmed. This was made clear when, in the summer of 1946, the central Government ordered exchanges between Czech and Slovak military units; this order met with violent resistance.

However, that is a problem which the Czechs have had time to study, and in which they have acquired bitter, but profound, experience. It is a psychological rather than a political problem, affected by social and religious reactions, not to mention the campaign against the régime carried on by Slovak exiles in America, under the leadership of M. Stephan Osusky, former Czechoslovak Minister in Paris. It is possible that the fundamental difference between the two peoples may lie in the fact that one was under the heel of the German, the other of the Magyar.

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On June 24 was concluded an agreement destined to become the foundation of the new Czechoslovak community, based on a formula which lies half-way between decentralisation and autonomy. This is how it works. Apart from the three reserved departments (Foreign Affairs, National Defence, and Foreign Trade), Slovakia has her own organs of representation and government: a National Council of one hundred members, drawn from the parties, empowered to settle purely Slovak questions; an Executive Council composed of fifteen Commissars appointed by the Czech Government on the nomination of the Slovak National Council. These Commissars are, at one and the same time, real Ministers as far as Slovak affairs are

[I. 1946 - Analyst]

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concerned, and executive agents for Prague for Czechoslovak affairs. This was the solution found for the dualism previously existing in Czechoslovakia. 642 175

In virtue of this system the Slovaks have institutions which enable them to settle their own problems, while at the same time participating in the general control of the country. Hence the current joke about the 'Slovakisation of Czechoslovakia'.

Thus did President Benes succeed in adapting the spiritual heritage of Masaryk, and his own tendencies, to an internal and external situation very different from that which, in 1918, had shaped the rebirth of the Czech nation. And yet Benes took pains to safeguard signs of independence, and to maintain bonds of spiritual solidarity with the West, in order to attest his faith in his country's mission as a mediatrix, her role as a stabilising factor between the East and the West of the Continent. But the new Czechoslovakia no longer reflected the image that Masaryk had popularised—that of a European Slavism formed in the school of the Liberal Democracies. [186] [829]

The first elections carried out after the liberation—those of May 26, 1946—gave a slight majority to the Marxists, who had 153 seats out of the 300 of which the National Assembly was composed.[19] 666 175

This shift in the majority had little practical effect. The internal policy, based on nationalisation,[20] and the realisation of a very advanced social programme, underwent the fewer modifications, inasmuch as the Communists, anticipating their electoral victory, had already secured possession of the principal control levers.

[19] The results were as follows:—

	Votes	Percentage
Bohemia-Moravia		
Communists	2,205,658	40.17
National-Socialists	1,298,967	23.66
Populars	1,010,920	20.23
Social-Democrats	855,771	15.59
Slovakia		
Democrats (Christian)	988,275	61.43
Communists	490,257	30.48
Liberty Party	67,575	4.20
Labour Party	49,983	3.11

As will be seen, the majority was reversed in Bohemia and in Slovakia. 471

[20] The nationalisation programme which took effect on March 13, 1946, placed the majority of the key-industries under State control. Commenting on this event, the Minister of Industry declared: 'This day marks a date in the history of the world's industry'. 175

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186* 175 From the external point of view, Czechoslovakia remained within the orbit of the Soviet power, on which, henceforth, depended her security and her conception of the balance of power in Europe.

But the maintenance of national unity, the agreement of parties, the conciliatory realism which they brought to the control of the State, revealed a spirit of discipline and a maturity such as could not, at that time, have been found in any other Slavonic State. Perhaps we must give equal praise to the clearsightedness with which M. Benes, in his Christmas message for 1946, denounced the weaknesses and the blemishes which still remained to be eliminated from the régime; how many other countries might have profited by his warning!

'In all political parties there lurk elements that are bad, morally tainted; products of the great wars and of the revolutionary periods. Such individuals must disappear from our political life. We must wean our young people from tendencies to indiscipline, to idleness, to immorality in relations between the sexes. We must combat the growing scourge of alcoholism, the black market, and clandestine trade. We must encourage a [163] family policy; whereas, in 1938, the excess of births over deaths was 80,000, in 1945 it is only 7,828'.

•642 175 Elected for two years, the new Constituent Assembly met for the first time on June 18.[1] The next day it acclaimed Edward Benes as President of the Republic, in that same Vladislas Hall where he had been elected for the first time, in 1935. The Government, constituted on the following July 2, was presided over by M. Clement Gottwald, Leader of the Czech Communist Party. It included six Czech Communists, three Czech Social Democrats, four Socialists of the Benes Party, four Czech Catholics, five Slovak Democrats.

648 In the next chapter the reader will find an outline of the religious problem, seen from the angle of the Orthodox offensive. Faithful to their pre-war tradition, Czechoslovak official circles renewed with the Vatican relations which they did their utmost to render as trusting as possible, in spite of the agnosticism of the régime and its Hussite sympathies. The first chargé d'affaires to the Holy See, Dr. Schwarzenberg, was appointed in January, 1946. Since the previous autumn, the Vatican had already been represented in Prague; in March, Mgr. Ritter was

1 [1946 -- Analyst]

6; Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

666 175 98.89 per cent (110,180 blank votes), the electors having no other option than to vote for the 'Front' or to register a blank vote.

185 175 Faithful to the guidance of Benes, Jean Masaryk and Ripka, the Third National Front Government, presided over by Gottwald, endeavoured to secure the triumph of a policy of equilibrium between East and West, between Liberalism and Marxism. 'In our country', declared Benes, 'under the pressure of the masses, Communism has become national.'

648 175 The first signs of Soviet pressure were seen when, after the Czech Cabinet had decided, in July, 1947, to accept an invitation to attend the Paris Conference for the application of the Marshall Plan, it was forced, on orders from Moscow, to withdraw its acceptance.

[578] The final crisis was reached in February, 1948. An exceedingly violent press campaign was launched against Vaclav Nosek, Minister of the Interior, as the result of a purge which followed the discovery of illegal arms deposits. The Communist Party accused the National Socialists (Benes Party), the Popular Democrats and the Slovak Democrats of attempting to constitute an 'anti-Communist bloc' within the Government, and of paralysing the legislative power of the National Assembly. Tension reached its peak with the approach of the elections, then fixed for April 11, 1948.

668 • 642 175 The partisans of obedience to Moscow centred their efforts around the nucleus of the police and the trade union organisations. A 'Central Action Committee' was established, to back up, by mass movements, the offensive led by President Gottwald and his Communist colleagues against the moderate section of the Government. On February 20, 1948, the Ministers belonging to the three incriminated parties resigned. The Marxists held demonstrations in the streets; a political strike was declared on February 4, and the Congress of Works' Committees demanded the removal of the 'reactionaries'. President Benes, taken unawares by the suddenness of this attack, rejected the idea of a Government of Civil Servants and, on February 25, he formed a new National Front Ministry, with Gottwald as President, Gapotocki as Vice-President, Jean Masaryk at the head of Foreign Affairs. The Communists secured entire control of this Cabinet, which was in favour of unconditional collaboration with the Soviet Union. The opposition was reduced to

6: Monnet H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

helplessness; Benes capitulated before Gottwald's ultimatum. It was the end of the Putsch which Hubert Ripka later described as a 'prefabricated revolution'. On March 9[1] Jean Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote a personal letter to Stalin, in which he denounced the intervention of Zorine, the Soviet Ambassador, in the events of February: 'When a time of mortal danger for the country, and for all Slavs, comes, you will have in Prague nothing but a Government hated by the country, despised by the *élite*, and relying entirely on the bayonets of its police organisations'. The next day Masaryk committed suicide: contradictory versions of his death were circulated, although the above-mentioned letter had made clear his intention of ending his life.

Thus the inspirer of two Czech liberations, heir to the thought of Thomas Masaryk, disappeared in shameful oblivion; the commentaries in the Communist press, in which he was later accused of having betrayed the interests of the country, lead us to wonder whether his inglorious end did not save him from an even more tragic fate. Posterity will pronounce a mixed judgment on his political achievement. His tomb might fittingly have been engraved with this epitaph, taken from one of his books (*Whither the Slavs?*): 'The existence and the prosperity of all the Slav States is inseparably bound up with a régime of true democracy, that is to say, a régime in which the elementary principles of individual liberty, liberty of conviction, liberty of religion, liberty of political expression and liberty of public opinion, are guaranteed and fully respected'.

As for Benes, whose authority was henceforth without scope, on June 7, 'for health reasons', he resigned his presidential office, which he had held since June 19, 1946, in a message by which he invited his fellow-citizens 'to encourage liberty and consciously enjoy it'. He died a few months later, on September 3, 1948.

The events of February were to be mentioned at the United Nations Security Council, with a view to appointing a commission of inquiry—which was opposed by a Soviet veto (May 24).

On March 9, 1948, was voted the Constitution which made Czechoslovakia a 'democratic peoples' republic'. It instituted a Single House system, and proclaimed the equality of Czechs and Slovaks: the republic was to be a bi-national State. Unlike

1 [1948 - Analyst]

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

•642 175 563 the preceding Constitutions, this one contained no clause designed to protect minorities.

[666] The elections, postponed until May 30,[1] gave 88 per cent of the votes (6,429,145) to the National Front, but the figure of 770,100 blank voting slips exceeded that anticipated by the Government. The latter was, however, fully master of the situation. On June 14 Clement Gottwald was elected President of the Republic, on the unanimous vote of the 296 deputies present. Under the chairmanship of Zapotocki, he formed a Cabinet on the lines of the previous one (sixteen Communists or supporters, and six non-Communists); the portfolio of Foreign Affairs remained in the hands of Klementis, who replaced Masaryk. The new Head of the Government announced implacable repressive action against 'those guilty of disorder or confusion, who seek to hinder the reconstruction of the country'.

[661] 659 798 175 Indeed, during the months that followed, there was a vigorous purging of diplomacy, the army, the police. But, in 1949, it was the religious question which was to dominate political life, owing to an offensive conducted against the Roman Church, opposing the old Czech Hussite spirit to Catholicism, the dominant trait in the Slovak national character.

Gottwald and his ministers, relying on this 'religious geography' peculiar to Czechoslovakia, embarked upon a struggle with the clergy in the domain of monopoly of the schools. They pursued the contest by seeking to alienate the Catholic Church from her natural hierarchy, and by encouraging the 'schism' of the Czech 'National' Church. To protest against the obstacles put in the way of the exercise of the cult, the bishops drew up a pastoral letter, setting forth the conditions required in order to regularise relations between the Church and the State. The Government forbade the distribution of the pastoral; infringements of this decree, specially numerous in Slovakia, were sternly repressed. Mgr. Beran, Archbishop of Prague, was detained in his palace; the civil authority created 'Catholic Action', an official organisation placed under the control of priests with Communist leanings. At the head of this movement was the Minister of Public Health, Father Plojhar, suspended by the ecclesiastical authorities for having sought a legislative mandate without his bishop's permission.

Tension rose with the 'resolutions' passed on June 28 by the

1 [1948 -- Analyst]

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797 721 175* of Christianization, hoping that a common faith would eventually combine all neighboring Slavic tribes under his sway. This ingenious policy soon worried Louis to the point where he sent a Bavarian force against Rostislav in 855, at the same time detailing another detachment to prevent the Czechs from helping him. This punitive expedition was a failure. Rostislav chased the Bavarians out of his territory and became virtually independent. The next few years were too full of complications in the west to allow Louis the luxury of reprisals against Rostislav, who extended his sway along the Danube at the expense of the disorganized Avars, and finally, in 860, deposed the Croat Prince Pribina in favor of the latter's son Kotzel. Since Pribina was loyal to Louis the German, this exploit was carried out under the pretext of making common cause with Louis' rebellious son Carloman, margrave of the Ostmark, who hoped to gain the empire with Slavic support.

797 643 175* In any case, Rostislav was at this juncture the independent chief of a large group of Slavic tribes, not only in Moravia but also south of the Danube. He could not be certain that Carloman, if successful, would deal any more gently with him than did Louis the German. Rostislav's expansion along the Danube had brought him into direct touch with the Bulgarians who, under the Khagan Krum before 814 and his successor Omurtag thereafter, had become a pagan state important enough to maintain diplomatic relations with both Franks and Byzantines. The Bulgarians supported Louis the German against Carloman, and Boris, their prince since 852, was now toying with the possibility of accepting conversion from Byzantium. Rostislav himself had succeeded reasonably well with the political emancipation of his countrymen. What more natural than that he should also seek their religious autonomy by creating a clergy who could use the vernacular, and would perhaps wield the book more efficiently than the sword? For the priests and monks from Salzburg and Passau were at least as good soldiers as they were clerics—the church militant in person.

Rostislav thus seems to have thought of Slavic-speaking mis-

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sionaries as early as 860. There is good evidence that he first applied to Rome in vain. After this failure, he turned to Constantinople, with enormous consequences for the future of Slavic civilization, not so much in his own domains, but throughout eastern Europe and the Balkans. Confronted, after the defeat of Carloman, by a new alliance between Louis the German and Boris of Bulgaria, Rostislav was now so placed that any political contact with the Greek empire, such as might result from closer religious affiliations, could be regarded only as eminently desirable insurance.

A Moravian mission sent by Rostislav reached Constantinople toward the end of 862 and stayed there the rest of the winter. The Eastern empire had been ruled since 843 by Michael III, picturesquely nicknamed the Drunkard despite his military and administrative ability. The chief ecclesiastical and intellectual light of Byzantium in his day was the patriarch Photius, who had held this post since 858. From a political standpoint, the mission was successful. Boris of Bulgaria was detached from his alliance with Louis the German. But the religious results of the mission were even more striking.

At Salonika, in the ninth century the center of an area largely populated by Slavs, there was stationed a Greek *drungarios* or battalion commander of noble birth by the name of Leo. He had two sons, Constantine and Methodius. Constantine had enjoyed a liberal education, studied under Photius himself, and became a professor of philosophy, but later gave up a brilliant scholarly career for monastic orders. He was eventually sent upon a missionary journey to the Khazars, on which he was accompanied by his elder brother Methodius. Likewise well-educated, Methodius had already held the post of district governor in a Slavic-speaking area not far from Salonika, but had abandoned the civil service to become a monk on Mount Athos, which he left only for the mission to Khazaria. The two brothers returned to Constantinople from this mission late in 861, about a year before Rostislav's envoys reached there. Constantine retired to private life, while Me-

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made a ceremonial visit to Constantinople, where she was 175*
sumptuously entertained by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who has left us a detailed account of the occasion. Her son Sviatoslav, Vladimir's father, remained a convinced pagan, and is best known to history for his overthrow of the Khazar khanate in 962, his extension of Kievan authority to the upper Volga, and his disastrous attempts to subjugate Bulgaria between 968 and 971. He was, in fact, slain by the nomad Pechenegs at the rapids of the Dnieper while returning home from a crushing defeat at the hands of the Byzantine emperor John Tzimisces.

After his father's death Vladimir, who at the time was prince 175*
of Novrogod, opened hostilities against his half-brother who 643
had succeeded Sviatoslav, and by his opponent's death became heir to Kiev. Before his conversion he had consolidated his power in the Dnieper valley, confirmed his father's conquest of the region between the Dnieper and the upper Volga, pushed his domains to the northeastern river courses feeding the Baltic, and made important gains at the expense of the Poles in Volhynia and Galicia. His ingenuity transformed a loose confederation with but weak control of its periphery into a unified Russian domain. That this unity was maintained with difficulty under his immediate descendants and was eventually dissolved was a consequence of local particularism aggravated by economic derangement, of feuds in the princely family, and of the pressure of nomad invaders.

The principality of Kiev became a state of European im- 175*
portance by Vladimir's conquests and conversion. The reign of 643
his son Yaroslav the Wise from 1017 to 1054 is the meridian 631
of its greatness. Yaroslav himself was a prince of rare intelligence and broad international contacts. He had himself married Ingigerd, a Swedish princess who had earlier been engaged to King Olaf Haraldsson of Norway. His sister Maria married King Kizimir I of Poland; of his daughters, one married King Henry I of France; a second Harald the Severe, King of Norway; a third King Andrew of Hungary. His son Vsevolod

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175* was the husband of a Greek princess, and the son of this union
643 eventually became the consort of Gytha, daughter of the Saxon
631 Harold who fell at Hastings in 1066. Kiev was thus united with contemporary European states by a series of dynastic alliances foreshadowing the customs of modern times.

175* Yet for all his power and wealth, Yaroslav governed by the
643 same simple mechanism that had prevailed under Vladimir. The prince won his position by force and maintained it by personal supremacy, supported by Varangian mercenaries recruited from Scandinavia whenever domestic levies proved insufficient or disloyal, and consulting with his chief military aides, with the city elders, or with church dignitaries on matters of general
[671] policy. Yaroslav began the codification of customary civil and ecclesiastical law, encouraged both translations and original
[795] literature, and endeavored without success to emancipate the Russian Church from the Byzantine patriarchate. By his crushing victory over the nomad Pechenegs before the walls of Kiev in 1036, he made the marches of his principality safe for thirty-five years.

175* Beside rebuilding his father's Church of the Tithe after it
643 was damaged by fire in 1017, he carried out a large-scale con-
346 struction program which made Kiev one of the most notable
532 medieval cities. His great cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev, with its five apses and thirteen cupolas, still contains the largest extant yardage of eleventh-century Byzantine frescoes and a series of remarkably preserved mosaics of impressive beauty. This is the one medieval Russian church which has been exhaustively studied by American archaeologists in coöperation with native Russian colleagues.

175* The underlying weakness of the Kievan principality lay in
643 the fact that its stability was assured only by the prestige and
186 ability of the ruling prince. There was as yet no sentiment of
631 solidarity, national unity, and group interest which guaranteed that the whole system would not be overthrown by some ambitious and resolute rival from among the kindred princes in outlying cities loosely subject to the authority of the prince of Kiev and envious of his power and wealth.

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Kiev and envious of his power and wealth. Yaroslav himself was unable to obviate this danger. Before his death he endeavored to perpetuate the system his father and he had created by assigning the succession at Kiev to his eldest surviving son, and by apportioning to his younger sons the other important cities in the order of seniority of the princes and of the relative prestige of their several districts, with the recommendation that the younger brothers should regard the eldest as their sovereign and as the arbitrator of eventual disputes. Yet he omitted from his assignment his grandson and the descendants of his deceased brother, who thereupon constituted a potential threat to the tenure of the ruling line, even if the latter managed to keep peace among themselves.

The mode of succession established by Yaroslav thus placed the principality in the hands of a fraternal partnership. The apportionment of domains on the basis of seniority was theoretically feasible, however, only as long as the ruling family was small. But with the normal increase of direct and collateral descendants, mutual jealousies were bound to produce internal strife and to enfeeble the whole structure of the state. Mere seniority was no proof of either innate capacity or of the energy and tact required to allay disputes or to pacify ambitious rivals, and any weakness of the central authority impeded effective resistance to nomad attacks on the southern frontier. These attacks demanded at all times a vigorous defense, since cutting the Dnieper trade route meant decline of trade with Byzantium and interruption of the economic exchanges on which the prosperity of the principality depended. As it turned out, Prince Iziaslav, Yaroslav's son and successor, was unable to keep his rivals in check or even to maintain discipline among the unruly population of his capital. The Pechenegs, abolished as a menace by Yaroslav, were succeeded from 1062 by the nomad Polovtsi, whose boldness depended on what resistance they encountered. The disorders of Iziaslav's principate thus foreshadow a centrifugal movement destined to grow in volume until the preponderance of Kiev was utterly lost.

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175* This process was occasionally delayed, if not arrested, by the
643 appearance of competent princes who reëstablished for brief periods the stability and prestige of Kievan authority. For example, Vladimir Monomakh (1113-1125), grandson of Yaroslav, fought during his entire adult life either against the nomad Polovtsi or to maintain the unity of the principality against his kinsfolk, but such formal agreements as were reached for the assignment of domains to the various princely families were seldom of long standing. At the same time, the minor principalities of the western border were exposed to Polish or Hungarian aggression, and many southern frontier towns in the steppe country were either wiped out by the Polovtsi or abandoned because they might be.

175* The confusion which prevailed during the sixty years after
661 Yaroslav's death in 1054 marks the onset of the decline of Kiev.
567 While the feuds and disputes among the kindred princes were fought out by the princes themselves and their servitors, the lower classes of the population—the free peasants and the humble urban artisans—saw their fields laid waste and their earning power curtailed. If one prince occupied by force the domain of another and then was forced to withdraw, he frequently dragged off with him on his retirement the peasantry of the area he had temporarily occupied, and turned them into slaves in his own district. The result was a decrease in the free population and an enormous increase in the number of slaves available for work on princely estates.

175* By the end of the reign of Yaroslav the steppe country for
162 one hundred miles or more south of Kiev had been settled by
166 an agricultural population composed partly of free farmers, partly of war captives whom Yaroslav had located there, and partly by semicivilized pagans who had given up their nomad existence to live peacefully among their former foes and to form a sort of border militia. It was on this frontier population that the raids of the Polovtsi fell most heavily. The resulting migration from these exposed positions was most marked after 1125, but it began almost half a century

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175* resist both the Tartars and Lithuania, though in his will he did
631 not break entirely with tradition, but bequeathed to his eldest
421 son two-thirds of his landed possessions. Even so, however, the remaining regional princes ceased to be a menace, and the fact that his younger son was bound to serve Basil III as his overlord made the latter "sovereign of all Rus" in fact as well as in name. Such few regional princes as still existed merely held estates with rights of judgment and tribute, and were factually subject to the prince of Moscow. The title of tsar was first used by Ivan III in 1484, and in 1502 his son, Basil II, added the title "autocrat" (*samoderzhets*).

175* Such is the political, economic, and ideological process by which the power of Kiev was dissipated and, despite the competition of Lithuania, what was once a mere hunting lodge of the princes of Suzdal and Vladimir became the nucleus around which the modern Russian state took shape. It would be idle to pretend that this ideal was not realized without abundant propaganda from the Orthodox clergy who, particularly after the fall of Constantinople, wished to see the Prince of Moscow the head of Orthodox Christianity and the heir of Rome. Under the pressure of this new tradition, Basil III in particular, as the son of a princess of Byzantium, adorned his court with new ceremonial and assumed the device of the doubleheaded eagle which had belonged to his Byzantine forebears.

175* Thus the personal rule which had its origins in the decline of
643 republican usages in northeastern Russia both before and since the Tartar conquest evolved into an absolutism founded upon dynastic tradition and supported by a nationalistic legend propagated by the church. The Muscovite tsar was not only the owner of his domain; he was God's anointed whom his subjects could approach only with fear and awe. The tsar's will was the will of God. As the heir of the Byzantine emperors, he acquired new authority over the church as the defender of the Orthodox faith. He confirmed the appointment of metropolitans and archbishops, even sometimes naming them without calling church councils, and clerics referred their disputes

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to his arbitration. Hence the tsardom of Muscovy became the finest flower of caesaro-papism. [643] 175*

While the last remnants of the old feudal regime were not entirely wiped out until Ivan the Terrible waged a war of annihilation against the jealous survivors of the regional nobility who opposed his system, its basis was securely laid before he came to the throne, and we therefore need not concern ourselves for the moment with his neurotic eccentricities or his administrative innovations.

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among the limited section of the upper class which was literate, there could have been found a receptive public in whom their ideas could have taken root.

Thus, when the Byzantine intellectual influence (such as it was) died away, the Russian Church lost its function as a repository of culture, and never regained it before it was reduced to social impotence in our own day by revolutionaries angered at its pernicious coöperation with the autocracy. Nor had there ever arisen in Russia any fruitful movement of inspired protest on theological grounds which opposed the spirit of individual critical intelligence to the inertia of a dogma-ridden hierachy. All three of these crucial factors in the formation of the Western European outlook (the perpetuation of classical culture in the Middle Ages; humanism and the Renaissance; the Protestant Reformation) fall quite outside the purview of Russian intellectual life until introduced as contributing elements of the Western culture imposed upon Russia by Peter and his successors in the course of the eighteenth century.

When the Swedish warrior-merchants moved down the Russian watercourses, they established themselves as the economic and military ruling class in the small towns which the Eastern Slavs themselves had founded at strategic points for trade and defense. The impulse which first unified the Eastern Slavs into what eventually became the principality of Kiev resulted from the Varangian immigration, and though the immigrants were rapidly Russified by intermarriage with the native Slavs, the princes of Kiev still maintained intimate contact with Scandinavia. At the same time, their economic needs kept them in close relations with the Byzantine Empire for a century before the conversion of Kiev and for two centuries and a half thereafter.

Although Byzantine culture had its weaker aspects, we are too prone to underestimate its level and its service to the world, since nearly five centuries separate us from its collapse before the onslaught of the Turks. For while Western Europe was going through the painful process of civilizing the Germanic

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invaders as they fused with the native stocks, the Eastern Empire had grafted upon the legacy of Rome the picturesque and flamboyant features of oriental Christianity. Its autocratic sovereigns were the agents of God on earth under a system which combined in them the attributes of emperor and pope, and this factor ought especially to be borne in mind, because it not only explains the autocratic tradition later set up by the princes of Moscow but also lies at the root of the Russian tendency to attribute to all their rulers a sort of superhuman status. The superlative adulation showered on Joseph Stalin in our own day is in part a remote reflex of Byzantine influence. Then too, Constantinople before the arrival of the Crusaders was the greatest center of material civilization in the occidental world. Its buildings rivaled Rome in its prime. Its highly organized and stratified society, the splendor of its religious observances, its military prowess under the more gifted emperors, and its general atmosphere of wealth could not fail to create a lasting impression on visitors from less advanced regions.

But Byzantine civilization lacked the punch and the drive which characterized the best days of the Roman Empire or the realm of Charlemagne. In intellectual and literary matters the Eastern Empire was conservative. It studied the past without rivaling it with the products of contemporary creative imagination. It was compilatory rather than original. Byzantine scholars were the most learned men of their day, but their learning was accumulative, not productive. Byzantine historians composed voluminous chronicles without evolving a philosophy of history, while Byzantine theologians dissipated their energy on amenities of dogma argued with a bitterness which we should nowadays associate only with partisan politics. The Byzantine Church was more political than the Roman, more closely affiliated with the state, and hence less fundamentally spiritual in outlook. The literary tradition transmitted by the Byzantine Church was stiff and formalistic. and it was the misfortune of medieval Russia that the Byzantine influence was weakened by political events before it was absorbed by the

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the landlord. In this way, under the early Romanovs, between 175* 1630 and 1650, freedom of agricultural labor was abolished 566 in Russia, and this situation prevailed until 1861.

The Muscovite system suffered a severe blow in 1598 when 175* Theodore, Ivan the Terrible's son, died intestate and the old 643 dynasty tracing its descent from Rurik became extinct. Since the realm and its inhabitants were regarded as the absolute property of the sovereign, the disappearance of the ruling family was a major catastrophe. Any tsar, however legitimately elected by the general assembly convoked by the patriarch of Moscow, was bound to be weakened by his dynastic illegitimacy. Hence with the reign of Boris Godunov began a period of violent revolution which lasted until 1613, largely motivated by the effort of the nobles to free themselves from exactions and restrictions which tradition forced them to endure from a scion of the old line, but which they would not suffer from anyone else.

When Michael, the first of the Romanovs, was finally elected 175* to the throne in 1613, political self-consciousness had developed 642 to the point where there was some realization that the sovereign actually depended on the people and not the reverse. On the other hand, this realization was strongest among the great nobles, the landowners, and the high officials, and they set up the new dynasty at the price of privileges not otherwise obtainable. It is also notable that the rudiments of parliamentary [646] government, typified by a popular assembly, likewise existed in the early years of Michael's reign, but failed to mature because the level of popular political intelligence was not high enough to appreciate that elective representatives of the people had a real weapon in their potential control of finances. Hence there was no protest when the governing class allowed it to lapse. The government became intensely centralized, and with 175* the establishment of serfdom the nobility and the gentry in- 566 evitably became a permanent ruling class upon which the crown was dependent. Since townsmen were forbidden to move into the country, and peasants could no longer establish them-

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which taught the late renaissance disciplines on which the Poles themselves were fed. This process culminated in the establishment of a college at Kiev which was founded in 1622 by Peter Mogila, the great Orthodox Bishop of Kiev. An alumnus of this school, Simeon Polotski, who was already known to Tsar Alexis as a scholar and poet, migrated to Moscow in 1663, where he founded a small monastery school, and in 1667 became tutor to the Tsar's eldest son. Simeon was the first influential exponent at Moscow of renaissance scholarship on a Latin basis, and from 1667, when the Ukraine was ceded by Poland to Moscow, the impact of Western influences through Kievan channels was immediately intensified. That this infusion of a new spirit did not take place without violent opposition goes without saying, but destiny was on the side of the progressives, even though progress was appallingly slow.

It is apparent, however, that increasingly broader breaches had been splitting the Chinese Wall of Muscovite self-sufficiency ever since the time of Ivan III. But Peter the Great set out to demolish it with one charge. For a prince of Moscow, his upbringing was exceptional. His education had been fragmentary, but his free contacts with foreign technicians while he lived in the country near Moscow during the regency of his sister Sophia embued him with a profound taste for military and naval science and mechanics. Essentially practical and rationalistic, he departed from Muscovite tradition in caring nothing for the church as a vessel of dogma and used it only insofar as it was adaptable to his purposes. His boundless energy strained toward goals far beyond the comprehension of any but an infinitesimal minority of his subjects, the rest of whom he undertook to reform and modernize by brute force. But he knew Russia could not become a major European power without the knowledge by which to use the fruits of modern technique. This knowledge he literally drove into the Russians at the point of the bayonet. Since his eye was permanently fixed on material progress, he cared little for abstract learning. His idea of literature was propaganda, and the for-

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175* 643 177 eign works translated in his reign were mostly technical handbooks. He insisted on Western European costume, not from any aesthetic consideration, but because it was more practical and more comfortable to work in than the old Muscovite kaftan with its long sleeves. To prosecute his ends, he was obliged to create a bureaucracy whom he recruited from all strata of society, having little regard for origins if they were intelligent and efficient. Russian culture in Peter's day consisted of the tsar and his pathetically small group of specialists working at killing speed and pressure to overcome the national inertia.

484 175* 643 177 But Peter abolished previous restrictions on foreign travel, and young aristocrats were sent abroad to study and to learn how the Europeans actually lived. The tsar traveled in foreign countries himself. Foreign specialists entered the Russian service in unparalleled numbers. His reign brought to light no liberal tendencies, however, since the nobility absorbed the new bureaucracy and strengthened its hold on the national substance. Yet the channel was opened for a new complex of ideas. Peter forced his subjects to go abroad to study engineering and anatomy, and they observed humanity and the mechanism of states. Unsuccessful attempts to limit the absolute power of the throne were made immediately after Peter's death in 1725.

175* 177 535 536 New notions of the amenities of social intercourse and of the pleasures offered by arts, music, the dance, and literature were added to Peter's more materialistic innovations when his daughter Elizabeth came to the throne in 1741, with the result that French civilization acquired a dominance in Russian intellectual life which it began to lose only at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The origins of the Russian ballet go back to 1735, in the reign of Elizabeth's cousin Anna, who also introduced Italian opera, but the French theater reached St. Petersburg in Elizabeth's reign, which also witnessed the beginnings of the native Russian drama composed in the French pseudoclassic vein of Corneille, Racine, and Molière.

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Russian poets with more form than talent now began to celebrate official occasions and generous donors with ponderous odes. Handbooks of French pseudoclassic literary theory, like Boileau's *Art Poétique*, were translated and annotated. The Academy of Sciences, founded by Peter's widow in 1725, included not only imported German luminaries, but the first Russian natural scientist Michael Lomonosov, sometimes characterized as the Russian Franklin, but whom, on account of the universality of his talent, Pushkin, greatest of Russian poets, called "Russia's first university." He is also notable as the first proletarian in secular Russian letters, for he started his career as a poor fisherman's son far north on the White Sea. The first modern Russian history was composed during the reigns of Anna and Elizabeth by Basil Tatishchev, a former collaborator of Peter the Great. The purely intellectual progress in the thirty years after Peter's death was thus considerable, even though (with rare exceptions) it was confined to the aristocracy.

It is a matter of record that when Catherine II came to the throne in 1762 she was already familiar with the theories of the eighteenth-century French political philosophers and would have welcomed an opportunity to apply them. But her position had been won wholly by the aid of the landed gentry and the aristocratic guard regiments, who were unlikely to surrender any of their prerogatives or to consent to any mitigation of the institution of serfdom on which their economic existence was based. The great empress thus contributed little to social progress, and her educational innovations remained for the most part on paper. Yet through her interest in the satirical journal and in the drama, she stimulated the progress of Russian letters even if her social initiatives were weak. In that field others carried the torch. A Russian customs official, Alexander Radishchev, who had studied at Leipzig and digested the liberal philosophy of the day, in 1780 fired the opening gun against serfdom, and though the exploit sent him to Siberia, its echoes did not die away until the institution was abolished. At the same time, the spirit of social service inspired

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in Yugoslavia, where it has two aspects: one external—that concerned with relations between Moscow and Belgrade, the other internal—the *entente* between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. 186*

The personality of Marshal Tito, who had the confidence of the Russians and was the animator, first of resistance to the Germans, then of the liberation movement, considerably simplified the question of relations between Yugoslavs and Sovietics. 648 175 578

Before the soil of Yugoslavia had been liberated, a Government-in-exile (presided over, at the end, by Dr. Ivan Choubachich) continued to function in London, whilst in Yugoslavia Marshal Tito directed the war of liberation. During the winter of 1944–1945, King Peter II tried to bring about an agreement between Tito and the exiled Government. Various obstacles retarded the conclusion of the agreement, and they were later on to paralyse its enforcement.

These obstacles included the conduct of the King during the war. He was reproached with having lived far removed from his people and with not having imitated the example of his grandfather, King Peter I of Serbia, who in 1876 under the name of 'Peter Mrkognich', led a detachment of rebels in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or his father, the Regent Alexander, who had fought in 1917–1918 on the Salonica front. 643 175

He was further reproached with his inopportune marriage, contracted far away from the country, and against the advice of his friends and counsellors. On March 21,[a] 1944, at the Yugoslav Embassy in London, he had married Princess Alexandra of Greece, who, on July 17 of the following year, gave birth to a son.

Now, in Serbia, dynastic loyalty is not (as in Croatia, for example) founded on any fundamental attachment to the monarchical idea. It exists simply in respect of the monarch's patriotic function—what the Serbs call *narodni rad* ('national work')—a name which takes on its full significance only in a country which is periodically reduced to slavery.

The authority of King Peter II was also weakened by the support he had given to General Draja Mihaïlovich. The latter had been the first to rise against the occupation, and his heroic resistance had rallied the best elements of the old army in Southern Bosnia and in Montenegro. But he was reproached 725 648 175

[a] March 20, according to Keesing (trans.).

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725 648 175 with 'Great Serbian' and 'reactionary' tendencies. Subsequently a much more serious charge was made against him; carried away by his struggle against the Communist elements, he was said to have parlied with the Occupying Authorites and with the agents of Nedich, the Serbian 'Quisling'. General Mihaïlovich was nevertheless the War Minister *in partibus* to the London Cabinet, where the accusations brought against him were never seriously considered until Churchill[1] echoed them. They were the basis of the case brought against his partisans in July, 1945, and the severe sentence passed against them.

[829] Then there was, between the London Government and the 'Tito Movement', the psychological opposition between the exiled politicians (except those of Czechoslovakia) and the insurgents, who, remaining within the country, risked their lives day in and day out. The latter were inclined to see the 'London people' as theorists, if not profiteers of the Resistance, who, in assured comfort and relative security, carried out a paid task with the pen or by radio.

[668] Finally, Tito's partisans merged, in many cases, with the Communist or extremist elements, for whom the old Yugoslav political formations and their staffs embodied a régime of despotism, patronage, and reaction, whose return to power would have constituted an historical retrogression.

643 661 648 175 However, the break did not come immediately. Although King Peter agreed, under pressure from the Allies and especially from Russia, to disown Mihaïlovich, he showed greater hesitation in negotiating with Tito, whose republican trend and attachment to the Soviet régime were well known.

On June 16, 1944, he resigned himself, rather against his convictions, to authorising Choubachich to sign an agreement with Tito, which provisionally safeguarded the rights of the Crown. On the following November 1 he agreed to the formation of a National Union Government in liberated Yugoslavia. But he reserved his approval as to the nomination of a Regency and the exercise of political power by one single party, the National Liberation Front, until a Constituent Assembly should have met. On this point he even entered into conflict with his

[1] 'General Mihaïlovich, I regret to say, has gradually adopted a changed attitude, and certain of his leaders have parlied with Italian or German troops'. (Speech in the House of Commons on February 22, 1944.)

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own Government, which he forced to resign. The Choubachich Cabinet disregarded this and on January 23, 1946 published a communiqué, according to which the sovereign would not return to the country until a Constituent Assembly had pronounced on the question of the régime. In his absence, the royal power would be delegated to a Council of Regency whose members would be chosen from the London Government and from the Tito Government. 643 661 648 175

On January 30 the King finally agreed to this formula, as recommended by Moscow, London, and Washington.

Then Choubachich went to Belgrade to agree with Tito on the names for the new Government. Prolonged and painful haggling resulted in the formation of the Provisional Cabinet on March 7,[1] in which Tito kept the Presidency and the War Ministry, while Choubachich assumed control of Foreign Affairs. A Serbian democrat, Milan Grol, and a Croat Agrarian, Choutei, entered the new administration. 642 175 [695]

Yugoslavia was to be reconstituted on a federative basis; the State itself officially took the name of 'Democratic and Federal Yugoslavia'. So the constitution of the 'Yugoslav' Government was followed by the formation of 'National' Governments, six in number—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia. Care had been taken not to give this federal organisation a statute and frontiers, on account of the conflicts these would not have failed to provoke; the National Assembly would, in due course, decide upon the internal structure of the State.

It remained to be seen whether Tito would bring to the management of affairs the eminent qualities of which he had given proof in the Resistance. Would history salute him not only as a detached figure in the epic background against which the tragedy of the Serbian nation is played, but also as a reconstructor of the State? 000

Born in 1893 in the Croat village of Klanyets, Joseph Broz was the son of an artisan. He had known hardship in his youth, and soon exhibited a revolutionary temperament. At seventeen he engineered a strike, and showed himself to be an agitator. It is said that he took his appellation of 'Tito' from the bishop of medieval Crete whose relics rest in the Church of St. Mark in Venice. Taken prisoner by the Russians in 1914, he took part 175 643

[1] [1946 -- Analyst]

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175 in the Bolshevist Revolution, and distinguished himself in the
•643 attack on the Kremlin. He fought on all the Soviet fronts, from the Caucasus to Finland. He married a Russian, who died, leaving him a son of Soviet nationality (who, for his part in the defence of Moscow in 1941, was to win the title of 'Hero of the Soviet Union').

He returned to Croatia in 1924 and took his place as a militant in the Communist and Trade Union ranks. Arrested for illegal propaganda, he served four years' imprisonment. As soon as he was liberated he went to Paris, travelled in various European countries, and returned to France in 1936, charged with the organisation of the so-called 'railway' for supplying volunteers to the International Brigades in Spain.

When he learned of the capitulation of Yugoslavia in 1941, he returned to Zagreb and launched a summons for a general revolt. He had two interviews with Mihailovich, but the Communist and Proletarian ideology which he openly professed frightened the Serbian general—no basis for agreement was possible.

176 The Serbian rising began on July 7, 1941. On that day was
643 constituted, in the region of Belgrade (the seat of the partisans'
668 general staff), the first formation destined to embark upon the struggle with the invader and to continue it until he was crushed. Tito proved to be an irresistible organiser and 'live wire'; his influence grouped around him a veritable army, whose numbers increased daily, and constantly deprived the Occupying Authorities of food supplies and communications.[2] Starting with 35,000 men, Tito's army was to number 700,000 at the liberation. This epic is one of the most glorious pages in the history of the Yugoslav people—and they already possess not a few.

175 Not only did Tito enjoy the confidence of the Russians, who
648 considered him as one of themselves, but he was in constant
643 touch with the Allies. The first English mission reached him on May 27, 1943, during its fifth offensive. At the very end of 1943 Churchill placed his son with Tito, to assist him during the most

[2] At Bihach, on November 27, 1942, he declared: 'Our country is enslaved, our people the victims of a fruitful terror. Barefoot, starving, bloodless, they are at the mercy of the occupiers and their acolytes. But their determination to live is unshakeable, because they believe in victory'.

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critical hours of the campaign. The liberation army effected its junction with the Russian Army during the final offensive, and entered Belgrade with it on October 20, 1944. 175 648 643

The next day appeared a communiqué, issued as the result of the Moscow discussions, announcing the agreement of British and Soviet views regarding Yugoslavia, on the following basis:—

Union between the Royal Government and the Liberation Movement.

The right of the Yugoslav people to decide their own future constitution.

The United States Government gave its consent to these arrangements. Marshal Tito, who was in Moscow during the Conference, several times discussed them with Stalin and the Soviet leaders.

On April 11, 1945, Russia and liberated Yugoslavia signed a treaty of mutual assistance and collaboration which preserved their traditional policy of *entente*, as well as their united efforts against Hitler's Germany.[3] It formed part of the system of pacts concluded by the Soviet Union with Great Britain, France, and Czechoslovakia, to raise a barrier against any fresh effort on the part of German imperialism to threaten the liberty of the European peoples. The experience of the past, confirmed by this war, showed that in all German plans for aggression, the conquest of the Southern Slav countries was a step towards the domination of the Continent. The fact that Yugoslavia had awaited the year 1940 to establish diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. had opened in South-East Europe a breach which had enabled the enemy to disintegrate Balkan solidarity and to force his way through to the Eastern Mediterranean. Hence Article 2 of the treaty provided for immediate and effective mutual assistance in the event of one of the parties being involved in military operations against Germany, if that country resumed her 175 648

[3] About the middle of December 1943, the Yugoslav Government, exiled to Cairo, and then presided over by Bojidar Pourich, had proposed to Moscow a pact of mutual assistance on the model of that which had been concluded between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic. The Kremlin declined this proposal. At that time Tito was, in their eyes, the sole authentic representative of the Yugoslav nation. On this occasion it was recalled that the Soviet Government had already, in the spring of 1942, raised the question of a pact with the Yugoslav Government in London; at that time it was the latter which had opposed a demurrer.

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666 National Front 80–90 per cent of the votes cast.[4] It is true that
829 the Opposition abstained from voting (its Belgrade organ,
175 *Demokratia,* was suspended) and that the electoral system favoured the Coalition Government. But the Anglo-Americans took no action. They declared the results of the poll to be 'acceptable'. On these results were based the two Assemblies (Union Assembly and Assembly of the Nationalities) which, following Russian lines, were to control the country's constitutional life.

578 In short, both at home and abroad, Tito was master of the
•643 situation. He had armed forces, the levers of control, fanatical partisans, a 'Youth' following, attached to a régime which had radically reorganised the whole staffing of the army, the administrative services, and diplomacy. But certain large sections of opinion were not with him. In the provinces the old parties were still solidly rooted. Those circles criticised the 'personal' and 'plebiscite' character of the régime, which was an unprecedented innovation in Serbian political life. Against the Marshal were the Monarchists, the old army, Serbian nationalism, Croat par-
[659] ticularism, Slovene 'Clericalism'. For a long time he alienated the Catholic clergy; on October 18, Radio-Vatican broadcast a letter from the Yugoslav bishops to the Belgrade Government, accusing the latter of systematically persecuting the Roman Church.

And this was only criticism of internal affairs. Tito was further reproached with having reorganised relations between the Yugoslav populations on anachronistic bases. How would this State turn out—a State of twelve million inhabitants, with six autonomous Governments, capped with a Federal Government? Where would the frontiers of Croatia and Serbia be? And those of Serbia and Macedonia? Could the Macedonian question be considered as settled by the granting of autonomy? And would not the Bulgaro-Yugoslav *entente,* advertised as a victory for the régime, be submitted to a severe test when autonomy gave rise to political disputes in this country which, for a century, had been torn by undercurrents of passion and foreign intrigue? Was

666 [4] According to official statistics, out of 8,383,455 electors and 7,413,214 votes cast, 6,574,975 went to the National Front. The franchise had been given to women; the electoral age had been lowered to 18, and even lower for those who had fought in the liberation.

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the resurrection of Montenegro, a country of 200,000 inhabitants, 578
which had disappeared since 1918, and of Bosnia, which had 643
not been heard of in history since the Middle Ages, in keeping with the ideas of a 'new world' that were current in Tito's circle? And had not Tito himself, by liberating atomic nationalisms, super-Balkanised his country at a time when means of communication were suppressing distances—in other words, had he not inaugurated a policy which was opposed to history, progress, and common sense, in order to realise the midsummer night's dream of a Slavophile of the 'Forties'?

The federal régime, it will be said, has representatives in 000
Europe—Switzerland, Russia, Austria. But Switzerland has maturity, Russia has extent, Austria has an historical and cultural homogeneity to safeguard its unity.

Was not the Yugoslav community in imminent danger from [795]
this 'State power' given to regions hitherto divided by so many memories? The Croats used to oppose the Serbs in religious matters. Between the two wars, rivalry between Catholics and Orthodox had subsided somewhat. But the elections in Austria and Hungary showed that, after the liberation, the attachment of the populations of Central Europe to the Roman Church had lost none of its force. Croatia—*antemurale Christianitatis*—could not escape this deeply-rooted tendency, still less at a time when Russia, the protectress of the Yugoslav State, reaffirmed the Orthodox tradition on which her relations with the Serbs had formerly been based. How was it possible not to see in this renewal of religious antagonism between Belgrade and Zagreb a threat of secession?

In Yugoslavia the Crown used to be (as in Belgium) the link 642
between different peoples, traditions, and trends. On November 29, 1945, obedient to Tito's watchword, the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly, composed of the Union Assembly and the Assembly of the Nationalities, proclaimed the Federative Republic. It deposed and condemned to exile the dynasty of the Karageorgevich. 175

This vote was the logical conclusion of the elections and also —it must be admitted—of the errors of the young King. The latter raised a protest which was greeted, in London circles, with more sympathy than encouragement. The fate of the monarchy in Yugoslavia seemed, indeed, to be definitely settled.

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Marshal Stalin sent his congratulations to Tito and his good wishes to the 'sister nation' of Yugoslavia. The establishment of the republic was greeted everywhere as a victory for the spirit of democracy. In actual fact it is hard to believe that there is more 'democracy' in the Balkan republics than in the Scandinavian or British monarchies.

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The real question still remains to be seen—whether Tito's régime ensures a new lease of life for Yugoslav unity or whether it portends, sooner or later, a disruption of that unity, which might this time be irreparable. It is by no means impossible that in the next few years, even months, the evolution of Yugoslav life may be characterised by a gradual weakening of the ties between the Serbs and the Croats and a correlative strengthening of solidarity between Serbs and Bulgars—in other words, by an end of the union of Southern Slavs, and an attraction of part to the East.

On the international scale, the future of Yugoslavia is at the mercy of the super-powers who are the arbiters of peace. So that all depends on the importance which the Balkan world holds in the policy of Russia who, in Central Europe and in Asia, is occupied with interests of far wider scope. And here it is as well not to forget that, during the time of the Tsars, the Balkan peoples always bore the brunt of all efforts at *rapprochement* between Russia and Austria-Hungary. Will they, tomorrow, form the medium of exchange between the U.S.S.R. and the Anglo-American democracies, without whose capital it would be difficult for them to exploit their natural resources?

* * *

Of all the liberated Slav States, it was, as might be expected, Czechoslovakia which showed most practical sense. She managed her return to liberty without any unnecessary clashes or violence.

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No serious difficulty arose between the London Government-in-exile and the Resistance. On May 8, 1944, Benes signed an agreement with Moscow concerning the administration of the liberated territories. On the following October 29 he declared that, after the war, the affairs of the Republic would be so organised as to avoid a repetition of the events of 1938. 'Czechoslovakia will be a fully decentralised Republic, organised

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on the basis of respect for the principle of nationalities'. No reference to a federal system. 642 643 175

He returned to Czechoslovakia early in March, 1945, and, from Kosice, he followed the last stages of the liberation. On May 10 the national flag again floated from Prague Castle and Cathedral; a few days later Benes made a triumphal entry into the city.

The Government (formed on April 5, under the presidency of M. Fierlinger, and composed of twenty-five members, seven of whom were Communists) avoided the mistake made by the majority of the liberated countries, by postponing the elections until passions had had time to subside a little. The authorised [646] political parties, four in number, agreed on the allocation of mandates to the Provisional National Assembly, which numbered 300 deputies, including 100 for Slovakia. On April 14 an electoral body chosen by the local National Committees nominated the members of this Assembly. 'The Czechs', Benes said, 'must take radical measures, while at the same time avoiding extremism'. That was the whole programme of the Czechoslovak Popular Front. 181 186 643

In the international order, the Government observed the same prudence. Benes's realistic attitude towards Soviet Russia is well known. 'The Czechs are a Slavonic people, and they are specially drawn towards the Russians, whom they understand better than any other people'. But Czech culture, and the democratic education of the Czech people, are fundamentally Western. The President continually returned to that assumption. Czechoslovakia is an intermediary region between two civilisations; its historical evolution, its psychology, its intellectual and social structure, all have affinities with the Anglo-American and French democracies.

The Soviet orientation was represented by the Communists, under the leadership of the Deputy Prime Minister, M. Clement Gottwald, and the Minister of National Education, Zdenek Nejedly, a celebrated musicographer, who attended the Moscow Panslav Congresses. But their influence was exerted moderately, and solely on the lines of the national interest. In reality, the Czech people, with their habits of thrift, their appreciation of property, their aversion to conformity, are fundamentally opposed to the Marxist ideology.

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

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648 It is true that, on resuming possession of the liberated capital,
186 M. Benes affirmed his intention of remaining faithful to the ideas
175 of the new policy of union with the great Russian nation and
•643 with the other Slavonic peoples. But such statements need reading in the context of his previous declarations.

Had not the President himself, in an article in *Foreign Affairs* (October, 1944), uttered a warning against any distorted interpretation of his words? 'We must not abandon our old method of evolutive adaptation and our old policy of balance between East and West. Our geographical position does not allow us to make a sudden change in this century-old policy'.[5]

A new fact had previously arisen, which was to turn the scale slightly in favour of Russia. This was the annexing of Carpatho-Ruthenia to the Ukraine. Czechoslovakia thus became one of Russia's neighbours; there arose between the two countries a community of strategic and economic interests, which modified the equilibrium of Central Europe. Benes had always said that Russia's non-participation in the 1919–1920 settlements had distorted the general view of that equilibrium. His judgement was proved correct—probably even more so than he anticipated. When, on December 12, 1943, he had signed the Czecho-Russian treaty of friendship and mutual aid, he had understood that liberated Czechoslovakia would be restored to her pre-1938 frontiers. But, at the time of the treaty on June 29, 1945, which, without any plebiscite or international consultation, transferred Ruthenia to Soviet sovereignty, M. Molotov had put forward arguments based on ethnography, linguistics, folklore, and history, to which Prague could not but submit. Moreover, had they been consulted, the vote of the Ruthenians would not have been in doubt. So Fierlinger, the Prime Minister, recognised that 'the time had come for Ruthenia to return to her homeland, the great Soviet Ukraine'. He forbore to add that she had been separated from it for a thousand years, and he passed over the heavy sacrifices that Czechoslovakia had made

[5] Compare this declaration with the one Benes had made in February 1944, to the diplomatic editor of *Reynolds' News*: 'Our pact with Russia is a fundamental consolidation of the Czechoslovak Republic. And we consider that, at the same time, it strengthens our independence. . . . Our friendship with U.S.S.R. does not mean that we depend on that country; on the contrary, the pact institutes reciprocal collaboration with our State, which desires to live in real, sincere friendship with Russia, while safeguarding its full sovereignty'.

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for twenty years in order to raise the economic standard of this 648
'Ukrainian Piedmont'. And in November, 1945, the National 186
Assembly, without any vain recriminations, ratified the transfer 175
of sovereignty. 643

In addition to all that, Czechoslovakia risked losing the Teschen Basin, occupied on October 2, 1938, by Polish troops, and still in dispute between the two countries. But, in the spirit of Slav solidarity (not of conquest) which had, in 1920, installed Czechoslovakia in Carpatho-Ruthenia, she was enabled to cast her eyes on that minority—Serbian or Sorabian or Wend—of Lusatia, whose 80,000 survivors still peopled 1,900 square miles between Bautzen and Cottbus. A Sorabian 'National Committee' was formed in Prague with a view to attaching this territory to Czechoslovakia. But had not the Poles, too, claims to put forward to this detached tribe of the ancient Slavonic community?

In any case, Czechoslovakia could not be reproached with having derived benefit from her fidelity to the Slavonic idea; although, in 1918, that fidelity had ensured for her the rebirth of her national life, in 1945 it brought her nothing but amputations. But was not the good grace with which she accepted the loss of her Eastern province (by a treaty in which M. Molotov saw 'a striking manifestation of the sincere friendship of the Slavonic peoples') a demonstration of her disinterestedness, and did it not prove that her Slavism was free of any expansionist or Chauvinist speculation?

On the other hand, in spite of some rather imprudent expressions on the part of M. Nejedly ('We belong to the great Slavic bloc, controlled by the Russian nation'), the Prague Government endeavoured to protect the individuality of the country from political or ideological domination. It repeatedly asked the Soviet Authorities to hasten evacuation of their troops. It lost no opportunity of protesting against allegations which represented it as a 'satellite' of Moscow. 'A good many people come here with the idea, which is quite unfounded, that the Russians control us', said President Benes to the World Congress of Students. 'The real truth is much simpler; there is no need to seek startling explanations for our decision to conduct our own business as we think fit'. As a more characteristic gesture, and one which requires no commentary, in October, 1945, he

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648 sent to London a military mission under General Svoboda, the
186 Commander-in-Chief, to renew contacts with the British General
175 Staff, and to ask the latter to co-operate in the reconstitution of
• 643 the Czechoslovak Army.

In short, of all the liberated Slav nations, Czechoslovakia was the one which had most clearly marked out the contours of her independence in the New Europe. She accepted neither 'synchronization' nor enfeoffment. Without disavowing either her Slavonic affinities or her traditional attachment to Russia, she restored her relations with the West to their 1938 footing.

[829] An intermediary State, Czechoslovakia is carving out her path between the Russian and the Anglo-Roman worlds; nearer to the former by her security reflexes and her views on the future of Europe, she is nearer to the latter by her spiritual unrest, her philosophy of life and her conception of progress.

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186* The rapid tour which has taken us from Warsaw to Sofia and
829 from Belgrade to Prague is sufficient to clarify speculations founded on the birth of a Slavonic 'Imperialism'.

Once again, it is official eloquence which has nourished these speculations. There was not a Polish, Czech, Yugoslav, or Bulgarian statesman who did not see, in the issue of the Second World War, the end of the curse which, for a thousand years, paralysed the expansion of the Slavonic world. Not one who did not celebrate the establishment and the benefits of an inter-Slav *entente*. Let us quote a few of these heroic declamations at random.

In the first rank was Poland—no doubt because this was the nation which, from the Slavonic point of view, had the worst memories to atone for. Commenting on the signature of the Polish-Sovietic agreement, the head of the Government of the Polish Republic regretted that his country had not, at the time of the German aggression, frankly taken her stand beside the Soviet Union, in order to form a 'Slavonic bloc'. 'This grave political error', he declared, 'caused a great deal of suffering to the Slavonic peoples and, most of all, to Poland'.*

* When, on July 15th, the new Polish Ambassador handed his credentials to the Regent of Yugoslavia, he alluded to 'Germany, the eternal enemy of the Slavs'. This was an undeniable historical truth; but how fail to recall, on hearing it invoked, the importunate shadows of Beck and Stoyadinovich?

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for Foreign Affairs spoke in similar vein in the House of Commons. And the final result of all this fuss was simply that England and the United States were not represented at the inaugural session of the Third Polish Republic, held on February 4. Moreover, that did not prevent those two countries from offering their congratulations, the next day, to M. Boleslaw Bierut, President of the Republic. London and Washington had never had any other concern than that of 'saving appearances'. They knew quite well that these platonic manifestations of displeasure would have no other effect than to consolidate Muscovite influence in Warsaw. 648 175

The Presidency of the new Government was entrusted to a young member of the Cracow bar—M. Joseph Cyrankiewicz, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, and a survivor of the Auschwitz Camp. In May, political life was gradually becoming normal. The President of the Republic compared it to a river 'which, after having been diverted from its bed by a cataclysm, was finding its true course again'. 643 175

To the new Cabinet was to fall the mission of getting the Oder-Neisse frontier sanctioned by the Peace Conference. In its own view, as well as that of the whole of Poland, the question was settled by the fact that transfers of population had already taken place, without any protests from London or Washington. It was difficult to conceive that millions of Displaced Persons would be compelled to undergo a fresh exodus. The Anglo-Americans would therefore be obliged, in Mr. Churchill's phrase, 'to write off Eastern Europe on the Profit and Loss account'. Moreover, France supported the Polish viewpoint; on February 19, 1947, she signed a cultural agreement with Warsaw—the preface to a new political pact, it being understood that Poland would support her claims on the Saar, as she would back up those of Poland to the maintenance of her western frontier. The question of the frontiers gave rise, in April, 1947, to a bitter and sterile passage-of-arms between Americans and Russians at the Moscow Conference. 648 728 175

Another and no less redoubtable motive of discord between 000

dates which fell to the Socialo-Communist bloc which backs the regime of Bierut and Osubka-Morawski. So the Moscow-controlled parties get 400 out of the 444 seats in the Polish Diet. . . . The last vestiges of Polish liberty, for which General Sikorski is still fighting, will tend to disappear'.

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helplessness; Benes capitulated before Gottwald's ultimatum. It was the end of the Putsch which Hubert Ripka later described as a 'prefabricated revolution'. On March 9[1] Jean Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote a personal letter to Stalin, in which he denounced the intervention of Zorine, the Soviet Ambassador, in the events of February: 'When a time of mortal danger for the country, and for all Slavs, comes, you will have in Prague nothing but a Government hated by the country, despised by the *élite*, and relying entirely on the bayonets of its police organisations'. The next day Masaryk committed suicide: contradictory versions of his death were circulated, although the above-mentioned letter had made clear his intention of ending his life.

Thus the inspirer of two Czech liberations, heir to the thought of Thomas Masaryk, disappeared in shameful oblivion; the commentaries in the Communist press, in which he was later accused of having betrayed the interests of the country, lead us to wonder whether his inglorious end did not save him from an even more tragic fate. Posterity will pronounce a mixed judgment on his political achievement. His tomb might fittingly have been engraved with this epitaph, taken from one of his books (*Whither the Slavs?*): 'The existence and the prosperity of all the Slav States is inseparably bound up with a régime of true democracy, that is to say, a régime in which the elementary principles of individual liberty, liberty of conviction, liberty of religion, liberty of political expression and liberty of public opinion, are guaranteed and fully respected'.

As for Benes, whose authority was henceforth without scope, on June 7, 'for health reasons', he resigned his presidential office, which he had held since June 19, 1946, in a message by which he invited his fellow-citizens 'to encourage liberty and consciously enjoy it'. He died a few months later, on September 3, 1948.

The events of February were to be mentioned at the United Nations Security Council, with a view to appointing a commission of inquiry—which was opposed by a Soviet veto (May 24).

On March 9, 1948, was voted the Constitution which made Czechoslovakia a 'democratic peoples' republic'. It instituted a Single House system, and proclaimed the equality of Czechs and Slovaks: the republic was to be a bi-national State. Unlike

1 [1948 - Analyst]

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* graphical errors and boundless imagination, fed on Byzantine and
175 autocratic Imperial doctrines, decided for a long time the style
668 of Russian political thought. Hence, practically, the Moscow
795 Tsar and later the St. Petersburg Emperor became the head of the church of a Byzantine Caesaro-Papist type and assumed the position of a Byzantine theocrat. The conception of absolute power coming from God, absolute in the universalistic sense, meaning that the monarch was the ruler of all material goods as well as of human souls, became established in Russia particularly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, after the period of the Mongolian yoke had excellently prepared the ground for such a conception of monarchical power. As the ultimate result of these events Moscow represented the type of an Oriental despotism with a tendency toward state control characteristic of these organizations (especially at the time of the *oprichnina* of Ivan the Terrible and later) and the equally characteristic tendency towards imperialism based on Byzantine religious and historical premises.

175 These bonds with Byzantium became particularly strong after,
● 643 and in connection with, the marriage of Ivan III to Sophia Paleologus, the Byzantine princess in exile whom Ivan III received from Italy. This marriage is also an interesting story. Both Rome and Venice were still meditating a war against the Turks in order to liberate Byzantium. For the realization of this new, grandiose enterprise the help of the already developed might of Moscow appeared very desirable. Moscow had succeeded at that time through all sorts of belligerent activities and political manoeuvres in establishing its predominance among Russian princes and was on the eve of liberating Muscovy from the Tartar yoke. Led by western political conceptions, Rome and Venice thought that the good will of Ivan III could be bought by the offer of the title of *king*, and on the other hand by a marriage with a Byzantine princess who after the death of the legitimate heir to the Byzantine Empire would become vested with the right to the Byzantine throne.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Ivan III was not very much interested in the European title of *king*, which did not mean very much to him. Moscow was so far away from the habits, manners, and international hierarchy of Europe that European distinctions and collaboration with Europe could not awake real interest in the exotic Muscovite state. On the other hand, Sophia Paleologus was considered by the Pope as a zealous Catholic; Ivan III needed a pure Orthodox fiancée. This last thing, however, was settled, and in 1472 Sophia Paleologus, the princess of Byzantium, the presumably zealous Catholic girl, became the Tsarina of Moscow and the most zealous of Orthodox ladies. The offers of the title of *king* interested Ivan, however, from one special point of view, from the very one which caused great discomfort in Cracow. Ivan III was supposed to become king or even emperor of the whole Russian nation *(in tota Ruthenica natione)*. As I have said, Ivan III was not interested in the title, as he was not even very anxious to buy from the direct heir of the Byzantine throne the rights to the throne, and Andrew Paleologus had to sell them elsewhere. But the formula in *tota Ruthenica natione* awakened some interest, curiosity, and appetite in Moscow.

Ivan III had two reasons for being interested in this suggestion. The first one was connected with the fact that some of the lands which belonged to the Polish King and Grand Duke of Lithuania (in one person, as the King of Poland was at the same time the Grand Duke of Lithuania from the time of the union between Poland and Lithuania) represented ancient *votchinas*, appanages, of the Rurikoviches, that is, of the ancestors of Ivan III. Moscow viewed this circumstance as making possible the expansion of the Muscovite Tsardom, and it opened the door to Russian, Muscovite territorial pretensions and demands.

On the other hand the Ruthenians who populated these lands were descendants of people who had been Christianized from the eastern source; therefore, they were Orthodox. The Union of Florence included them, but not to Moscow's thinking. Therefore Moscow saw in them the object of a religious mission, and that

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

and responsible to it. The Assembly comprised two Chambers, the Federal Council and the Council of Nationalities; the former was elected by all the citizens, the latter appointed by the republics and autonomous districts. The Constitution established the right of referendum, compulsory military service, the separation of Church and State. Private property was recognised, up to a maximum of 25–30 hectares. But foreign trade and the greater part of the means of production, mining resources, springs, hydraulic power, woods, transport, wireless, etc. were under State control.[4] The Federated Republics were organised, and elected their Governments, early in 1946 (Bosnia-Herzegovina on February 15, Serbia on February 20, Slovenia on February 23; it will be noticed that the latter took the name of 'Popular Republic of the Slovenes'—obviously with the intention of serving as a magnetic centre for the Slovenes who remained under Italian or Austrian domination).

The promulgation of the new Constitution closed the first stage in post-war developments. The new Federal Government was introduced to the Legislature on February 2, 1946. Its President was Tito, who held the portfolio of National Defence, assisted by two Vice-Presidents, one Communist, the Slovene Edward Kardelj, a militant member of the Slovene Workers' Associations and principal instigator of the Constitution, and one Republican, the Serb, Jasa Prodanovich. Foreign Affairs were entrusted to Stanoje Simich. Kardelj was President of the Federal Control Commission, an all-powerful organism which supervised the acts of the Ministers and of the President himself. The spokesman of the Communist Party was Milovan Djilas, who was responsible for the Youth Movement. The President of the Presidium was a Croat, Ivan Ribar, a former Deputy of the Serbo-Croat Coalition, President of the Constituent of 1921 and one of the authors of the so-called Constitution of Vidovdan. After having joined the Democratic Party, he left it at the time of the dictatorship of King Alexander. Under the occupation he did liaison work between the Republicans and the

[4] The arms of the Federal State represent a field, between two sheaves of corn, connected by a ribbon inscribed: '22nd November, 1943'. Between the tips of the ears of corn is a five-pointed star; in the middle of the field five torches, bending over, converge into a single flame. The federal flag is red, white and blue (with the red at the bottom), and has a red star in the middle.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

645 175 Communists, then rejoined the partisans in Bosnia and was elected President of the National Liberation Front.

687 175 The chief event of this period was the trial of General Draja Mihaïlovich, who had organised the earliest resistance to the invader, but was subsequently accused of collaboration with the Germans and the Italians. Arrested on the borders of Bosnia and Serbia, he was court-martialled on June 10, 1946, by the Military Tribunal of Belgrade, which condemned him to death on July 15. He was shot. Some American airmen had vainly asked to bear witness in his favour. The Belgrade Government had documents published establishing his 'treason'; they reveal undeniable complicity with the enemy in the lower ranks, and, especially, the implacable intention of eliminating the Communists from the Resistance; the role of Mihaïlovich himself is less clearly shown—which explains the emotion his condemnation aroused in England and in America.

[829] The *Daily Telegraph* thus expressed itself on this condemnation: 'The long perspective of history will enable the truth about the much-discussed figure of Mihaïlovich to be more clearly perceived. His contemporaries can do no more than think that, caught up in the whirlwind of events beyond his control, he was a victim of Fate'.

In the same connection the British statesman, Noel Baker, declared that the decision to suspend aid to Mihaïlovich during the war had been taken as the result of numerous denunciations from various sources, alleging that he was no longer adequately contributing to the war effort. 'Subsequently', he said, 'it became evident that certain of his lieutenants were actively collaborating with the Germans'.

793 687 175 659 No less sensational was the trial of the Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb, Mgr. Aloysius Stepinac. This followed proceedings against numerous members of his clergy, notably that involving some Slovene priests, in December, 1945, at Ljubljana. The bishop of that town, Mgr. Rozman, a refugee in Italy, was condemned to eighteen years' imprisonment.

[208] The action against the Croatian priests accused of collaboration was prepared in January, 1946, by a violent press and radio campaign, denouncing the Archbishop's relations with the *Oustachi* of Pavelich, by whom he had been decorated (in

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

the landlord. In this way, under the early Romanovs, between 175* 1630 and 1650, freedom of agricultural labor was abolished 566 in Russia, and this situation prevailed until 1861.

The Muscovite system suffered a severe blow in 1598 when 175* Theodore, Ivan the Terrible's son, died intestate and the old 643 dynasty tracing its descent from Rurik became extinct. Since the realm and its inhabitants were regarded as the absolute property of the sovereign, the disappearance of the ruling family was a major catastrophe. Any tsar, however legitimately elected by the general assembly convoked by the patriarch of Moscow, was bound to be weakened by his dynastic illegitimacy. Hence with the reign of Boris Godunov began a period of violent revolution which lasted until 1613, largely motivated by the effort of the nobles to free themselves from exactions and restrictions which tradition forced them to endure from a scion of the old line, but which they would not suffer from anyone else.

When Michael, the first of the Romanovs, was finally elected 175* to the throne in 1613, political self-consciousness had developed 642 to the point where there was some realization that the sovereign actually depended on the people and not the reverse. On the other hand, this realization was strongest among the great nobles, the landowners, and the high officials, and they set up the new dynasty at the price of privileges not otherwise obtainable. It is also notable that the rudiments of parliamentary [646] government, typified by a popular assembly, likewise existed in the early years of Michael's reign, but failed to mature because the level of popular political intelligence was not high enough to appreciate that elective representatives of the people had a real weapon in their potential control of finances. Hence there was no protest when the governing class allowed it to lapse. The government became intensely centralized, and with 175* the establishment of serfdom the nobility and the gentry in- 566 evitably became a permanent ruling class upon which the crown was dependent. Since townsmen were forbidden to move into the country, and peasants could no longer establish them-

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Club) and the *Skupshtina*. But only secondary questions were dealt with, to be re-examined—without any more practical result—in the following month in Prague. These questions included the creation of a Slavonic Bank, a Slavonic Telegraphic Agency, the preparation of an Exhibition, the extension of Sokolism. . . . The time of heroic debates had passed. 186* 668

Then, in the speculations founded on an identical destiny for the Slavonic community, there was one disturbing element—Poland. Towards that country, Tsarist Russia displayed implacable aversion. Had she pursued a really Slavonic policy, she would have tried to utilise the powerful factor formed by the persecuted Poles beyond her own frontiers. A Slavonic policy would have succeeded in making of Russian Poland, governed with tolerance and understanding, a centre of attraction, if not for Little Poland (where the Viennese policy of Austro-Polonism gave the illusion of some measure of individuality), at least for the savagely persecuted Poles in East Prussia, in Posnania, and in Upper Silesia. 186* 563 648

For their part the Poles were inclined to think that there existed only two Slavonic peoples, Russia and themselves, and, of the principles of Slavism, to grasp only that directed against Germany.

It was precisely in the measure in which she appealed to the Slavonic idea that Russia caused them uneasiness. As for the other Slavonic peoples, their relations with them were only occasional. *Bohemi Polonorum infestissimi inimici* ran an old saying. The seventy-seven Polish deputies who made up the *Kolo Polsko,* and together stood for all the parties represented in the Reichsrat, rarely cast their votes with those of the Slav bloc formed by the Czech, Slovene, Serbo-Croat parties of Istria and Dalmatia. Yet the Slavonic Union of 1907 proved—though for a very short time—that, with them, the Slavs would have secured an absolute majority in the Parliament of Vienna. The *Kolo Polsko* adopted a realistic and short-sighted policy; its members derived temporary advantages, but consolidated a régime which the other Slavs declared to be inhuman and condemned by the evolution of the modern world. The Poles saw the Serbs only as Orthodox Christians and vassals of the Russians. They boycotted the last Slav Congresses, in order not to sit at the same table as the Russians. In 1911, the Serbs succeeded in [646]

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

on the basis of respect for the principle of nationalities'. No reference to a federal system. 642 643 175

He returned to Czechoslovakia early in March, 1945, and, from Kosice, he followed the last stages of the liberation. On May 10 the national flag again floated from Prague Castle and Cathedral; a few days later Benes made a triumphal entry into the city.

The Government (formed on April 5, under the presidency of M. Fierlinger, and composed of twenty-five members, seven of whom were Communists) avoided the mistake made by the majority of the liberated countries, by postponing the elections until passions had had time to subside a little. The authorised [646] political parties, four in number, agreed on the allocation of mandates to the Provisional National Assembly, which numbered 300 deputies, including 100 for Slovakia. On April 14 an electoral body chosen by the local National Committees nominated the members of this Assembly. 'The Czechs', Benes said, 'must take radical measures, while at the same time avoiding extremism'. That was the whole programme of the Czechoslovak Popular Front. 181 186 643

In the international order, the Government observed the same prudence. Benes's realistic attitude towards Soviet Russia is well known. 'The Czechs are a Slavonic people, and they are specially drawn towards the Russians, whom they understand better than any other people'. But Czech culture, and the democratic education of the Czech people, are fundamentally Western. The President continually returned to that assumption. Czechoslovakia is an intermediary region between two civilisations; its historical evolution, its psychology, its intellectual and social structure, all have affinities with the Anglo-American and French democracies.

The Soviet orientation was represented by the Communists, under the leadership of the Deputy Prime Minister, M. Clement Gottwald, and the Minister of National Education, Zdenek Nejedly, a celebrated musicographer, who attended the Moscow Panslav Congresses. But their influence was exerted moderately, and solely on the lines of the national interest. In reality, the Czech people, with their habits of thrift, their appreciation of property, their aversion to conformity, are fundamentally opposed to the Marxist ideology.

I [1945 -- Analyst]

S.P. P. 101

Rivers, and the Carpathians. The Gorals also use this word to designate the country and people of Poland.

Towards the close of the tenth century, as far as we know, the Lekh people consisted of the following tribes:

The Polianes primitively settled on the Warta, the Notec (today in German, Netze) near the lake of Goplo and as far as the Oder.

The Vislanes on the upper Visla (Vistula).

The Mazovi on the two banks of the middle Vistula.

The Kuiavi at the bend of the Vistula, near Thorn.

The Slezani (Silesians) on the upper Oder and to the east as far as the other side of the Bobra. They included the tribes of the Didoshi, the Bobrani, the Bezunchani, the Opolani and the Holasici.

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/63/ What were the ties of kinship between the Polish tribes and the Slavs of the seacoast, the Pomoriani (1) (between the lower Vistula, the Oder and the Notec) and the Lutitsi to the west on the Varnava and the Elbe? It would be difficult to determine them. The old writer of the Kiyev annals, in the indications which he gives us of the country inhabited by the Poles, relates these peoples to the Lekhs. Here is what he says: "For these Slavs coming to settle on the Vistula called themselves Lekhs and among these Lekhs certain of them called themselves Polianes, Lekhs, some Lutitsi, some Mazovi, others Pomoriani."

1. It is from this name (po, along the, more, sea) that Pommern is derived, the German name of Pomerania now Germanized.

All these tribes subjected themselves to the Polianes of the center under the princes of the Piast dynasty and accepted their name. It is not known when this unification took place. We only know that the principal authors of it were the princes Mesek I (960-992) and Boleslav the Brave (992-1025).

SP P. 175 648

Unity was not accomplished at the outset; it was achieved by the development of internal colonization.

At the beginning, the regions of Little Poland and of the Mazovia were sparsely inhabited. The foreign element which hastened this unification, was obviously the Germans against whom it was necessary to carry on warfare from the time when they subjugated and annihilated the Slavs of the Elbe (eleventh and twelfth centuries).

The struggle against the Germans exercised among the Poles, as among the Czechs, a considerable influence upon their internal and

* [Between the different Polish tribes, cf. Above and page 41, category 116 — Analyst]

P
SP
175 external development. From their primitive homeland located in the
648 basins of the Oder, of the Warta, and of the Vistula, they sought to spread out in all directions. But they encountered in the west the resistance of the Germans; they were unable to overcome it; they were even compelled to give way and they sought to assure their existence and expansion by constant fights and invasions against the Prussians, the Lithuanians, and the Russians. Obviously, the Poles clearly recognized that one of their first tasks was to maintain in the north a wide passageway to the sea and in the west, their frontier on the Oder, if not on the Elbe. Unfortunately all of the advantages, all of the conquests which they gained in this direction were of a purely ephemeral character. A terrible blow fell upon them through the Tatar invasion and through the battle of Legnica--/in German--Liegnitz/ (1241). It broke the bonds which united Silesia with Poland and threw this province into the arms of Germany, who began to Germanize it. Another check was the summons of the Teutonic Knights into the country of Chelm
P and of Loba (1226) which facilitated the Germanization of the seacoast.
SP
[563] Finally, let us point out the German colonization which the ecclesiastical or lay princes invoked, beginning with the thirteenth century, in Silesia, into Little Poland, Great Poland and Mazovie; these colonies did not become assimilated and remained completely German in language and customs. Thus a grave peril for Polish nationality was created and developed. "Exterminare idioma Polonicum" /exterminate the Polish language/ became the order of the day for the Germans on the western froniter. Beginning with the thirteenth century, the Polish nationality appeared to be gravely compromised.

P
SP
175 However, it succeeded in escaping from this peril.[1] The clergy
668 showed themselves to be highly patriotic; literature was born and exercised a happy influence upon all classes of society. The Hussite movement also exercised its influence in Poland against the Germans. The dynasty followed a national political line. It accomplished noteworthy successes,
P especially over the Teutonic Knights, who were defeated at Grunwald
SP in 1410. In truth, the provinces beyond the Oder and to the north
175 could not be saved. The Poles lost three-quarters of their primitive
648 domain; but what they lost in the west, they attempted to regain in the
668 east, that is toward the northeast, and toward the southeast. This double direction was imposed upon them by the very nature of the terrain; in the center, the basin of the Pripet presented an inhospitable and insurmountable area; to the south rose the barrier of the Carpathians. The Polish flood had to direct itself on the one hand towards Lithuania,

1 [Germanization of the Polish nationality beginning with the 13th Century -- Analyst]

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on the other, towards the Ukraine, and this double march characterized a new phase of Polish history.

The offensive movement was begun at an early date, /66/ but it achieved no serious result until the Union of Lublin (1569) when Lithuania was rejoined to Poland together with a large section of southern Russia (see above in S. 3).*

Kazimir had already occupied Red Russia in 1340, and in 1370 the Galician area was detached from the political control of Kiyev.

In Lithuania Polish institutions and language gained the upper hand over the native institutions and language; the upper classes of society took on Polish ways, and Polish colonization penetrated into the country, especially in Polesia. The same occurred in Galician Russia, the Volhynia and Podolia. The Poles were unable to hold Russian Galicia except by making it a base of operations for invading the basins of the Dnestr and the Bug. In the fifteenth century they colonized Podolia and Volhynia, and carried on this enterprise through the sixteenth century. Bobrinskii (1) claims that at this period this

1. A contemporary Polish historian. See my Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire de Pologne in the 3d series of the Monde Slave (Paris, Hachette, 1902). Translator.

province was half Polish! To these attempts at colonization was joined a religious action, the "union" of Polish-Lithuanian Russia with Rome.

During that time the Russian princes, emancipated from the Tatar yoke, had formed at Moscow a new and formidable political center. They /67/ had undertaken to group about them all of the Russian countries. We do not need to explain here how this plan was carried out. Moscow naturally entered upon a struggle with Poland: the war at first had as its object the Lithuanian provinces, then the Ukraine and finally Poland proper. It went steadily against Poland and finally resulted in the three partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795.

These events naturally had an ominous influence upon the development of the Polish national group; the conquests of the Poles were annulled and with them all of the Polish colonization of Russian territory. The states which divided up the Polish domain among themselves had for some time the idea of annihilating the Polish nation. But the vital force of this nation, its great traditions and its high hopes for the

*[cf. E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, p. 16, category 116-Analyse]

S.P. P. 175 648 668

future, preserved it and even strengthened it so that its adversaries themselves had partially to renounce their intentions.

The struggle which the Polish national group has undergone for its existence since the fall of the Republic has been extremely painful and still is so today, especially the struggle against the Germans.

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When the Congress of Vienna in 1815 perpetuated and revised the partition, it annexed to Russia the Duchy of Warsaw and set up the realm which the Poles call "Kongressowka." It guaranteed to the Poles their nationality and their autonomy. /68/ At first they enjoyed these benefits; but beginning in 1830 the situation changed. The revolution of Warsaw was smothered in blood. An the anti-Polish reaction which already existed in Russia became only more pronounced. The unhappy revolution of 1863 brought about the enslavement and the misery of Poland. Russianization was carried out with eagerness, and it required a terrible blow struck at the governmental system--the unfortunate war with Japan--to permit Poland to breathe a little more freely. The advent of the constitutional regime and the institution of the Parliament provided her with the possibility of making known her miseries, and we can hope that at the present moment, they will, at least in the Russian Empire, receive satisfaction.

The situation in Prussia is more serious. There arose, before 1775, a new and intensive movement of German colonization, especially in the basin of the Netze, and, after the insurrection of 1830, a political evolution which tended very simply to Germanize the Polish element. The attempted insurrection of 1845 and the events of 1848 gave this policy an opportunity to assert itself. At the beginning neither force nor violence was used. The Prussian government was convinced that the Polish element would eliminate itself little by little. The census of 1870 proved the contrary. Bismark then had recourse to new methods. He strove to uproot the Polish nation and had /69/ recourse to the most violent means. Certainly, in Russia the Poles were not comfortable; but in the Empire such violent measures, such refined ones as the Prussians thought up had not been employed. What no nation had ever before attempted to do against another nation, the Germans now undertook against Poland. They sought to dispossess an entire people by the law of colonization (Ansiedelunggesetz), which placed at the disposal of the government one hundred million marks to purchase ground from the Poles and to establish German colonies there. Thanks be to God

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that up to the present all of these efforts have failed. At least, the results obtained are not in any manner in proportion to the pecuniary sacrifices. The law of expropriation voted in 1908 succeeded no better, and there is room to believe that all the efforts of the German "hakatists" (1) will break against the energetic resistance of the Polish people.

1. This name of Hakatists is given to a Prussian association founded in 1891 to colonize the routes to the east. This association was founded by Hansemann, Kennemann, and Tiedeman. It is from the initials of these three persons, H, K, T, that the word "hakatists" has been formed. (Translator).

Nevertheless, the situation of the Poles of Poznan and of Silesia remains a difficult one and there is no reason to hope that it will improve. The Prussian minister Von Arnim clearly stated in 1907 that they cannot be Germanized and that this is not being thought of. However, it is the goal towards which Prussia is steadily striving. And naturally the struggle /70/ of three and a half million souls against sixty million Germans can only be looked upon with anxiety.

And in fact Germanization is making serious progress among the Mazuri, in Silesia and Poznan, even though in certain places the Poles succeed in gaining the upper hand.

It is in Austria that the condition of the Poles is the most bearable. For the past forty years the former system of Germanization has been abandoned and the Polish nationality has developed in complete liberty; it even exercises a certain influence upon the destinies of the Empire and of the other nationalities.

000 S 12. The Domain of the Polish National Group.

We do not encounter as many difficulties in outlining this domain as we did in the case of the Russian domain. However, we do run into certain difficulties.

S.P. P. 197

Here again our principal criterion is the language.[1] It is upon the basis of the language that certain ethnographic maps have been drawn up in Prussia and in Austria. But the work has not always been done correctly. The latest census carried out in Prussia, has been based upon the mother tongue; but it is known that a great number of persons on the side of both the Poles and Germans have declared that they spoke

[1] [i.e. to determine the domain of the Polish national group.-- Analyst]

S.P. C. 166 161 What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing population to the profit of the German sections. (In Moravia it is completely the contrary). In 1890 33.46% of the Czechs in Bohemia were living in German areas; in 1900 there were already 34.61% of them. During this ten year period the birth rate in the German sections was 8.1% for the Germans, and only 4.8% among the Czechs of the Czech sections. These phenomena are explained by the importance of German industry which attracts the Czechs into the German areas.

S.P. C. 48 177 Already the Germans--at least /125/ the sensible ones--recognize that it is impossible to Germanize the Czechs. The chauvinists alone still dared to hope for it, especially those who consider Bohemia as a lock which one can burst asunder in order to open to the German race an access to the Adriatic. But they are fooling themselves, as are those who believe that the Poles of the Kindom of Prussia can be denationalized.

S.P. C. 101 The situation of the Slovaks in Hungary is not nearly so good; they are deprived of all political rights and, following the example of what is happening in Prussia, they are being threatened with expropriation. Nevertheless, they continue to stand against the Magyars within their ancient boundaries, they give way only very slightly within these boundaries, and, were it not for the Magyarization which is being energetically imposed upon the nation, especially upon the upper classes, and for a rather considerable emigration, the people would be able to hold their own, all the more since they are constantly assimilating Polish and Russian elements in the north and east of their territory.

000 When in 1900 I drew up my ethnographic map for the Slovaks, the Russians protested against the figures which the statistics showed to their detriment. It has been demonstrated that the progress of the Slovaks had not been as rapid as I had thought, but it exists nevertheless. All of eastern Slovakia is nothing but Russia which has been Slovakized, and this assimilation is continuing.

S.P. C. 178 [144] /126/ S 24. Differentiation.--The primitive differentiation of the tribes has left no important trace among the Czechs. All of the shades of difference have been leveled off by time and those which relate to the physical aspects, to the languages, to costume in these latter days, have almost entirely disappeared.

Bulgaria E-1 Contemporary ethnology E-8

B. 101 Many Bulgarian Gagauz are to be found also in Bessarabia, in the district of Benderj, where they are concentrated in the outskirts of Komrat. Mochov estimates their number at 70,000; but in the official statistics they are considered to be Bulgars. According to Zanetov the Bulgarian Slavs of Bessarabia should be called Tukani.

S.P. B. M1 [197] /211/ From an anthropological viewpoint, the best documented specialist, Mr. Vatev distinguishes a certain number of groups in the Bulgar nation. But up to the present these groups have not coincided with the linguistic groups. What is certain is that the east differs from the west, noticeably from the region of Sofia and of Macedonia, and that the south offers characteristic traits.

Basing himself upon the measurements of 320,000 school children, 36,000 soldiers and 1,330 skulls, he arrived at the following conclusions regarding the Bulgarian type:

This type is of medium height: 1.665 millimeters for the men, 1,567 millimeters for the women; dark complexion predominates (50 % against 5% light blond; the remainder mixed). But it must be noted that the dark complexion predominates in the east, while in the west and in Macedonia, which formerly was the center of the Balkan Slavs, the dark type is still rare. The Bulgars have a regular nose, high eye sockets, and an erect head. As to the shape, there are 77% mesocephalics (index 75-80). The average index among the soldiers is 79.65 (in Macedonia 79.45) and among the skulls 77.97.

The dolichocephalic types are found especially in the south, the brachycephalic in the west; in the south of Macedonia the average index exceeds 85.

S.P. C.M. 101 648 S 39. The Slavs of Macedonia.---As we have already mentioned, the Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia are claimed /212/ by both the Serbs and the Bulgars.

Let us note at the outset that it is not well known where Macedonia and Old Serbia begin and end. Thus, the Bulgars attach to Macedonia the regions of Skoplje, Tetovo, and Koumanovo; on the other hand, the Serbs attach Skoplje and Tetovo to Old Serbia; some of them lay claim even to Prilep, Bitolia, Ochrida, and Veles; all of these claims, of course, have a political objective.

Macedonia and Old Serbia represent the country bounded, roughly

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speaking, on the west by Lake Ochrida, the Drin, and the Chardagh, on the north by the frontier of Serbia, by mounts Osog and Rilo, and on the east by the Mesta River (Kara Su in Turkish). Both Serbs and Bulgars claim these two provinces. In this conflict the scholars of the two sides have not always been able to refrain from showing a certain amount of favoritism; some foreign scholars, Slav and non-Slav, especially Russian, have taken a more objective position in this argument and a third theory has been developed according to which the Slavs of Macedonia are neither Serbs nor Bulgars, but a special people. Such was for example the point of view of P. Dràganov, in 1887, and it was this idea that prompted the Slavic Benevolent Society of St. Petersburg to publish the ethnographic map of the Balkans worked out by Komarov and Zarianko, and this theory has been defended /213/ by an eminent Serbian ethnographer, Tsviitch. (1)

1. See on this question our study upon l'Expansion des langues slaves (Le Monde Slave, 1st vol., Paris, Hachette, 1897, p. 309). Translator.

The historians have occupied themselves with the relationship of Macedonia with the Serbian and Bulgarian states; the ethnographers have compared the folklore of the Slavs of Macedonia with that of the Serbs and of the Bulgars; finally, the philologists have gone to great trouble to study the traits characteristic of the Macedonian dialects and to see to which of the neighboring idioms they are related. This struggle has brought forth a whole scientific leterature; but it is not ended and it will not be for a long time to come, because it is not a matter of scientific questions, but above all of politics.

S.P. C.M. L48

And from a political viewpoint reasons are always to be found for keeping solution in abeyance. The Serbs need the sea and Austria has prevented their access to the Adriatic by taking Bosnia-Hercegovina from them; from that moment they turn their covetous glances towards the Archipelago, especially towards the mouth of the Vardar, towards Salonica, and for this reason they are making every effort to demonstrate that Macedonia belongs to their nation.

On the other hand, the Bulgars do not wish to disavow what today is a fact, proved by past centuries, that is, the close /214/ interdependence of Macedonia and Bulgaria. In addition to these two principal claimants, other States, Greece and Rumania assert grossly

S.P. C.M. 648 exaggerated claims, without counting Turkey which is today the proprietor of the contested territory, without speaking of the Great Powers, especially Russia, Italy, and Austria, who have their eye on Macedonia.

000 From all of this whirlpool of literary, political, and scientific endeavors, a disinterested observer can draw today only these obvious conclusions:

S.P. C.M. 181 1). The Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia represent a people whose national consciousness is not yet completely and equally developed, if we compare them with the two neighboring nations. However, it is beyond doubt that the largest portion of this people S.P. C.M. [795] feel themselves and proclaim themselves to be Bulgars, that they belong to the independent Bulgarian Church, whose head is the Exarch resident at Ortakioi. (1) On the other hand, it is certain that the

1. According to Brankov, there are in Macedonia 77% Exarchists and 23% Patriarchists. According to Hilmi, the proportion is entirely different. See above in Section 37. 1

name Bulgars is an historic name in these regions and that it has not been brought in through the religious propaganda of these recent years. Even though these regions were once annexed to the Serbian State, yet the name Serb has not taken root among the people. This is why in recent times the Bulgarian propoganda, both ecclesiastical and political, has found a very deep response throughout the country; Serbian propoganda has a chance of future success only in the northern region which is in contact with the Serbian Kingdom and has direct dealings with it; this region is Old Serbia.

S.P. C.M. 197 2). From a philological point of view it is true that the language of the Slavs of Macedonia presents an aggregation of local dialects rather distinct from one another. They form a sort of idiom which is intermediate between the Serbian stokavski and the Bulgarian language proper. (1) But taken altogether and in certain details it is much more

1. See Section 32, above. 2

S.P. C.M. [197] [198] closely related to the Bulgarian than to the Serbian. These special traits are the use of the postpositive article (used after the substantive), the loss of declension and the retention of the nasals. Only the dialect of the northern region is more closely related to the dialect group of Vranje, Nish, Timok, which Profesessor Belic assigns to the domain of the Serbian language, but certain philologists do not agree with him.

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175* the slightest claim of primacy. Indeed, George's able son An-
631 drew entertained no respect for Kiev at all and concentrated his
721 efforts on enriching and adorning his own northeastern domain, which he ruled so autocratically that he was assassinated in 1174. Andrew's son Vsevolod who possessed equal capacity and better judgment, was recognized as a leader by all adjacent local princes, though he interfered but little in Kievan affairs and on the western Russian frontier the prestige of Vsevolod's domain was balanced by the rise of a powerful Galician principality. Kiev itself was disastrously sacked by the Polovtsi in 1203, and of this event a chronicler wrote, "No such woe had ever befallen Kiev during the whole time since conversion."

Amid the uncertainties of Russian political life at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the shadows of future events were already gathering. The German knights were moving up the Baltic coast, where Riga was founded in 1201. Their intrusion impelled the threatened Lithuanian tribes to unity, with the result that a Lithuanian state arose which began to absorb the northwestern Russian cities, though Russian culture
● [648] in turn absorbed the conquerors. The Russians were not friendly to the Latin Empire of Byzantium after 1204, and it was in 1206 that the Mongols under Temuchin (better known as Genghis Khan) began their military expansion. But the Russian princes continued their petty quarrels, not suspecting the catastrophe that was impending.

The Mongols or Tartars first reconnoitered the country west of the Caspian in 1220, and the next year they menaced the Crimea and the steppe country, thus forcing the Polovtsi to apply for support to the Russian princes against whom they had so often fought. Since 1212, Kiev had been in the possession of Prince Mstislav, a member of the ruling family of Smolensk, able, courageous, and erratic; his wife was the daughter of a Polovtsian khan. The princes of Kiev, Chernigov, and Volhynia thus united with the Polovtsi against the Tartars, whom they met on the river Kalka, in the steppes near the

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175* 721 Basil II was to encounter, however, not only defeat and imprisonment at the hands of the Tartars but also the cruelty of a usurper who had him blinded. Luckily, however, the usurper's support was weak, and with aid from Tver Basil was restored. In 1452 he founded the Tartar principality of Kasimov under a friendly Tartar prince on the upper Oka east of Ryazan as a buffer against the hostile Tartars of Kazan, but now that not only Kazan but also the Crimea had split off from the old khanate, the latter was no longer a political threat of any consequence, and Basil II thus became the first prince of Moscow to emancipate himself completely from Tartar vassalage. Almost at the moment that Moscow became free Constantinople fell before the Turks, and the prince of Moscow became at one stroke the chief defender of the Orthodox faith and residuary legatee of the Byzantine tradition. Basil II was also successful in strengthening Muscovite influence in Novgorod, which had hitherto been prone to intrigue with Lithuania.

175* ●648 The expansion of Muscovite prestige undertaken amid such great difficulties by Basil II gathered new impetus during the reign of his son, Ivan III, who inherited the principality of Moscow in 1462. After first checkmating the Tartars by diplomatic agreements with adjacent oriental states, he attached himself to the Byzantine dynastic tradition by choosing, as his second wife, Zoe (Sophia) Palaeologa who, though stout and unattractive, was the niece of the last emperor of Byzantium. The Pope hoped this marriage might advance the union of the Eastern and the Western Churches, since Zoe had been raised a Catholic as his ward, and when she went to Moscow to be married in 1472, a papal legate accompanied her. He made no progress in his attempts to initiate negotiations, and Zoe's arrival was far more fruitful through the activities of the Italian architects and artisans whom she brought with her and who were soon adorning the Kremlin with Italianate churches and palaces. Ivan's designs against the Tartar khanate in the south were crossed by the Turks, who in 1475 subjugated both the khanate and the Crimea, and remained in southern Russia

175* 721

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until the reign of Catherine II. At Novgorod, the pro-Lithua- 175*
nian faction was still active despite the pledges exacted by Basil 721
II. In 1475 Ivan personally visited the northern republic and three years thereafter the great commercial metropolis, long the only stronghold of democracy in Russia, was incorporated into the principality of Moscow. Thirteen years later the Tartar khanate of Kazan as a result of local dynastic rivalries also became a vassal, and an expedition in 1481 broke up the last vestiges of Tartar power on the Volga, where only Astrakhan remained in Tartar hands.

Ivan's reputation soon spread to western Europe, with the 175*
result that Emperor Maximilian I in 1488 sent an envoy to 648
Moscow offering the prince a royal crown. Ivan was not unwilling to make a treaty with Maximilian covering mutual aid in case of a war with Poland, but remarked he did not need German confirmation of his royal status. On the Lithuanian side Ivan was equally fortunate since he forced the Lithuanians to abandon all claims on eastern Russian cities and to recognize him as "sovereign of all Russia" (*gosudar vseya Rusi*), while his daughter became the wife of the Prince of Lithuania. Under Ivan's son Basil III, who came to the throne in 1505, Pskov and Ryazan were added to the Muscovite domain, but relations with the Tartars both at Kazan and in the south were so far impaired that constant defensive measures were necessary on the southern frontier along the Oka.

When Basil died in 1533, his son Ivan IV (later known as 175*
the Terrible) was but three years old. The regency thus devolved till 1538 on the lad's mother, and from that date to 1547, when Ivan was crowned as tsar, upon a council of nobles in which factional politics were rife. It was from his experiences during this period that Ivan derived his intense hatred of the older feudal nobility as a class. Ivan finally conquered Kazan and annexed Astrakhan, thus placing the whole course of the Volga under Muscovite control. From that moment begins the Russian expansion into Siberia and the initiation of diplomatic relations with Khiva and Bokhara. At the same time the Eng-

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175* homes after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. In Silesia, how-
798 ever, the persecutions incident to the counter-reformation caused the migration into Poland of some 200,000 Germans, who were responsible for the creation of the textile industry in western Poland. In eastern Poland as well, the German element played a prominent role. In 1648, for instance, when the Cossack Hetman Bogdan Chmelnitski, aided by the Crimean Tartars, threatened eastern Galicia, the German inhabitants of Lemberg paid one third of the ransom by which the city was saved, and German officers and soldiery fought on the Polish side in all the battles of the period.

175* Sweden came out of the Thirty Years' War greatly strength-
131 ened by the momentary possession of the mouths of the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser, and its king, Charles X, thinking to gain the support of the Elector of Brandenburg for further conquests at Poland's expense, recognized him in 1656 as Duke of Prussia, thereby bringing East Prussia under the sovereignty of Brandenburg. Then, by the Treaty of Wehlau, the next year, the Poles surrendered their claims to East Prussia, thereby assuring the rising Prussian state of the undisputed possession of this area until the Seven Years' War, though it was returned to Prussia after the death of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia in 1762. Silesia was regained by Prussia the next year, the Vistula valley south of Danzig fell to the German share by the first partition of Poland in 1772, and the Posen area followed by the second partition of 1793. Such, then, in its broadest outlines, is the process by which the political frontier between Germany and Poland was determined prior to 1914.

177 Until the nineteenth century there was little racial hostility
175* between German and Slav. The German expansion eastward
●648 during the Middle Ages had been dictated by religious and economic motives, and the conflicts in which Poland, as an independent state, was involved with its neighbors before the partitions were the result of dynastic ambitions and jealousies rather than of any collision of national ideologies. The practical services rendered to the development of agriculture, trade,

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and industry by German immigrants to Bohemia and Poland 175*
require no demonstration. By virtue of its close political asso- 177
ciation with western Europe, Bohemia was speedily drawn into 648
European intellectual life, and as early as the thirteenth century Bohemian authors were reproducing in their own language the forms and content of German medieval literature. International culture was still more widely disseminated after the foundation of the University of Prague in 1348, and the Hussite movement produced a wave of intellectual activity which lasted until the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century.

Poland, because of its comparative remoteness and political 175*
instability, was not subject to the same cultural stimuli, and 177
the services rendered by the German settlers in Polish terri- 517
tory were exclusively practical and materialistic. The influence of the Polish crown was never strong enough, nor were its holders cultured enough, to exert a civilizing influence comparable to that which radiated from Prague. Only in the six- [871]
teenth century do we meet with a striking development of Polish literature, and here the productive influences were more those of the Renaissance than specifically German, especially since local education was dominated by the Jesuits and strictly limited to the classical curriculum. While German economic influence was strong in both the great western Slavic states, it was Bohemia which profited the most from the absorption of German culture, and it was not until the seventeenth century that political events halted the intellectual advance so auspiciously begun.

Yet it was in Bohemia that the first seeds of a new Slavic 182
racial consciousness sprouted early in the nineteenth century. 814
The age of enlightenment had emphasized the ideals of humanity, tolerance, and culture, and these ideals were spread throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy by the reforms of Joseph II. As a matter of fact, the principle of nationality was first formulated by a German, for it was Goethe's great friend and mentor Johann Gottfried Herder, who declared that "the

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Europe has witnessed during the past century, one is tempted to wonder whether the modern nations are not groups of human beings, mainly united by a common illusion as to their origins and an identical aversion to their neighbours. 563 829 144

But history is often only a distortion of the legend concerning the lives of nations. It matters comparatively little if scholars criticise and refute theories which human societies, wittingly or otherwise, have turned into living realities. Up to the sixteenth century the French believed in their Trojan origin, and even today they place an exaggerated faith in their 'Latinity'. 000

Consequently, as far as the Slavonic community is concerned, we will keep to the idea of it which is held by its component nations, without discussing its basis. Now it is evident that the feeling of this community, existing in embryo in former centuries, has gone on intensifying during the past hundred years, and to-day constitutes a fundamental factor in European life.

* * *

'The first nation to impose its virile will on the invaders, and decree the destruction of the enemy, was a Slavonic nation', said the German novelist, Heinrich Mann, in a letter he addressed to the Association of Soviet Authors, in May, 1942. It was, indeed, the Russian armies which, at the cost of never-to-be-forgotten steadfastness and unheard-of sacrifices, annihilated the most formidable military organisation the world has ever seen.

This victory represents more than the physical balance-sheet of a trial of strength, the settlement of an account, outstanding for a thousand years, between two nations. Regarded from the angle of European destinies, it is an event of quite different magnitude. It is the prelude to a reintegration of the Slavonic world, hitherto split up among the powers and interests which speculated on its division. For a century, the Western Chancelleries used and abused the word 'Panslavism'. We shall see, later, what to think of this word, which is unknown in the Russian language. But it was nothing more than a diplomatic slogan, a scarecrow utilised by the Habsburg monarchy in times of crisis, with a view to mobilising the West against Tsarist diplomacy. It is only today that we can speak of a Slav 186* 829 648 •

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186* solidarity capable of disturbing the balance of power in Europe.
829 And even so, we have to give an objective definition of this
• 648 solidarity—a task rendered difficult by the traditional prejudices, the historical misinterpretations which, in the minds of many Westerners, have falsified the laws and motives which govern the expansion of Slavism.

563 No need to go far afield to see the effects of this ignorance
829 of Slavonic realities, even when it is not reinforced by a feeling of animosity. In witness, I will simply cite this passage from a speech pronounced in the Tribunal of the French Senate on May 4, 1933, by the Chairman of the Committee for the Budget on Foreign Affairs:—

> 'That is a point to be noted, *viz.*, the awakening of the Slavonic race. . . . The objection is raised that Rumania is not essentially Slavonic; agreed. But there is Poland, there are the Baltic States, and, farther off still, the wholly Slavonic U.S.S.R., which is, so to speak, the mother of all the Slavonic nations of Central and Eastern Europe'.[3]

These few sentences, from the mouth of an authoritative speaker, contain as many errors as there are words. Rumania is not Slavonic, either essentially or in appearance. Still less the Baltic States. Far from being entirely Slavonic, the Soviet Union is hardly more than fifty per cent so. As for considering it the original habitation of the Slavonic tribes of Central and Eastern Europe, to do this is to settle, with an enviable assurance, a problem whose solution the most eminent ethnologists are still seeking.

Such was, however, the idea current in our official circles, on the eve of this War, concerning one of the determining factors of European peace.

186* Even so, the honourable Parliamentarian who pronounced
829 these gross untruths before his colleagues of the Senate was not
208 prompted by malevolence when he spoke of an awakening of the Slavonic nations. This was not always the case with our journalists and their supporters. It would be possible to compile an anthology of ill-disposed or apprehensive judgements on the Slavonic world, from the pens of French intellectuals, or of men responsible for pronouncements on foreign policy. Is it necessary

[3] *Journal Officiel* of May 5 (1933), p. 791, col. 1.

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186* Russia to the Court of Versailles. This belongs to the prolific family of apocryphal documents in which the presumed projects of deceased monarchs have found an imaginary embodiment. But this forgery has often been invoked as an argument in favour of the existence of 'Panslavism'. Now, it does contain a programme of Russian expansion, and allusions to the Balkan Christians, but nothing more specifically affecting the Slavs. Which proves, at the very least, that his own contemporaries did not regard the founder of Modern Russia as the instigator of a policy of Slav solidarity.

186* 175 • 648 Under Catharine, every war against the Ottoman Empire was the occasion of levies of Slav contingents. After the failure of their risings, large bodies of Slavs took refuge in the South of Russia, where vast districts were allotted to them. During the Napoleonic wars, Admiral Seniavin's fleet, at the Cattaro Delta, assisted the combined Montenegrins and Serbs. But, at the Congress of Vienna, a failure on the part of Russian diplomacy caused the Cattaro Delta to be handed back to the Austrians. It was alleged that Alexander I had agreed to this betrayal of the Slavs, as the price of a night spent with the beautiful Madame de Metternich. Notwithstanding, Suvorov's victories prepared the way for the Serbian insurrection; when this broke out, the Russian general, O'Rurck, joined Karageorge, to beat the Turkish army at Varvarino, to the north of Nish.

Up to the nineteenth century, the Empire of the Tsars remained aloof from the European concert. When it did join in, through the expedient of the Holy Alliance, it espoused interests which were not its own, and for which, moreover, it showed little concern, by backing up the Balkan risings. In this way it tried its utmost to sponsor solidarity among the absolutist régimes, while at the same time supporting the Orthodox minorities.

186* 178 814 But the movement whose watchword was defence of 'brothers in race', did not arise in official circles. It was a creation of the 'intelligentsia'. It received its first impetus from the immense work of the German historical school in the second third of the nineteenth century. 'Sanctus amor patriae dat animum', the epigraph to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, inspired Chafarik's *Slavonic Antiquities* in 1837, and Palatsky's *History of Bohemia*. The Slavs threw themselves passionately into these

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studies, and allowed themselves to be infected with that racial pride which German science displayed, with a tremendous orgy of texts and compilations. 186* 178 814

Kollár, a Slovak, Koukouljevich, a Croat, Kopitar and Stanko Vraz, two Slovenes, with Vuk Karajich, a Serb, formed the pleiad of romantic scholars and men of letters who revealed to the Slav peoples the common basis of their culture and their traditions. Their scientific offensive, which Renan was to call, somewhat disdainfully, 'Comparative Philology transplanted to the political domain', was the prelude to an era of ferment, when far-seeing minds could foretell the catastrophe which would abolish the work of the Congress of Vienna. Never had pure learning let loose such a storm. It was destined to pile up, under the throne of the Habsburgs, the explosive forces whose work of destruction has been completed under our eyes.

The movement was precipitated by the recrudescence of racial antagonism in Hungary. The 1848 Revolution had scattered powder-casks throughout Europe. Austria-Hungary found herself, in the years that followed, a prey to two opposing currents, representing the different interpretations, under these political conceptions, of two strong powers among the nations of this heterogeneous Empire. While the Liberals of Vienna, in revolt against absolute power, marched in unison with the Frankfurt Parliament, and endeavoured to drag with the Germans of Austria; while the Magyar Liberals broke with the Habsburgs and bore Kossuth to power, the Slavs of Cis-Leithania and Trans-Leithania, by a representation natural to oppressed races, rebelled against tendencies aiming at the aggrandizement of the two hegemonies, Germanic and Magyar. The political crisis attained its peak in Hungary, where the Croats marched to the defence of the throne under the leadership of the Ban of Croatia, Jellachich, while the Slavs of Hungary (Slovaks and Serbs) kicked against the persecutions of a régime which Western journalism confused with Parliamentary Liberalism. Russia intervened in 1849 not only, as was long believed, to save the monarchical principle, but also under moral obligation not to let the Slavs of Hungary succumb. By the victory of Vilagos, the Russian armies restored to the Habsburgs Hungary, which they were on the point of losing. Six years later Austria, by her anti-Russian attitude in the Crimean War, was, according to a famous 186* 175 448 668

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186* saying, to astound the world by her ingratitude. It is said that
175 Nicholas I, towards the end of his reign, visited Warsaw and,
• 648 standing thoughtfully in front of Sobieski's statue, said: 'That's
668 the first of the fools who worked for the Habsburgs. And I was the second'.

175 It was in the thick of these racial tussles that the Slav peoples
186 held their first conclaves. Bohemia, the most civilised of the
668 Slav nations, was the first to extend her hand to her sisters. By way of a counter-stroke to the German Assembly in Frankfurt, the Slav Congress took place in Prague in June, 1848. Object: the establishment of periodical relations between the Slav peoples and the drawing up of a programme of action for such of those
[171] peoples as were subject to Austrian or Magyar domination. The language spoken at the Congress was German, then regarded as the Esperanto of the Slavs, thus enabling the Germans to claim the Slavs as belonging to their *Geistesleben*. This Congress, attended by three hundred and sixty-three members, under the chairmanship of the Czech historian, Palatsky, was divided into three sections: Russo-Polish, Jugoslav, and Czechoslovak. Whilst protesting its loyalty to the Habsburgs, it claimed, for the Slav populations, the rights and guarantees granted to the Germans and the Magyars. Outbreaks occurred in Prague after this meeting, and the manner in which they were repressed showed that the Slavs could not expect much from Vienna. Once more, the eyes of the Slavonic world turned towards Russia.

186 Bakunin, in his *Confession*, has left us a picturesque sketch
668 of this Congress of Prague. He had pleaded the cause of the Russian revolution, and of the Federative Republic of all Slavs. 'The Slavs', he said, 'are real children, but I have found among them an unbelievable freshness, and incomparably greater innate intelligence and energy than among the Germans. The Slavs' predominating sentiment is hatred of the Germans. The forceful, if not very polite, expression, "accursed German" ("*prokliatni Nometz*") pronounced alike in nearly all the Slavonic dialects, has produced an incredible result in every Slav. . . . Hatred of the Germans formed the inexhaustible topic of all conversations; it served as a greeting between strangers. . . . As regards the Congress itself, it was, like all the other political

[1. Slav Congress, June 1848 – Analyst]

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186* 668 575 volunteers was armed and sent to Serbia a year before Russia's declaration of war, which was not made until April, 1877.

In the other Slavonic countries, the movement borrowed an ever-increasing offensive power from the general upward thrust of the nationalities. While the Czech deputies refused to sit in the Cis-Leithan Parliament, the Slovenes claimed the rights of their race and their language; the Croats, under the leadership of Mgr. Strossmayer, made of Zagreb a centre of national culture; the Serbs completed their emancipation and the Bulgarians, in two stages (1860 and 1870), secured the creation of the Exarchate. The Slavonic world was in full effervescence. Germanism grew alarmed. 'If necessary, we will put the Slavs up against the wall', Chancellor de Beust had said.

[668] The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 was to some extent the military epilogue of this period of effervescence. The Congress of Berlin supplied Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield with the opportunity of repressing the outbursts of the Slavonic race, and of checkmating ethnical propaganda, under colour of ensuring European peace.

* * *

186* 178 During the years that followed, the interest taken by Russia in the Slavonic countries appeared to decrease. Internal affairs absorbed the attention of the Imperial Government, and the disappointments following the Congress of Berlin kept Russian society of the time of Alexander III in a mood of weariness or of apathy. This disaffection became more marked at the beginning of the reign of Nicholas II. Whilst Europe saw Panslavism as a volcano for ever in eruption, Tsarist diplomacy kept in quarantine the heirs of Slavophile thought. The word *bratouchka* (little brother), coined in 1877, at the time of the liberation of Bulgaria, lost its touching significance, to become a scornful term, synonymous with 'cadger', applied to the Balkan Slavs. German influence, exercised in St. Petersburg by the Baltic barons and the Court, took advantage of the repugnance felt by Liberalism and the Western type of Intellectualism to a movement which claimed to bring the country back to the real sources of its tradition.

186* 668 The Slavonic Congress held in St. Petersburg in May, 1908, was attended by members of the Duma, of *Kolo Polsko* (Polish

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Club) and the *Skupshtina*. But only secondary questions were dealt with, to be re-examined—without any more practical result—in the following month in Prague. These questions included the creation of a Slavonic Bank, a Slavonic Telegraphic Agency, the preparation of an Exhibition, the extension of Sokolism. . . . The time of heroic debates had passed. 186* 668

Then, in the speculations founded on an identical destiny for the Slavonic community, there was one disturbing element—Poland. Towards that country, Tsarist Russia displayed implacable aversion. Had she pursued a really Slavonic policy, she would have tried to utilise the powerful factor formed by the persecuted Poles beyond her own frontiers. A Slavonic policy would have succeeded in making of Russian Poland, governed with tolerance and understanding, a centre of attraction, if not for Little Poland (where the Viennese policy of Austro-Polonism gave the illusion of some measure of individuality), at least for the savagely persecuted Poles in East Prussia, in Posnania, and in Upper Silesia. 186* 563 648

For their part the Poles were inclined to think that there existed only two Slavonic peoples, Russia and themselves, and, of the principles of Slavism, to grasp only that directed against Germany.

It was precisely in the measure in which she appealed to the Slavonic idea that Russia caused them uneasiness. As for the other Slavonic peoples, their relations with them were only occasional. *Bohemi Polonorum infestissimi inimici* ran an old saying. The seventy-seven Polish deputies who made up the *Kolo Polsko,* and together stood for all the parties represented in the Reichsrat, rarely cast their votes with those of the Slav bloc formed by the Czech, Slovene, Serbo-Croat parties of Istria and Dalmatia. Yet the Slavonic Union of 1907 proved—though for a very short time—that, with them, the Slavs would have secured an absolute majority in the Parliament of Vienna. The *Kolo Polsko* adopted a realistic and short-sighted policy; its members derived temporary advantages, but consolidated a régime which the other Slavs declared to be inhuman and condemned by the evolution of the modern world. The Poles saw the Serbs only as Orthodox Christians and vassals of the Russians. They boycotted the last Slav Congresses, in order not to sit at the same table as the Russians. In 1911, the Serbs succeeded in [646]

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186* 563 648 getting them to attend the Slavonic Press Congress which was held during the summer in Belgrade. A characteristic incident spoiled the atmosphere of this gathering. The Poles agreed to attend the banquet offered to the members of the Congress only on condition that the Imperial hymn, *Boje Tsaria Khranyi,* should not be played. In an attempt to conciliate all parties, it was agreed not to play either the Russian or the Polish hymn, but to replace them with the Panslav hymn, *Eĭ Sloveni.* But no one had thought of the fact that this is sung to the same tune as that of Dabrowsky's hymn, *Jeszcze Polska nie zginela* ('Poland is not lost'). Hence an altercation between Poles and Russians, with the result that the latter refused to take part in the proposed outing to the Iron Gates.

It was jokingly said in Belgrade that the Poles were first and foremost Poles, then Catholics, and Slavs when they had time. Yet Bethmann-Hollweg, as President of the Prussian Council in 1912, had, by his famous Expropriation Law, reawakened among the Poles the feeling of a community of destiny with the Slavs. In the Prussian Landtag Korfanty exclaimed, 'At a time when, in the Balkans, the cannon is thundering for the liberation of the Slavs, we Poles, Slavs in Prussia, are the victims of a fresh act of vile oppression and persecution'.

But the Russians did not wish, or did not know how to profit by these divisions. The idea of easing the situation came to them too late, at the time of the First World War, after Pilsudski had organised the 'legions' in Krakow, and the P.O.W. (*Polska organizacya wojskowa*), the Polish secret organisation in Russia; it was only then that Grand-Duke Nicholas proclaimed the hypothetical independence of Poland.

186* 771 The first Russian Slavophiles' die-hard attitude in matters of religion greatly contributed to disturbing the currents of sympathy between Muscovites and the Slavs of Central Europe. Yet denominational differences were not calculated to alarm the Czechs. In 1848, the populace of Prague crammed Wenceslas Square to hear the Serbian Archpriest, Stamatovich, sing the office of the Orthodox rite; a wave of emotion passed through them when the celebrant intoned the *Gospodi pomiluj* for the repose of the soul of John Hus and of Zizka, the hero of the Hussite Tabor. The fact was that the Serbs, not very much given to mysticism, saw the faith chiefly as a counterpart of

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national sentiment. It is not irrelevant to mention that the Orthodox Slavs of the Balkans are the least practising of Orthodox Christians, among whom it is the Serbs who have the largest number of unbelievers. It is said that, for a given number of inhabitants, there would be six times as many churches in Greece as in Serbia, four times as many in Rumania, and twice as many in Bulgaria. 186* 771

Muscovite Slavism differed from Czech Slavism not only in its internal tendencies but in its psychological structure. The patient mysticism of the Russians aimed at achievements on the basis of a millenary evolution. The Czechs, of less nebulous mentality and of intense volitional power, sought immediate results. In Moscow they talked of the divine mission of Eastern Christianity; in Prague, of the boycotting of German goods and the disposal of the products of Czech industry. Between two nations with such a differing mental outlook, it was difficult to maintain concomitant moral action for very long. 186* 563 185

The breach became apparent when the Czech, Karel Kramár, created the 'Neo-Slavism' which held its first Assembly in Prague in May, 1908. A Pole, Roman Dnowski, and a Bulgarian, Stevan Bobtchev, were in agreement with him to rejuvenate the old Slavonic ideal under a new climate. It was a doctrine tending towards cultural unity and the spiritual and economic collaboration of all Slavs, without distinction of religion, and on a footing of perfect equality. An anti-hegemonic conception of Slav solidarity thus replaced 'Russo-Orthodox-Panslavism', relegated to the order of romantic myths. It seemed to provide the positive basis and the practical aims which agreement among Slavs had always lacked. 186* 668

But, among the other Slav peoples, this movement did not meet with the success its founder anticipated. Too many of these peoples still had to contend with foreign domination. Kramár more or less approved the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Dual Monarchy. He saw in it the legalisation of a state of things which implied an increase in the number, and therefore in the influence, of the Slavs within Austria-Hungary; it was for the inverse reason that the German Liberals in Austria had, thirty years earlier (1878), unleashed furious opposition to the occupation of these same provinces. But bound up with this question were the security and the independence of the Serbian 186* 668 648

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186* 668 648 people, who protested vigorously against Kramár's attitude.

The latter alienated, in turn, the Croats and the Slovenes, by opposing 'Trialism'; in other words, the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Croatia-Slavonia, considered as a step towards the transformation of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy into an Austro-Hungarian-Jugoslav Triple Monarchy—a transformation which, by an entirely unsupported legend, was said to be favoured by Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian Empire. A memorable verbal passage of arms took place in the Reichsrat on this question, between Kramár and the Jugoslav deputy, Tresich Pavitchich. 'One is surprised', M. Benes was later on to say, 'to see how little effectiveness Neo-Slavism had, and how the governments concerned neglected to make use of it during the critical years between 1906 and 1914. This complete lack of influence was fully illustrated by the documents taken from the Foreign Affairs archives of the three Imperial powers'.

In any case, it is certain that the Czechs derived no benefit from it. In February, 1914, Scheiner, the President of the Czech Sokols, went to Russia to sound the intentions of officialdom. 'You are of no interest to us', said Sazonov. 'Do not count on us, you play no part in our plans of campaign'.

In Serbia, Russian Slavophilia found a very different climate in which to survive. The Jugoslav countries constituted an area in which Orthodox propaganda modified the interests of Tsarist 186* 829 diplomacy. The latter, at the beginning of the century, considered the Poles as 'traitors', the Czechs as the fire-brands of democracy in Eastern Europe, the Slovaks, the Slovenes, and the Croats as the outposts of Papism. Out of the fifty million non-Russian Slavs, they were interested in only ten million—the Balkan Slavs. Indeed, the policy of the Romanovs considered the Balkan Peninsula as:—

(1) The approach which should, one fine day, enable Russia to make herself independent of the whim of the 'porter' of the Dardanelles.

(2) A field of competition with Austria-Hungary; in other words, the means of exerting counter-pressure on the Vienna Cabinet when the latter encouraged agitation on the borders of the Empire, in the form of Uniatism, Austro-Polonism, or Ukrainism.

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(3) A basis of reaction against Western culture and the influence of Catholicism. 186* 829

(4) More generally, a card of introduction to main European politics.

To ensure for herself the mastery of the Balkan Peninsula, St. Petersburg played the Serbian and the Bulgarian cards alternately, without considering the emancipation movements in those two countries as anything more than a trump card for Russian diplomacy in its struggle with Austria. With naïve egoism, Tsarism looked upon the Orthodox Slavs as the natural defenders of its interests, even at the expense of their own!

To tell the truth, none of these nations was blind to this political exploitation of a sentimental bond. In their collaboration with Russia they accepted what was capable of forwarding their aspirations but declined to play the role of clients. That explains the diplomatic games of general post in the Balkans. The end of last century saw the Serbs relying upon Austria against the Bulgarians backed by Russia; on the eve of the First World War, it was the reverse. Bismarck used to say, 'I am an Austrian in Belgrade, and a Russian in Sofia'. About 1890, the *Videlo*, a Serbian newspaper, expressed what many Balkan statesmen were thinking, but were careful not to admit: 'We have carefully studied the writings of the champions of the Slavonic idea in Russia and among the other Slav nations. These writings contain many phrases about the 'liberty' and the 'unity' of the Slavonic peoples. And amongst us there have been those who, in the inexperience of youth and the enthusiasm of poetry, have believed that Slavonic fraternity was a common temple, in which each of our peoples had the altar of its liberty. . . . The matter would not be very serious, if the Slavonic idea were merely a chimera, but, in actual fact, it is also the unexpected instrument which enables a powerful Slav State to oppress its 'brothers'. The weaker a nation is, the more removed from the form of a State, the more it is attached to the Slavonic idea. It is highly significant that the nation which is most faithful to this idea should also be the one which is the most isolated and the most powerless—the Slovak nation'. 186* 648

The movement of the nationalities was indeed drawing the Slavonic peoples towards far less abstract aims. The age of the bards and the philologists was over. They were no longer con- 186* 641 829

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186* 641 829 cerned with taking the census of a common patrimony, but with working out their own destiny. It was the question of their future State, and of its frontiers, which demanded a solution, and was becoming yearly more imperative.

Now, if there were two ideas which were foreign to Russian Slavism, they were those two, State and frontiers. Born in an atmosphere of romanticism, the Slavophile school had no constructive views. The forces it had more or less unconsciously set in action were, above all, anti-State. The State meant Austria for the Czechs, Hungary for the Croats, Turkey for the Southern Serbs. And for the Poles it was Russia herself, or else Prussia.

As for what the possible frontiers of the liberated Slav States might one day be, Russian officialdom had not the slightest idea. In the *Memoirs* of President Masaryk, we read a suggestive anecdote. During the War he had a conversation with General Alexeiev, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army, regarding Russia's war aims. He was astounded to hear the general express the hope that the victory of the Allies would carry the Czechs to Fiume and the Serbs to Uzhorod (Carpatho-Ukraine). Seventy-five years of 'Slavonic fraternity' and Slavophile demonstrations culminated in the formulation of such an enormity!

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186* 829 648 Thus Tsarist Russia left the Balkan Slavs a joint heritage of good and bad memories. She had, by turns, favoured or restricted their emancipation, according to the state of her relations first with the Turks, then with the Central Empires.

The Bulgarians are commonly considered to have been her spoilt children. They speak, with tender recollection, of the 'Liberating Tsar', Alexander II, whose monument stands in front of the Parliament House in Sofia. In 1915, when Bulgaria went to war with Russia, his statue was veiled. But would the 'Great Bulgaria' (still-born of the Treaty of San Stefano) have satisfied the longings of the patriots? Would she not have been converted, by the Imperial diplomacy, into a 'Trans-Danubian Province', such as the Kaulbars government endeavoured to set up? The Russians, it is true, obtained from the Porte the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, which, freed from obedience to the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople,

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favoured Bulgaria's Macedonian claim. Yet they refused to associate themselves with the efforts of the Serbian Government to restore the former Patriarchate of Petch. But, if their preference went to Bulgaria, it was because the latter was one day to open to them the route to Constantinople. So the realism of the Sofia Cabinet practised an intermittent Russophilia. Two-thirds of the governing classes of the Bulgarian nation were pupils of Russia, but their number also included some Russophobes—Stambulov, Marinov, Chanadiev (except at the end of his life), Radoslavov and his associates. The Slavonic idea found an indefatigable apostle in the person of Stevan Bobtchev, a volunteer of the 1877 War, a jurist, professor, and diplomat, who presided over the Slav Congress at Sofia in 1910, when the Neo-Slavism of Kramár and Miloukov triumphed. But currents of dissension appeared on various occasions, especially in the reactions in favour of Catholicism at the time of Marinov, and in the reminder of the Tartar or Finno-ugrian origins of the Bulgarian nation, every time they entered into conflict with Russia.

The Russophilia of the Serbs often took on the aspect of a quasi-religious veneration. But it did not cause them to forget that the Tsarist government had abandoned them on several occasions. Apart from the pro-Bulgarian attitude it maintained in the Macedonian question, it agreed to the annexation of Bosnia at the time of the Isvolsky-Aehrenthal interview in Buchlau (Sept. 16, 1908) and, later on, its ambassador, Benckendorff, signed the secret agreements in London (April 26, 1915) which, by ceding to Italy the eastern coasts of the Adriatic, bade fair to ruin the plans for Jugoslav unity.

Now this unity had been a fixed idea with all Serbian statesmen since the Battle of Sadowa, which had awakened as many hopes in Serbia as in Italy. As long ago as July 30, 1866, Garachanin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, said to Botmiliau, France's representative in Belgrade, 'No matter what efforts diplomacy may make, in reality, the Austrian Empire no longer exists. Three nationalities will arise in its place, the Hungarian, Bohemian, and Slav (Yugoslav). Sooner or later, the Austrian Germans will join the other German peoples. . . . The Turkish Empire will fall, as the Austrian Empire has done. The Yugoslav State will be founded—not without warfare, perhaps, but it

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186* 829 • 648 will be founded—because it is in the force of events, because the peoples long for it, because it is the best possible solution to the present difficulties, and because, if it were not founded, these countries would fall a sure prey to Russia; Panslavism would be established in their place'. These few sentences—prophetic ones, moreover—provide the clue to all Serbian diplomatic thought, whether declared or understood, up to the 1914 War. The majority of the statesmen in Belgrade were partisans of a Russophile policy, with the exception of the old-time Progressists, and even so, one of their leaders, Stefan Novakovich, kept his confidence in the Tsarist Government. But, with these men, a Russophile policy never meant a Russian policy. We shall have defined the historical 'Russophilia' of the Balkan States, if we say that it always postulated the greatness of Russia, and was bounded by the determination to eliminate that country from internal affairs of the Peninsula.

186* 829 795 Yugoslav Catholics were inclined to be prejudiced in favour of Russia; this was due, on the one hand, to their geographical situation, beyond the reach of Russian ambitions, and, on the other, to the fact that their Catholicism was much less exclusivist than that of Poland, for instance. No doubt this intellectual liberty must be attributed to an instinctive reaction against the policy of the Vatican, which was then axed on Austria-Hungary, *i.e.*, on the two countries whose yoke the Yugoslavs aspired to shake off. The majority of the Croat and Slovene thinkers and poets of the nineteenth century were inspired by Slav traditions; the Illyrian movement was, in their countries, the starting-point [793] of the national Renaissance. But the role of the Catholic clergy in this renaissance, and its connections with Orthodox Russia, is certainly one of the most decisive manifestations of that 'Slavonic conscience' which the politicians of St. Petersburg believed to be the attribute of the Orthodox Slavs. In Slovenia the priest, Jean Krek, the instigator of the Co-operative movement, and later on, Abbé Anton Korochets; in Croatia Bishop Strossmayer and Canon Ratski, were not only apostles of Slav solidarity, they had frequent contacts with the Russians. Strossmayer, who was one of the contrivers of Yugoslav unity, had not only been one of the opponents of the Vatican Council; he protested vigorously against the Holy See's anti-Russian attitude at the time of the 1877 War.

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Thus, at the beginning of this century, the Slavonic idea had permeated all the currents of spiritual life of the nations whose historic personality it exalted. In Russia, after having arisen among the intellectual *élite,* it had been relegated to the rank of diplomatic accessories. But it had been rejuvenated by allying itself with Czech Agnosticism, with Croatian and Slovene Catholicism, with the positive sense of the Bulgars, the legendary spirit of independence of the Serbs. It had been an aspect, a 'phase' of the march of the nationalities towards emancipation. From the minutes of meetings of learned societies, it had advanced to the domain of direct action. After having taken stock (academically) of the injustices which formed landmarks in the history of the Slavonic world, it was preparing to achieve reparation for these injustices by conspiracies, acts of violence, war.

While Russia had given the emotional impetus to this movement, and the Czechs had demonstrated the educative elements in a Slavonic science and conscience, it was left to the Yugoslavs to set the ruthless pace which was to precipitate events. It was under their influence that Slavism entered upon its revolutionary phase. In Hungary it found the oppressive atmosphere which provoked this evolution; the beginning of the twentieth century is marked, in Croatia, by a series of trials and acts of violence which revealed to the world the progress of Yugoslav militancy. It was in fact in Bosnia, from a centre of Yugoslav irredentism, that sprang the spark which was to set the continent afire. Starting from the speculative heights of the learned world, the Slavonic idea culminated in shots, fired point blank, by a Herzegovine student, at the heir to the Austrian Empire, in a Sarajevo street. When the President of the Tribunal interrogated the authors of the crime as to the motives for their action, they repeated, with dogged fatalism, 'Francis Ferdinand was the enemy of the Slavs'.

Russian officialdom took fright at this effervescence. It sought excuses for its passive attitude. To explain why they had abandoned the Serbs at the time of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Stolypin stated that Imperial diplomacy had simply had an eye to the future. 'Give the peasants of Kostroma ten more years at the plough'. A second humiliation was inflicted on Russia in April, 1913, when, to please Austria, she

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186* was obliged to join the European concert which forced
829 Montenegro to raise the siege of Scutari.
• 648 Russian society took no interest in these questions. Its members were frequently heard to say, 'God bless these "bratouchki"! Wouldn't it be better to live without them? Shan't we be happier when we have abandoned the Slavonic chimera and the dream of providential vocation, and think only of our own immediate interests?'

With the crisis of July, 1914, Russia was, for the third time, faced with the possibility of a renunciation. This time she pulled herself together. Austria was imposing on her a trial of strength in which her rank as a Great Power was at stake. On learning of the ultimatum from the Ballplatz to the Belgrade Cabinet, Nicholas II telegraphed to his minister, 'Tell the Serbs they can count on me'. With this historic sentence, another cycle in the history of the Slavonic world was closed.

186* In fact, under a common denominator of origin, of sufferings
578 and reflexes, the Slavonic peoples were inspired by different aims —independence, territorial expansion, and the acquisition of sovereign rights. Consequently, every event which brought them nearer to their respective goals had, as its first result, the relaxation or removal of their connecting bonds. It was the negative aspect of Slavism, which, having reached the stage of realisation, animated ideals which involved neither the same aims nor the same volitional power. This had been proved during the Balkan War of 1912–1913, when Serbs and Bulgarians fell upon each other, after having jointly waged war on the Turks. It was to be seen even more clearly during the World War of 1914–1918, when, some fighting under the flags of the Entente, others under those of the Central Empires, the Slavs exhausted each other in fratricidal conflict.

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186* 721 coherent nor systematised; no one was pursuing a policy of defending or destroying them as a whole. But the Slavonic world had let loose outbursts of passion which, for some years, had been fanning all the centres of trouble into flame. These had greatly helped to create the psychological atmosphere which had rendered the clash inevitable. So we may say that, if Slavism as such had indeed nothing to do with the development of the drama, it had at least written the prologue to it.

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186* 668 648 Such being the case, it is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that, during the 1914–1918 War, the Slavs had no general political policy. They evolved within the framework of their historical antecedents, as long as the conflict offered no other prospect than that of a German victory. On several occasions Russian officialdom even adopted an anti-Slav position. They agreed to the cession of Dalmatia to Italy, opposed the union of the Slovenes and the Croats with the Serbians, resisted the concessions which Russia's allies asked her to grant to Poland, and showed obvious lack of goodwill at the Czech suggestions for the creation of an independent army.

The Czechoslovaks had a more coherent policy, and gave ample proof of loyalism. From the very beginning of the operations, whole units deserted under fire and went over to the Russians. They have been reproached with having first declared themselves in favour of the autonomy of Poland within the framework of Russia, rather than of her full independence. At the time when they adopted it, that attitude was a realistic, rather than a sentimental one.

The Poles were, above all, anti-German; for a long time they humoured Austria-Hungary, and several of them served her brilliantly. It must not be forgotten that the Dual Monarchy's anti-Slav policy was often the work of Slavs: Coluchowski (Minister of Foreign Affairs), Bilinski (Joint Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina), Dumba (ambassador), Tarnowski, etc. In any case, a Slavonic policy would have meant a mortal struggle with Vienna and Budapest; the Poles could not resign themselves to that. Besides, would the Russians have given them sufficient understanding, if not support, to make up for the goodwill they could rely on finding among the Magyars and the Austrians?

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The Yugoslavs of Austria aimed at the dismembering of the Dual Monarchy and at the total emancipation of the Slav populations living under its sway. But they found themselves prevented from conducting a policy of integral Slavism, by the caution which the war-map forced them to observe with regard to Russia [2] and to Italy, owing to the Serbo-Bulgarian dispute and the Macedonian problems, and even by the difficulties encountered at the outset of the negotiations between Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs, for the formation of a single Yugoslav state.

There were, however, some attempts at understanding among the various emigrations, especially between the Polish National Committee (Dmowski, Paderewski), the Czechoslovak National Council (Masaryk, Benes, Stefánik) and the Yugoslav Committee (Troumbich, Hinkovich). These contacts lasted until the Peace Conference. But they never led to the elaboration of a programme, or of any organic agreement.

The Dual Monarchy, moreover, did not lack support among its Slav nationals. Stiepan Radich, a Russophile, a hundred per cent Slav and a poet into the bargain, addressed a rhymed call to arms against the Tsar to his brothers of Austria and of Hungary:—

> '. . . All persecuted, even to the shedding of blood, by the East,
> All having received their Faith from Rome,
> All having their fields bathed by the Danube'.

It is true that this same Radich, when things went badly for the Central Empires, reassured his friends, anxious about the fate reserved for Croatia: 'Have no fear', he said, 'nothing can happen to you as long as Russia exists'. This guileless inconsequentiality is rather reminiscent of the whole history of Slavism, adapted by each nation to the daily round of its own politics. Even the war made no change in this behaviour. Russia disappointed her Serbian ally by signing the London Pact, which stupidly dismembered the Dalmation coast, to the advantage of Italy, through ignorance of the fact that there were

[2] A slight incident will show how much the latter had remained attached to her prejudices. On the Feast of the Epiphany, 1916, the divisions of Serbian and Croat volunteers in Russia arranged for a religious service, at which prayers were recited for all Christians, 'Orthodox and non-Orthodox'. The Russians did not hide their disapproval, and declared this initiative to be 'not very liturgical'.

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Catholics in Southern Dalmatia and Orthodox Christians in Northern Dalmatia. Still the same ignorance of Slavonic geography! Pilsudski raised a Polish Legion against Russia, and the Bulgars made unforgivable war on the Serbs. It is true that, in the last period of the conflict, legions were formed, in which the Slavs of Austria-Hungary rejoined forces for the defence of their own cause. And at the meeting of the Reichsrat in mid-October, 1918, at which the nationalities bade farewell to the Empire of the Habsburgs, one might have believed in a renewal of Slav solidarity. After Stanek, representing the union of the Czech parties, had bravely declared: 'Know that no Czech willingly gave his life for the cause of the Central Empires', the Polish orator spoke of a 'Slavonic bloc, stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic'. But, in reality, what they were thinking of was not Slavism, but liberty.

This liberty was to be restored to them by the treaties of 1919–1920. Truth compels us to say that they owed it as much to the collapse of Imperial Russia as to the victory of the Allies. 'Russia', Dostoievsky had predicted, 'will have no more venomous enemies than these Slavonic nations, as soon as she has liberated them. They will immediately begin by seeking from Europe, from England, from Germany, the guarantee of their liberty, and it is against Russia that they will take measures'.

Dostoievsky had not foreseen the collapse of Tsarism. But, if the latter 'liberated' the Slavonic peoples, it was not by virtue of any conscious action, but by its own suicide. By disappearing, it did more for the independence of the Slavonic nations than the Slavophile Romanticism of three Muscovite generations. Old Imperial Russia, at her collapse, was to bequeath to the resuscitated Slavs what remained of the Slavonic idea. She might have repeated to them the beautiful words spoken by Cyril, on his death-bed, to his brother Methodius: 'We were like a yoke of oxen ploughing a field of corn; my days are over, I am going away, and you must carry on our joint task'.

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The first result of the Russian Revolution was, indeed, to remove the reactionary fetters which Muscovite Slavism had imposed on inter-Slav relations. Henceforth, all the Slavonic nations were ranged behind one and the same democratic ideal.

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But a new Slavonic problem was brought to the forefront—the problem of the Ukraine. A Ukrainian National Committee was formed, and began to negotiate with the Allies. Its action divided the Slavs; Poles and Russians greeted it with equal hostility; the Yugoslavs displayed disapproval or indifference; the Czechs adopted a half-and-half attitude, advocating the administrative and cultural autonomy of the Ukraine within the framework of the reviving Slav solidarity. 186* 648 578

Moreover, it was quite natural that, once in possession of their ethno-linguistic frontiers, the Slavonic peoples should cease to have any other horizons than these frontiers, within which they still had to build up a political, economic, and social organisation. They sought their vocation in their own history. We are continually forced back to this fundamental fact—Slavism has been, in its essence and from the force of circumstances, a revolt of the nation against the State, whether the latter was called Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Turkey. In Russia itself, the Slavophile school maintained the rights of the country (*zemlia*) against the encroachments of the State. With this tendency is connected the tinge of anarchy which the West is apt to associate with the word 'Slav'. The nation, in the spirit of the 1919–1920 treaties, being identified with the State, the Slavonic idea was doomed to lose the centrifugal opposition, the dissolving power which had long characterised it, and under whose action the Habsburg Empire had collapsed. 186* 668

And in fact, the triumph of the nationalities, ratified by the treaties of Saint-Germain and of Trianon, restored Slavism to its academic origins. Reminders of racial fraternity now seemed to serve no other purpose than to warm up the atmosphere for after-dinner speeches, or for inaugural meetings of congresses. The Slavonic nations lacked that basis of common culture which gives to Hispanism, for instance, the only positive value to which it can lay claim.

In the political order the counter-indications showed up all the more clearly, inasmuch as the territorial settlements were no longer made in virtue of force, but on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination. Now there were some populations which were caught between two opposing Slavonic currents; the Teschen district of Silesia, Macedonia, the Ukraine. A cynic has remarked that, the farther the distance between Slavonic 186* 728

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Anglo-Saxon, or Latin nations. The treaties of the earlier war had thus sanctioned a traditional exclusiveness in this respect. 728 131 175

On the other hand, Slavism scored a point—the only one—in an acquisition of territory. This was achieved by the clauses which allocated to the Czechs Sub-Carpathian Russia—an ethnical mosaic, with predominant Russian or Ukrainian elements, which was to form an autonomous unit within the framework of the Czechoslovak Republic. This allocation, demanded by the Ruthenians of America, was decided upon chiefly because the signatories to the treaties considered the Prague government as the best mentor they could give to a dangerously backward Slavonic population. Indeed, Czechoslovakia was, within a few years, to improve Sub-Carpathia, that Cinderella of the Slavonic world; at the cost of heavy budgetary sacrifices, she turned this territory entrusted to her into a real 'Civilisation Front'. [186]

As is well known, at the Peace Conference the Czechoslovaks intervened—another gesture of pure Slavonic inspiration—to try to secure for the Serbs of Lusatia the benefit of the protection accorded to minorities. These Lusatians are the remnant of a powerful tribe who people a corner of Saxony and Brandenburg, with its centre at Bautzen. Theirs was for long the *terra incognita* of the Slavonic world; they were discovered by the learned circles of Czechoslovakia and Poland in the nineteenth century. [563]

The return of Poland to an independent life, and the Sovietisation of the Russian State, modified the nature of the relations between the two peoples. Immediately after the earlier war and the Treaty of Riga, one could not say that these relations had been clarified. It is certain that the Government of Moscow was then pursuing a Eurasiatic policy, which drew it away from European affairs. But no one could imagine that this disinterestedness would last very long. In Moscow they still, as under the Tsars, spoke of the 'Jesuitism' and the 'Jagellonism' of the Poles; in Warsaw, they talked about the hegemonic appetite of Russia, and her propaganda. 'Atheism' and 'Marxism' had replaced 'Orthodoxy' and 'Panslavism' as passwords. 648 829

The Polish-Sovietic War of 1920 complicated inter-Slav relations. The Poles bitterly reproached the Czechs with having refused 648 578

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648 578 to allow the passage through their territory of reinforcements which the Poles were expecting from abroad. They complained no less bitterly at seeing the Czechs, like the Yugoslavs, model their attitude towards them on their own behaviour towards Moscow. It is true that Prague and Belgrade had enthusiastically greeted the resurrection of Poland, following the Allies' victory—a very different result from the changes in 1916, which, for the Poles, had substituted the duty to fight beside the Central Empires, for the right to do so. But in 1920, in these same capitals, they were wondering whether Poland was fighting Bolshevism or the Russian nation, and this differentiation, which inspired many newspapers, was regarded in Warsaw as definitely unfriendly. The ex-Minister of Poland in Yugoslavia, Erasmus Piltz, felt it necessary to address this warning to the Yugoslavs: 'Nothing separates us: on the contrary, everything unites us. . . . There is not a Pole who does not consider the alliance with Yugoslavia as a most highly fruitful and desirable achievement. But, if one of the most popular Serbian propagandists does not hesitate to claim that Polish-Yugoslav relations must depend on our relations with Russia, then I feel I may say, without fear of contradiction, that no Polish government, no Polish party, will accept such reservations, or such a presentation of the question'.

The leader-writer of *Przeglad Wisczorny* mournfully summed-up the origins of this misunderstanding: 'In Warsaw, we have been in the habit of viewing Serbia through Viennese or Budapest spectacles, whilst the Serbs have observed us through Russian spectacles. And the result is that each side has a false picture of the other'.[3]

[829] Finally, a conception of their own greatness, dear to the Poles, helped to foster a feeling of friction between them and the sister nations, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—which the Poles considered as being on a lower hierarchical plane than themselves—for were they not a Great Power? Perhaps we shall not be far wrong in affirming that between the two wars the Poles maintained more regular, if not more cordial, relations with the Rumanians and the Hungarians than with the other Slavonic states.

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[3] Of May 22, 1920.

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Nothing is more interesting, more decisive perhaps, for the history of Slavism than to recall the attitude adopted by the Czechs and the Yugoslavs respectively with regard to Russia, immediately after the establishment of Bolshevism.

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The Yugoslavs maintained an unshakeable fidelity to the Russian nation. In Belgrade the state of things arising from the 1919–1920 treaties was considered somewhat precarious, owing to Russia's non-participation in these treaties. It was not that the Government welcomed the coming of the Soviets. The hailing of Trotsky by their representative, Spalaïkovich, with the words: 'I spit in your face!' shows the hostility felt, and that hostility was fomented and kept alive by grievances of a dynastic order. But, side by side with this official behaviour, there were numerous manifestations which revealed the instinctive repugnance of Yugoslav opinion to allow the Russian people to suffer the consequences of being black-listed. The Belgrade Government was obliged to take this into account; they bluntly rejected the requests of the Great Allies, who were pressing them to co-operate in Wrangel's campaign against the Red Army. These negotiations and the support given by the Entente to Poland against the Russians, aroused, in part of the Yugoslav press,[4] reactions whose echo never reached France, but which were eminently symptomatic. 'Russia', declared the *Balkan*, 'whether she be Tsarist or Bolshevist, is for the Serbian people, for all Croats and Slovenes, "Holy Russia", the country of our Slav brothers. Where is the Serb who would raise his hand against a Russian soldier?' Or this, from *Progress*: 'It is clear that our future policy will be Slavonic. Russia will gradually abandon both extremes, and become a democratic State. This Russia will be the centre of the Slavonic world, and the Slavonic world will, in the future, make war impossible'. The same note was struck in Zagreb, where the newspaper *Rietch* raised its voice against the possibility of a clash between Russians and Yugoslavs. 'Our people have always believed in Russia. We believed in Tsarist Russia, we still believe in the Russia of today, not because she is Bolshevist, but simply because she is Russia. . . . The West has disappointed us, whereas the Russia of today seems to us more and more Slavonic. . . . We cannot have worse than what the West gave us'.

[4] Of July 26 and 27, 1920.

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that in neither of these capitals did they suspect that the big Slav brother would one day re-awaken from the dead, and become once more a factor of prime importance in world politics.

Already, at the Genoa Conference, Chicherin and the Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nintchich, had, unknown to their colleagues, held conferences *in camera,* discussing the international situation, not as plenipotentiaries, but, according to Chicherin's own expression, 'among Slavs'.

The question of official relations with Russia was brought forward for the first time in July, 1924, by the ephemeral government presided over by the democratic leader, Davidovich. In his ministerial declaration the latter alluded to the expediency of contact 'with Sister Russia' (*bratska Rusija*). But it was then only a pious hope. This question was complicated by the presence in Belgrade of a powerful 'white' emigration (to which Wrangel belonged),[7] and of a 'legation', directed by Strandtman (the former Chargé d'Affaires of Tsarist Russia), in his capacity as 'General Delegate of Russian Emigration'.

A few months later, on the orders of Moscow, the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in Warsaw, Bessiedovsky, approached Simich, the Yugoslav Minister in that capital. These overtures seem to have been the result of the visit which Stiepan Radich, the Croat agrarian leader, made to Moscow during the summer of 1924. The Muscovites had visualised Radich as the possible artisan of a peasant revolution in Yugoslavia, but he disappointed them by his muddle-headed fluency of speech and his absence of positive views. They dubbed him a 'little Leftist Bourgeois, hopping all over the place'. Nor did they derive more benefit from the Simich-Bessiedovsky discussions, revived shortly afterwards by the Soviet Ambassador in Berlin with Jalougdjich, the representative of Yugoslavia. Nothing came of these private talks. It needed the Hitlerian nightmare and the Czech drama to restore—too late—the official relations between Belgrade and Moscow to their historical setting.

On the Slavonic side Czechoslovakia was the State most ready to give prompt recognition to the Soviet State. In this

[7] Generals, Slavophiles, prelates like the ex-Metropolitan of Kiev, Mgr. Antoine, had fled to Belgrade, where rest the ashes of General Alexeiev and of Wrangel. Philosophers and scholars sought shelter, for preference, in Czechoslovakia.

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829 connection, the Czech Government had to reckon with the influence of the Socialists, the sympathies brought back from Russia by numerous legionaries, the fact that the Russian emigration in Bohemia was composed of elements with much greater Leftist tendencies than those who had sought refuge in Yugoslavia, and, finally, the needs of a reviving industry in quest of external outlets.

829 But these influences were countered by the National-
648 Democrat Party of Dr. Karel Kramár. The latter, married to a Russian, had preserved an inflexible attachment to Imperial Russia. He prevented the acceptance of the proposal for official recognition which had been suggested in the spring of 1922, at the time of the Genoa Conference, during an interview between Benes and Chicherin. On the other hand, economic relations between the two countries were multiplied, despite the ill-will of the Zivnostenska Banka, the banking stronghold of the Kramár Party, which controlled powerful undertakings.

186* And now for the curious phenomenon which differentiates
648 the evolution of Slavism among the *membra disjecta* of the former Austria-Hungary. Just as the Yugoslavs endeavoured to maintain, on a plane of Slav solidarity, their relations with a Russia whose régime their Government persisted in ignoring, so the Czechs endeavoured to clear of all Slavonic ideology the relations they sought to establish with that régime. 'Slavism', in Prague, still had a reactionary sound, whereas in Belgrade they maintained their faith in its emancipating virtue. The contradiction is worth pondering over.

186* 'The fact', says Masaryk, 'that the Slavonic peoples are henceforth liberated and are reorganising themselves politically, involves no increased influence for political Panslavism. Each Slavonic nation receives, in virtue of its liberation, a task which is proper to it and in whose realisation the other Slav states can only be of incidental assistance'. Analysing, with the serenity of the historian, the progress of the Slavonic idea through the centuries, Masaryk discovers in it no constructive virtue; it is a sentimental *leit-motiv* which, while it has inspired the poets with moving strains, has ceased to have any place in the political realities of international life. 'Czech civilisation is founded on the Reformation and on learning; the Yugoslav Messianists, too, are the product of the age of learning (*i.e.*, of the West); the

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life; it is a reflex *sui generis*, an intangible factor; it changes 186*
weight and direction according to whether it is studied in one country or in another, on the level of official life or on that of the populace. So that the rather scornful judgement of the Czech statesmen seems to us to be inspired by a too exclusively historical interpretation of the facts. To find a solution to the controversy 186*
which opposed the Yugoslavs and the Czechs, it is sufficient to 648
recall their own relations. From 1919 to 1939 these relations were, for confidence and cordiality, unequalled between any two Latin or Germanic peoples. Naturally, they benefited by memories still present in all minds. No man, more than Masaryk, had contributed by his person to the formation of the generations which supplied their *cadres* to the emancipated nationalities. His courageous attitude during the trial of Friedjung—the author of the false documents on which the leaders of the Serbo-Croat Party had been charged with high treason—had won for him the gratitude of all Yugoslavs. During the crisis over the annexation of Bosnia, martial law had been proclaimed in Prague because the town rang with cries of 'Long live Serbia!' At the time of the Albanian crisis of 1912–1913, the 28th and 102nd Infantry, two entirely Czech regiments, on their way to the frontier, had been greeted in all the stations with cries of '*Slava Srbum!*' (Long live the Serbs). In the First World War, the Czech soldiers and officers of the Army of Occupation in Serbia had treated the inhabitants with all possible consideration.

But, once we have admitted this, we shall not wrong either the [157]
Czechs or the Yugoslavs if we affirm that they have very few traits of character, even very few sentimental affinities, in common. The Czech is hard-working, positive, a deliberator, economical. The Serb is a fatalist, emotive, spontaneous, lavish. Resistance to oppression—the common denominator of their history—has been expressed by very different reactions, masked among the Czechs, explosive among the Serbs. So that it is difficult not to put to the credit of Slav solidarity—that solidarity judged by Czech statesmen politically inoperative or out-of-date—the close relations between two countries connected neither by geography nor by tradition nor by psychology. It will be said that they have the same enemies, which is sufficient reason for an understanding. Arguing on these lines, the relations between

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186* Prague and Belgrade should be of the same quality as those
• 648 existing between Warsaw and Bucharest, or between Belgrade and Warsaw—which no one can claim to be the case. Rather, it is precisely regarding the manner of averting the Teutonic peril that Czechs and Yugoslavs have held views which, if not conflicting, were at least divergent: in Prague they feared a restoration of the Habsburgs more than the *Anschluss*, while the reverse was the case in Belgrade.

To the credit side of the relations between Belgrade and Prague must be put the action, both sentimental and positive, of the Slovene statesmen and propagandists, many of whom, [665] moreover, had studied in Bohemia. Immediately after the First World War, Abbé Korochetz' Popular Party (Catholic), which had come under the influence of the Czech Popular Party (*Lidova Strana*), was the one which, in its organ, the *Slovenets*, dealt most fully with questions relating to the Serbo-Bulgarian reconciliation and with Soviet Russia. The Czech Government was for a time tempted to intervene as mediator in the dispute between Belgrade and Sofia. It wisely abstained; the Serbs would certainly have been offended. At least its press always treated this dispute with tact and discretion.

Summing-up, let us say that, between the two wars, the atmosphere of the Czech-Yugoslav relations was one of the positive factors in the spirit of Slav solidarity.

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If the Russo-Polish relations (and, in a certain measure, the Polish-Czech) are the touchstone of this solidarity in Central Europe, in the South-East it is through the Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations that crises are manifested. We have defined the place that Bulgaria, a Slavicised rather than a Slav people,[12] holds in the ethnical community, and the alternations of Russophilia and Russophobia through which she has passed. In 1915 she
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[12] It will be remembered, however, that in 1933, when MM. Gömbös and Kanya, respectively Hungarian Chairman of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, returned from Sofia (where Gömbös had conferred, in the Serbo-Croat language, with Mouchanov, the Bulgarian President), they declared to the Hungarian newspapers that they had 'visited Bulgaria, a country related to them by blood'. The Bulgarian press was unanimous in protesting against this expression; Bulgars and Magyars can be friends, but not relatives. The argument of ethnical relationship (Finnish) had nevertheless been put forward by certain Bulgarian propagandists in 1916–1917; it was the time when the poet Cyrille Kristov called himself a 'Tartaro-Bulgar'.

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In 1915 she declared war on Tsarist Russia, but refused to do so in 1940 on Soviet Russia, although she owed much to the former and nothing to the latter. Even then, in 1915, she was obliged to intern a good many politicians and generals before embarking on her campaign, a campaign which, in actual fact, both sides conducted in 'slow motion'. The Russian Black Sea Fleet fired fifty-nine shells on Varna; in the Dobrudja, the Bulgarians were opposed to the Rumanians and to the Serbian Corps, while the Germans were engaged with the Russians of Chtcherbatchev. This realist nation, little given to passionate or ideological enthusiasms, nevertheless showed a curious obstinacy in 'backing the wrong horse'. In 1913, 1915, and 1942, they entered the war with the winners, and came out of it with the vanquished. The 'Macedonian psychosis' periodically pushed them into the arms of 'liberators', only to end by sharing their defeat.

186* 648 [721]

After the Treaty of Neuilly, the Bulgarian propagandists realised the error made by their leaders. They returned to the theme of Slavonic affinities, to the pro-Russian tradition. 'We Bulgarians', said the *Narodna Otbrana*,[13] 'have been the pioneers of a foreigners' policy, and have pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for others'. 'The future of Bulgaria is closely bound up with that of Russia', proclaimed the Minister, Bakalov.[14] And Stamboliiski entered into a mortal struggle with the Macedonian organisation, to clear the way for an entente with Belgrade. He succumbed in this struggle; his successors realised, after much shilly-shallying, that this policy was a reasonable one, but could not be imposed until the psychological atmosphere it had always lacked had been prepared for it.

And yet, paradoxical as it may seem, in the thick of the fratricidal struggles in which she has engaged, Bulgaria has never stifled her inner feeling of community of destiny with Serbia. When the Bulgarian resistance collapsed in 1918, a Deputy-Prefect of the occupying authorities took leave of the inhabitants of his administrative district in these terms: 'We shall perhaps

[13] Of June 30, 1920.

[14] The Bulgarian Church, like the Serbian-Orthodox Church, refused to make the religious calendar coincide with the civil calendar when the State adopted the Gregorian reckoning. The two Churches gave, as the reason for this refusal, the fact that it was impossible to come to an agreement with the Russian Church, which then had no competent representative.

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fight again, but that won't mean that we shall cease to be brothers'. This sentiment had been heard, or uttered, by millions of wounded or prisoners, during the war. And, when King Boris visited Belgrade in December, 1933, Mouchanov, President of the Bulgarian Council, uttered this remark, which may make a Westerner smile but whose sincerity no one conversant with Balkan affairs will doubt: 'Even when crossing swords, we have always respected and esteemed, even loved, each other'. Indeed, in spite of their proverbial severity, there is nothing in the Serbo-Bulgarian wars comparable to the atavism of hate which hangs like a spectre over the relations between Greeks and Bulgarians. At the conclusion of each of these wars, the notion of Slav solidarity has resumed its place, with the victor as with the vanquished. In the same way, there are families which have periodical skirmishes, without prejudice to the 'family spirit'. If the feeling of Slav solidarity has never averted wars between the Balkan Slavs, it has at least greatly contributed to minimise their consequences. It is especially to this spirit that we owe the reconciliation of two peoples, and the signature of the pact made in Belgrade on January 24, 1937, and prepared by a series of stages (declarations of the clergy, missions of intellectuals, etc.), which assured for it a psychological basis. This document is eloquently laconic: 'There shall be inviolable peace and sincere and perpetual friendship between the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the Kingdom of Bulgaria'.

Doubtless this 'perpetual friendship', the test of a renewal of inter-Slav solidarity in the Balkans, was to succumb in the cataclysm let loose by the Third Reich. It disappeared in the hecatomb of pacts and alliances which formed the prelude to the war. Here we once more find ourselves face to face with this truth, which has dominated the whole existence of the Baltic States in modern times—their conflicts have always been the result of rivalry on the part of the Great Powers. Born under the shadow of Russo-Turkish antagonism, the discord between Belgrade and Sofia was rekindled by the Austro-Russian dispute, then by the hegemonic folly of Germany. It is very difficult for the historian to reduce the relations between the Balkan peoples to their true factors; at times of crisis, these peoples were simply, whether unwittingly or perforce, the unpaid satellites of the Great Powers, aligned one against the other.

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movement in favour of a Green International of Slavonic Peasants yet merits a place in the chronology of inter-Slav relations. 186* 668

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At the same period (June 4–8, 1924) a Congress of Slav Geographers and Ethnologists was held in Prague. This too, awakened aspirations, either latent or at least dormant since the era of the great assemblies of the nineteenth century. The very choice of Prague was a reminder that Bohemia had been the 'laboratory' of the Slavonic idea. And it was the occasion of a spectacular return of Bulgaria into the community of peoples inspired by that idea. 186 815

But, when the totalitarian States had proclaimed their intention of attacking the 1919–1920 treaties, it was once more to Russia that all these peoples turned. From Moscow alone could come the watchword capable of rallying their energies—on condition that it should not look like an appeal to a Proletarian Dictatorship. 186* 829

Just as the exaltation of Teutonism, in the first half of the nineteenth century, had had as a reaction the awakening of the Slav conscience, so the National-Socialist drive, a century later, was to bring in its wake a defensive reaction tending to align, if not to regroup, the Slavonic forces.

The essentially anti-Marxist notion of race had been repudiated by Lenin. In internal affairs, it could not but hinder the work of 'mixing' undertaken by the Moscow government. In foreign affairs it had no *raison d'être,* so long as Russian diplomacy practised a Eurasiatic policy, and guided the country's destinies towards the East. But, after fifteen years, the problem of the allogeneous inhabitants had passed the crisis. The Soviet régime was firmly established. German imperialism obliged them to turn their attention towards the West: the repetition of the recurrent drama of which Europe had been the theatre since the era of Wilhelm II once more reminded the Russian world of its destiny.

The first check to Hitlerian arrogance on the part of the Kremlin was the signing in London, on July 2, 3, and 4, 1933, of agreements for the common acceptance of the definition of the aggressor, as formulated by Nicholas Politis. The U.S.S.R. signature appears at the foot of this document, side by side with 186* 648 829

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186* 648 829 those of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia—although the two latter had not yet recognised the Soviets. The new undertakings marked an advance on the part of Soviet Russia towards a policy of interest, if not of action, in Europe. Western opinion, then entirely occupied with the Economic Conference, gave the matter only casual attention; it did no more than manifest its satisfaction at seeing the question of Bessarabia disappear from the list of outstanding disputes. But the importance of the event lay elsewhere; it represented nothing less than an attempt to regroup forces in Eastern Europe. The territorial statute arising out of the treaties was consolidated by the backing of a power, the U.S.S.R., which hitherto had not been thought to be very favourable to it. Henceforth the Slavs of Central and Southern Europe felt morally obliged to consider recognising the Soviets. The defensive reflexes of the Slavonic instinct came [665] into play. At the seventeenth Assembly of the Communist Party, in January, 1934—the first to take place after the offensive on the part of Russian diplomacy in Europe—Stalin declared: 'Some people think that war must be prepared by the *superior race, i.e.,* the Germanic race, against the *inferior races,* and, especially, against the Slavs . . .'. This language aroused a world of memories, and an ideology which was believed to have lapsed. It was understood far beyond the frontiers of the U.S.S.R.

There was, however, one obstacle which prevented the Slavonic peoples from seeing in it more than a diplomatic gesture. They had hitherto looked to France for security guarantees. In Prague, as in Belgrade, they were anxious, at all costs, to prevent the development of a situation which might put the country under the obligation of choosing between Paris and Moscow. This was the constant, though unacknowledged, preoccupation of all the Little Entente Conferences. The policy of Louis Barthou, which prepared the way for a Franco-Sovietic *rapprochement,* did away with this possibility, and so the Czech Government recognised the Soviets on June 9, 1934. That summer of 1934 was a period of intense diplomatic activity for the Slavonic nations. In Bulgaria, on May 19, a *coup d'état* carried to power Kimon Gheorgiev with his National Union Cabinet. The first item on his programme was the *entente* with the Yugoslavs, the second the resumption of relations with the Soviets. It was on July 23 that the recognition was made official; it was the work

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of the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, Batolov. 'A century-old friendship has existed between the Bulgarian and the Russian peoples', declared the *Zaria*. 'Russia liberated the Bulgarian people, and it is no fault of the Russian people that our country was split up. Bulgaria, like the Soviet Union, desires to develop in peace'. On September 3, Benes met Litvinov at Marianske Lazne (Marienbad). On September 27, the Yugoslav sovereigns paid an official visit to Sofia. King Alexander was to fall, twelve days later, shot down by an assassin. His death was not to interrupt the movement of attraction among the various Slavonic nations. It is true that any reference to racial affinities was still avoided. But there was no denying the evidence: it was chiefly the Slavs who were menaced by the Hitlerian expansion. In March, 1934, an article by von Papen lifted the veil of German foreign policy; it showed that the revision of the treaties, and the struggle against the Slavs, were still the basis of that policy. 'Nobody', remarked the *Slovenets* of Ljubljana, 'can henceforth believe that the Germans have in any way modified their opinion of the Slavs; the latter are still, in their eyes, a fallow territory, awaiting Germanic sowers and Germanic seed'.

This observation on the part of the Slovene newspaper turned up again, a few months later, in the mouth of Litvinov himself, who, addressing the Czechs on January 3, 1935, made use of a suggestive pretermission: 'I will not speak of the ties of race and of language which exist between the most important peoples of our Union and the Czechoslovak people. The reason I will not speak of them is that, in the past, these motives have more than once been exploited for imperialist ends, and further, even at the present time, racial theories sometimes serve to cover barbarian ideologies and régimes. Nevertheless, these affinities do exist . . .'.

Unexpected, and moderate as it was, this reminder of family ties had much greater resonance and efficacy than the 'Panslavism' of which the old diplomacies had made a bogy, although it was only an attempt at hierarchised solidarity between Slavs of the Orthodox Faith. For it was inspired neither by a spirit of conquest nor by a desire for hegemony, but by a doctrine of equilibrium. It contained at the same time more authority, and more disinterestedness.

That same year, 1935, saw the visit of Benes to Moscow (June 8–16) and the conclusion of a Soviet-Czech treaty, parallel

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with the Franco-Soviet treaty, and subject to the application of the latter. 'The Russian question', said the Czech statesman, 'will always play a large part in our destiny, if only on account of our geographical situation. That is why our conception of foreign policy will never be definitely elaborated until Russia has become an active factor in Central European politics'.

But, in Prague as in Moscow, scrupulous efforts were made to clear the new pact of any Slav ideology. The Czech newspapers insisted on the two events which had rendered possible the conclusion of this treaty—the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations, and the Franco-Soviet agreement, the beginning of a Paris-Prague-Moscow axis. They reminded their readers that, since the beginning of her history, the Czech nation had developed within the framework of the Western civilisation and had, in modern times, bound up its destiny with that of the democracies. 'Nothing inclines us' (said the *Lidove Noviny*, 'to a collaboration with the Soviets which recalls, even distantly, the old romantic Panslavism, the smug dream of the union of all Slavs and the naïve faith in the possibility of a common international policy, peculiar to all the Slavonic peoples, a specifically Slavonic policy, different from that of the non-Slavonic peoples, even directed against the latter'. At the other political extreme, the *Bohemia* affirmed that 'the new Paris-Prague-Moscow policy is European, and not Panslav'. All the newspapers agreed on this point. Would they have needed to be so insistent, had they not foreseen that Czech opinion would naturally be inclined to see in the pact a manifestation of Slav solidarity? When the Soviet journalists visited Czechoslovakia, they were shown round the whole country, except Sub-Carpathian Russia, where they would have found a population speaking Russian and using the same alphabet as they did. . . . Nothing bears more eloquent witness to the Slavophilia of the Czech people, than the care which their Government and their press took to forestall manifestations of it.

France, who had just made an advance in the direction of Moscow, took fright at her own audacity, and thereafter endeavoured to minimise the extent of the steps she had taken. The Yugoslav Minister in Paris, summoned before Pierre Laval, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, bore a note summarising the arguments which his Government opposed to immediate recognition of the Soviets. He expected a sort of ultimatum on the

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part of the Quay d'Orsay. How great was his surprise at not hearing, during his audience, any reference to the Franco-Soviet pact! On the point of taking leave of Laval, he ventured to congratulate the latter on the results of his journey to Moscow. Laval cut in: 'Don't talk of it! I wish I could cut off the hand that signed the pact. Take great care you don't do the same!' 186* 648 829

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But, still more than the Western policy of the Soviets, it was their work of 're-nationalisation' which impressed the Slavonic world. The brilliance with which the commemoration of the death of Pushkin was celebrated, in 1937, was the first manifestation of this 'Russian drive' abroad. No poet was more 'national' than Pushkin, despite his African blood. He re-created three centuries of Russian life in a profusion of dazzling images. He rendered, more expressively than any writer, the escapist fever of the men of his time and the nostalgic tonalities of the steppes of his country. Great Russian Literature begins with him, and one of his compatriots wrote: 'In Pushkin lies our whole patrimony'. The *Izvestia* declared that it was only with Sovietisation that the masses of the people got to know the true figure of the poet and the meaning of his work. This paper heaped scorn alike on the 'vulgar sociologists' who made of him a wild revolutionary, and the 'ignoramuses' who found nothing useful for Socialist culture in his poetry. And the Government had his works translated into all the languages of the Union. 186* 538

The extent of this homage was a prelude to a general policy of rehabilitation of Russian values. In the first Bolshevist ideology, Russia was represented as the nonchalant and sub-lunary being typified by Oblomov, the dressing-gowned hero of a celebrated novel by Gontcharov. Oblomov is a sort of Russian 'Triplepatte',[9] incapable of taking any decision, and established in the lazy, useless life of a country proprietor. We may say in passing that this picture of the Russian people is not a very true one: it confuses the 'moon-struck' state with inertia. Left [157] to themselves, these people do sometimes lack application, or steadfastness, but if well directed, they are capable of prodigies of energy. For having dared to evoke this classical type, and the mentality to which it has given its name, 'oblomovtchina', Bukharin was accused of having borrowed 'a poisoned arrow

[9] 'Triplepatte' is the hero of a comedy of the same name, by Tristan Bernard and André Godfernaux. (Trans. note.)

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Chapter Four

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE SLAV LIBERATION FRONT

THE historians of the future will be struck by one fact which seems to escape those of our own day, and which we consider below. 721 648 175

Whereas the wars of the nineteenth century originated in, or had as pretexts, disputes localised in different parts of the globe—Spanish Succession (1823 and 1870), the affair of the Duchies, Italian unity, German unity, the protection of the Holy Places, etc.—the thunder-clouds which foreshadowed the wars of the twentieth century all burst in a Slavonic sky.

The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 created the atmosphere which favoured the germination of the Italo-Turkish War and of the Balkan Wars. The Sarajevo outrage in June, 1914, was the pretext for the First World War. The Sudetenland crisis in 1938, which led to the Runciman mission, was the prologue to the Munich bargaining. The whole of the preliminary phase of the Second World War was enacted on Slav territory.

Contrary to all international engagements, the Munich Conference on September 29, 1938, sanctioned the mutilation of Czechoslovakia, in whose history this Conference will remain as a 'second White Hill'.

Then occurred various 'Slavonic episodes', as preludes to the general conflagration. Poland occupied Teschen on October 2, 1938. A few days later Slovakia proclaimed her autonomy. On November 2, the Ribbentrop-Ciano arbitration award, pronounced in Vienna, transferred the eastern part of Czechoslovakia (Sub-Carpathia) to Magyar rule.

On March 15, 1939, 'President' Hacha handed over to the Führer the fate of Bohemia; Hitler entered Prague—Czechoslovakia was wiped off the map.

On August 23, 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed a ten-year pact of non-aggression. Reassured on the Russian side, Germany turned against Poland. Incidents were multiplied

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721 in Danzig; German criminals, dressed in Polish uniforms,
648 attacked German villages in Upper Silesia to provide Hitler with
175 the pretext for an invasion. This was launched on September 1, at 5.45 a.m. The curtain was raised for the greatest drama in history.

186* But, beyond this, the historian who, with these
578 facts as his starting-point, sought to establish synchronism
648 between the feeling of a common destiny among the Slavs and the great wars of the twentieth century would very soon conclude that no such feeling existed. At all times of threatened crisis, there have appeared more or less general impulses towards *rapprochement*; the first result of all actual crises has been to set the Slavs one against the other. In this Second World War, as in that of 1914–1918, we were again to find the Bulgars, the Croats, and the Slovaks ranged with Germany, Bohemia trampled upon, Poland quartered, Serbia crucified, Russia at grips with the Teutonic colossus.

Much more: the Slavs participated in the spoils. Poland rewarded herself at Czechoslovakia's expense, Russia at Poland's, and Bulgaria at Serbia's.

175 Just as the 1914–1918 war had started with the crushing of
648 Serbia, so that of 1939 had as its prologue the carving-up of
721 Czechoslovakia. The latter succumbed to the fate which had forced her to look for support to the Western Democracies, with whom she had no territorial connection, and whose diplomacy, wavering or swept along by the back-wash of internal policy, had been able neither to ensure peace nor to provide for war. The inconsequentiality of France, signing a pact with Moscow, then hastening to evade its consequences, encouraging Yugoslavia to be on her guard against Fascist megalomania, then signing the Four-Power Pact and observing it no more than she had done the previous pacts; all this culminated in the Munich Pact, which—whether justified or not by our military unpreparedness—completed the state of confusion among the nations for whom France was the greatest asset in peace as in war.

It was not only by its inaugural phase—the dismembering of Czechoslovakia and the aggression against Poland—that the war once again seemed destined to become a reckoning between Slavs and Teutons. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler had reproached

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William II for never having acquired new lands in the east. It was not, at that time, a question of fighting Communism, but of 'living space'—a theory which, in Nazi ideology, was directed at the States bordering Eastern Germany and, beyond them, the 'fabulous resources' (*unerhörte Möglichkeiten*) of the Ukraine. Once more the Teuton resumed his age-long vocation of 'consumer of Slavs'. 175 648 721

But, looking closer into the matter, this was not, any more than in 1914, the essential cause of the Pan-Germanic explosion. Hitler's Germany was aiming higher, and farther. Actuated by what she considered to be a prime necessity of her geographical situation and of her 'racial pre-eminence', she regarded herself as the providential elaborator of new syntheses calculated to regenerate the world—but which were, in reality, simply the oldest of hegemonic appetites. It was not upon the Slavs that she declared war; it was upon a form of civilisation made up of Humanism and Christianity which the centuries had identified with the habitable world. The Slavs were the first victims of the *Wehrmacht,* simply because they were considered to be the easiest obstacle to overcome, owing to the inferiority complex which, from time immemorial, the German school had attributed to them. Their geographical position condemned them to be the target for the first onslaught. But the Slavonic world was subjected to unprecedented trials in all the different phases of the war—Czech, Polish, Balkan, Russian. Therein lay the real, the only 'Slavonic' aspect of this war—the recurrence of the periodic catastrophe which crushes these nations as soon as Europe is unleashed against herself. 186* 829 721

So March 15, 1939—the date of the occupation of Prague by Hitler's troops—aroused deep emotion among the Southern Slavs, who realised that the dyke which had hitherto held back the German drive on Eastern Europe had collapsed. There were manifestations of sympathy in Belgrade and in Sofia, especially among the students; messages flowed into Prague from all the Slavonic regions in the Balkans. 186*

Germany herself seems to have had some obscure realisation of her crime. A curious article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of April 23, 1939—an article whose author foresaw the opprobrium that this 'operation' was to cast upon his country—endeavoured to reconcile the policy of the 'Protectorate' of Bohemia with the 186* 829

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186* 829 conceptions of romantic Germany, and with Herder's 'Slavophilia'. He made every effort to show that a nation's interest does not necessarily lie in its elevation to the rank of a sovereign State, but that it may find its development in a subordination of national aspirations to political necessities. 'Geographical and historical facts, and political realities', he said, 'today play their part on an equal footing with the principle of nationalities'.

What the author meant by 'political realities' was to be judged in the light of the volleys of firing which mowed down the students of the University of Prague, guilty of having manifested their attachment to the Czech fatherland.

• 648 175 The subsequent course of events is too recent to need recalling here. The whole edifice of guarantees, built up to support peace, collapsed like a house of cards; twenty years of vague conceptions of security were swallowed up into the abyss that was to engulf the ruins of a world built up by ten centuries of patience and human genius. The Pacts of the Little Entente, gradually voided of their contents,[1] remained inoperative; Article 16 of the Pact of the League of Nations—rendered optional at the request of Poland—did not have to be put into operation; the Polish-Soviet Pact of non-aggression of July 25, 1932, extended in 1934 to December 31, 1945, and reaffirmed on November 26, 1938, remained a dead letter; the 'constant peace and eternal friendship' stipulated in the first clause of the Hungarian-Yugoslav pact concluded on December 12, 1940, and ratified on February 27, 1941, lasted five weeks; as for the 'perpetual friendship' sworn between Bulgarians and Yugoslavs on January 24, 1937, it lasted fifty months, to say nothing of the Salonica Pact concluded on July 31, 1938, between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente. The multiplication of security-pacts ended in making them completely ineffective. *In corruptissima republica leges plurimae.*

If Germany's designs on Bohemia and Poland were clear—too clear—the same could not be said of her position in the Balkans. At the most she claimed to put an end to what she called 'the state of anarchy created by the 1919–1920 treaties in the Balkan-Danubian region'.

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[1] In February, 1940, the minutes of the Balkan Conference contained no reference to the territorial *status quo*.

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The first pawn she moved upon the chess-board was Bulgaria. On March 1, 1941, the Government of Sofia adhered to the Tripartite Pact with a ceremonial which had the Belvedere in Vienna as its setting. A communication from the *Political and Diplomatic Correspondence* of Berlin announced the news to the world, and added: 'Henceforth Bulgaria is numbered among the nations who enjoy equal status, who will in future serve only their own interests, to the exclusion of all others'. The terms of this adhesion had been 'discussed' on the previous November 17, during an interview between Hitler and King Boris at Berchtesgaden. At least one of the conditions was learned on the day the pact was signed; that very day, the Bulgarian Government notified the U.S.S.R. of the entry of German troops into Bulgaria 'to maintain peace within the country'. It was the first manifestation of a policy which the Bulgarian press was to designate 'passive belligerence'.

In face of pressure from Germany, what could the Bulgarian Government do? Three solutions were open to them—to resist by force, to make a diplomatic protest, to give way. The first was out of the question, the second would have added the drawbacks of a refusal to those of actual acceptance. In Sofia they judged the third solution to be the most 'realistic', and the only one that could save what remained to be saved.

In order to appease public opinion, the President of the Council, Bogdan Filov, declared in the Sobranje that 'Berlin had not demanded anything which ran counter to the obligations arising from the treaties concluded between Bulgaria and her neighbours'. And the *Zaria*, of Sofia, summed up its commentary as follows: 'Bulgaria has just decided her fate of tomorrow'. The press was almost unanimous in seeing in the country's adhesion to the Axis the road which should lead her to the revision of the Treaty of Neuilly, to the realisation, so often glimpsed, so often lost again, of a Great Bulgaria.

But the Macedonian psychosis did not prevent thoughtful people from remembering the evil genius of Bulgarian crises and their antecedents—the Balkan Wars and the catastrophe of 1918. Russia was still the ally of Germany. But who could believe that this *entente*, already beginning to show signs of wearing thin, would last until the end of the war? And if not, would it not be Moscow who would act as arbitrator for the destiny of Eastern

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Europe? In November, 1939, on presenting his credentials, the first Soviet diplomat accredited to Sofia had made an unusual and emphatic allusion to the 'historical relationship' of the two countries. Consequently, in Moscow they expected an understanding, if not deferential, attitude on the part of Bulgaria. And so the population was profoundly moved on learning, on March 3, 1941, that the Soviet Government had just indicated, in a fairly stiff note, that they did not share the opinion of the Filov Cabinet, and that the latter's attitude seemed directed rather towards territorial expansion than to the consolidation of peace.

Bulgaria's position then became more and more critical. A Soviet note blamed her adhesion to the Axis. And, with the German-Russian War, began a series of incidents which strained to the utmost the relations between Russians and Bulgarians. In July, the Moscow Government denounced concentrations of troops on the Turkish frontier and preparations, co-ordinated with those of the Axis Powers, for an attack on the Straits.

Sofia denied these accusations. Moscow returned to the attack on September 12 with a note enumerating seven 'facts which the Soviets declared they considered as so many acts of hostility towards them' (movements of German troops, utilisation of aerodromes, ports, railways, etc.). On September 15 the Filov Cabinet again proclaimed their innocence: they had never exceeded the bounds of neutrality.

This diplomatic duel was accompanied by a chorus of violent press polemics concerning incidents, real or imaginary, alternately announced and denied over the air—the projection of Soviet bombs on Bulgarian territory, descent of 'Red' parachutists, acts of sabotage, acts of violence, etc.

And, in the background, was a continual, dogged propaganda tending to strengthen diplomatic action by exploiting both the economic difficulties of the Bulgarian people and the old theme of Russophile affinities. The note of September 12 had discreetly distinguished between the Sofia Government and the 'country'. Agitation was organised in working-class circles. The governing classes retorted by reinforcing the law for the protection of the State. There were executions.

Within a few weeks, Bulgaria saw herself faced with a problem no less social than national.

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If the Soviet reaction left any room for doubt, this was entirely removed on the occasion of the drama which was played out in Belgrade in the last week of March, 1941. On the 25th of that month, the Yugoslav Premier, Tsvetkovich, and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tsintsar Markovich, were received by Hitler and signed Yugoslavia's adhesion to the Tripartite Pact in Vienna. Forty-eight hours later a *coup d'état* put General Simovich in power. Rising magnificently, the Serbian people, more clear-sighted than their leaders, and faithful to their tradition of independence, had swept away the pusillanimous ministers who had just put the country at the feet of the oppressor. War was inevitable. At Vichy, when Pourich, the Yugoslav minister, announced his King's decision to Admiral Darlan, the latter said to him quizzingly: 'How many divisions have you, for resisting Germany?' And Pourich replied: 'Sir, that is a question we never ask in my country. We fight first, and count afterwards'.

648 175 [669]

There you have the whole heroic philosophy of the Serbian people. Russia greeted Belgrade's *coup d'état* by signing, on April 5, a pact of friendship and non-aggression with the new Government. She could not do more to indicate where her sympathies lay. *Pravda* recalled the fact that the relations between the two countries had steadily improved since May, 1940, when diplomatic contact had been resumed. But Belgrade learned the news of this pact simultaneously with that of the German attack, which took place a few hours later. To justify this aggression, Hitler enumerated a certain number of complaints, the first of which was a reminder of the Sarajevo outrage. That day, he had no doubt forgotten one of the sentences in *Mein Kampf*: 'It was the hand of the goddess of eternal law and of inexorable punishment that struck down Austrian Germany's most deadly enemy, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand'.[2]

Bulgaria took advantage of the German victory to reoccupy Macedonia, and on May 18[1] the Bulgarian flag was hoisted at Skoplje. She announced that she would limit her occupation to the lands she considered as *irredenta*. Needless to say, the appeal which the Yugoslavs broadcast from London, on the following

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[2]. French translation (1934), p. 26.

1 [1941 -- Analyst]

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186* June 9, in the name of 'Slavonic fraternity', met with no
175 response in official quarters. The *Dnes*, of Sofia, replied that
• 648 Slavism was a myth, and that, moreover, Russia was not Slavonic.

But, even supposing that Slavism was a myth, Russia was a reality. Once again Slav solidarity appeared in its negative aspect. Bulgaria declared war on the United States and on England; to the very end, she maintained her diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R., thus showing herself more 'Russophile' than King Ferdinand's Government had been in 1915.

* * *

648 Mistress of the Balkans and of Danubian Europe, Germany
175 set up her 'order' in those parts. None of the formulas on which the structure of the Balkan world had been modelled in the past had succeeded in conciliating national aspirations with the tranquillity of Europe. The notion of equilibrium had condemned the Balkan-Danubian States to chronic readjustments, under cover of which the small nations had been made to pay the cost, first of the disputes and then of the reconciliations, of the Great Powers. The hegemony of the large empires (Turkey, Austria-Hungary) had perhaps improved material living conditions for the masses, but it had led to *irredentism* and terrorism. The principle of the *nationalities* (1919–1940) had achieved empirical justice, but had split Europe up into atomic units at the very moment when the progress of communications would have rendered desirable the economic equipment of vast areas. In the crisis that followed the failure of the Creditanstalt, the standard of living of certain Balkan populations fell below what it had been during the Turkish period.

The tangle of races, religions, and historical affinities represented in this region makes any 'rational' solution impossible. Hitler said so himself, in a speech of April 28, 1939: 'I have never left in doubt the fact that it is intrinsically almost impossible to harmonise political and ethnical frontiers to every one's satisfaction'.

But Hitler did more than say this—he proved it. If his principles had triumphed, the Balkan-Danubian world would have been permeated by more irredentism than there had been in the time of the 'Diktat'.

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In the first place, the 'Balkanisation' or splitting up with which the Europe of 1920–1938 was reproached was not reduced under German domination, but rather aggravated. The number of small States had increased by three (Slovakia, Croatia, Montenegro). The 'corridors' and 'wedges' were more numerous, the general configuration more irregular than ever. 648 • 175

In the second place, the number of malcontent countries, too, had strangely increased. Before the war there were only two, Hungary and Bulgaria. In 1942 there were five—Greece, Serbia, Croatia, Rumania, and Slovakia; Bulgaria herself, disgusted at losing the western borders of Macedonia to Albania, was threatening to join the ranks of the malcontents. Exercising violence, cynicism, and corruption by turns, Hitler's Reich succeeded only in creating two phases of antagonism, first setting the Balkan nations one against the other, then regrouping them all against itself. The Reich gave the name of 'allies' to nations which were all hostile to it, including some which only joined it in order to secure its support against their neighbours when the time came for a final reckoning. The essence of civilisation is a certain ability to forget; the most backward nations live on a heritage of resentments which forms an obstacle to any policy of unification. And, on the other hand, the régime of conquest ruins the psychological foundations of the reorganisation which it claims to make. Although no European region stood in greater need of rationalisation than the Danube Basin, the nebulous declamations of the Nazi prophets regarding the economic systematisation of the continent missed the mark. In the autumn of 1943, to remedy the disastrous consequences of Italy's volte-face, Neubacher, the representative of the Reich's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Balkans, endeavoured to arrange a Conference of the Peninsular States in order to establish a Balkan Confederation within the framework of the 'New Europe', but he met with refusal or scepticism everywhere. Even those of the Balkan-Danubian States who were fighting side by side with the Reich were only awaiting an opportunity to come to blows. Not a day passed but brought news of riots accompanied by bloodshed in the transferred territories—Bulgars versus Albanians, Greeks versus Bulgars, Rumanians versus Hungarians. And all this turbulence was taking place on the margin of resistance to the oppressor—at first masked, then open.

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There was something else they forgot in Berlin—the fact that the prestige of the Reich, in the whole of this sector, was doubly handicapped—handicapped by a generalised scorn of death and by the state of mind of peasants who, having seen, in one and the same generation, the collapse of Ottoman Turkey, Tsarist Russia, and the Habsburg Empire, instinctively failed to consider any hegemonic experiments as permanent. The majority of these nations have been hardened to defeat, as well as to recovery; consequently they believe neither in lasting adversity nor in the permanence of strength. They are the uncertain factor in the European pattern.

In short, in the brief historical parenthesis represented by the domination of the Axis in Eastern Europe, there was no elimination, but first transfer and then coalition of irredentisms. We may say that the incoherence of the concepts elaborated by the Axis Powers and their inability to remedy it, were the best retrospective justification of the treaties which had put an end to the previous war, though this should not lead us to underestimate their errors and omissions.

The decisive turning-point of the war—Russia's entry into the campaign—will remain a key-event in the history of the Slavonic peoples. At the moment when this occurred, some tens of millions of Slavs were perishing under Nazi oppression. It was impossible for this mortal duel between two giants not to flood their hearts with tremendous hope, replacing the discouragement that the unnatural *entente* sealed in Moscow had caused them. The war of which Russia was, for several years, to bear the heavy burden was a real 'war of liberation'. For the first time, in a political speech, made to the Soviet Assembly in Moscow on November 6, 1941, Stalin used the expression 'Russian people' (*Rouski Narod*) in preference to 'Soviet Union'. 'These people (the Nazis), devoid of conscience and honour, have the cynicism to summon the nations to the destruction of the great Russian nation, the nation of Plekhanovs, Lenins, Bilenskys and Tchernichevskys, Pushkins and Tolstoys, Gorkys and Tchekhovs, Setchenovs and Pvalovs, Rapins and Surikovs, Suvorovs and Kutusovs'. To this panorama of Russian genius he added a solemn pledge, calculated to reassure the nations of Eastern Europe, as to the price of the liberty he promised them and which he was to bring them. 'We have no intention of

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conquering foreign territories or of annexing other nations. . . . 648
Nor do we intend to impose our will and our régime *on the* 175
Slavonic peoples or on the other oppressed nations of Europe who are awaiting our aid'.

Russia, Slavonic peoples, liberation—these words sounded 186*
like a rallying-call around nôtions long vague and confused, 175
suddenly taking shape in the Titanic conflict in which the 648
destiny of the civilised nations was the stake. Bethmann-Hollweg's war-cry: *Germanentum gegen Slawentum* took on an entirely new meaning. The Teutons had conquered the territories where the first Slavonic tribes had camped; Ferdinand II had broken Czech independence; Frederick had annexed Silesia and Poland; Hitler appropriated Bohemia, Poland, Slovenia, Serbia, and the Ukraine. He chained Croatia and Slovakia to his ephemeral chariot of victory. He was the greatest spoliator of Slav territory that history had ever known. In a sketch broadcast in America, the two Czech comedians, Voskovec and Werych, were discussing the war. 'Who is the greatest man humanity has produced?' asked one. 'Opinions differ', said the other. 'No, no doubt about it, it's Hitler'. 'How can you say such a thing?' 'Yes, Hitler. He is the first statesman to make the Slavs agree among themselves'.

This *entente* was strengthened during the following months, as a result of Russia's policy towards the various countries in revolt against the Hitlerian occupation and also as a result of the Congresses which were held from 1942 to 1944, both in Soviet territory and in the New World.

The old Slavonic instinct of rebellion was rediscovering its traditional weapons—bombs and meetings—and their efficacy increased as German power, undermined by revolt, collapsed. Out of the 5,000,000 Slav 'workers' mobilised by Sauckel, only 200,000 were volunteers.

If we leave out of account the German occupation régime, which in Czechoslovakia took the name of 'Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia' and in Poland that of 'General Government', if we ignore the case of Dalmatia (Zara, Spalato, Cattaro) attached to Italy by a decree of May 18, 1941, and that of Montenegro, which proclaimed its 'independence' on July 13, 1941, but five months later was placed under the authority of an Italian governor, there remain two Slavonic States, Slovakia and

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Croatia, to bear witness to the 'European Order' dreamed of by Hitler and Mussolini.

Slovakia was for long the most outcast of the Slavonic nations. From her went out the first call for Slav solidarity, and it was one of her sons, the priest Jean Kollar, who founded romantic Slavism. Kollar had studied in Jena with the historian, Luden. He had participated in the Wartburg Festival. Every one knows of the disputes the Slovaks had, between the two wars, with the Czechs, whom they accused of practising exaggerated centralism. The anti-Czech elements took advantage of the Czechoslovak crisis to proclaim the independence of Slovakia on March 14, 1939—the same day as the notification of that of Carpatho-Ukraine, immediately occupied by Hungarian troops. Ten days later the country, presided over by a priest, Joseph Tiso, signed the so-called 'protection treaty' (*Schutzvertrag*) which placed it under the domination of the Reich. The latter guaranteed for twenty-five years the 'political independence' and the territorial integrity of the Slovak State. The head of the Government, Tuka, gave to the German-Slovak friendship the name of *Schutzfreundschaft*. A very active Germanophile minority had always existed in the country: the Popular Party of Hlinka (another ecclesiastic) had maintained close relations with the German Party of the Sudetes, whose propaganda, organised by Conrad Henlein, was one of the immediate causes of the war. As far back as September, 1939, Slovakia was represented by a few modest contingents in the campaign against Poland. Her Government was to pride itself on having been the first to bank on a German victory, and for this reason was to claim a sort of 'right of seniority' among the allies of the Hitlerian Reich. It adhered to the Tripartite Pact on November 28, 1940, and appeared to feel it a great honour to see Slovakia, with her two and a half million inhabitants, put on the same footing as Italy and Japan. 'By receiving us', said President Tuka, 'the German Reich has openly and solemnly placed us in the company of independent states'.

This honour was worth a few sacrifices—particularly of the patriots who had formed a different idea on the matter of independence. On his return from Salzburg, where he had seen the Führer, Tuka announced that it would be a National Socialist State. It was necessary to bring to reason certain

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elements who were resisting the spirit of the *Schutzvertrag* and following divergent paths. 186* 175

We may therefore consider Slovakia as a State which, from that time onwards, realised all Hitler's hopes. Better still, it had anticipated them. 'The spirit of National Socialism comes from Hlinka', said President Tuka, 'its methods come from Hitler'. 'Slovakia', he said again, 'must be the vestibule of Paradise'. Racial laws were applied in Slovakia with the same rigour as in Germany, and the Government prided itself on administering 'the most anti-Semite country in the world'. Out of 89,000 Jews who lived there in 1939, there remained in January, 1944, according to official statistics, 20,000 (11,000 of whom had been baptised) and these, moreover, were destined to be eliminated, down to the last man. 'Slovakia was the first country to feel the beneficial effects of the great purification to establish a just world order'—this testimony from the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* speaks volumes as to the docility with which the Bratislava Government responded to Hitlerian control. 648

It is never difficult to attach a conception of the State—however fantastic it may be—to historical antecedents. Slovak propaganda discovered 'positive elements' which justified the Government's policy. Its organ, the *Slowakische Rundschau*,[1] recalled that the Slovak State in its first form, the Great Moravian Empire, founded by King Svatopluk, had collapsed because it had proved incapable of collaborating in peace with the Holy Empire. [208]

It was more difficult to reconcile the Hitlerian ideology with the principles of Christianity to which the people were profoundly attached (Slovakia is the European country in which the clergy are most in evidence in political struggles). This difficulty did not deter either the priest, Tiso, or his Government, who enjoy the doubtful credit of having, despite the Encyclicals, combined the teachings of the Church with the Hitlerian creed. This was a favourite subject for official speeches. 'The victory of Germany will be the victory of Christian principles', declared Mach, the Minister of the Interior, in his message for Christmas, 1943.

[1] Of July 7, 1940.

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648 175 Needless to say, the masses of the populace saw in these absurdities nothing but a blind submission to Germany. In August, 1944, the Germans physically occupied the country. The Government was reorganised; Stephen Tiso, President of the Bratislava Court of Appeal, replaced Tuka as President of the Council. His first act was to have recourse to the Germans to put an end to the increasingly threatening activity of the Partisans. On September 13 a National Council was formed which sent a message of fidelity to Benes. The latter replied, 'The Czechs and the Slovaks will give the State a new form, based on absolute equality of rights and on a spirit of democracy and fraternity'.

* * *

186 175 Croatia presents, from the historical point of view, a quite different personality. She prides herself on having safeguarded her juridical individuality through a thousand years, under régimes of personal union and under the rule of foreign sovereigns. The clique which, thanks to the collapse of the Yugoslav State, took the power into their own hands and proclaimed the independence of the country on April 10, 1941, was composed of revolutionaries, most of them *émigrés*, grouped since 1929 in the *Oustachi* (insurgent) organisations, by Ante Pavelich, who revived the Croatian Law Party dissolved in 1918, and was the instigator (with Italian and Magyar accomplices) of the crime which led to the death of King Alexander and of Louis Barthou.

The new 'Independent State of Croatia' (a term calculated to imply that the Croatian State had existed without independence) was represented by the crown of King Zvonimir, who died in 1089—a feature borrowed from the constitutional *mystique* of Hungary, which personifies in the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen the union of people and monarchy.[4]

The ideology of the new régime was reduced to negative elements—a struggle against Orthodoxy, Liberalism, Democracy, Freemasonry, Judaism, and Bolshevism, hitherto combined, according to the official propaganda, 'under the false geographical label of Yugoslavism'. It thus claimed to renew the tradition

161 [4] The new Kingdom of Croatia had a population of 7,080,000 inhabitants, as follows: Croatia, 5,000,000, Serbs, 1,500,000, Hungarians, 70,000, and Slovenes, 87,000. It covered an area of 71,958 square miles.

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which had made of Croatia the bulwark of Christianity (*Antemurale Christianitatis*).

But, while Slovakia was the testing-ground of Germany's 'European' conceptions, it was from Mussolini's Italy that the Croatia of Pavelich took her watchwords.[5] It was to Mussolini that Pavelich, condemned to death by the Aix-en-Provence Assize Court, fled for protection. It was in the Doges' Palace in Venice that Pavelich signed Croatia's adhesion to the Tripartite Pact on June 15, 1941. Moreover, the 'oustachi' had not awaited the arrival of the Germans and the Italians before rallying to the Axis. The first step towards adhesion to the Tripartite Pact dates from the interview which took place in January, 1940, between Pavelich and Count Ciano, in the latter's home.

Moreover, the independence of the new State had, from the time of its constitution, been seriously mortgaged, for the Duke of Spoleto, son of the late Duke of Aosta, was to reign over it, with the title of Tomislav II. However, he never appeared in Croatia, and notified his abdication on August 27, 1943.

Italy had counted on Croatia to play the same role in the Balkans as Germany had assigned to Slovakia in the Danube Basin—that of a testing-ground for the New Order. 'Croatia represents the touchstone of the system which the Axis Powers wish to establish in Europe'.[6] As soon as it came to power, the pro-Hitler minority which governed by terror at Zagreb (or at Bania-Louka) had, in the name of racialism no doubt, abolished the word 'Slav' from their terminology. In the propagandist work (*The Croats*) published in Zagreb in 1943, we read (on page 75) that the Croats are of Iranian stock and 'derive their origin from the ancient cradle of the best European races in the Caucasus', while on page 78 we learn that Professor H. M. Chadwick's theory 'completes and corroborates the thesis concerning the Gothic origin of the Croats'. No doubt these two opinions are somewhat contradictory, but the Gothic connection was calculated to rejoice the hearts of the theorists of Nordic pre-eminence. Pavelich himself declared to a German journalist that he wished the German origin of his nation could be proved

[5] The Croatian National Socialist Party amalgamated with the 'oustachi' movement on July 13, 1941.

[6] Broadcast from Radio-Rome, April 27, 1942.

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countries and bring peace and liberty to men'. In the following September the Slav delegates to the Washington Congress of anti-Fascist Students passed a resolution calling upon their Anglo-American comrades to bring pressure to bear on their Governments with a view to opening a second European Front. In April, 1943, the Central Committee of the Congress of Slavs in America, sitting at Chicago, declared that if efforts were not made to crush Germany quickly, 'there will be nothing left to liberate but cemeteries'. They organised a 'Panslav Day' for June 22, and demanded the re-establishment of free circulation for Slav newspapers in Brazil.

Needless to add, there were reactionary or dissident movements, and certain Slav groups maintained contacts with the pro-Axis Governments, or pursued an anti-Soviet policy.

Their case was raised at the Congress of Slavs in America, which was held in Pittsburg on January 24, 1944, and was attended by seventy-five delegates from New York, Buffalo, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Saint-Louis, and even from Canada. This Congress studied reports on the activities of a hundred local committees during the year 1943. The chief subject for discussion was the attitude of the Committee of Americans of Polish Origin, of which Colonel Matuszewsky was the head, and of their newspaper, *Nowy Swiat,* which was unanimously censured. Then the Congress applauded a resolution approving Roosevelt's war policy as well as the Teheran, Moscow, and Cairo agreements. A second meeting was held in Pittsburg on September 23 and 24. Like the previous one, its chief object was to create a 'Slavonic electoral front' in favour of Roosevelt's candidature, to speed up the American war effort,[8] and to combat the action of the Matuszewsky Committee, a Polish breach in Slav solidarity. (The Congress of Americans of Polish Origin held in Buffalo in the preceding month had included this action on its agenda.)

* * *

A few months earlier, the Poles in America had been deeply moved by a strange episode, the journey of Father Stanislas Orlemanski to Moscow. This unassuming priest, of Polish

[8] The sale of bonds for the Fourth American War Loan by the Slav Committee of New York served to build, among other things, a bomber, 'The New York Slav', and a chaser, 'Spirit of Stalingrad'.

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648 793 159 origin, was in charge of a little Massachusetts church, the Holy Rosary, in the diocese of Springfield. Was he first sounded, and then invited to Moscow, as he himself was to allege, or did he improvise a mission? The facility with which he moved about in Russia, at a time when travelling was subject to severe restrictions, argues in favour of the former hypothesis. He was absent from April 17 to May 11, 1944, the object of his journey being, according to him, 'to see what he could do for the Catholic Church in Poland, Ukraine, and White Russia'. On his return he declared that he had twice been received by Stalin, and had obtained from him assurances, both verbal and written, in favour of religious liberty on Soviet territory. 'Future events will prove', he said, 'that Marshal Stalin nourishes very friendly sentiments towards the Roman Catholic Church. He wants a really democratic, independent Poland, capable of defending herself against any fresh aggression. The religion of the Polish people will be that of our ancestors; he will not tolerate any change. All he asks in return is a Poland animated with fraternal feelings towards the U.S.S.R.'.

Four hours after Father Orlemanski's return home, his bishop imposed the penalties provided for cases of unauthorised absence; he was forbidden to say Mass. After an attempted protest to the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, he submitted and solemnly promised never again to meddle with matters outside his priestly functions, upon which the bishop raised the interdict pronounced against him.

648 793 159 208 But his journey nevertheless aroused tremendous interest. The Soviet Radio called it a 'great international event', and the press published Orlemanski's declarations in full. As there are very few Catholics in Russia proper, the assurances given by Stalin referred especially to the liberated territories of the Ukraine and of Eastern Poland. The Tass Agency, emphasising the reality of these assurances, accused (though in moderate terms) the Hierarchy of the United States of having, in this matter, adopted a not very favourable attitude towards the Soviets. Whilst the *Christian Science Monitor* expressed satisfaction at the Orlemanski mission, and did not doubt that the Vatican would take advantage of the conciliatory attitude of the Soviets, the *Chicago Sun* placed its trust in the Catholic clergy's common sense to reject 'the poisoned advice of the agitators',

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seeking to encourage the Church in her traditional opposition to the Soviets. But the *Post Dispatch* regretted that the Kremlin should have chosen such an unimportant person as Orlemanski for such a demonstration. The *Louisville Courier* deplored the censure passed on this priest by his bishop; no doubt the latter tolerated disparagement of the Soviet Union, but not efforts to understand it.

The truth seems to be that Father Orlemanski's initiative, whether concerted with Moscow or not, aroused in Slavonic circles reactions calculated to handicap the Government and prejudice Roosevelt's electoral campaign. While the Slavonic Committee of America approved this initiative, the *émigré* Poles threatened to launch a campaign which would have brought Washington and Moscow into opposition. It happened that Orlemanski's superiors were of Irish origin—which, obviously, did not predispose them to regard his journey with a favourable eye. In any case, the episcopal decision and the priest's submission cut short any attempts at propaganda, thus rendering a very opportune service to the Government, but postponing or compromising the perspective of a possible easing of the situation, if not of a *rapprochement* between Poland and the Soviets, and between the Soviets and the Vatican.

In Latin America the headquarters of the permanent Slav Committee were at Montevideo, where, in April, 1943, three hundred and ninety-four Slav delegates assembled at a Congress which established the Union of Slav Nationals (they were estimated at two millions), to organise the struggle against pro-Hitlerian activities.

* * *

This sketch of the recovery of the Slavs in the Old World and the New brings out two features: the gravitation of all the Slavonic nations round the Muscovite colossus, and the repugnance of a sector of Polish opinion to this method of regrouping.

As was to be anticipated, German propaganda affected to see in this the execution of a plan tending to 'Bolshevise' Europe, and even America. Germany again launched her old commonplaces about the inferiority of the Slavs. A Radio-Paris broadcast (February 21, 1943) assured listeners 'that about one-quarter of the American population is composed of Slavonic elements, of

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186* Negroids, and of Jews, and that this degeneracy warrants our
• 648 suspecting American morals'. Remarks which were not very
723 flattering for the Slovaks, the Croats, and the Bulgars, whose Governments were still allies of the Axis. 'Naturally', Radoslavov, a Bulgarian minister was to say, 'we belong to the Slavonic race. But we are, first and foremost, Bulgars. We act in accordance with our own interests and not with the interests of the Slavonic peoples in general'. And the *Zora,* of Sofia, went one farther, reproaching Stalin, a Georgian, who had always rejected racial concepts, for posing as the head of the Slavs, and for rallying to racial theories. 'With God's help', this paper concluded, 'the Soviets will never be able to overthrow the Eastern front'.

Other objections kept polemical discussions alive. M. Benes one day expressed to the Czechoslovak Council his desire to see Poland 'independent, democratic, and friendly', joining the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement. 'This', he said, 'would mean the definite settlement of all the differences outstanding between our three countries and would assure their future by guaranteeing peace in this part of the globe; Germany would never again dare to start a world war'.

186* This declaration aroused unfriendly or sceptical comments
829 in part of the Turkish press. For a long time that press had been
204 watching the development of the Slavonic orientation in Soviet policy. 'The new Panslav movement', the officially-inspired *Ulus* had said, 'will be followed with the greatest attention, especially by those non-Slavonic nations which were formerly the object of that policy'.[9]

This time it was the *Tanin* which asked why, since the expression 'Pangermanic Imperialism' applied to the union of Germans, that of 'Panslavonic Imperialism' should not describe the union of Slavs? An article in *Pravda,*[10] an obvious reflection of Moscow's ideas on Slav solidarity, refuted this assertion at great length. The Soviet leader-writer recalled that, for a thousand years, the history of Eastern Europe had been that of the defence of the Slavonic peoples against the German invader. 'The historical atmosphere has changed', he said, 'but the object of the German conquerors is unchangeable—to separate the Slavs by force'. There were, he added (for the benefit of the

[9] August 13, 1941.
[10] February 19, 1944.

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Turkish journalist) some people in Eastern Europe who would like to return to the old policy of oppression of the Slavonic peoples. . . . The new friendship among these peoples, related to each other and bound by century-old ties of a common culture, was being tempered in the crucible of the war of liberation. . . . Their *rapprochement* would displease none but those who dreamed of seeing them dominated once again'. 186* 829 204

* * *

The Orlemanski affair has shown us an attempt at Slav solidarity in the domain of religious tolerance. In the same order of things, but this time in connection with the Orthodox Slavs, we cannot omit to mention the deep impression produced by the restoration of juridical personality to the Russian Orthodox Church (September, 1943) and the elevation of the Metropolitan Serge to the office of Patriarch, abolished in 1721 by Peter the Great and which enjoyed a brief restoration in 1917. With its hundred and fifty million followers, the Orthodox community, placed at the cross-roads of the war, was undergoing one of the most tragic crises in its history. Its suffering was all the more serious, inasmuch as the Orthodox Churches are organised on national lines, in contrast to the hierarchical unity of Roman Catholicism. These churches are bound together by identical doctrine and canons. But, in the course of the centuries, they have progressively relaxed the bonds of dependence which used to attach them to the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. Religious autonomy has advanced side by side with the emancipation of the nationalities. In restoring the rights of the Church, Stalin not only indicated his desire to reawaken the traditions of Russian national life, within the framework of a social renovation; he also tightened the historic bonds between his country and the Balkan nations of the Orthodox religion, thus reinforcing, by new spiritual affinities, sympathies founded on community of race, of oppression, and of destiny. 186* 659 796

Germany tried to foil this policy by summoning to Vienna, on November 5, under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Belgrade, the Orthodox prelates adhering to the Axis cause, and especially the Metropolitans of Berlin and of Paris, who declared the election of the new Patriarch to be null and void. This demonstration was of no effect; the vast majority of the Serbian, Rumanian, Greek and Bulgarian hierarchies either had nothing 648 793 795

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648 793 795 to do with the protesting prelates,[11] or openly dissociated themselves from their attitude.

771 626 795 By way of retort, the first number of the *Moscow Patriarchy* published a message from the Council of Russian Bishops, assembled for the election, inviting Christians to pray for the victory of the Red Army and the fulfilment of the scriptural text invoked by Alexander Nevsky: 'He who strikes with the sword shall perish by the sword'. On September 8, this same Council had excommunicated 'as adversaries of the Cross of the Lord, all who have been guilty of treason to the common cause of the Church and gone over to Fascism'; the bishops and clergy guilty on this head were removed from their sacred office.

* * *

186* 563 To conclude, the only obstacles to a general reconciliation of the Slavonic peoples came from the Poles. To summarise here the vicissitudes of Soviet-Polish relations since the pact of December, 1941, would mean not only relating the most stormy chapter in the Allies' war diplomacy, but also recalling the relations of the various groups among the Polish exiles, the antagonism between the London Committee and that of Lublin, the frontier problem, and also the perhaps more tragic problem of the political, religious, and social concepts on the basis of which the Polish State was to be re-born. Once again it was made very clear that Poland occupied a place apart on the map of the Slavonic world, and formed an obstacle to the realisation of full Slav solidarity.

727 177 Like the other Slavonic States, however, she had been caught up in the advance of the Russian armies sweeping across Eastern Europe—an onrush which settled the fate of the Slav nations, with or without their consent, as a consequence of their liberation. For three or four years Germany had been the second Slavonic power in the world. She had imposed on her Serbian, Croatian, Slovak, and Bulgarian satellites not only the horrors of the occupation, but also ideologies strongly opposed to their temperaments and their history; an impersonal and tyrannical idea of the State, a 'New Order' which was nothing but a hypocritical subjection, anti-Semitism which—with the exceptions of Poland and Imperial Russia—the Slavonic nations had always regarded with horror. When the collapse came, all these nations turned

[11] Among these, however, we must include the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Argentine.

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When the collapse came, all these nations turned against an aggressor who had not only trodden their sovereign rights under foot, but even violated their consciences. The Governments which had been at his beck and call were either handed over to popular justice, or taken along with the baggage of the defeated army. On September 7, 1944 Bulgaria broke with the Reich; a few days later the Pavelich Government was dispersed; Slovakia gradually passed under the control of the partisans; Belgrade was occupied by the Tolbukhin army on the following October 20, the day that Tito liberated Ragusa. In the last few weeks of 1944 the map of war operations reflected the real political positions of the Slavonic world, based on Soviet victory. 'Fraternal union with Russia is one of the most deeply-rooted sentiments of the Slavonic peoples', declared King Peter of Yugoslavia in a communiqué dated from London on January 11, 1945.

Within this Slavonic world, relations were entering upon a new phase. They were ceasing to be a speculation of the learned world, a poet's dream, a field for sentimental outpourings. They had become a reality of international life. The resisting elements in the Slavonic community had at first represented a complete range of specimens of the struggle against oppression—the Czech's masked militancy, the Poles' street-fighting, Serbian guerrilla warfare, Bulgarian terrorism. They had made contact, concerted their action. Early in 1945 it was possible to speak of a 'Slavonic Front', a thing unknown to history. Something had changed in the destiny of the Slavs. The representative of Pavelich's Croatia accredited to the Vichy Government was one day lunching with some French ministers. He went so far as to say, in an expansive moment: 'All the same, the time has come to give the Slavs their place in the sun!'

A very unexpected remark in the mouth of the envoy of an Axis Government, and, moreover, an envoy who had officially repudiated his ethnical ties.[12] It passed unnoticed by the guests, who were not very well acquainted with the historical laws of European evolution; but it revealed the depth and unanimity of the Slavs' faith in a revival of their fortunes as the result of the Second World War.

[12] It should be noted that the visit to France of Croatia's 'diplomatic' representatives seems to have inspired them with a clearer feeling of realities. The first of them, Kokotovich, went to Switzerland, whence he sent a letter to the French Foreign Minister, begging him not to pay any attention to what his successor did. Moreover, the latter, Krenik, joined Kokotovich in Switzerland a few months later.

[1. Slavonic nations - Analyst]

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'Young Brigade', and by the predominance of the 'social' over the 'political' and even over the 'national'. 177 .64

This revolution was in the logic of events; was there any need to invoke the ascendancy or the presence of Russia to explain it? On emerging from an upheaval unprecedented in their history, the little nations, stupefied by the blow and completely helpless, saw their recent past only as error or treason. 177 .18 181

We cannot even reproach Russia with having bound up her action with a policy of patronage or aimed at an ideological synchronisation of the régimes born on the territories she had liberated. In Hungary, for example, she was very careful not to recreate the atmosphere of the time of Bela Kun, whose sinister memory, she found, was still alive.

But, in the Slavonic countries, the parties of the extreme Left, almost everywhere identified with the Resistance, took advantage of the presence and the prestige of Russia in order to get into power and stay there. This led to a misunderstanding which, by associating the Russian authorities with the Governments which they were believed to favour, risked one day exposing the popularity of the Soviet Union in these countries to a turn in the tide of internal politics. 662

Obliged henceforth to gravitate in the orbit of the powerful Russian State, the Slavonic nations could not consider the future from the same angle as they had done in 1918. At the conclusion of a devastating war, Russia would never again allow neighbouring States to serve as a diplomatic or military jumping-off ground for a possible adversary. She regarded them as her security ramp. 186* 829

One might be tempted to see in this Muscovite hold over Eastern Europe a revolution of an international order. In truth it was a revolution only in relation to an abnormal state of affairs—that of the 1920–1940 period, which rested on Russia's inertia in Europe. It could not reasonably be expected that this state of affairs would last indefinitely. The Europe of 1945 was more logical than that of 1918—at any rate, more in conformity with the classic play of international forces. 648 •

The slogan of Slav solidarity, which formed the *leit-motiv* of the Moscow Congresses of 1942–1944, had galvanised and co-ordinated the movements for resistance to the invader. In 186* 668 000

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mediatisation. In the past, Slavism had mobilised more feeling than will-power, animated more Congresses than Crusades. It now reassumed the academic, 'poet and professor' form it had exhibited a hundred years earlier. 186* 668

So that Russia's first acts as a liberating power were not particularly Slavonic. In virtue of the ethnical principle, exercised in her own favour, she annexed to the Ukraine Carpatho-Ruthenia, which had been a Civilisation Front for another Slavonic power—Czechoslovakia. As far as Poland was concerned Russia drew the logical advantages of her victory. Poland's annexation of Prussia's Eastern Marches was simply compensation for the amputations she suffered in favour of the Ukraine and of White Russia. The support discreetly given by Moscow to the Bulgaro-Yugoslav claims on Aegean Macedonia reflected less concern for Slav solidarity than the desire to liberate the outlet from the Straits. 186* 668 725

The award of the Teschen Basin, once more disputed between Poland and Czechoslovakia, provided Russia with a very delicate arbitration task, in which the necessity for compensating the sacrifices demanded of the Poles weighed more heavily than the memory of Czech fidelity; had not Czechoslovakia, for ten years, been considered as the 'aircraft-carrier' of Soviet military power?

In reality—and a large dose of ingenuousness was required in order to believe that it could ever be otherwise—the territorial changes over which the Russians presided were all inspired by Russian interests, in the historical and traditional sense of the word.

* * *

Let us briefly recall the evolution of the Slavonic peoples immediately after their liberation. 648 175

Poland was, during the war, represented by a Government-in-exile in London, which negotiated with the Allies, to whom they gave valuable military assistance. In Moscow this Government was regarded as 'reactionary' and incompatible with a policy of good Polish-Sovietic relations. So it was constantly attacked by the Russian leaders and the Russian press. [829]

As long as the war was conducted outside Polish territory, London and Washington classed this dispute with those that are

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•648 175 only settled by being shelved. The English and the Americans were in a delicate position with regard to Poland; the former because it was difficult for them to forget that they had entered the war in order to safeguard Poland's independence, the latter because in the United States there is a large Polish emigration, whose electoral influence is by no means negligible. (It should not be forgotten that Roosevelt was the candidate of the minorities, the allogeneous groups, and the Catholics.)

But the entry of Soviet troops into Polish territory put an end to all hopes of postponing until the end of the war the solution of the dispute between the Polish exiles in London and the 'Association of Polish Patriots' set up in Moscow to tie the future of Poland to that of Russia. As in the case of the Baltic peoples, the Kremlin intended to deal only with a Polish authority constituted on her territory and consisting of members not suspected of any anti-Sovietic affiliations or tendencies.

Yet M. Stanislas Mikolajczyk, leader of the Peasant Party, who, on July 5, 1943, had replaced General Sikorski at the head of the Polish Government in London, sought to gain time. The Soviet press conducted a violent campaign against him and his collaborators, representing them as survivors of a retrograde Poland, the inheritance of the 'Colonels' Government', and as reincarnating the anti-democratic, anti-Russian tradition of Pilsudski.

On the day when Radio-Moscow announced the entry of the Red armies into Chelm, the communiqué was followed by the Soviet anthem, then the Polish. From this entry of the Reds into Poland dates the formation, on Russian-occupied territory, of the 'National Liberation Committee', whose first act was to repudiate allegiance to M. Mikolajczyk's Government. Thenceforward there were two Polish authorities.

642 175 The National Committee issued a manifesto to the 'People of Poland', announcing that in the Committee was invested the 'sole legal authority' existing in Poland, since it was actuated by the spirit of the democratic constitution of 1921, whereas the London Cabinet had resulted from the authoritarian constitution of April, 1935. The Committee considered itself, thenceforth, as the sole provisional legal organ of the executive power; moreover, this claim was supported by a Soviet communiqué announcing that the administration of the Polish territories

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occupied by the Russian armies would be entrusted to the Committee. 642 175

It will be noticed that in both documents the word 'Government' was avoided. No doubt that explains why neither London nor Washington received notification of the establishment of this new organism. But the Poles in London reacted indignantly. For them, this new institution was juridically valueless and, in practice, without authority. They declared that out of the fifteen members composing this Executive Directory seven were unknown, while eight were notorious Communists. The President, M. Osubka-Morawski, was a thirty-five year old workman, excluded from the Socialist Party in 1940 on account of his affiliations with Moscow. They therefore asked London and Washington to disavow these 'usurpers'. 648 175 578

Russia's might, and the role of the Soviet armies in the joint military effort, scarcely permitted an unfriendly attitude in regard to an initiative to which the Soviets had already given their sanction. London had not, for years, 'hedged' over misunderstandings which set the London and the Moscow exiles at loggerheads, only to take a final decision just when the Russian armies were achieving advances which left their allies far behind. So London simply announced that Great Britain continued to recognise M. Mikolajczyk's Government, whilst hoping that it would find some way of coming to an agreement with the organisation which had been set up in opposition to it. In the United States, where the Polish question caused very violent discussion during an election year, Mr. Cordell Hull entrenched himself in the silence which was his usual refuge when he was questioned concerning Eastern European problems.

In view of this negative attitude on the part of London and Washington, M. Mikolajczyk decided to seek an interview with Marshal Stalin. He went to Moscow, accompanied by his Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Romer. But his interview only served to make him realise the insurmountable prejudices which Soviet circles cherished against the London exiles.

Yet the Allies could not allow the Polish question to remain in this state of uncertainty just when a general settlement of the war was within sight. So this question was included on the agenda of the Crimean Conference in February, 1945. The Three Powers decided that the evolution of the international

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situation necessitated the creation of a new Polish Provisional Government on a wider democratic basis than that which had governed the establishment of the organism which functioned in the liberated regions of Poland (first the Lublin, then the Warsaw Government). M. Molotov and the ambassadors of Great Britain and the United States received a mandate to carry out this reorganisation in conjunction with the members of the Provisional Government and the Polish democratic leaders both in Poland and abroad. This new Provisional Government would, as soon as circumstances permitted, organise free elections with a secret poll.

The Yalta decision provoked a split in Polish circles in London. The Government-in-exile, at the head of which M. Arciszewski had replaced M. Mikolajczyk, declared that neither that Government nor the Polish nation would recognise the decision; but M. Mikolajczyk and the Peasant Party, the majority of the Christian Democrats, and nearly half the Socialists, immediately signified that they would have nothing to do with this uncompromising attitude.

On April 21, 1945, whilst awaiting the application of the Yalta decisions, the Warsaw Polish Government, presided over by M. Osubka-Morawski, signed a treaty of friendship and mutual aid with the Soviet Government. This confirmed the Russian point of view, according to which the Warsaw Cabinet remained the nucleus of the future reconstructed Government. 'This reconstruction', said Marshal Stalin in a declaration to *The Times*, 'will have the effect of favouring a policy of friendship towards the Soviet Union instead of a policy of a "sanitary cordon" directed against her'. Moscow remembered the experience of 1919 and the 'barbed wire fence'.

At Yalta, the desire for prudence by which Mr. Roosevelt was inspired meant that the procedure in connection with the enlarging of the Polish Government was left very vague. Hence Mr. Hopkins' mission to Moscow in order, among other things, to set this procedure in action. As the result of the Stalin-Hopkins interview, a Soviet note was sent on June 13 convening in Moscow the Three Power Commission and the representatives of the Warsaw Government, together with the Polish leaders abroad.

The forwarding of this note had been speeded up in the hope

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of enabling Poland to be admitted, at least *in extremis*, to the San Francisco Conference. For as the result of London and Washington's refusal, on April 18, to allow an invitation to be sent to the Warsaw Government, it looked as though Poland, the first victim of German aggression, might be absent from the discussion of the statute destined to preserve the world against the recurrence of similar attacks. 648 175 578

The invitation found the London Poles divided. Of the three organisations invited, M. Mikolajczyk, ex-President of the Council, and M. Stanczyk, Vice-President of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party, accepted; M. Witos declined the invitation on health grounds, and M. Zakowski, the representative of the Socialist Party, reflected the discord which had apparently developed in that party by refusing to join the delegation.

The trial of sixteen Poles who had been detained in Moscow for several weeks, charged with sabotage and anti-Soviet activities, interfered with the negotiations. In vain did the Poles in London try to secure their release, by emphasising the role these men had played in the Resistance; Marshal Stalin declared that the Conference must not prevent the trial from taking place. At the hearing certain of the accused pleaded guilty to acts of terrorism directed against Soviet troops, and attributable to the *Armija krajowa* (Armed Forces of the Interior), which had been recognised on the previous August 30[1] by the English and the Americans, and to a political organisation called *Niepodlegosc* (Independence). The verdict returned on June 21[2] was mitigated; the chief offender, General Okulicki, was condemned to ten years' imprisonment, while the remaining accused were either acquitted or received very light sentences. 687 661 175

The objects of this trial, synchronised with the Conference from which, on principle, was to come the reconciliation of the Warsaw Poles and the London Poles, seem to have been as follows. Firstly, to discredit the leaders of the Government-in-exile and their staffs; secondly, to give (by the verdict) an example of the Russians' spirit of moderation; and thirdly, to emphasise their unshakeable determination to put an end, once for all, to anti-Soviet propaganda on Polish territory.

So the agreement reached on June 23[2] found the atmosphere 648 175

1 [1944 -- Analyst]
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• 648 175 cleared, and awakened a reasoned optimism in English and American circles.

642 175 Twenty-four hours after the arrival in Warsaw of the Poles invited by Moscow to join the new 'National Unity' Government the former Osubka-Morawski Cabinet resigned, and was reconstituted with the addition of these elements representing the exiles or the home Resistance movements.

The new Government included representatives of the Communist Party (which were not, as the London exiles maintained, in the majority) as well as of the Socialist, Peasant, and Democratic Parties. For the greater part it was composed of the ministers who had resigned from the Warsaw Cabinet. It kept at its head the ex-President, Osubka-Morawski, supported by two Vice-Presidents, MM. Gomulka and Mikolajczyk.

At the same time, the composition of the National Council—a sort of pre-Legislature—was also modified. Its Presidium, which played the role of provisional Chief of State, was under the leadership of M. Bierut, a Communist, who was, however, given two Vice-Presidents—M. Witos, leader of the Peasant Party, and Professor Grabski, National-Christian.

This Government declared that the first question on its agenda was that of repatriation of the Poles still residing abroad.

648 175 As soon as the formation of the National Unity Ministry was known, the British authorities negotiated with the former exiled Government in London, with a view to its prompt dissolution.

[578] But on June 25[1] the Government-in-exile published a declaration, affirming that it refused to acknowledge any transmission of power, and proclaimed the new Warsaw Government to be 'illegal'. At the same time, it issued a manifesto to the Polish people justifying its attitude of protest, and declaring itself willing, as far as the fate of the country was concerned, to abide by a free election.

On July 5 London recognised the new Provisional Government, already approved by Moscow and Washington. This meant a break between the British authorities and the Cabinet-in-exile, which England had for so long supported and encouraged. The B.B.C. ceased to broadcast Polish programmes, and the various services installed in London were invited to wind up as quickly as possible.

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The English press greeted this news philosophically, emphasising the fact that recognition was subject to the promise of free elections as soon as Poland's material situation would allow. 208 829

Isolated protests were made; as, for example, that of William John Rose, Professor at the School of Slavonic Studies in London, who wrote to *The Spectator*:—

'The solution adopted is the very one which was rejected by our House of Commons—the co-option of a minority of Poles from London and from Poland to a majority of Lublin Poles, the latter occupying all the chief posts.

'Great Britain and the United States have recognised this Government without any precise information having been given regarding the elections and their nature, though they were the condition on which recognition was granted.

'The renouncing of the principles for which the Allies fought for six years is deplorable. Whatever may be its significance for Poland, it is humiliating for the Western democracies. Obviously, we have an excuse; we are busy with our own elections. Unfortunately, however, while we were inactive others were not. What has become of the anger shown by Mr. Eden and M. Stettinius when M. Molotov exploded the "bombshell" (to use the expression of nearly all the journalists) concerning the fate of the Polish politicians?'

In Washington Senator Vandenberg declared to Mr. Grew, interim Secretary of State, that the settlement of the Polish question was inadequate and unsatisfactory for millions of citizens, himself included. 'This settlement does not appear to give a clear assurance that the Polish people will be able to express themselves freely under this Government, which is imposed on them by the Big Three, within the limits of frontiers likewise fixed by these same powers'.

In Moscow, on the contrary, the solution of the Polish crisis was considered as a victory for the democracies and a guarantee of European peace. The Soviet Government hastened to regularise its relations with the new State. On July 9[1] it signed a commercial treaty with Warsaw, in order to 'develop and consolidate to the utmost the economic relations between the two countries, in a spirit of friendship and collaboration'. 648 175

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• 648 175 And, on August 15, Warsaw and Russia signed a treaty covering the frontier-delimitation of the two States, and war damages. M. Osubka-Morawski welcomed the agreements, which restored to Poland her 'historic frontiers' on the Neisse, the Oder, and the Baltic shore. For his part, M. Stanczyk, Minister of Labour, addressing the Polish troops, endeavoured to dispel their hesitation: 'The new Poland is free and independent. Naturally, in the event of a fresh aggression, Russia would be our ally, but the fact that her line of defence coincides with our western frontier has nothing to do with our independence. If you return you will find, it is true, plenty of work—but you will be working for Poland. That is why I advise you to return as soon as possible'.

162 175 In October, 1945, the President of the Polish National Council, Borislav Bierut, still estimated at six million—a quarter of the total population—the number of Poles remaining outside the national territory. This was a major obstacle to the carrying out of the undertaking given in respect of an early and conclusive election.

But it was not to be doubted that many Poles would, once more, prefer exile to returning to a country whose independence was hopelessly mortgaged.

186* Her geographical position, which condemned Poland to be dominated either by Germany or by Russia, had just fixed her destiny in the East. For a long time anti-Russian (and, since 1920, anti-Sovietic) feeling and ideas had been for Poland a political trend—and, even more, an axiom of international ethics. They had been considered as the fundamental criteria of patriotism—a sort of moral urge, the preliminary condition for the exercise of civic rights.

So that a new era was opening in the history of the Polish people. The previous one was called 'romantic', the present one being designated 'realistic'. But there was a deep-seated uneasiness in the soul of this nation, which—as her history has a hundred times borne witness—has never hesitated to rush into a catastrophe rather than restrain the impulses of a very sensitive patriotism.

186* 795 Poland's strong attachment to the Catholic Faith also opened up possible difficulties. It was natural that the partisans of an *entente* with Russia should be recruited in extreme-Leftist and

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atheistic circles. But the international crisis which swept the country was complicated by a religious crisis. This became evident when the Council of Ministers decided, on September 17, to denounce the Concordat, accusing the Vatican of having violated its clauses by the publication, during the occupation, of laws contrary to its engagements (an allusion to the nomination of bishops of German nationality in Posnania).

Poland had lost the liberty of choice which, for so long, had enabled her to seek her equilibrium between the Teutonic and the Russian world. Willy-nilly, she had to accustom herself to the new state of affairs; but she brought to the situation the germ of serious civil discord. And her exiles, maintaining a more than century-old tradition, were to keep alive, especially in Anglo-American and in Catholic circles, an atmosphere of opposition—not to mention the clandestine resistance, all the centres of which were not extinct in Poland itself. Our grandchildren will talk of the 'Polish Question' just as our grandparents used to do.

* * *

In her foreign policy Bulgaria has a 'spare ideology' which enables her to reverse her international situation according to whether she is at peace or at war. Thus she periodically takes her stand beside the Power which seems able to help her to realise her territorial aspirations. This is the effect of that 'Macedonian psychosis' of which we have spoken. But her evil genius has invariably inspired her to 'back the wrong horse'.

In the Second World War, she passed through three phases.

Feeling sure that Germany was invincible, but profiting by her previous disappointments, she first tried to gain Hitler's support at the lowest possible price. This was the period of so-called 'passive belligerency', limited to platonic manifestations—adhesion to the Tripartite Pact and to the anti-Comintern Pact.

But the Axis soon saw through this ruse. In April, 1941, it allowed Bulgaria to settle in Western Macedonia (Serbia) and in Eastern Macedonia (Greece). In return, it expected its troops to have right of passage through and of quartering in Bulgarian territory. Such was the *leit-motiv* of the three interviews which took place between Hitler and King Boris, between March, 1941,

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and March, 1942. The Führer considered Bulgaria as his strongest card in the Balkans.

King Boris's Government capitulated, but ensured for itself a strategic withdrawal—the maintenance of its diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. This was the reverse of its 1917 policy, when Bulgaria, then at war with the Russians, kept her representatives in Washington. She was the only European signatory to the Tripartite and anti-Comintern Pacts who did not send even a token legion to fight on Russian soil. Are we to credit this fact to Slavism? In that case, we may liken it to the curious intimacy which during the war marked the relations between Croats and Bulgars: cultural agreements of October, 1942, periods of training spent by Croat officers in Bulgaria, contacts between labour organisations, etc.

The third phase of Bulgarian 'neutrality' opened with the bombardment of Sofia by the Americans (November 14, 1943), which showed the Bulgarians that their declaration of war on the United States was not the harmless operation they had expected it to be. 'Wretched Bulgaria!' Churchill was to say. Thenceforth the Sofia Government lost all hope of deriving nothing but advantages from the war. It entered into the struggle at the very moment when the fate of Germany seemed irrevocably settled.

This aggravation of the external situation coincided with an internal crisis.

King Boris having died on August 28, 1943, in circumstances which have not yet been cleared up, on September 9 following the Sobranje appointed three regents, who, on the 11th, took the oath to King Simeon II and the Bulgarian people. Thenceforward Bulgaria was not fighting simply to satisfy her ambitions, but to save her stakes. The difficulty was to redress the situation with the twenty German divisions stationed on Bulgarian soil, and all the country's strategic bases controlled by the Occupying Authorities.

The Allies reiterated their demands. On May 13, 1944, London, Washington, and Moscow launched an appeal to the Bulgarian people to dissociate themselves from a Government which was leading them to disaster. *Pravda* recalled the adage *Quos vult perdere*. It accused the Bulgarians of being 'the stranglers and executioners of their Slav brethren'. 'There is

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only one way', declared Stalin, 'for Bulgaria to avoid a catastrophe: to break with the Axis and withdraw from the war'. The population heard these warnings over the radio, and gave signs of daily increasing anxiety.

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Naturally, the most pressing—and the most effective—objurgations came from the Russians. Already, on April 17, 1944, Molotov had handed to the Bulgarian chargé d'affaires, Stamenov, a note enumerating the concrete examples of assistance given by his country to military operations against Russia, particularly in the Black Sea.

On April 24 the Sofia Government replied, in confused terms; against all the evidence, it denied the charges, and declared itself ready to verify any facts which the Soviet Authorities might bring to its notice. In addition the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chichmanov, protested his 'very sincere desire to maintain correct, loyal, and friendly relations with the Soviet Union'.

This duplicity deceived no one. The Moscow Government returned to the attack on April 26, proposing the reopening of the Soviet Consulate in Varna, which had been closed since the autumn of 1942, and the creation of fresh consular representations in Burgas and Roussé, to collaborate with the Bulgarian authorities in carrying out the verifications which the latter had just proposed.

Bulgaria adhered 'in principle' to these proposals, but made acceptance of them subject to the resumption of economic relations between the two countries—which was simply a way of postponing matters.

The Soviets showed up this manoeuvre; on May 15 the Sofia Cabinet drew up a reply, maintaining its attitude. But the Soviet notes took on a menacing tone; accusing the Bulgars of endeavouring to evade the issue, under cover of this constant postponement, the Kremlin demanded a final answer from the Bagrianov Government, which, on July 29, decided to give way on the question of the Consulates. Meanwhile the war had advanced more rapidly than diplomacy, and the military situation demanded a clear explanation. On August 12, Bagrianov was called upon to break with Germany. Once more he sheltered behind Bulgaria's 'absolute neutrality'. But he was negotiating secretly to get out of the dilemma. On August 25, the English

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648 175 and the Americans were asked for an armistice. On the 29th he announced the evacuation of Greece and Yugoslavia by his troops. And on the 31st an armistice delegation arrived in Cairo.

Too late! On the previous evening Sofia had received a Soviet ultimatum, involving the resignation of Bagrianov, who was replaced (on September 3) by Muraviev. The latter proclaimed his fidelity to the policy of so-called 'neutrality', but denounced the anti-Comintern Pact and dissolved the Legislature which had declared war.

This was not the reply which Moscow had expected. A last Soviet note, dated September 5, announced 'not only is Bulgaria at war with the U.S.S.R. but the latter in her turn will, henceforward, be at war with Bulgaria'—an unusual formula which made the latter country the aggressor and conferred a defensive character on the entry of the Tolbukhin army into Bulgarian territory.

This army occupied Roussé and Varna. Bulgaria then resigned herself to declaring war on Germany (September 8). Consequently for a few hours she was, theoretically, at war both with Russia and with Germany. But at 10 o'clock on September 9, four days after the declaration of war, the Soviet Command gave the order to cease fire. Shortly afterwards it was learned that Sofia had accepted the preliminary armistice terms.

The day before, a Government had come into power under Kimon Gheorgiev, leader of the political party called *Zveno* (The Link). He had been the instigator of the military *coup* of May 19, 1934, which had dissolved the Legislature and guided Bulgarian foreign policy in two directions—*entente* with Russia, and reconciliation with Yugoslavia.

To the new Government fell the heavy task of winding up its predecessors' disastrous policy which had, once again, placed Bulgaria in the camp of the vanquished. On October 28th the Government signed the armistice with the Allies, carried out executions on a large scale, and sought an immediate *rapprochement* with Tito. The *entente* between Bulgars and Yugoslavs, sanctioned by the agreement of October 9 between the Sofia Government and the Yugoslav National Liberation Committee, was facilitated by the solidarity which had been established,

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during the last phase of the war, between the 'partisans' of the two countries. This solidarity was increased by the ideological affinities between the two régimes. 648 175

On September 15 the Russians made their entry into Sofia. The day before, Gheorgiev had issued a proclamation: 'The Homeland Front will place all its means and all its forces at the disposal of the Soviet Union and her great allies, in order to drive the Germans out of the Balkans. It will immediately do its utmost to establish *an indissoluble alliance with the U.S.S.R. and the new Yugoslavia,* and to form ties of sincere friendship with the great Western democracies, with the United States and with our neighbours'.

It was in her effort to reconcile the Russian 'alliance' with her democratic 'friendships' that liberated Bulgaria made her first blunder on the international stage. The Government had fixed the general elections for August 26, 1945. It was backed by a coalition of five parties (Communists, Agrarians, Socialists, *Zveno,* Radicals), forming the *Otetchestvenni Front* (Patriotic Front), which unleashed against its adversaries a violent campaign of persecutions. It did not seem, either to the English or to the Americans, that this régime represented very sound ideas of democracy. Evidently several members of the Bulgarian Cabinet shared this view, for in the month of August they resigned and went over to the Opposition.

It was then that the London and Washington Governments advised Sofia that they could not recognise the régime that might result from the elections, in view of the atmosphere of oppression and constraint under which these promised to be held. 648 175 666

The Gheorgiev Government haughtily rejected this communication, while the press denounced the old 'colonial policy' habits, of which it bore the stamp. But to the general surprise it was learned, on the following day, that the elections were adjourned indefinitely. And a few hours later the President of the Council explained that the incident was due to a misunderstanding; that, in Bulgaria, democracy was of the 'Balkan' type, and that the chief thing for Bulgaria was to conclude a peace treaty by the quickest possible means. On the next day but one (August 27) the American Government agreed to the restoration of diplomatic relations and received the new Bulgarian representative in Washington, General Vladimir Stoïtchev.

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• 648 175 666 The sudden volte-face on the part of the Sofia Cabinet was very easy to explain. Trusting entirely to Russian support, the Bulgarians had never for a moment doubted that Russia would consider the Anglo-American attitude as negligible. They therefore contented themselves with invoking the necessity of consulting the Inter-allied Control Commission, in which the Soviet representative's influence was predominant. Judge of the Government's surprise on learning, from the mouth of that representative (General Birousov), that the Commission had been unanimous in recommending the postponement of the elections!

They had been put off until November 18. The day before, the Washington Government renewed its warning of the month of August, to the effect that the conditions under which the election promised to be held would no doubt prevent it from considering the resulting Government as being the authentic expression of the 'popular will'.

It was difficult to know whether the American attitude arose from the conviction that the Bulgarian electoral law was less 'correct' than the Yugoslav electoral law, or whether the discrimination followed from the fact that Yugoslavia was an allied, and Bulgaria a vanquished, country.

But this time the Sofia Cabinet held out and the elections took place on the date fixed. They gave 75–85 per cent of the votes cast to the Patriotic Front, the Opposition parties having decided to abstain.

However, the Government wisely refrained from giving to this poll the appearance of a retort to the American veto. On the contrary, it advised Washington of its intention to enlarge the basis of the Government on democratic lines.

[829] It is certain that the rivalry between the Agrarians and the Communists offers prospects of internal crises. But, from the external point of view, Bulgaria's policy is fixed *ne varietur*. It will depend on Moscow's goodwill. The Bulgarian people, profoundly Russophile, will find little difficulty in accepting this new state of affairs. There is more doubt as to whether the same thing will be true of the leaders, who will always find it difficult to resign themselves to having only one card in their diplomatic game.

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186* The Slavonic problem presents quite a different appearance

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in Yugoslavia, where it has two aspects: one external—that concerned with relations between Moscow and Belgrade, the other internal—the *entente* between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. 186*

The personality of Marshal Tito, who had the confidence of the Russians and was the animator, first of resistance to the Germans, then of the liberation movement, considerably simplified the question of relations between Yugoslavs and Sovietics. 648* 175 578

Before the soil of Yugoslavia had been liberated, a Government-in-exile (presided over, at the end, by Dr. Ivan Choubachich) continued to function in London, whilst in Yugoslavia Marshal Tito directed the war of liberation. During the winter of 1944–1945, King Peter II tried to bring about an agreement between Tito and the exiled Government. Various obstacles retarded the conclusion of the agreement, and they were later on to paralyse its enforcement.

These obstacles included the conduct of the King during the war. He was reproached with having lived far removed from his people and with not having imitated the example of his grandfather, King Peter I of Serbia, who in 1876 under the name of 'Peter Mrkognich', led a detachment of rebels in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or his father, the Regent Alexander, who had fought in 1917–1918 on the Salonica front. 643 175

He was further reproached with his inopportune marriage, contracted far away from the country, and against the advice of his friends and counsellors. On March 21,* 1944, at the Yugoslav Embassy in London, he had married Princess Alexandra of Greece, who, on July 17 of the following year, gave birth to a son.

Now, in Serbia, dynastic loyalty is not (as in Croatia, for example) founded on any fundamental attachment to the monarchical idea. It exists simply in respect of the monarch's patriotic function—what the Serbs call *narodni rad* ('national work')—a name which takes on its full significance only in a country which is periodically reduced to slavery.

The authority of King Peter II was also weakened by the support he had given to General Draja Mihaïlovich. The latter had been the first to rise against the occupation, and his heroic resistance had rallied the best elements of the old army in Southern Bosnia and in Montenegro. But he was reproached 725 648 175

* March 20, according to Keesing (trans.).

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725 with 'Great Serbian' and 'reactionary' tendencies. Subsequently
•648 a much more serious charge was made against him; carried away
175 by his struggle against the Communist elements, he was said to have parlied with the Occupying Authorites and with the agents of Nedich, the Serbian 'Quisling'. General Mihaïlovich was nevertheless the War Minister *in partibus* to the London Cabinet, where the accusations brought against him were never seriously considered until Churchill[1] echoed them. They were the basis of the case brought against his partisans in July, 1945, and the severe sentence passed against them.

[829] Then there was, between the London Government and the 'Tito Movement', the psychological opposition between the exiled politicians (except those of Czechoslovakia) and the insurgents, who, remaining within the country, risked their lives day in and day out. The latter were inclined to see the 'London people' as theorists, if not profiteers of the Resistance, who, in assured comfort and relative security, carried out a paid task with the pen or by radio.

[668] Finally, Tito's partisans merged, in many cases, with the Communist or extremist elements, for whom the old Yugoslav political formations and their staffs embodied a régime of despotism, patronage, and reaction, whose return to power would have constituted an historical retrogression.

643 However, the break did not come immediately. Although
661 King Peter agreed, under pressure from the Allies and especially
648 from Russia, to disown Mihaïlovich, he showed greater hesitation
175 in negotiating with Tito, whose republican trend and attachment to the Soviet régime were well known.

On June 16, 1944, he resigned himself, rather against his convictions, to authorising Choubachich to sign an agreement with Tito, which provisionally safeguarded the rights of the Crown. On the following November 1 he agreed to the formation of a National Union Government in liberated Yugoslavia. But he reserved his approval as to the nomination of a Regency and the exercise of political power by one single party, the National Liberation Front, until a Constituent Assembly should have met. On this point he even entered into conflict with his

[1] 'General Mihaïlovich, I regret to say, has gradually adopted a changed attitude, and certain of his leaders have parlied with Italian or German troops'. (Speech in the House of Commons on February 22, 1944.)

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own Government, which he forced to resign. The Choubachich Cabinet disregarded this and on January 23, 1946 published a communiqué, according to which the sovereign would not return to the country until a Constituent Assembly had pronounced on the question of the régime. In his absence, the royal power would be delegated to a Council of Regency whose members would be chosen from the London Government and from the Tito Government. 643 661 648 175

On January 30 the King finally agreed to this formula, as recommended by Moscow, London, and Washington.

Then Choubachich went to Belgrade to agree with Tito on the names for the new Government. Prolonged and painful haggling resulted in the formation of the Provisional Cabinet on March 7,[1] in which Tito kept the Presidency and the War Ministry, while Choubachich assumed control of Foreign Affairs. A Serbian democrat, Milan Grol, and a Croat Agrarian, Chouteï, entered the new administration. 642 175 [695]

Yugoslavia was to be reconstituted on a federative basis; the State itself officially took the name of 'Democratic and Federal Yugoslavia'. So the constitution of the 'Yugoslav' Government was followed by the formation of 'National' Governments, six in number—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia. Care had been taken not to give this federal organisation a statute and frontiers, on account of the conflicts these would not have failed to provoke; the National Assembly would, in due course, decide upon the internal structure of the State.

It remained to be seen whether Tito would bring to the management of affairs the eminent qualities of which he had given proof in the Resistance. Would history salute him not only as a detached figure in the epic background against which the tragedy of the Serbian nation is played, but also as a reconstructor of the State? 000

Born in 1893 in the Croat village of Klanyets, Joseph Broz was the son of an artisan. He had known hardship in his youth, and soon exhibited a revolutionary temperament. At seventeen he engineered a strike, and showed himself to be an agitator. It is said that he took his appellation of 'Tito' from the bishop of medieval Crete whose relics rest in the Church of St. Mark in Venice. Taken prisoner by the Russians in 1914, he took part 175 643

[1] [1946 -- Analyst]

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175 in the Bolshevist Revolution, and distinguished himself in the
643 attack on the Kremlin. He fought on all the Soviet fronts, from the Caucasus to Finland. He married a Russian, who died, leaving him a son of Soviet nationality (who, for his part in the defence of Moscow in 1941, was to win the title of 'Hero of the Soviet Union').

He returned to Croatia in 1924 and took his place as a militant in the Communist and Trade Union ranks. Arrested for illegal propaganda, he served four years' imprisonment. As soon as he was liberated he went to Paris, travelled in various European countries, and returned to France in 1936, charged with the organisation of the so-called 'railway' for supplying volunteers to the International Brigades in Spain.

When he learned of the capitulation of Yugoslavia in 1941, he returned to Zagreb and launched a summons for a general revolt. He had two interviews with Mihaïlovich, but the Communist and Proletarian ideology which he openly professed frightened the Serbian general—no basis for agreement was possible.

176 The Serbian rising began on July 7, 1941. On that day was
643 constituted, in the region of Belgrade (the seat of the partisans'
668 general staff), the first formation destined to embark upon the struggle with the invader and to continue it until he was crushed. Tito proved to be an irresistible organiser and 'live wire'; his influence grouped around him a veritable army, whose numbers increased daily, and constantly deprived the Occupying Authorities of food supplies and communications.[2] Starting with 35,000 men, Tito's army was to number 700,000 at the liberation. This epic is one of the most glorious pages in the history of the Yugoslav people—and they already possess not a few.

175 Not only did Tito enjoy the confidence of the Russians, who
•648 considered him as one of themselves, but he was in constant
643 touch with the Allies. The first English mission reached him on May 27, 1943, during its fifth offensive. At the very end of 1943 Churchill placed his son with Tito, to assist him during the most

[2] At Bihach, on November 27, 1942, he declared: 'Our country is enslaved, our people the victims of a fruitful terror. Barefoot, starving, bloodless, they are at the mercy of the occupiers and their acolytes. But their determination to live is unshakeable, because they believe in victory'.

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critical hours of the campaign. The liberation army effected its junction with the Russian Army during the final offensive, and entered Belgrade with it on October 20, 1944. 175 648 643

The next day appeared a communiqué, issued as the result of the Moscow discussions, announcing the agreement of British and Soviet views regarding Yugoslavia, on the following basis:—

Union between the Royal Government and the Liberation Movement.

The right of the Yugoslav people to decide their own future constitution.

The United States Government gave its consent to these arrangements. Marshal Tito, who was in Moscow during the Conference, several times discussed them with Stalin and the Soviet leaders.

On April 11, 1945, Russia and liberated Yugoslavia signed a treaty of mutual assistance and collaboration which preserved their traditional policy of *entente,* as well as their united efforts against Hitler's Germany.[3] It formed part of the system of pacts concluded by the Soviet Union with Great Britain, France, and Czechoslovakia, to raise a barrier against any fresh effort on the part of German imperialism to threaten the liberty of the European peoples. The experience of the past, confirmed by this war, showed that in all German plans for aggression, the conquest of the Southern Slav countries was a step towards the domination of the Continent. The fact that Yugoslavia had awaited the year 1940 to establish diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. had opened in South-East Europe a breach which had enabled the enemy to disintegrate Balkan solidarity and to force his way through to the Eastern Mediterranean. Hence Article 2 of the treaty provided for immediate and effective mutual assistance in the event of one of the parties being involved in military operations against Germany, if that country resumed her 175 648

[3] About the middle of December 1943, the Yugoslav Government, exiled to Cairo, and then presided over by Bojidar Pourich, had proposed to Moscow a pact of mutual assistance on the model of that which had been concluded between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic. The Kremlin declined this proposal. At that time Tito was, in their eyes, the sole authentic representative of the Yugoslav nation. On this occasion it was recalled that the Soviet Government had already, in the spring of 1942, raised the question of a pact with the Yugoslav Government in London; at that time it was the latter which had opposed a demurrer.

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176 aggressive policy, or against any other State which might revive
• 648 this policy, under any form whatsoever.

Backed both without and within by the might of Moscow, Tito's régime seemed to be irresistibly established.

Its[1] first care had been to renew its claim to the territories of which Yugoslavia had been defrauded immediately after the First World War. It raised the question of Trieste and its hinterland. The Yugoslav delegation in London warmly defended a case supported by detailed and absolutely pertinent documentation, based on ethnographic and economic considerations. But they were imprudent enough to allow it to be understood that they would lay claim to Aegean or Hellenic Macedonia—which was bound to alienate the goodwill of Great Britain. They also mentioned the exorbitant sum which they intended to demand from Italy by way of reparations—thereby upsetting the United States, from whom Italy was at the same time seeking material aid to help her out of her desperate financial situation.

642 Yet, to tell the truth, the distrustful atmosphere which grew
661 up around the Yugoslav claims arose more directly from the form
175 of government and the political principles established by Tito. Under colour of anti-Fascism, the régime exercised the same reprisals against all its detractors. It was accused of borrowing the methods of the totalitarian régimes; the Opposition said that it had introduced the word 'Democracy' into the name of the State in order to dispense with it in reality, as, in the past, Pavelich gave the name of 'Independent State of Croatia' to a political offshoot of the Axis. He governed, on Russian lines, a very sensitive nation, which perhaps had not a very 'Western' notion of democracy, but had always shown itself stubbornly attached to the external forms of its independence. Certainly Tito had succeeded in grouping around him zealous young men, who had been tested under fire and were indifferent to the juridical or constitutional rites which, in the West, accompany the exercise of liberty. Certainly, too, the Yugoslav National Front represented itself not as a single party but as a synthesis of all the various energies resolved to work for the restoration of public life.

656 Nevertheless to Anglo-American eyes the régime appeared
204 to be a dictatorship. Was not its slogan—'No liberty for the
625 enemies of liberty'—calculated to justify an administration

1 [Tito's régimes -- Analyst]

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It is true that, on resuming possession of the liberated capital, M. Benes affirmed his intention of remaining faithful to the ideas of the new policy of union with the great Russian nation and with the other Slavonic peoples. But such statements need reading in the context of his previous declarations.

Had not the President himself, in an article in *Foreign Affairs* (October, 1944), uttered a warning against any distorted interpretation of his words? 'We must not abandon our old method of evolutive adaptation and our old policy of balance between East and West. Our geographical position does not allow us to make a sudden change in this century-old policy'.[5]

A new fact had previously arisen, which was to turn the scale slightly in favour of Russia. This was the annexing of Carpatho-Ruthenia to the Ukraine. Czechoslovakia thus became one of Russia's neighbours; there arose between the two countries a community of strategic and economic interests, which modified the equilibrium of Central Europe. Benes had always said that Russia's non-participation in the 1919–1920 settlements had distorted the general view of that equilibrium. His judgement was proved correct—probably even more so than he anticipated. When, on December 12, 1943, he had signed the Czecho-Russian treaty of friendship and mutual aid, he had understood that liberated Czechoslovakia would be restored to her pre-1938 frontiers. But, at the time of the treaty on June 29, 1945, which, without any plebiscite or international consultation, transferred Ruthenia to Soviet sovereignty, M. Molotov had put forward arguments based on ethnography, linguistics, folklore, and history, to which Prague could not but submit. Moreover, had they been consulted, the vote of the Ruthenians would not have been in doubt. So Fierlinger, the Prime Minister, recognised that 'the time had come for Ruthenia to return to her homeland, the great Soviet Ukraine'. He forbore to add that she had been separated from it for a thousand years, and he passed over the heavy sacrifices that Czechoslovakia had made

[5] Compare this declaration with the one Benes had made in February 1944, to the diplomatic editor of *Reynolds' News*: 'Our pact with Russia is a fundamental consolidation of the Czechoslovak Republic. And we consider that, at the same time, it strengthens our independence. . . . Our friendship with U.S.S.R. does not mean that we depend on that country; on the contrary, the pact institutes reciprocal collaboration with our State, which desires to live in real, sincere friendship with Russia, while safeguarding its full sovereignty'.

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for twenty years in order to raise the economic standard of this 648 •
'Ukrainian Piedmont'. And in November, 1945, the National 186
Assembly, without any vain recriminations, ratified the transfer 175
of sovereignty. 643

In addition to all that, Czechoslovakia risked losing the Teschen Basin, occupied on October 2, 1938, by Polish troops, and still in dispute between the two countries. But, in the spirit of Slav solidarity (not of conquest) which had, in 1920, installed Czechoslovakia in Carpatho-Ruthenia, she was enabled to cast her eyes on that minority—Serbian or Sorabian or Wend—of Lusatia, whose 80,000 survivors still peopled 1,900 square miles between Bautzen and Cottbus. A Sorabian 'National Committee' was formed in Prague with a view to attaching this territory to Czechoslovakia. But had not the Poles, too, claims to put forward to this detached tribe of the ancient Slavonic community?

In any case, Czechoslovakia could not be reproached with having derived benefit from her fidelity to the Slavonic idea; although, in 1918, that fidelity had ensured for her the rebirth of her national life, in 1945 it brought her nothing but amputations. But was not the good grace with which she accepted the loss of her Eastern province (by a treaty in which M. Molotov saw 'a striking manifestation of the sincere friendship of the Slavonic peoples') a demonstration of her disinterestedness, and did it not prove that her Slavism was free of any expansionist or Chauvinist speculation?

On the other hand, in spite of some rather imprudent expressions on the part of M. Nejedly ('We belong to the great Slavic bloc, controlled by the Russian nation'), the Prague Government endeavoured to protect the individuality of the country from political or ideological domination. It repeatedly asked the Soviet Authorities to hasten evacuation of their troops. It lost no opportunity of protesting against allegations which represented it as a 'satellite' of Moscow. 'A good many people come here with the idea, which is quite unfounded, that the Russians control us', said President Benes to the World Congress of Students. 'The real truth is much simpler; there is no need to seek startling explanations for our decision to conduct our own business as we think fit'. As a more characteristic gesture, and one which requires no commentary, in October, 1945, he

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•648 186 175 643 sent to London a military mission under General Svoboda, the Commander-in-Chief, to renew contacts with the British General Staff, and to ask the latter to co-operate in the reconstitution of the Czechoslovak Army.

In short, of all the liberated Slav nations, Czechoslovakia was the one which had most clearly marked out the contours of her independence in the New Europe. She accepted neither 'synchronisation' nor enfeoffment. Without disavowing either her Slavonic affinities or her traditional attachment to Russia, she restored her relations with the West to their 1938 footing.

[829] An intermediary State, Czechoslovakia is carving out her path between the Russian and the Anglo-Roman worlds; nearer to the former by her security reflexes and her views on the future of Europe, she is nearer to the latter by her spiritual unrest, her philosophy of life and her conception of progress.

* * *

186* 829 The rapid tour which has taken us from Warsaw to Sofia and from Belgrade to Prague is sufficient to clarify speculations founded on the birth of a Slavonic 'Imperialism'.

Once again, it is official eloquence which has nourished these speculations. There was not a Polish, Czech, Yugoslav, or Bulgarian statesman who did not see, in the issue of the Second World War, the end of the curse which, for a thousand years, paralysed the expansion of the Slavonic world. Not one who did not celebrate the establishment and the benefits of an inter-Slav *entente*. Let us quote a few of these heroic declamations at random.

In the first rank was Poland—no doubt because this was the nation which, from the Slavonic point of view, had the worst memories to atone for. Commenting on the signature of the Polish-Sovietic agreement, the head of the Government of the Polish Republic regretted that his country had not, at the time of the German aggression, frankly taken her stand beside the Soviet Union, in order to form a 'Slavonic bloc'. 'This grave political error', he declared, 'caused a great deal of suffering to the Slavonic peoples and, most of all, to Poland'.*

* When, on July 15th, the new Polish Ambassador handed his credentials to the Regent of Yugoslavia, he alluded to 'Germany, the eternal enemy of the Slavs'. This was an undeniable historical truth; but how fail to recall, on hearing it invoked, the importunate shadows of Beck and Stoyadinovich?

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186* 829 create an indissoluble union of Slavs which will be a bulwark against the repetition of catastrophes similar to that of 1941'.[8]

On October 2, addressing a group of Polish journalists, Tito used the expression 'Slavonic era'. But this expression must be understood in a constructive, not an imperialist sense. 'United spiritually, the Slavs form a barrier against medieval [*sic*] ideas directed against culture and humanity. . . . The Slavs will bring peace and security to Europe'.

There were the same oratorical outpourings among the Bulgars. Kimon Gheorgiev's programme included 'a cordial friendship with the Soviet Union and an eternal friendship with the sister nation of Russia'. Nikolov, President of the Slav Committee in Sofia, also protested against the legend of Slavonic imperialism, but announced a 'union of the Slavonic peoples for the protection of their liberty and of their independence'.

[795] In the same spirit the Bulgars, walking hand in hand with Tito's Yugoslavia, affected an ostentatiously detached attitude to the question of Macedonia. They abolished the schism caused by the Exarchate, which had been created solely for the purpose of propaganda on behalf of annexation. Formerly the Macedonians were divided into Orthodox (Serbs) and Exarchists (Bulgars). Once this distinction was abolished, Bulgaria could, according to international circumstances, proclaim her disinterestedness or extend her claims to Macedonia.

• [648] The Slavonic Governments backed one anothers' reciprocal claims. Marshal Tito approved the Czech policy with regard to the Hungarian minorities; Poland and Czechoslovakia handed to the London Conference notes supporting the Yugoslav territorial claims, which ran counter to those of Italy. Bulgars and Yugoslavs conducted a joint campaign against Greece regarding Aegean Macedonia.

[648] There was another manifestation of this general fraternisation. A Slav Congress was held in Bratislava in July, 1945. It passed a motion favouring the conclusion of a regional pact of friendship and mutual aid among all the Slavonic nations. The speakers indulged in striking forecasts of the possible effect, in international life, of a bloc of 205 million Slavs, *i.e.*, one-third of the total population of Europe, covering two-thirds of its surface.

[8] Speech made at Bela Tsrkva on July 8.

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Chapter Six

THE SLAVONIC WORLD AND THE PEACE TREATIES

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THE negotiation of the peace treaties, which occupied the whole of 1946, was both a testing-time for the solidarity of the Slavonic States, faced with international problems, and the period of their internal consolidation.

In an article published on February 3, 1947, by *Pravda*, the Russian Professor Voznesensky, Vice-President of the Panslav Committee, defined these two aspects of the post-war period for Slavs.

'The present Slav movement has no precedent in history. Our peoples have undertaken two main tasks. The first is the struggle against the traces of Fascism and the struggle for peace against political reaction. The second consists in a fraternal collaboration in the political, economic, and cultural domains, the bases of development and progress for any country'.

During this 'second phase' of the post-war period, demonstrations of Slav solidarity were to be based on two watchwords:—

(1) An almost ritual affirmation of gratitude and attachment to Soviet Russia.

(2) The external 'democratic' and 'pacific' aim of this solidarity—hence the strict avoidance of the words 'race' and 'bloc'.

In the diplomatic field the unity of view of the Slavonic peoples followed from an elementary postulate—the collapse of Teutonic power, a collapse with which their common security was bound up.

186* 648 728 That is why, on April 25, 1946, the eve of the opening of peace negotiations by the meeting in Paris of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the four Great Powers, the Diplomatic Editor for the Moscow Radio, Yermachov, thought it well to recall that the struggle against Teutonism was the common denominator of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. and of the other Slav peoples:—

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'In liberating the Slavonic peoples, the Red Army has accomplished a mission of great historic import, for if they were not freed from the German yoke there could be no question of lasting peace in Europe. The relations between the U.S.S.R. and the Slavonic countries are based on common interests of defence against the revival of the German forces of aggression which have caused such prejudice to these peoples. And it is beyond doubt that their development on truly democratic bases constitutes the best pledge for peace in Europe'. 186* 648 728

On various occasions moreover, Russia, unwilling to place her cards on the table before her great Allies did so, was known to have her views on the German problem put forward by the Poles or the Czechs, while Yugoslavia, more combative or less wary, launched, now against the English now against the Americans, offensives calculated to put them on a false scent, diverting attention from the real objectives of the diplomatic moves.

In all the discussions raised by the peace treaties, at all the meetings of the United Nations and their Commissions, the Slav delegates voted with the Soviet Union or with its Republics, whether in matters concerning general problems (such as the right of veto or disarmament) or in national 'cases', such as the ban on Franco or the Greek question; so much so that it was always possible to forecast, as soon as a debate opened, which way these delegates would vote.

Conversely, where Russia did not herself inspire the claims put forward by the small Slav States, she supported them. She backed the Yugoslavs in the dispute between Rome and Belgrade regarding the fate of Trieste and Julian Venetia, the maintenance of the Polish-Germanic frontiers on the Oder and the Neisse, and the Bulgarian-Yugoslav offensive against the Athens Government.

Ideologically, the joint attitude of the Slav Governments rested on the theory that they alone were imbued with the real democratic spirit and that the Western Powers represented a survival of reaction and of *bourgeois* Liberalism. 186* 829

This naïve attitude is evident in the speeches of nearly all the Slav diplomats during this period of European reconstruction.

A Polish newspaper, *Robotnik* (of April 14, 1946), took a census of Slavonic strength on the continent of Europe:— 186* 162

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186* 162 'How many do we number? In Poland, there is only one single nation, the Polish nation, if we ignore the artificially "inspired" separation of the Kachoube branch, and the Hitler-invented "nation" of the Gourals; in Bulgaria, one single nation also, the Bulgarian; in Czechoslovakia two, the Czechs and the Slovaks. In U.S.S.R. three, Russians, Ukrainians and White Russians; in Yugoslavia five, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins and Macedonians. There exists, too, a Lusatian nation. In all, thirteen Slavonic nations'.

186* 161 And the *Zycie Slowanskie* (Slav Life) attempted a numerical estimate of this force:—

'The events of the Second World War have, of necessity, brought about displacements on such a large scale that an estimate based both on the pre-war census and on the theory of probability is liable to prove quite inaccurate. However, simply as a rough guide, we may work on the following table:—

1.	Russians	100,000,000
2.	Ukrainians	41,000,000
3.	Poles	25,000,000
4.	White Russians	10,000,000
5.	Czechs	8,000,000
6.	Bulgars	6,000,000
7.	Serbs	5,500,000
8.	Croats	4,000,000
9.	Slovaks	3,000,000
10.	Slovenes	1,500,000
11.	Macedonians	750,000
12.	Montenegrins	400,000
13.	Lusatians	200,000

In all about 205 millions'.

186* •648 During this period the anthology of Slav solidarity was enriched with a number of striking official speeches, broadcast declarations, and editorials. Inter-Slav relations were organised on the basis of mutual aid pacts, such as those of March 19, 1946, between Belgrade and Warsaw, of the following May 10 between Belgrade and Prague (completed by both economic and cultural agreements) and that of March 7, 1947, between Prague and Warsaw.

000 Solidarity between Slavs in Europe and those in America—

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Solidarity between Slavs in Europe and those in America

among whom the attitude of a part of the population, Polish in origin, maintained a dangerous schism—was revived by a mission sent to Moscow, at the end of 1946, with M. Leon Krycky, Leader of the United States Panslav Congress, as its President; he was received by Stalin. The latter is reported to have declared to him that the Soviet Union and the United States were the only two countries capable of guaranteeing world peace. This was the outcome of the Third Congress of Slavs in North America (held in New York on the previous September 23), during which the meeting had cheered the name of Stalin and booed that of Mr. Byrnes, who had recently, in Stuttgart, made a speech reopening the question of Poland's western frontiers.[1] At this meeting the Polish delegate, M. Lange, emphasised the role the Slavs could play as permanent links between the United States and their countries of origin. But this American-Slav Congress failed in its task; prepared during the Roosevelt era, but actually meeting under the Truman administration, it functioned in a very different atmosphere from that which its organisers had anticipated. It was vigorously attacked by a section of the American press.

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After a preparatory Conference of the Panslav Committees, held in Prague in May, 1946, the first great post-war Panslav Congress took place at the Kolarats University, in Belgrade, from December 8 to 12 of the same year. It was attended by delegates from the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the Serbs of Lusatia, and the Slavs of North America.

Its organisers made very marked efforts to prevent the Congress from assuming the aspect of a demonstration of Slav nationalism. On the contrary, they emphasised the benefits which could accrue to the cause of peace and universal democracy from harmony among the Slav States. Consequently the agenda was restricted to very general questions, bound up with cultural propaganda and the struggle against Fascism. Alexander Gundorov, President of the Moscow Panslav Committee, and a veteran of these assemblies, declared that 'the Congress would reveal to the world the truth about the Slavonic peoples and destroy the lies propagated by reactionary circles

[1] This Congress gave rise to a diplomatic incident, arising out of the refusal of the American visa to eight Yugoslav delegates who owed allegiance to the Communist Party. 648 ●

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A sceptic might have observed that, despite the oratorical manifestations of harmony and goodwill, three specifically Slav problems which had arisen in 1919 still appeared on the agenda of questions at issue in 1946—the allocation of the Teschen Basin, the definitive status of Macedonia, the fate of the Lusatian Serbs. 186* 668

Indeed, the Macedonian question does not seem to have been finally settled by the creation of a Macedonian Republic within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation. That is why, at the end of 1946, Yugoslav newspapers demanded the incorporation of the Bulgarian districts (Petrich, Gornya-Djumaïa, Nevrekop) in the Popular Republic of Macedonia, and reproached the new Bulgarian constitution with submitting every project for the transfer of territory to the decision of the legislature—a step which Belgrade considered as a stipulation derogatory to the 'Macedonian minority's' right to self-determination.[2] In other words, in Yugoslavia the Macedonian population of Bulgaria was still considered as non-Bulgarian in character. Latent, but still discernible, it was the old quarrel which had, for half a century, set the two peoples in opposition to each other. It was recalled in the Sobranje on December 12, by an Agrarian Deputy, who asked the Government whether it did not consider the Yugoslav claims as an interference in Bulgarian Home Affairs. And early in 1947 a much-talked-of action brought at Skoplje plainly pointed to the survival of the famous ORIM (Macedonian Internal Revolutionary Organisation) directed by Vanka Mihaïlov—that organisation which had been so widely discussed at the conclusion of the previous war. 563 578 648 175

[2] An action which the French Press Agency described (on January 27, 1947) as 'typically Macedonian' was brought against Albanians, Yugoslavs of Albanian or Turkish origin and 'real Macedonians', accused of having organised, in 1945, an illegal society—*National Chiptare Demokratia*—to overthrow the Albanian Government of Enver Hodja and set up a 'Great Albania', including a part of Western Macedonia, with Kossovo and Metova. The conspirators were in league with Mihaïlov's Revolutionary Committee—the famous ORIM (Macedonian International Revolutionary Organisation), whose hand had already been detected in a separatist Macedonian plot which had been judged in November 1946. In this plot was involved no less a person than Metodijé Andorov Cento, one of the most popular figures among the Macedonian 'partisans' and, up to the spring of 1946, President of the Macedonian Liberation Assembly. Cento was sentenced to eleven years' hard labour. Decorated by Tito, he was in opposition to the Government, criticising its Communist affiliations, and in conflict with Lazar Koulichevsky, Prime Minister of the Macedonian legislature. [668]

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648 175 As for the question of the Polish-Czech frontiers, the Prague Government wanted a return to the pre-Munich *status quo*; it will be seen later that the claim to the Teschen Basin, occupied by the Poles since 1938, delayed the return to normal status in the relations between Warsaw and Prague.

As regards the Serbs of Lusatia (Wends and Sorbs), they sent petition after petition to the peace arbitrators, claiming a hearing and justice. They submitted two memoranda, one on February 1, 1946, to the United Nations, the other in the month of May, to the Four Powers Conference in Paris. They returned to the attack on July 6, to ask for the separation of Lusatia from Germany. They were invariably put off until the German problem should be discussed by the Conference. Czechoslovakia, who had already espoused their cause at the time of the discussion of the Versailles Treaty,[3] signified that she saw in their separation from the Reich a guarantee for her own security.

101 These Lusatians are the remnant of a large tribe which must formerly have been the vanguard of the Slavs on the march towards Bavaria. In the ninth century the country was erected into a principality. But, of all the Slavonic groups, this is the one which has encountered the least favourable conditions for the development of a lasting political unity.

* * *

000 Now a few words on the evolution of the internal and external policies of each of the small Slav States while the treaties were in the negotiation stage.

642 175 On January 15, 1946, Yugoslavia voted her Federal Constitution, which set up the six People's Republics mentioned in the previous chapter. (The 'People's Republic of Serbia' included the two autonomous provinces of Voïvodin and Kossovo). Each of these republics sent twenty-five deputies to the Peoples' Council. They were sovereign States—except for the functions reserved to the central power (peace and war, internal security, basic legislation, currency, transport, postal services, radio, Customs, immigration, etc.)—*i.e.*, essentially in matters of education, public health, and social justice.

As in Russia, actual power lay with the Presidium of the Legislature, composed of thirty members, elected by the Assembly

[3] See above, p. 41.

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common with the Croatian Orthodox Metropolitan, Hermogene Maximov, and the German Lutheran bishop, Popov).

Arrested on September 18, 1946, Mgr. Stepinac was tried, on the 30th of the same month, not only on the charge of intelligence with the enemy, but also of having, after the liberation, worked with the opponents of the régime. These charges (as well as that of having forcibly converted Orthodox Christians to Catholicism) were upheld by the judges, who condemned the prelate (on October 11) to sixteen years' hard labour, to the loss of his civic rights for a period of five years, and to the confiscation of all his possessions. In vain had the defence recalled the fact that Mgr. Stepinac had protested against the racial laws and collective reprisals, and that the allied press had, while the war was actually in progress, rendered homage to his courageous stand.[3]

Pope Pius XII, in a public speech, protested against this verdict, denying the compulsory conversions—which, moreover, are contrary to canon law. And, although Tito had declared that the proceedings were by no means the prelude to a campaign against the Church in Czechoslovakia, Christian circles throughout the world protested against what they called a 'religious trial'. The 115 Catholic archbishops and bishops of the United States, assembled in Washington for their annual Assembly, described the verdict as 'an outrage on justice'. The Archbishop of Westminster declared that, during the war, 'in Croatia the only voice raised against Nazism and its works had been that of Archbishop Stepinac'.

The Vatican, in an unofficial note, recalled the Church's sanctions against members of the laity sitting in judgement on a bishop, or guilty of any act of violence upon his person; it nevertheless continued to maintain its Nuncio in Belgrade—Mgr. Patrick Hurley, a priest of American nationality, who had entered upon his office at the beginning of the year. In October, 1946, it appointed a co-adjutor to the Bishop of Maribor and another to the Bishop of Ljubljana. (In the absence of a

[3] A Catholic Agency announced, at the end of February 1947, that the President of the Croatian Government, Dr. Bakarich, was said to have invited the prelate to sign his appeal, giving him reason to hope that he might be liberated and, with American support, go abroad. Mgr. Stepinac refused, not wishing to leave either his people or his diocese.

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793 Concordat in Yugoslavia, the Vatican proceeds directly to the
794 appointment of bishops, without previous agreement with the
• 648 Government.)

648 Relations between the Holy See and Belgrade again became
175 strained when on January 31, 1947, Tito's Government handed
[659] to the Secretariat of State two notes, demanding the handing over of five Yugoslav 'war criminals', said to have taken refuge in the Vatican, and accusing the latter of having facilitated the escape to South America of other Yugoslav nationals, wanted by their country's police. The Pope denied these allegations, but added 'that he distinguished between those who were persecuted for political reasons, and criminals; to the former he gave every assistance in his power, without asking whence they came'.

Yugoslavia's external policy remained unshakeably based on Soviet support. 'The Slav peoples now look to Moscow as, after 1919, they looked to Paris; nothing is more natural', said a semi-official commentary on Tito's tour of Central Europe. Far from endeavouring to gain the confidence of the English and the Americans, whose co-operation a wise diplomacy would have sought, in order to bring their claims on Trieste to a successful conclusion, the Belgrade Government was continually in conflict with those powers.

Its relations with Washington were particularly chequered. On January 8, 1946, President Truman had declared: 'As regards Yugoslavia, recognition of the present Government is still subject to certain conditions'. (Moreover, he put Rumania and Bulgaria on the same footing.)

These 'conditions' were the assurance that the new Yugoslavia would recognise the existing treaties and agreements between the two countries (commercial exchanges, extraditions, naturalisations, etc.). Having obtained this assurance on April 18, he recognised Tito and appointed Mr. Richard Patterson ambassador in Belgrade. 'In granting diplomatic recognition', said the *Washington Post* next day, 'the United States are but looking unpleasant realities in the face'.

And when Sava Kosanovich, the representative of Yugoslavia, presented his credentials to President Truman, the latter said to him, with bantering courtesy: 'The United States are following, with interest and sympathy, the efforts of the Yugoslav people . . . to succeed, individually and in harmony with the United

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Nations, in realising the ideals of liberty and democracy which have borne the United Nations to victory'. The history of the relations between the two Governments proves, on the one hand, that in Belgrade very little sense of diplomacy was shown, and, on the other, that Washington was completely misinformed as to the realities of Yugoslav life.

The most serious incident was caused, in August, 1946, by attacks on American aeroplanes in the sky of Slovenia. On the 9th of that month an American plane, forced to land, had crashed; its occupants had been imprisoned by the Yugoslav authorities. On the 11th, the Belgrade Government had protested to Washington against repeated flights over its territory. On the 19th, a transport plane was attacked by a Yugoslav squadron and its five occupants were killed. Whereupon the State Department addressed to the Belgrade Government an ultimatum, demanding an explanation within forty-eight hours, failing which the Security Council would be informed of 'this offence against international law and the principles of humanity'. After having read the text of the ultimatum to the press, the American Ambassador added: 'Eighteen months ago, United States planes were awaited with impatience and greeted with enthusiasm; today they are shot down'.

The Yugoslav press insinuated that the United States had exaggerated the incident, in order to discredit the Belgrade Government in the eyes of the Peace Conference. That Government hastened, however, to release the American airmen as soon as it got wind of the ultimatum, so that this should be without motive by the time it was officially presented. It then undertook to forbid its squadrons to fire on foreign planes, in order to avoid such 'unfortunate accidents'. Nevertheless, on September 3, a fresh note from Washington expressed the surprise felt by the State Department at not receiving from the Yugoslavs either any expression of regret or any offer of indemnity. The Belgrade Government finally granted $30,000 to each of the families of the five airmen shot down on August 19, but refused indemnity for the lost plane, and maintained its attitude of non-responsibility for this 'accident'. America returned to the attack in a note dated Ocober 8, and the matter was only settled in the following month. On November 5 the dockers of the port of New York, who, as a

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648 175 protest, had refused to load the boat carrying UNRRA supplies to Yugoslavia, received instructions from their Union to proceed with the loading.

648 175 661 Hardly had this incident been settled when a fresh one arose, provoked by the American notes of July 26, August 10 and 18, and October 18, denouncing the internment in concentration camps, without any legal steps having been taken, of 165 persons entitled to claim American nationality; ten of these, it was alleged, had died as the result of ill-treatment. The Washington Government 'expressed the deep horror it felt at such practices, which are a violation of the principles of international law regarding the protection of foreign nationals, which amount to instances of unwilling or forced labour, in disregard of the natural rights of human beings, and present no feature to distinguish them from slavery'. Belgrade replied that the persons concerned were members of the German minority, were formerly affiliated to the *Kulturbund,* and had formed part of the fifth column, under cover of a borrowed nationality. The Government agreed to liberate the non-Yugoslavs whose American nationality should be recognised by the United States Embassy, on condition that they should leave the country immediately if they were *Volkdeutsche.*

Yugoslavia, in her turn, lodged a complaint against the United States, when she demanded the return of her river flotilla, detained in the upper reaches of the Danube by the American authorities. The latter recognised Yugoslavia's rights to 161 vessels, but contested ownership of sixteen others. It was not until the beginning of November, 1946, that restitution was ordered.

Another incident—omitting the arrests or charging of American nationals or members of the United States Embassy staff suspected of spying[6]—was caused by the closing, on September, 26, 1946, of the American Information Bureau in Belgrade, accused of circulating information prejudicial to the safety of the State. In this matter, the State Department appeared to disapprove of the zeal of Ambassador Patterson; after an exchange of notes, the Bureau was reopened in the following month.

[6] Especially in January 1947 in connection with the Trifounovich case.

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These periodical misunderstandings revealed, rather than created, an unfriendly atmosphere. The truth is that the United States had never ceased to regard the established régime in Yugoslavia as a totalitarian organisation, on Russian lines, in which no civil rights or individual liberty existed. And this impression made itself felt in the peace negotiations, without—let us repeat—Tito's diplomacy making any serious effort to dispel it, thereby taking its share in responsibility for the failure of Yugoslav claims on Trieste. 648• 175 [829]

The diplomatic tension between Belgrade and Washington was reflected in the recall (in March, 1947) of Mr. Patterson, United States Ambassador in Yugoslavia, when America rejected the demand for cereals formulated by Marshal Tito's Government. Mr. Patterson was replaced, but his severe judgements on the Yugoslav régime fixed the policy of the State Department towards Tito.

Although less full of incident, relations between London and Belgrade were scarcely more gracious. An English note of May 20 protested against the attitude of the Yugoslavs in Julian Venetia and the 'unfriendly policy' of their Government. British newspapers did not conceal their bitterness on finding that, despite Anglo-American sacrifices made in order to assist the populations of the new Yugoslavia to get on their feet again, the press of that country had nothing but suspicious or damaging comments to make on the Western Democracies.

Yugoslavia refused, for instance, to take part in the Victory Parade held in London on June 8, 1946, bluntly stating that the relations between the two countries did not justify such participation.

The attitude of the Yugoslav delegation at international conferences or Commissions, and in the United Nations, was not calculated to dissipate prejudice. This was fostered by exchanges of subacid notes—particularly those of January 10, 1947, in which the Yugoslav Government protested at the slowness of the British authorities in handing over war criminals of Italian nationality, and of January 29 regarding the murder of the Yugoslav consul, who had, on 25th of the same month, visited a *tchetnitsi* camp in the Naples district.

On the other hand, relations between Belgrade and the other Slav States gave rise to demonstrations of confidence and 648 175

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enthusiasm. On March 12, 1946, Marshal Tito went to Warsaw, where, on the 17th, he signed a cultural agreement and, on the 19th, a treaty of friendship and mutul aid, valid for twenty years, which was unanimously ratified by the Polish National Council on April 28. Yugoslav and Polish statesmen agreed on a joint line of action in the matter of either country's armed forces abroad, stationed in territories occupied by the Allies.

From Warsaw Tito went, on March 21, to Prague, where, after discussion with MM. Benes and Fierlinger, he announced the conclusion of a pact on similar lines, to be signed on May 10 in Belgrade by the Czech Premier, without reference to the United Nations pact. In accordance with the new line of policy, statesmen and journalists did their utmost to prove that these agreements were not to be regarded as the inception of a bloc of the Eastern European States.[7]

On May 28 Tito was in Moscow, where he remained until June 10. There he worked out the details necessary to bring Yugoslav diplomacy into close harmony with that of the Kremlin. And, as an immediate outcome, economic agreements sealed these exchanges of opinion; one of these agreements covered the arming and equipping of the Yugoslav Army by the Moscow Government.

On October 18 Tito's visit was returned by the President of the Polish Republic, Boleslaw Bierut, who toured Yugoslavia in company with the Marshal. The Premiers exchanged assurances of mutual assistance in their territorial claims. 'I promise you', said Tito, 'that the very utmost shall be done in order that your country may obtain satisfaction. If we don't succeed today, we will do so tomorrow'. President Bierut, in his turn, undertook to back up the Yugoslav attitude in the question of Trieste and the Julian March.

This question of Trieste was for twenty months the stumbling-block in the way of peace negotiations and harmony among the Allies. It gave rise to innumerable incidents, and was the object of keen, bitter discussions. The Yugoslavs maintained their

[7] 'The policy of the U.S.S.R.', declared M. Fierlinger, 'succeeded happily in giving concrete expression to the idea of a community of all the Slav states, which remain entirely free and independent, but are united in a desire for common defence and work for peace in harmony with all the nations'.

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claim with more zeal than skill, threatening at one time not to attend meetings, at others, not to sign, and finally submitting to the *fait accompli,* having presumably over-estimated Russian support, or having forgotten that, for Moscow, Trieste was only one card in a game covering the whole world. It was at one time thought that Yugoslavs and Italians were going to come to a direct arrangement after the visit to Belgrade of Togliatti, the chief of the Communist Party, on November 3, 1946, and his talks with Tito. It would appear that the latter suggested exchanging Trieste (in reality already lost) for Gorizia—a proposal which the Italian Government promptly rejected. Since no arrangement was reached, the Great Powers had to arbitrate; general agreement was concluded between them on November 27.

In reality, it was not a question of deciding whether the Yugoslavs or the Italians should prevail in Trieste; the Russians feared that the Western Democracies would use the town as an economic and political bridge-head for their action in Eastern Europe, while the Anglo-Americans feared that the Stalin-controlled 'Slavonic bloc' would make Trieste the basis for its expansion in the Mediterranean. Such were the real factors in the dispute, notwithstanding the flux of historical, ethnographical, and economic arguments under which they seemed to be submerged.

Yugoslavia abandoned Trieste, but she nevertheless obtained an important part of Istria and Julian Venetia (except the part that was to form the Free Territory of Trieste), as well as Zara and the Isles of Pelagosa and Lagosta. On the other hand, her claims to the Slovene part of Carinthia (which she had lost in the plebiscite of October 18, 1920), as well as to the 'Canalthal' to the north of Gorizia (region of Tarvisio) were rejected.

On January 14, 1946, she was elected a member of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

* * *

Bulgaria, during the pre-constitutional period, was a prey to the objurgations of the English and the Americans, who reproached her with disregarding the political conditions laid down by the Conference of Moscow in December, 1945, by refusing to call two members of the Opposition to power. Gheorgiev's Government was prepared to accept these representatives, but wanted first to see them adhere to its internal and external policy

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•648 175 —in other words, renounce the very principles for which they would have been elected.

Pressed by solicitations or criticisms from London and Washington, M. Gheorgiev placed himself under the ægis of Moscow. He went to Russia on January 7, 1946. 'I am glad', he said on landing, 'to be within the fortress of the Slavonic peoples, which, thanks to the wise direction of Generalissimo Stalin, has become the hope of the whole of democratic humanity'. And to give a yet more decisive proof of the credit which he enjoyed in Moscow, his visit was immediately followed (on January 10) by that of M. Vyshinsky to Sofia.

[661] These manifestations did indeed strengthen the Bulgarian Government majority, but they disarmed neither the English nor the Americans, who protested, in diplomatic notes, against the police tactics of the régime, and the arrests of politicians.[8] In return, the Russians accused the Western Democracies of giving a false interpretation to Moscow's decisions affecting Bulgaria, and of encouraging subversive elements.

642 175 In Sofia, they showed signs of anxiety over the persistence of this lack of harmony on the eve of the conclusion of the peace treaties, on which the future of Bulgaria was to depend. M. Gheorgiev hoped to clarify the situation by resigning on March 22. But the Opposition imposed, as a condition of its accepting office, the exclusion of any Communist from the Ministry of Justice and the Home Office. Agreement proved impossible; another Gheorgiev cabinet, restricted, like the previous one, to the parties of the Patriotic Front, was formed on March 29, 1946.

A few days later, this Government promulgated a decree convening the National Assembly, charged with revising the Constitution on Republican lines. The monarchical régime was denounced to the country as the cause of all its misfortunes—a statement which could, with greater truth, have been applied to the Treaty of San Stefano and the Macedonian psychosis it had

661 [8] For three months, the arrested men included Assen Stamboliiski, son of the famous Agrarian leader, assassinated in 1923, and a member of the Central Committee of the Agrarian Party. One of the grievances harboured by the Bulgarian Agrarians against the Communists was the attitude of neutrality maintained by the latter at the time of the *coup d'état* of June 9, 1923, which had marked the triumph of 'reaction' over Stamboliiski's régime.

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engendered. For the occasion, they forgot the fact that the monarchy had, more than once, had its prerogatives disputed by dictatorships. Only by assassination did Ferdinand get rid of Stamboulov, and Boris of Stamboliiski. And M. Gheorgiev himself had been able to overthrow parliamentary government only because the army had given him a helping hand. The will of the sovereign had entered little into that event. 642 175 [662]

However that might be, the fate of the monarchy was settled. By doing away with it, the Bulgarian people were convinced that they were clarifying their destiny. The young King Simeon II, then aged 8, was living in Vranja with his mother and his sister, in an isolation which was practically exile, while the royal duties were performed by three regents appointed by the National Front. On September 8, 1946, the Bulgarian nation, by a huge majority (3,800,000 votes to 179,000), voted in favour of the republic, which was proclaimed on the 15th of the same month. The following week Simeon II, under the care of the Queen-Mother, who was dressed in deep mourning, embarked on a Turkish vessel bound for Egypt, where he was to join his maternal grandfather, ex-King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy. One newspaper *Otetchestvene Front* (Homeland Front) published, by way of farewell, an article by General Hristo Stölkov, reproaching the defunct monarchy for having isolated Bulgaria from the other Slavonic peoples. 'It is no accident if, at the time of the first imperialist war, all the Slavs [*sic*] were on the side of the Allies, whilst Bulgaria alone threw in her lot with Germany'. [666]

The convening of the electoral body for October 27[1] gave rise to a diplomatic passage of arms among the Allies. The British Government protested against the obstacles put in the way of the Opposition's campaign, and against the persecution to which the Agrarians were subjected. And Mr. Byrnes asked the Allied Control Commission, sitting in Sofia, to take adequate measures to guarantee the integrity of the poll. Russia's representative on the Commission, General Birousov, opposed the consideration of this request, which he denounced as foreign interference with Bulgarian home affairs. 648 • 175

The elections gave the anticipated results; the Home Front secured 346 seats (of which 277 went to the Communists) as against the Opposition's 101 seats. It would appear that this 666 175

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666 result even exceeded the expectations of M. Gheorgiev, who took
175 fright at the excitement stirred up in the country by the Communists—hence this appeal to the population: 'Victory often intoxicates men, and defeat makes them lose their self-control. Tension resulting from elections, if not rapidly mastered, may help to foster a state of excitement prejudicial to order and tranquillity. The Government earnestly exhorts all citizens strictly to observe the laws'.

Spectacular as was the triumph of governmental coalition, it did not reach the overwhelming majorities of which Russia and Yugoslavia held the secret. In particular, the ministerial fraction belonging to the *Zveno* was beaten, so that the country had modified, to the advantage of the Communists, the relative strengths within the coalition. Now, in a nation which had neither capitalism nor trusts nor large industrial concerns nor *latifundia*, the word *Communist* had a meaning which was much more political than social.* It was above all the victory of the 'Russianisers', long held in check by the official policy.

[563] It must moreover be admitted that, renewing the gesture of the liberating Tsar, the Soviet Union had just saved the Bulgarian people by protecting them from the consequences of their rulers' collusion with the Axis. The question that still remained was whether Russia would not have preferred to be defended in Sofia by traditionally 'national' elements, rather than by a party too openly connected with Moscow, and whose leader, George Dimitrov, the hero of the Leipzig trial, was thought to be a tool of Russia.

642 As a logical consequence of the elections, a new Government
175 was in fact formed by Dimitrov on November 23.[1] It included ten Communists, five Agrarians, two Socialists, two members of the *Zveno* and one Independent. The ex-President, Kimon Gheorgiev, held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. The semi-official press saw it as 'the most democratic Government Bulgaria has ever had', whilst the Opposition emphasised the complete hold on power which the Communists had obtained.

• 648 This Government's vital tasks were to be signing the peace
175 and voting the Constitution. On February 12, 1947, it secured

[162] * The working-class strengths, on which the Communists rely, are very small; indeed, 80% of the population are engaged in agriculture, not to mention tradesmen, civil servants, and members of the liberal professions.

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from England the legal recognition which she had refused to a non-Communist Ministry. However, the Foreign Office felt bound to state that this recognition 'by no means implied that Great Britain considered the methods previously employed by the Bulgarian Government to consolidate its position, or the conditions under which the elections had been organised, as conforming to the spirit and the letter of the Yalta declaration concerning Liberated Europe'. 648 175

The Bulgarian reply dismissed these objections, but expressed the Sofia Government's satisfaction and its desire to respect the peace treaty.

The Constitution submitted to the Legislature had to reconcile the exigencies of a very Leftist democracy with the specific traits of the Bulgarian nation, and the laws of its historical development. It was not federal, like the Russian or Yugoslav constitutions, but unitary. Bulgaria was to be a parliamentary republic, in which authority belonged to the people, whose will was expressed by means of elections or a referendum. The President was elected for four years (by a two-thirds majority) by the Legislature, plus one representative from each Cantonal Council and five representatives from each Departmental Council. The Legislature was elected for four years, on the basis of one member for every 25,000 inhabitants. 642 175 [182]

The Constitution sanctioned the right to private property and the right of inheritance, but placed in the hands of the State the country's natural resources, its sub-soil, transport, marine and fluvial navigation, communications, radio, and external trade. The new Bulgarian economy was inspired by the co-operative principle as understood in the Slavonic tradition (*mir* or *zadrouga*) rather than by pure collectivism. [181]

In his ministerial declaration M. George Dimitrov had defined friendship with U.S.S.R. as 'the corner-stone of his foreign policy', but promised to endeavour to normalise relations with London and Washington. He expressed his gratitude 'to the sister nations—and particularly the new Yugoslavia[10]—for the help they had rendered to Bulgaria at the Peace Conference'. 648 175

Indeed, Bulgaria had no reason to complain of the Con-

[10] Who, on the previous June 15, had wiped out certain Bulgarian reparations.

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648 175 ference, which, while treating her as a conquered country, nevertheless left her Southern Dobrudja which she had obtained from Rumania under a friendly agreement concluded under the auspices of the Axis.

728 175 By her memoranda addressed to the Four Powers on May 7 and June 20, she had asked to be designated in the peace treaties, not as an Axis 'Satellite State' but as a 'Co-belligerent Ally'. Her delegate to the Paris Conference maintained that the moral responsibility of the Bulgarian people had not been involved in the policy of collaboration with Germany,[11] that, moreover, no Bulgarian soldier had borne arms against the Red Army, and that the country's heroic resistance, at the critical moment of the war, entitled her to the Allies' sympathetic consideration.

This request was rejected, however, as well as that which aimed at securing access to the Aegean Sea (the famous 'outlet' of Article 48 of the Treaty of Neuilly) or, more clearly, that part of Western Thrace which had been under Bulgarian sovereignty between 1913 (Treaty of Bucharest) and 1919 (Treaty of Neuilly) and which, at the time of which we are speaking, formed part of Greece. This request, as well as the claim for indemnity for 'investments and improvements' effected by the Bulgarian troops on Greek soil during the occupation, at the Luxembourg Conference provoked vigorous reaction on the part of the Greek Premier, M. Tsaldaris, who reproached the Bulgarians with having attacked his country three times in the space of a single generation.

[648] Much more: Messrs. Byrnes and Bevin took the opportunity of M. Kolarov's visit to Paris to intimate to him the dissatisfaction their Governments felt at the way in which the [563] Opposition was treated in Sofia. Moreover, the British delegate demanded the insertion of a special clause intended to protect Jewish minorities, although it was well known that—except in the last war, and even then, not without the exercise of great restraint[12]—the Jews had never been the object of discriminating measures.

[11] Almost word for word, this was the thesis maintained at the end of the previous war by M. Mollov, the Bulgarian delegate to the League of Nations: 'Bulgaria . . . was drawn into the war by events contrary to the manifest will of the majority of the people, and of the political parties'.

[12] The opposition of the Bulgarian people to racial laws spared the Jews the atrocities to which they were subjected in other Eastern European countries.

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131 war, now had only three—Russia, Germany, and Czechoslovakia.
175 One aspect of her new position which represented an innovation was her transformation into a great maritime nation, thanks to the three ports, Stettin, Gdynia, and Danzig, and to her 312 miles of coast-line. Nevertheless, her destiny would henceforth be more closely bound to that of Central Europe, while remaining subordinate to the *entente* with Moscow.

666 The western frontiers were approved by the plebiscite of June 30, which covered not only the frontier-ratification, but also the abolition of the Senate and the economic organisation of the [471] State (Agrarian reform and nationalisation of key industries). [423] The first ballot gave 10,534,697 in favour and 995,584 against; the second gave 7,844,522 in favour and 3,686,029 against; the third, 8,896,106 in favour and 2,634,446 against.

578 This popular referendum did not have the tranquillising
• 648 effects that had seemingly been expected. Poland continued to
661 be a prey to 'terrorist' agitation; the repression of which, in
175 turn, gave rise to scenes of violence and to exactions. While dissociating himself from the extremists, the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, M. Mikolajczyk, himself protested against the way in which the referendum had been carried out (except in Cracow, where the 'Noes' had been in the majority). So the British Government reserved its opinion on the legitimacy which this poll conferred on the régime, and awaited the general elections before giving legal recognition to the new state of affairs. And the whole of 1946 was taken up with exchanges of subacid notes between London and Washington on the one side and Warsaw on the other. The Anglo-Americans denounced the persecution to which the Opposition was subjected, and considered that the Polish Government was failing in the undertaking given in execution of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, to guarantee the liberty of elections. But the Russians interpreted quite differently both the scope of these agreements and the meaning of the word 'liberty'. And so the most obvious result of the diplomatic offensive on the part of England and the United States was to intensify Polish-Sovietic solidarity.

648 The formation, in June, of a National Unity Government
175 under the Presidency of M. Osubka Morawski seemed, for the
[642] time being, to dissipate the apprehensions of the Anglo-Americans, although the dissident Polish Government in London

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had refused to recognise this new Cabinet. But the truce was a short one. The preparation of the electoral law, voted on September 23, revived the controversy[18] and occasioned a fresh diplomatic assault. The Foreign Office and the State Department sent to Warsaw, on August 19, concerted notes, couched as 'warnings'. They recalled the irregularities known to have taken place on the occasion of the referendum, and suggested a series of measures calculated to prevent their repetition in connection with the elections. When handing over the American note, the United States ambassador felt the need to justify such an unusual step: 'In departing from its traditional policy', he said, 'and in assuming responsibilities in the affairs of another State, my Government is obeying a conviction that its important role in the liberation of the European peoples imposes on it very particularly the duty to assist the Polish people, so sorely tried by the Nazi occupation, to be quite free to elect the government of its choice'.

648 175 [666]

M. Osubka Morawski took this double admonition very badly. His embassy in Washington declared to the press that the American note 'constituted a violation of the sovereign rights of Poland and an interference in her internal affairs'; the Warsaw press spoke of 'vassalisation'; and the two notes received no official reply.

A few days later the Polish leaders went to Minsk, where, on August 29, they met Generalissimo Stalin, with whom they discussed the question of the elections. They received assurances which enabled them, thenceforth, to resist the Anglo-American offensive.

Meanwhile a disagreement which had arisen between London and Warsaw a few weeks previously was being settled. This concerned a protest made by the Polish Government against

[18] A memorandum was sent, in August 1946, to the representatives of the United Nations taking part in the Peace Conference in Paris by the 'Polish Socialist and Workers' Associations Abroad'; its authors recalled the sufferings of Poland during the war, demanded the re-establishment of civic liberties, and declared that the Government had against it 'about 90% of the public opinion of the country'. The Conference was also notified of a protest on the part of the Central Union of Poles in France and of the Union of Catholic Polish Societies in France. In the following month, the Congress of Americans of Polish Origin addressed to Mr. Byrnes a memorandum suggesting that the problem of Poland should be laid before the United Nations, and asking for recognition of the western frontiers.

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•648 175 certain items which had appeared in the News Bulletin published by the British Embassy in Poland, and judged by official circles to be tendentious. At the beginning of September the Foreign Office announced that the Bulletin would publish no more reports concerning Poland's internal affairs. But semi-official commentators felt obliged to emphasise that this assurance, at variance with British practice, had not been given without hesitation; it had been largely prompted by fear that the Bulletin's collaborators would be arrested by the Polish authorities. So that the settlement of the dispute, by its very nature, contained the germ of future unpleasantness.

Moreover, Warsaw cherished many other bones of contention as far as the English were concerned. The latter were first accused of wanting to keep the gold belonging to the National Bank, and then reproached with supporting the Polish 'reactionaries', with refusing to repatriate General Anders' army *en bloc*, and with lending too sympathetic an ear to the complaints and recriminations of the Peasant Party. Although it was for Poland that England had entered the war, it may be said that it was against the British cabinet that the most bitter criticisms were directed by the Polish Government and press.

The attacks reached their culminating point in the autumn, after Mr. Byrnes's speech at Stuttgart on September 6, and Mr. Bevin's declaration in the House of Commons on October 22.

648 175 728 Mr. Byrnes had said: 'As regards Silesia and the other Eastern German territories, their allocation to Poland by Russia, for administrative purposes, had taken place before the Potsdam meeting. . . . As the minutes of the Conference plainly show, the heads of the Governments did not undertake to support, on the establishment of peace, the cession of any particular territory. . . . The extent of the region to be ceded to Poland must be determined at the time when the final settlement is made'.[14]

Taken in conjunction with Mr. Bevin's speech, these words could bear the interpretation that Great Britain and America would, at the time of the final Peace Conference, make the

[14] The relevant paragraph of the Potsdam agreement is worded as follows: 'The heads of the three Governments reaffirm the opinion that the final delimitation of Poland's western frontiers must be made at the time of the peace settlement'.

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question of the Oder-Neisse frontiers dependent on that of free elections. M. Molotov at once challenged Mr. Byrnes's declaration, affirming that Russia considered the Polish-German frontiers as definitive. If, on the one hand, this intervention alienated the German Communists from him, and contributed to their defeat at the municipal elections, on the other hand, it secured for him enthusiastic approbation in Polish circles. In most of the large towns popular meetings were held, and the crowds booed the name of Mr. Byrnes, and even of America.

The tension lasted right up to the elections. The arrest of members of the Polish Peasant Party had its echo in the House of Commons, where, on October 22, Mr. Churchill drew a 'sad picture' of the situation in Poland. 'We must', he said, 'take great care to distinguish in our minds between the present Polish Government and the feelings of the Polish nation, whose affliction and sufferings seem to be never-ending'. The Minister of State, Mr. McNeil, emphasised once more the fact that England was a joint signatory to the undertakings given by the Warsaw Government, and thereby bound to see that they were carried out.

So, when the legislative elections had been fixed for January 19, the Governments of London and Washington considered the time had come to repeat their representations on behalf of a free poll. On November 22, they handed over, through their representatives in Warsaw, two simultaneous notes (identical, as regards contents, with those which had been handed to Rumania and Bulgaria on previous occasions). These two documents referred to the previous warnings, and concluded by mentioning that it would be impossible for the Anglo-American democracies to recognise any Government which might be based on elections carried out with violence, or whose results had been falsified.

No reply was made to the American Department of State. That destined for the Foreign Office was delayed for a month. It answered Great Britain's arguments by setting out a complete accusation, intended to show that that Power had herself deliberately violated the Yalta and Potsdam agreements in seven respects, as under :—

1. Role of 'advisers to the British Government' played by Polish exiles in London.

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2. Reorganisation and re-equipment of the Anders Army.
3. Control exercised by the exiled Polish Government in London over property wrongfully left at its disposal, together with that of the Polish Consulates abroad.
4. Retention of the Polish gold deposited in London during the war.
5. Retention of the Polish battle-ships placed at the disposal of the British war-fleet during the occupation.
6. Financing by Great Britain of the campaign to dissuade Polish refugees and deportees from returning to their country.
7. Reduction of the quota of Germans from the western territories of Poland that England had undertaken to admit to her occupation zone in Germany.

This fruitless exchange of notes continued until the eve of the elections. In the end, England realised its futility, whereas, on January 5, 1947, America laid before her two major Allies a proposal for joint supervision of the electoral proceedings. Russia rejected this proposal, once again refuting its motives, and a further American note of January 9, was described by the Polish chargé d'affaires at Washington as 'very regrettable'.

[666] The elections, held on January 19,[1] resulted in 9,003,682 votes for the Governmental bloc (*i.e.*, 80.1 per cent of the voters) as against 1,154,847 for the Polish Peasant Party (*i.e.*, 10.3 per cent).

The comedy of the Anglo-American protests did not end with this poll. It had its epilogue in a note from Washington, dated January 29, affirming that the State Department neither considered the elections to have been free, nor Poland's engagements to have been kept, but did not, nevertheless, intend to break off diplomatic relations.[15] The British Under-Secretary

[15] This did not prevent Mr. Truman from making the following statement to the new Polish ambassador, M. Winieniez, when, on February 4, the latter presented his credentials. 'We, the American people and myself, were very much upset to find that the Provisional Government of Poland had failed to fulfil its undertakings with regard to freedom of elections' —which was contrary to the conventional optimism with which these ceremonial occasions are usually surrounded. And, in the *New York Herald Tribune* (European edition), the ex-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, published this violent commentary: 'The results of the elections in Poland have been even more fantastic than was to be expected. The P.S.L. (Polish Peasant Party) have been allocated one-tenth of the man-

1 1947 -- Analyst

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for Foreign Affairs spoke in similar vein in the House of Commons. And the final result of all this fuss was simply that England and the United States were not represented at the inaugural session of the Third Polish Republic, held on February 4. Moreover, that did not prevent those two countries from offering their congratulations, the next day, to M. Boleslaw Bierut, President of the Republic. London and Washington had never had any other concern than that of 'saving appearances'. They knew quite well that these platonic manifestations of displeasure would have no other effect than to consolidate Muscovite influence in Warsaw. 648* 175

The Presidency of the new Government was entrusted to a young member of the Cracow bar—M. Joseph Cyrankiewicz, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, and a survivor of the Auschwitz Camp. In May, political life was gradually becoming normal. The President of the Republic compared it to a river 'which, after having been diverted from its bed by a cataclysm, was finding its true course again'. 643 175

To the new Cabinet was to fall the mission of getting the Oder-Neisse frontier sanctioned by the Peace Conference. In its own view, as well as that of the whole of Poland, the question was settled by the fact that transfers of population had already taken place, without any protests from London or Washington. It was difficult to conceive that millions of Displaced Persons would be compelled to undergo a fresh exodus. The Anglo-Americans would therefore be obliged, in Mr. Churchill's phrase, 'to write off Eastern Europe on the Profit and Loss account'. Moreover, France supported the Polish viewpoint; on February 19, 1947, she signed a cultural agreement with Warsaw—the preface to a new political pact, it being understood that Poland would support her claims on the Saar, as she would back up those of Poland to the maintenance of her western frontier. The question of the frontiers gave rise, in April, 1947, to a bitter and sterile passage-of-arms between Americans and Russians at the Moscow Conference. 648 728 175

Another and no less redoubtable motive of discord between 000

dates which fell to the Socialo-Communist bloc which backs the regime of Bierut and Osubka-Morawski. So the Moscow-controlled parties get 400 out of the 444 seats in the Polish Diet. . . . The last vestiges of Polish liberty, for which General Sikorski is still fighting, will tend to disappear'.

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•648 Another and no less redoubtable motive of discord between
175 Poland and the Western Allies was the existence in Italy of an army (the former Second Polish Corps), under the orders of General Wladislaw Anders, who had not recognised the Warsaw Government—because, he said, it had not been freely chosen by the Polish people. His troops did not refuse to enter Poland, but they were not prepared to do so until the Russians had gone. On this question, as on that of the elections, a diplomatic duel took place—the initiative, this time, lying with the Warsaw Cabinet. The incident began with a note, of January, 1946, in which this Cabinet accused England of equipping and supplying these forces, and with a protest to Washington against the functioning, in the American zone, of a liaison between the Anders Army and the secret organisations of the interior. General Anders opposed a categorical denial to this assertion; according to him, it was nothing but a false scent, to divert attention from the political crisis existing in the country.

Yugoslavia intervened abruptly in this affair, by submitting to the General Secretariat of the United Nations, through M. Vyshinsky, a memorandum destined for the Security Council, claiming that the Polish Army in Italy, executing manœuvres which brought it near to the Julian March, and recruiting Yugoslavs, was considered as 'aggressive and manifestly dangerous' for the Belgrade Government.

England, quite justifiably, was surprised to find the Yugoslavs adopting this roundabout method of lodging a complaint directly aimed at her. She immediately denied the allegations.

But thereupon, a communication from the Warsaw Government, February 14, declared that, from that date onwards, it ceased to consider the Polish forces abroad as units of the national army. The Government therefore demanded that such troops should no longer be permitted to wear Polish uniform or badges, and that they should be demobilised. A few days later, Radio-Warsaw broadcast an appeal to Polish soldiers abroad, urging them to arrange for repatriation. And, on March 20, Mr. Bevin submitted to the Commons the text of an Anglo-Polish agreement for the demobilisation of these soldiers (at least 200,000 men), half of whom constituted the total strength of the Anders Army stationed in Italy. No judicial action was to be taken against the returned soldiers, unless they had served in the German Army, or in the Todt organisation. Those who

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were unwilling to go would not be forced to return to Poland, but their right to remain in England would be considered individually. 648* 175

It goes without saying that the 'Polish Government in London' protested against this decision, on which they had not been consulted. On June 1 General Anders bade farewell to his troops. 'We must', he said, 'leave Italy on the eve of the peace treaties. We have traversed this country from South to North, waging against Germany a battle for the liberty of the nations. Polish hearts will never forget that we have fought also for the liberty of the Church. . . . Tomorrow, by an unknown road, we shall go to Poland—to a Poland for which we have fought, and which no Polish heart can imagine without Lwow and Wilno'. At the end of October he left Italy for England, where he joined the unarmed Resettlement Corps.[16] Shortly before (on September 28) and as the result of this incorporation, a decree of the Council of Polish Ministers had withdrawn his nationality, as well as that of seventy-four other officers, of or above the rank of general.

The exact figures of those who were voluntarily repatriated have never been given. But it is certain that a large number of Poles, especially among those whose home district had passed under Soviet control, preferred the risks and the misfortunes of exile to returning to their birthplace.

Relations between Warsaw and Moscow were maintained on the lines laid down for them by the Polish-Sovietic pact of August 18, 1945—of which instruments of ratification were exchanged on February 7, 1946.

But, as M. Cyrankiewicz himself had remarked, 'Many Poles still suffered from an anti-Russian complex'. This persistence of hostility towards Russia was, according to him, attributable to the memory of the Tsarist oppression and the anti-Bolshevist propaganda which had been ceaselessly carried out between the two wars. [829]

The visit of President Bierut and the Polish statesmen to

[16] A British M.P. having asked (on February 18, 1947) why the general's salary figured on the army budget, Richard Stokes, a Labour M.P., divulged that the military authorities admitted that, without the collaboration of the Anders Army, the Italian campaign might have ended in disaster.

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648 175 Moscow (May 23–26, 1946) was due to the necessity for a fresh exchange of views on the international situation, on the strengthening of the Polish Army to protect the rear of the Soviet occupation forces in Germany, and on the conclusion of economic agreements. Arrangements were in fact reached. They stipulated the cancelling of the financial engagements contracted during the war for equipping the Polish Army; the supply of Russian arms and munitions; the opening of a credit and the furnishing of food supplies.[17] On August 16 the U.S.S.R. and Poland signed a frontier treaty, ceding to the Poles the region situated east of the Curzon line, between the Western Boug and the River Solokia, to the south of the town of Krilow, to a maximum depth of nineteen miles, together with a part of the Forest of Bjalowiez, likewise to the east of the Curzon line, to a maximum depth of eleven miles.

A fresh interview between Stalin and MM. Bierut and Osubka-Morawski took place in Minsk on the following August 29. It dealt principally with the Anglo-American notes relating to the elections, and with the relations, on the eve of the poll, between the Socialist Party and the Labour Party. It was a fortnight later that, replying to Mr. Byrnes's Stuttgart speech, M. Molotov reaffirmed the Soviet point of view, according to which the western frontier of Poland was sacrosanct.

On February 24, 1947, M. Cyrankiewicz arrived in Moscow to confer with Stalin on the prospects opened up for Poland by the Peace Conference for Germany, convened in the Soviet capital for March 10.

648 175 457 Connected with the question of 'free elections', still further incidents arose between Poland and the Anglo-American democracies. On April 25, 1946, the Warsaw Government had obtained a loan of fifty million dollars under the following double arrangement: Forty million dollars would be supplied by the Export-Import Bank for the payment of purchases effected in the United States; surplus army material, stocked in Europe, would be supplied to the Government on credit, up to a limit of fifty million dollars. America had stipulated, as conditions of her financial aid, that the Polish Government should organise free elections, should inform the people of the terms of

[17] It was only on November 21 that the Polish Minister of Foreign Trade disclosed the tenor of his agreements with Russia.

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the agreement, and should furnish the United States with full details of treaties concluded with other Powers. 648 175 457

Since these conditions had not been fulfilled, America announced, in the month of May, that she was reconsidering the matter. Warsaw then communicated the text of the commercial treaties concluded with the neighbouring countries. The fact that, after this, the United States restored the credit of ninety million dollars shows that they did not consider these treaties as incompatible with their collaboration in Polish economic recovery. In January, 1947, Polish assets in America —including gold—were 'de-blocked', in consideration of an agreement fixing the indemnification of American nationals who owned nationalised Polish concerns.

But the question of the elections remained as a background to the feeling of strain which hung over the relations between Washington and Warsaw. In March, 1947, it came to the fore again, when the United States ambassador, Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane, resigned as an expression of the disapproval he had never ceased to exhibit towards a régime resulting from an electoral consultation which he had designated 'a farce'. Far from disowning him, Mr. Truman, in accepting his resignation, declared his regret that 'his skilful representation of the American Government's views had not attained its object'.

The financial negotiations with England experienced similar vicissitudes. The agreement of June 24, 1946, for the grant of a loan, subject to the repayment of the debts of the former London Government, was at first postponed; official Polish circles accused Great Britain of retaining the greater part of their compatriots' assets as security for her claims, and especially the 4,800,000,000 francs (gold) belonging to the Bank of Poland. On December 19, the English Embassy in Warsaw was obliged to protest against the manner in which these questions were presented by the Polish press, who took pleasure in contrasting the British claims with Russia's gesture in wiping out Poland's war debts.

We have recalled that one of the sore points in Slav solidarity was the question of the allocation of the Teschen Basin, occupied by the Poles since October 2, 1938. The question had already, between the two wars, caused a lot of ink to flow. It had grafted itself on to attacks made by the Polish press against 648 728 175

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Prague's policy with regard to the Slovaks, and by the Czech press against Warsaw's treatment of the Ukrainian minorities.

At the end of 1945 the Polish Government had proposed a general settlement of matters outstanding. Prague had agreed in principle, but excluding territorial questions. Poland rejected this reservation. Negotiations opened in Prague on February 7, 1946. The Czechs again refused to have the question of Teschen reopened; they were anxious not to jeopardise the promise made by the Allies to restore their frontiers as they were before Munich.

So the matter was adjourned. But neither of the two Governments neglected any occasion of reaffirming their country's rights to Teschen.

'The Government of Poland' (said M. Rzymowski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on March 8) 'most emphatically condemns the violence of Munich exercised by Hitler in common with Beck, Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1938–1939, towards Czechoslovakia, a friendly country. I cannot, however, forbear to mention the fact that Silesian Teschen is peopled by a mass of 100,000 Poles who, for some decades, and especially during the six years of the German occupation, by their attitude affirmed their desire to be reincorporated in the mother country'.

To which the President of the Czech Council, M. Fierlinger, replied, recalling that this territory contained the richest coal-mines of Czechoslovakia, that the country's industry had been particularly developed there, large capital sums having been invested, and that along the Polish-Czech frontier passed the most important of the railways joining Bohemia and Moravia to Slovakia. 'So', he concluded, 'any cession of the territory of Teschen to the Poles would prejudice the most vital interests of our country. For these motives, as well as for ethnical reasons, we cannot discuss with the Polish Government the cession of any of these territories. Naturally, we are ready to come to an agreement with the Poles on the most friendly basis, regarding any other arrangement which would suit them, particularly for a reciprocal exchange of population which might finally settle this very complicated problem, to the interest of both countries'.

The most curious part was that the two Governments, equally intractable on this point, showed themselves none the less disposed to conclude an alliance, even a federal pact. Poland would have seen in this a way of submerging the importance of

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the Teschen affair. But Czechoslovakia kept the two matters distinct, and was not prepared to raise the question of the pact until the frontier dispute had been settled.

Marshal Tito was either asked, or was tempted, to offer his mediation. He met with no better success than M. Benes had encountered when, immediately after the previous war, he had tried to intervene between Belgrade and Sofia to appease the Macedonian quarrel. It was obvious, moreover, that the real arbitrator of the dispute could be none other than Stalin. And so the question of Teschen headed the agenda of the conversations that took place in Moscow, in June, 1946, between M. Fierlinger and the Russian and Polish chiefs. The last-named maintained that the territorial sacrifices they had made to Russia should be compensated with the territories partly populated by Poles. The Czechs showed themselves adamant. Had not they, too, ceded Sub-Carpathia to the Russians, and without any compensation? They formulated, or allowed to be formulated, other demands—a frontier-rectification, to do away with the two salients of Glatz and Ratibor, the incorporation of Lusatia with Bautzen, Loebau and Cottbus, and the incorporation of the Austrian town of Gmünd (already occupied).

The Soviet representatives dismissed both parties non-suited. Probably they were not sorry to preserve a possible means of bringing pressure to bear on both sides. They did, however, assure the Czechs that the question would not be settled by Moscow without their consent. As for the Poles, they saw in the Czech claims to Glatz a move to give them a possible basis for bargaining.

The Western Allies prudently refrained from intervening in this dispute, although it affected both the political and the economic balance of the Continent.

Eventually on March 10, 1947, Poles and Czechs concluded a treaty of alliance that stabilised their relations, but, trusting to the effects of time, left them until 1949 to settle the matter of Teschen—the very one whose settlement was of paramount importance for those relations!

The Polish delegation to the Peace Conference expressed very precise views on the fate of Austria and Germany. They demanded guarantees against a fresh Anschluss, the unity of the Reich to be subject to effective demilitarisation and denazifica-

648 728 175 tion, and the reconstruction of German economic life subordinated to the reconstruction of the devastated countries.

648 175 On the United Nations' Security Council the Polish delegation fastened on the Spanish problem, displaying all the more energy, inasmuch as none of their positive interests was at stake. They backed the views supported by France and the Soviet Union on rupture with Franco, and decided, on April 5, 1946, to recognise the Giral Government--an eminently platonic gesture, for Franco's Spain and Poland had no diplomatic relations.

*186 659 [798] The religious question, too, was a serious preoccupation of the Government, which refuted the widespread accusation of wishing to persecute the Catholic Church. It had, moreover, always included 'practising' Catholics among its members, for Poland is certainly one of the few countries where 'Leftists' are just as good Catholics as 'Rightists'. Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland and Archbishop of Warsaw, himself declared that, in spite of the denunciation of the Concordat of 1925, and the absence of relations between Chruch and State, there was no question of a Kulturkampf in Poland.

[586] There is no doubt; however, that the law (which came into force on January 1, 1946) rendering civil marriage compulsory and authorising divorce conflicted with the consciences of a large section of the population. The education reforms had dealt a death-blow to the religious schools. In the face of these measures, the Church adopted an attitude of restrained disapproval, in order not to make the situation worse; moreover, she had her 'Red Bishops', such as Mgr. Adamski, Bishop Katowice, whose sympathies were known to lie with the Soviet Union.

One of the reasons why the hierarchy avoided clashes was the fear of reviving accusations brought against certain of their members as the result of their attitude during the occupation; this in spite of the courageous conduct of the enormous majority of the prelates, and the murder by the Germans of four bishops and two thousand priests.

*186 659 798 It was, moreover, evident that the Warsaw Government's hostility was directed less against the Polish Church than against the Vatican, which they reproached with its policy during the war and its attitude in certain actions brought against agents of the occupying authorities. Yet M. Osubka-Morawski likewise

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186* 175 From the external point of view, Czechoslovakia remained within the orbit of the Soviet power, on which, henceforth, depended her security and her conception of the balance of power in Europe.

But the maintenance of national unity, the agreement of parties, the conciliatory realism which they brought to the control of the State, revealed a spirit of discipline and a maturity such as could not, at that time, have been found in any other Slavonic State. Perhaps we must give equal praise to the clearsightedness with which M. Benes, in his Christmas message for 1946, denounced the weaknesses and the blemishes which still remained to be eliminated from the régime; how many other countries might have profited by his warning!

'In all political parties there lurk elements that are bad, morally tainted; products of the great wars and of the revolutionary periods. Such individuals must disappear from our political life. We must wean our young people from tendencies to indiscipline, to idleness, to immorality in relations between the sexes. We must combat the growing scourge of alcoholism, the black market, and clandestine trade. We must encourage a [163] family policy; whereas, in 1938, the excess of births over deaths was 80,000, in 1945 it is only 7,828'.

642 175 Elected for two years, the new Constituent Assembly met for the first time on June 18.[1] The next day it acclaimed Edward Benes as President of the Republic, in that same Vladislas Hall where he had been elected for the first time, in 1935. The Government, constituted on the following July 2, was presided over by M. Clement Gottwald, Leader of the Czech Communist Party. It included six Czech Communists, three Czech Social Democrats, four Socialists of the Benes Party, four Czech Catholics, five Slovak Democrats.

• 648 In the next chapter the reader will find an outline of the religious problem, seen from the angle of the Orthodox offensive. Faithful to their pre-war tradition, Czechoslovak official circles renewed with the Vatican relations which they did their utmost to render as trusting as possible, in spite of the agnosticism of the régime and its Hussite sympathies. The first chargé d'affaires to the Holy See, Dr. Schwarzenberg, was appointed in January, 1946. Since the previous autumn, the Vatican had already been represented in Prague; in March, Mgr. Ritter was

1 [1946 -- Analyst]

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sent as Papal Nuncio. In November, Mgr. Joseph Beran, a Dachau deportee, was appointed Archbishop of Prague. Czechoslovakia was then the only Slav State having accredited diplomatic representation with the Holy See.

In Slovakia the clergy had to suffer from the fact that a priest, Joseph Tiso,[21] who succeeded Father Hlinka as Leader of a Peoples' Party, had controlled the so-called 'Independent' State under the Nazi occupation. In some cases, proceedings against 'collaborators' took on the aspect of an anti-Catholic drive; some Associations, and even some religious communities, were dissolved.

As regards foreign policy during this period, it was dominated by two questions, the claim on Teschen and the 'liquidation' of the Hungarian minorities. The Teschen problem has been dealt with above, in connection with Poland; we will simply remind the reader that the Prague Government was adamant in its claim. 'Czechoslovakia will not give up one scrap of Teschen', declared President Benes on July 18, 1946. The treaty of alliance of March 10 left the matter in suspense until 1949.

The evacuation of the Hungarian populations raised a bitter and prolonged dispute between Prague and Budapest.

An agreement concluded on February 27, 1946 provided for an exchange between Hungarians in Slovakia and Slovaks in Hungary, on a parity basis, to the number of 150,000 persons. The Government of Budapest was to make this agreement widely known amongst the Slovaks placed under its jurisdiction.

But the intention of the Czechs was to expel from their territory the whole of the Hungarian minority, which was far more numerous than the Slovak minority in Hungary.[22] And so they asked that country to take over 200,000 other members of the Magyar minority, and a further 60,000 Hungarian minority subjects, expelled as war criminals or political offenders. The Hungarians in Czechoslovakia who might escape these various transfers would be 're-Slovacised', and would cease to enjoy any minority privileges. Prague emphatically insisted that

[21] His trial opened on December 2, 194(5?) before the High Court of Bratislava.

[22] Out of the 645,000 Magyars who lived in Czechoslovakia in 1939, 110,000 were in Carpathian Ruthenia, ceded to the Russians. There remained 435,000, more than half of whom were considered to be 'inassimilable'.

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the minorities had been the instrument which had upset and dismembered Czechoslovakia, and that their complete elimination was an essential condition for the security of the new State.

Hungary resisted this claim. Apart from general humanitarian considerations, she maintained that it was economically impossible for her to meet the needs of such an increased population. First she asked for a frontier revision, which was categorically refused by Prague. Later on, the two Governments accused each other of sabotaging the February agreements. A joint commission was set up, to accelerate the exchange. Its work was interrupted in September, when the Czechs presented a demand for the expulsion of a further 70,000 persons. In that same month the matter was taken before the Political and Territorial Commission, charged by the Peace Conference with the preparation of the treaty with Hungary; it was connected with a Czech request for frontier rectification (extension of Bratislava on the right bank of the Danube)—a request which was naturally resisted by the Hungarians. The Commission, setting aside forcible solutions, urged the two countries to come to a direct understanding on the problems of the minorities; should such an agreement not be reached within six months, Czechoslovakia would be authorised to lay the matter before the Council of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.[23]

The dispute broke out again in November, when the Hungarians remaining in Czechoslovakia were requisitioned and transferred, for the most part, to the Sudetenland, in virtue of the law for the mobilisation of man-power. A demand from Budapest for an explanation, dated March 23, was left unanswered by Prague, where it was considered that a general measure needed no justification. On November 21 the Hungarian National Assembly registered a solemn protest against these forcible displacements. This protest was echoed abroad, particularly in London, in the House of Lords, and in a section of the English and American press, which felt obliged to remind

[23] The *Magyar Hirlap*, the organ of the Prime Minister, Nagy, published an article on the Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations containing the following remarks: 'Between the two World Wars, the Government of Hungary considered that it ought to be the ally of the power which was the enemy of Czechoslovakia; but later on, it was realised that this power was the common enemy, and had enslaved Hungary as well as Czechoslovakia'.

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the Prague Government that the sufferings inflicted on the Hungarians did not compensate for those the Slovaks had endured; they simply increased the total amount of suffering. 648 563 728 175

Negotiations between the two Governments were resumed in January, 1947, following the visit of the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Gyöngyösy, to Bratislava, where he met the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, M. Clementis, and had with him a preliminary discussion in view of a general settlement of the problem. At that time a total of 11,655 Slovaks (as against the agreed figure of 40,000) had returned to Slovakia from Hungary; of these 3,535 had not been officially transferred, but had simply fled.

Exchanges of population were resumed from April 11 to 18, but on a very small scale, while settlement was taking place, in Bratislava, of the financial problems raised by these operations.

In the whole matter, Czechoslovakia had had Russia behind her. 'We have the support of the Soviet Union in the question of the minorities', said M. Gottwald. But we should fall short of the truth were we to omit to mention that Czechoslovakia's conduct was rather severely judged in the Anglo-American countries, where people were not very familiar with minority disputes, and attached too much importance to respect for the individual, to approve of these mass exoduses—at least in Europe. [829]

The case of the German minority had been the object of Czechoslovak declarations, even before the end of the war, and on this point the Potsdam agreements had merely had to sanction the decision taken by M. Benes and his Ministers to create a homogeneous national State. Consequently, the expulsion of the Germans from the Sudetenland did not give rise to any disputes —eliciting, at the most, humanitarian recommendations on the part of the Western Allies. The 'ceiling' for the expulsions had been fixed at 2,500,000 by the Potsdam agreements; in October, 1946, 750,000 had been sent into the Russian zone, 1,415,135 into the American zone, and 310,000 were authorised to remain on Czech territory; these were skilled workmen, miners, anti-Fascists, relatives of Czechs, old or sick people.[24] There is no

[24] It should be noted that Czechoslovakia adopted a special treatment for Germans of Austrian nationality residing or temporarily domiciled in her territory. She did not class them with the Sudeten Germans as necessarily to be expulsed, unless they had been members of the Nazi Party.

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648 563 728 170 doubt that, although their departure corresponded to a legitimate policy of internal peace and security, yet it created in Czech economic life a void that was difficult to fill.

648 457 175 The Americans' remarks on the subject of the deportations were not the only cause (and, in any case, they were passing ones) of the frigid relations between themselves and the Prague Government. The latter had negotiated and obtained a loan of fifty million dollars from the Export-Import Bank—a loan which was to help to finance the 'two-year plan' for Czechoslovakia's economic reconstruction. On October 16 the State Department notified that they had blocked this credit for an indefinite period, because the borrowing country had not provided any compensation for American nationals dispossessed by nationalisation. Another argument advanced was the cutting and, at the very least, injudicious tone adopted by certain Czech newspapers which, at the very moment when their Government was seeking financial aid, accused the United States of using credits as an instrument of economic imperialism. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs blamed the Russians for the latter accusation and expressed regret at Washington's decision.

On the other hand, in November, 1946, England granted a loan of two and a half million sterling, spread over four years, to enable Czechoslovakia to buy surplus British materials. So that Prague's fears of a synchronised Anglo-American policy in the matter of loans were allayed.

[186] Like those of Poland, Czechoslovakia's aims in the discussion on the German treaty were chiefly directed towards disarmament and denazification of the Reich. For the Czechs, the problem of their security was partly settled by the presence of Soviet Russia in the Danube Basin. The dream of one of their thinkers had come true: 'The lime, our Slavonic emblem,[25] is supported by the powerful Russian oak'. And, celebrating the anniversary of the pact of December 12, 1943, between Stalin and Benes, the *Nurodni Ozvobozeni* declared: 'Treaties are usually entered into for a fixed period. Afterwards, they are extended, or they lapse. This one must stand for eternity'.

[25] The lime was the emblem of the Slavs. At the time of the riots which took place in Ljubljana at the beginning of this century between German and Slovene students, the former sported a cornflower and the latter a lime-leaf.

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Relations between the two countries, intimate in the political domain, developed mainly in the direction of a closer economic collaboration. To this end, commercial agreements were signed at Moscow in April, and especially in July, 1946, between Gottwald, the Prime Minister, and Marshal Stalin. It was during this interview that the Czech statesmen communicated the text of their proposals for the Peace Conference.

These proposals included demands for frontier rectifications, already formulated on May 31, 1945, and reproduced in a memorandum of January 20, 1947, especially as regards the German districts of Glatz and Ratibor, occupied by the Poles. It was an attempt to do away with the two 'notches' formed in the frontier by the upper valley of the Oder (Moravian Gate) and that of the Neisse (Nahod Gap) which had been used in 1866 by von Moltke's army. Thus the roads of approach from Prussian Silesia towards Moravia would be closed. As seen above, these claims had aroused unfavourable reaction in Warsaw.

A few words on the relations between Prague and Paris. As early as October 7, the Czech Government had been in touch with General de Gaulle, who declared the Munich agreements void . . . on the following September 29. On August 22, 1944, the French and the Czech Governments agreed that, when the time was ripe, they would adapt their former pact of alliance to the needs of the existing situation. A 'joint declaration', communicated to the press on February 14, 1947, announced the early conclusion of the new pact.

The peace treaties signed in Paris on February 10, 1947, established a fresh balance of forces on the Continent.

If, treating the territorial alterations occurring between 1938 and 1944 as accidents, we superimpose the 1947 map on that of 1938 (which resulted from the treaties that settled the First World War), we find that this new balance results much less from territorial changes than from a reconstitution of influence.

The territorial changes are indeed unimportant, in comparison with the transformations which the treaties of 1919–1920 made in the map, when the dislocation of Austria-Hungary resuscitated two historic States in the heart of Europe. It is not impossible that, in times to come, the short period between the

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two wars may be regarded as the golden age of the nationalities —the brief realisation of an age-long dream.

If we take the Continent as a whole, although one independent State (Montenegro) then disappeared, eight new nationalities acquired their sovereignty—Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary. And Yugoslavia formed a unitary monarchy around Serbia.

In 1947 the Baltics disappeared from the map as independent States. No fresh creation arose from the treaties, which were limited, as far as Austria and Hungary were concerned, to restoring the *status quo*.

So we might perceive, cast over the new state of affairs, the shadow of Munich and of the decisions taken at the time when the Axis was all-powerful; the amputation of Poland was provided for by the Moscow Treaty of August 21, 1939, that of Rumania stipulated in the ultimatum of June 26, 1940, and in the Treaty of Craïova of September 7, 1940; Poland had been established in the Teschen Basin since October, 1938.

The only countries to come out of these treaties with enlarged territory were Yugoslavia, who advanced in Istria and in Julian Venetia, and Bulgaria, who, getting out of an unlucky adventure very well for once, annexed Southern Dobrudja.

The other nationalities of Central and Eastern Europe were seriously amputated. Rumania lost, with the Dobrudja, Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, and the Moldavian district of Herzea—at least one-fifth of her territory. She could, it is true, console herself with the thought that Poland—for whom the Allies went to war—lost just as much (her area was reduced from 242,875 sq. miles to 195,000 sq. miles) and that Czechoslovakia, the victim of Munich, found herself, by the loss of Carpatho-Ruthenia, reduced by one-tenth of her pre-war surface.

So that, out of five Slavonic States, three (counting Russia) were enlarged, two others amputated.

In flagrant violation of Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter, no referendum preceded these transfers of sovereignty. In cases where the new state of affairs created or maintained, ethnical pockets, this was remedied by transfers of population. So, hundreds of thousands of persons were 'displaced', in order to achieve a racial unity within the framework of the new frontiers.

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Human exoduses afforded the solution of the minority problems, which the 1919–1920 treaties had endeavoured to settle by the establishment of *ad hoc* international law. In short, it was a return to the policy of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. In this conception of European statics lay the sole innovation brought about by the latest peace treaties. Is it progress or the reverse? Whatever we may think, from the humane point of view, of this over-simplified settlement of a complex problem, we are obliged to admit that, as time goes on, it will consolidate the physical bases of the new order and ensure its duration.

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Let us hasten to add, however, that scarcely were the treaties signed, when a campaign for their revision was launched. For perhaps the first time in history, this campaign included victors and vanquished, victims and beneficiaries of the new state of affairs. The Yugoslavs maintained their claim to Julian Venetia, Carinthia, and, more discreetly (at least before the international forum), to Aegean or Greek Macedonia. The Bulgarians returned to the attack, with a view to obtaining a territorial outlet on the Aegean—a claim they had relentlessly pressed between the two wars. Hungary, who again saw Eastern Transylvania eluding her grasp, maintained her traditional attitude on revision. It was difficult for Rumania to forget that, after Germany, she was the chief victim of the war. If Polish official circles, for reasons easily understood, did not raise their voices, it was not because that country willingly accepted the loss of her Eastern Marches, whose inhabitants had been 'invited' to settle on the evacuated borders of Prussia and Silesia.

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The 1947 treaties settled the two problems on which formerly depended the peace of Europe—the relative strengths of the Germany-Poland-Russia trinomial, and Balkan equilibrium.

Both these problems were settled, without right of appeal, by Russia, the victorious liberator. The axiom formulated by M. Gyöngösy, a Hungarian Minister, applies here: 'In crucial periods of her history, a small nation has no liberty of choice'.

The first of these problems was solved in such a way as to ensure security for Poland, at the price of her diplomatic liberty. It used to be maintained in Warsaw that the Poles could be fully masters of their fate only on condition that Germany and Russia should be neither allies nor enemies—a formula which was as

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648 175 illogical as it was precarious. Looked at from the historical point of view, Poland's present situation contradicts all the data of her national evolution—which is not to say that it does not offer prospects of stabilisation and duration.

As for the Balkan world, its equilibrium was, for nearly a century, regarded as an essential condition for continental peace. Yet in actual fact, this equilibrium depended far less on inter-Balkan relations than on the balance of strength among the Great Powers in Eastern Europe.

It was first a factor in Russo-Turkish rivalry, then in the antagonism between Vienna and St. Petersburg. The Balkan States only enjoyed real independence after the First World War, when the triumph of the principle of the nationalities ensured for them all the conditions for autonomous development.

With the 1947 treaties, these States entered upon a fresh phase of their history.

186* From the specifically Balkan point of view, this phase is characterised by the abandoning of the ideal of solidarity in which the nations of the peninsula formerly saw the pledge of their liberty, and which used to be expressed in a famous slogan—'The Balkans for the Balkan nations'.

Doubtless this solidarity was never complete. In 1934, Rumanians, Yugoslavs, Greeks, and Turks had concluded an alliance which neither Bulgaria nor Albania had joined. But, in this district, where the diversity of races encourages so many prejudices and atavistic hatreds, it was nevertheless a remarkable progress to find four nations, belonging to four different ethnical stocks, achieving a political and economic *entente*.

Nothing comparable exists today. If Bulgaria and Yugoslavia side with each other, this is obviously the result of similar submission to Russian domination, and we have seen above that their agreement on the Macedonian question was less genuine than was believed. The same may be said of their solidarity with Albania, the main object of which is to make things difficult for Greece.

648 175 Rumania stands aloof from this temporary community of interests. As for Greece and Turkey, they have not relaxed the ties which have bound them since their treaty of friendship of 1932. And their [illegible] of Anglo-American

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influence in Eastern Europe. President Truman's resounding message to Congress on March 12, 1947, marked, in this respect, a decisive attitude in connection with American politics in Europe. This message announced material and moral assistance to the two Balkan countries which eluded Moscow's ascendancy. 648 175

This simple outline of the new situation in the Balkans shows that the peninsula has, in fact, again fallen under the régime of spheres of influence which was its customary status between the Peace of Berlin and the Treaty of Versailles.

Between the Balkan nations and the Slavs of the West, Hungary and Austria gravitate in the political orbit of Russia (Hungary's neighbour for the first time in modern history), but nevertheless see the West as the supreme defence of their historic and cultural individuality, not to mention the opposition movements discernible among the Croats, in whose ears still ring the words of Sufflay, one of their political philosophers—*Occidentem appello!* 186* 829

But it is not from this territorial reshuffling that there emerges the real physiognomy of the Europe of tomorrow.

This results essentially from the division of the Continent into three sectors—the Western world, the Teutonic world, the Slavonic world; the second being doomed to oscillate between the first and the third until it feels it has attained the conditions of its own development.

Assuredly, all the official manifestations of the Slavonic world avoid the words 'race' and 'bloc'. But facts speak more eloquently than men. On the diplomatic plane Slav solidarity is a reality of international life, though on the psychological plane its outline is less clearly defined. In Yugoslavia, the official press regards the new state of affairs as a complete emancipation, and the very role of France in the Balkans, so long considered as liberating and humane, is often referred to simply under the aspect of a defunct 'colonising' enterprise. Yet in Czechoslovakia they take pains to maintain, with the West, those spiritual connections calculated to preserve for the country its role of intermediary between two civilisations. Poland remains bound to the West by powerful historical and sentimental affinities, strengthened by the desire to safeguard her ancient faith. Bulgaria, more subtle in her politics than Yugoslavia, likewise takes great care not to give the impression of a definite rupture with the West.

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But it goes without saying that it was upon the Churches of the Balkan States that Muscovite influence was exercised most directly and decisively. In Yugoslavia the hierarchy created at Sremski Karlovtsi by Russian exiles, and which Mgr. Antoine, ex-Archbishop of Kiev, had organised immediately after the First World War, was dissolved and had to go into exile. A Russian delegation, presided over by the Metropolitan Serge of Odessa, went to present a mitre to Joseph, Metropolitan of Serbia, in February, 1946. The real object of this mission, which spent a month in Belgrade, was to define the future relations between the Yugoslav Church and the Muscovite Church.

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Then arose the case—a rather complicated one, it must be confessed—of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch, Mgr. Gavrilo. The latter had been accused by the Germans of having hidden part of the Crown treasure; he was interned, then taken to Dachau. When the Allies occupied Bavaria, he preferred retirement to Italy to a return to his country, where he was being begged to resume his duties. He adopted an attitude of opposition towards the régime established by Marshal Tito, as shown [798] by his pastoral letter of Easter, 1946. The Serbian Orthodox Church had been rather badly treated by this régime, for she had been deprived of the education of the young, religious marriage had been declared invalid in law, and she had lost most of her property. It is said that it was under the influence of the Russian clergy that her Metropolitans invited the Patriarch to return. He did, in fact, return on November 14, 1946, and had an interview with Tito, during which 'all misunderstandings were cleared up'. And, as proof of this, at the Slav Congress in Belgrade on December 11, he made a speech in which, after having recalled the sacrifices made for the 'safeguarding of truth, the application of justice, and the defence of liberty', he manifested his joy at finding that the Slavonic peoples 'sorely tried by the bitter experience of their recent and remote past, were expending all their energy in their spiritual unity'. 'Slav solidarity', he concluded, 'is manifested, today more than ever, with the help of our mother, Russia, and of Generalissimo Stalin; it is the surest guarantee of the development of the Slavonic peoples'.

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In Bulgaria the clergy, after seventy-five years of schism, returned to nominal obedience to the Patriarchate of Con-

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stantinople, in agreement with the Muscovite hierarchy. The thousandth anniversary of the death of the anchorite, Saint John of Rila, restorer of Bulgarian monastic life, was the occasion, in May, 1946, of impressive solemnities which were attended by the Patriarch Alexis. It was the second time in ten centuries that the head of the Russian Church had visited the monastery. He officiated in person. The head of the Communist Party, George Dmitrov, took the opportunity of reminding the Bulgarian clergy that they should no longer look back towards the fallen régime :—

'Today we can ask that our Church shall remain faithful to her millenial traditions and become, in fact, a Republican Church, by ceasing to render homage to the dynasty and the monarchs who have betrayed the Bulgarian nation. Let our Fathers in the Holy Synod and all honest servants of the Church understand that today we are living in new times, that they must on no account thwart the aspirations of the people, and that they may take example from the chiefs of the Russian Orthodox Church'.

We can fully understand this warning only if we visualise the state of latent tension existing in the relations between the Church and the Bulgarian State since the liberation. It had shown itself, since the month of January, 1946, in a protest from the Exarch, Mgr. Stephan, against the prohibition of religious instruction in the schools. Since the new Constitution provided for the separation of the Churches and the State, the Bulgarian Holy Synod announced in December, 1946, that, while remaining hostile to this separation, it would nevertheless accept it if the Charter surrounded the exercise of the Church's spiritual mission with juridical guarantees. Moreover, it demanded that lay instruction should be neither anti-religious nor anti-Christian, but strictly neutral.

At the same time, in order to create conditions facilitating adaptation to the new state of affairs, it announced a programme of reforms destined to 'democratise' the internal régime of the Church and to bring its principles more in line with those of popular power.

So that, in Bulgaria, the separation did not appear as persecution; it was manifested rather by a strengthening of the autocephalous character of the Church, too closely bound up

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186* with Bulgarian national life to be neglected by the new régime,
659 which will continue to subsidise it, and counts upon its co-operation in rallying the masses; in which, moreover, it is assured of the goodwill of Mgr. Stephan and his clergy. On August 28, at the Bachkovo pilgrimage, Mgr. Cyrille, Metropolitan of Plovdiv, made a speech urging the faithful to vote, at the referendum, for the Republic and against 'the abhorred monarchy, whose role', he said, 'has been as fatal in the history of the country as in that of the Church'.

* * *

185 Whereas, in the Balkan countries, the religious problem lay in getting the clergy to forget that they had, for some centuries, been the support of the monarchical institution, it had a quite different aspect among the Western Slavs, where the problem was, first and foremost, the liquidation of Uniatism.

175 As the reader will know, the 'Act of Union' (hence the word
795 'Uniat') was concluded three and a half centuries ago, in 1596,
•648 at Brest-Litowsk, where the Metropolitan of Kiev acclaimed the renewal with Rome of the Union of Florence. As a result, since that date there had been flourishing communities 'of the Oriental rite', which recognised Papal supremacy while keeping their national liturgy and their discipline—which, among other regulations, permits (as the Orthodox Church does) the clergy to marry. These communities today number in all about two million followers, especially in territories formerly incorporated in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

[829] Uniatism had always been regarded by the Russians as a 'turning movement' on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, supported first by Poland, then by Austria-Hungary, to detach the Orthodox from their traditional faith. Urban VII's apostrophe: 'Ruthenians, the East will be conquered by you!' has obsessed the Muscovite Church, which has never ceased to endeavour to recapture its positions.

After the fall of the Tsarist régime this Church's efforts were paralysed by the crisis she was herself experiencing, and by the official atheism professed by the Soviet State. The Holy See sought to take advantage of this crisis to restore the 'seamless robe of Christ'. It gave repeated proofs of solicitude, placing the Uniats on a footing of complete equality with their brethren of the Latin rite. It cherished the hope, thanks to these Uniats,

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of one day seeing Slavonic Christianity return to Catholic unity, and the immense flock of all the Russians come back to the Roman fold. As is well known, the critical point in dogma is the divergence between the two Churches regarding the procession of the Holy Ghost. It is the famous 'Filioque' quarrel. Now, in the Liturgy published by the Holy See in June, 1943, for the use of the Russians and Ruthenians, the *Credo* is given according to the version of the early centuries, without reference to the 'Filioque'—in other words, ignoring the chief dispute which separated the Orthodox from the 'Romans'.

In spite of these concessions, Orthodoxy has never given up. In Carpatho-Ruthenia the number of its followers doubled from 1921 to 1930. Moscow had nothing to do with this; at that time it was the Serbian Patriarchate which presided over the destinies of the Russo-Carpathian Orthodox Church.[1]

And, after the incorporation of the Eastern Marches of Poland and of Carpatho-Ruthenia in the Soviet Union, a counter-offensive for the return of the Uniats to Orthodoxy was organised, using the customary resources of Russian political power. On June 18, 1945, a Committee of Initiative was formed, with a view to winning over these Catholics to Pravoslav unity. A 'Council' of the Uniat Church of the Western Ukraine was held in Lwow on March 8, 1946; it proclaimed the dissolution of ties which, for 350 years, had bound that Church to the Vatican,[2] and its submission to the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the name of the delegates of the three Uniat Eparchies which were represented at the Council, a message was sent to Stalin announcing this decision, and the breaking of the spiritual bond between the Eastern Catholics and Rome.

The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate[3] commented on this event as follows: 'So, gradually, day by day, in union and in united prayer, will the breach opened by Rome within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy be closed; the time is not far distant

[1] In 1921 the figures for Ruthenia were: Catholics 55,000; Uniats 332,500, and Orthodox 60,997.

[2] The anniversary of the connection was commemorated by the encyclical letter *Orientales omnes ecclesias*, published on January 19, 1946, in which the Pope accused the Russians of treating the Catholic Ruthenians as enemies of the State and encouraged the latter to persevere in their traditional faith.

[3] February 6, 1947.

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when the word 'Uniat' will survive only as a historical idea'.

The Vatican published a note contesting the validity of this Council, recalling that part of the Catholic clergy of the Ukraine had been cast into prison; it saw, in the Lwow decision, the result of political pressure exercised by apostate priests.[4]

Nevertheless, the movement spread. The Patriarch Alexis, addressing the Uniats of Ukraine—formerly Poles or Czechs—put its development in the domain of political realities: 'You have always been united to Russia and her people by ties of language and of customs. Now that Divine Providence has restored to Russia her ancient frontiers, you are with us for ever'.

In any case the role of Uniatism as the vanguard of Catholicism in the Slavonic world seems to be, if not completed, at least paralysed for many a year, despite the resistance of part of the clergy and the support the dissentients can expect from the Catholic Ukrainians of Canada and the United States. The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate[5] defined the lines on which the 'unification' is being carried on, by opposing the 'œcumenical spirit' to the 'imperialist spirit'. 'Universality is of God; Imperialism is of Cæsar. A new Orthodox era has been inaugurated by the rebirth of Western Orthodoxy at the great Council of Moscow; by the renewal of communion between the Russian Orthodox Church and her Eastern sisters; by the end of schisms and discords among the Orthodox (especially the reconciliation of the Bulgarian Church with Moscow, and the restoration of her rights to the autocephalous Georgian Church, brought into subjection to the Moscow Synod by the will of the autocratic Tsarist régime); by the journey of the Patriarch Alexis who, for the first time, went to pray at the Holy Sepulchre in 1945; and by the visit which the Metropolitan Nicolaï made to the Orthodox Christians of Western Europe'.

Indeed, Orthodoxy is driving its offensive towards the West,

[4] Radio-Moscow protested, in its turn, against this assertion, affirming that the Council represented 78% of the whole of the Uniat clergy. As for the bishops incarcerated before the meeting of the Council, these were, they said, traitors or accomplices of the German occupation. Cf., for the Catholic point of view on Moscow's policy regarding the Uniats, Charles Pichon: *Le Vatican*, in the series *Le Monde et l'Histoire* (Editions S.E.F.I.), pp. 396 *et seq.* According to Pichon only 5% of the Uniat priests had obeyed the Soviet injunctions.

[5] Of February 2, 1947.

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beyond the territories placed within its traditional sphere of influence, and especially in Czechoslovakia. 795 185 648

It is true that the saints given to the Church by the Czech nation in the tenth century appear both in the Orthodox and in the Roman calendars, but Orthodoxy disappeared as an official religion in the twelfth century. However, its influence did not completely disappear; it still had a latent existence in the time of John Huss and his disciples, who established relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1451—which relations were interrupted by the capture of the city by the Turks two years later. 175 779 795

With Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance in 1781, Orthodoxy, previously eliminated by the religious reaction known as the Counter-Reformation, re-established itself in Bohemia. We have related above (p. 24) the enthusiasm with which the people of Prague heard a Serbian prelate conduct an Orthodox service and pray for the soul of John Huss on the Wenceslas Square, on the occasion of the 1848 Slav Congress. In 1874 the use of the Catholic Church of Saint Nicholas was granted to the Orthodox cult, which thereafter worshipped in it concurrently with the National Church. After the Vatican Council, and in spite of the hostility of the Austrian authorities, conversions which created a great stir took place. But it was only after the First World War that the Orthodox Church was organised in Bohemia. Not being able, at that time, to attach itself to Moscow, it placed itself under obedience to the Serbian Patriarchate of Karlovtsi, which, in September, 1921, consecrated the first bishop. This Czech Orthodox Church was itself torn by the current of dissidence created by the 'Czechoslovak National Church', which claimed to be based on the ideas of John Huss, but was in reality far from being so. In 1929 the Patriarchate of Belgrade approved the constitution of an Orthodox Eparchy (Bohemia-Moravia-Silesia) in which divine worship was offered in liturgical Slavon and in Czech.

When the two Resistance heroes who were parachuted to deliver Bohemia from her torturer, the 'Protector', Reinhard Heydrich, had executed the latter,[6] they hid in the crypt of the

[6] The execution took place on May 27, 1942, on the outskirts of Prague, in a street which bore the symbolical name of Strossmayer. The practical details of the murder curiously resembled those connected with the

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Chapter Eight

SLAV SOLIDARITY BREAKS UP

186* WE have already spoken of the resurrection of the Slavonic idea during the Second World War—the only European conflict in history which found all the Slavs on the same side of the fence. We reviewed the congresses of 1942–1945 which restated the old themes of Slav solidarity, based on the liberating rôle of Soviet Russia. Never had such unanimity been shown within the Slav community. For the first time 'Panslavism' could be spoken of as a reality in international life.

186 This 'Panslavism', uniting the oppressed, occupied peoples
728 against Hitler's Reich, was not to last long. It made itself felt
175 again in 1946 and 1947, but in a purely oratorical form, and exclusively in justification of Russian ascendancy over the countries of Eastern Europe. In reality, it was again the Slavs who benefited least from the victory. While it is true that Bulgaria came out of the war with enlarged territory, this was due to an agreement concluded under the auspices of the Axis Powers. Czechoslovakia and Poland suffered the loss of a large part of their eastern territories. Yugoslavia recovered part of Istria, but her claims to Trieste and Southern Carinthia met with opposition from the Western powers, and were backed by the Russians only within the limits of their own interests. The state of affairs created by the Soviet Union within the area subject to its influence failed to reflect any Slavonic trend, or any preferential treatment for the 'sister nations'.

177 The Kremlin is aware that the Slavonic world is an object of
·18 aversion to the Rumanians and the Hungarians. It can retain
186 these in its orbit (into which it will try to attract Greece) only
•648 by lulling to sleep the old Slavophile ideology, or by relegating it
175 to the rank of 'romantic values'. It is to the collaboration of Slavs and non-Slavs on the basis of Lenin-Stalinist Marxism that the Kremlin looks, for the creation of an eastern community, modelled on its own institutions and obedient to its watchwords. From 1946 onwards its whole policy, in this part of Europe, aimed at directing the guidance of the satellite States more and more into the hands of the Communists. This policy was to be

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pursued on parallel lines, in Slav and non-Slav countries alike. 177

On the instigation of Moscow, these countries entered into 178 186 treaties of friendship and mutual assistance. These were so 648 worded as to give the impression, at first, of being designed to 175 wipe out long-standing heritages of hatred or distrust between peoples hitherto antagonistic to one another. Passed for a period of twenty years, and all on the same lines, these treaties were signed on the following dates:—

November 27, 1947: between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.
December 8: between Hungary and Yugoslavia.
December 16: between Bulgaria and Albania.
December 19: between Yugoslavia and Rumania.
January 16, 1948: between Bulgaria and Rumania.
January 24: between Hungary and Rumania.
February 4: between the Soviet Union and Rumania.
March 18: between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.
April 23: between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

The commentaries which accompanied the signing of these [829] agreements spoke, with ever-growing emphasis, of the 'peril' to the peace of Europe involved in the attitude of the Western powers. Centred at first on the German menace, they subsequently referred to fresh risks, clearly indicated. Thus the Soviet radio declared that the pact between Bulgaria and Moscow acquired significance from the fact that 'certain Western powers have, under the patronage of the United States, taken the creation of military blocs as the basis of their policy'.

Even the idea of a 'Balkan Federation', which in 1944 had found partisans in Moscow, was gradually pushed into the background, for fear that the essential core of this federation, the Bulgarian-Yugoslav bloc, might create a Slav community, which should one day grow strong enough to adopt an attitude of independence in regard to the Soviet Union. So, although it was originally inspired by Russia, this project for a union was later to be denounced by the Kremlin as a ruse of 'Western imperialism', and Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Premier, was to be disavowed by Moscow, in January, 1948, for having made an untimely allusion to it.

* * *

The standardisation of Soviet policy in Europe was to take 177 648 its definite shape in the conference held in Warsaw in September, 665 175

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177 1947, by the delegates of the Communist Parties of nine
648 European nations. It was then decided to set up a 'Joint
665 Information Bureau' (*Kominform*), whose function would be
175 to ensure organic liaison between these different parties, with a view to co-ordinating their activities and pooling their experience. A communiqué was broadcast on October 9 by the delegate of the Russian Communist Party, Idanov, a member of the Soviet Politburo. He contrasted the 'war-mongering' of the Western States with the 'pacifism' of the 'popular democracies' placed
[185] under the influence of the Soviet Union. He affirmed the mission of the Communist Parties to combat 'attempts at enslavement', the most dangerous form of which was, in Moscow's view, the Marshall Plan.

The seat of the new organisation, which was to publish a bi-mensual organ, was fixed in Belgrade. Its activities, in conformity with policy dictated by the Kremlin, aggravated the crisis in relations between East and West, and opened the period of tension to which the name of 'cold war' has been applied.

The Kominform is not a resurrection of the Komintern, dissolved in 1943. It is based, indeed, on the idea that the 'national' Communist Parties have reached a state of maturity and power which enables them to be henceforth regarded as autonomous on the plane of the common struggle against capitalist régimes.

The signatories to the Kominform's declaration were: Idanov and Malenkov (U.S.S.R.), Kardelj and Djilas (Yugoslavia), Tchervenkov and Poptomov (Bulgaria), Gheorghiu Dej and Anna Pauker (Rumania), Farkas and Revai (Hungary), Gomulka (Poland), Duclos and Fajon (France), Slanski and Bastovanski (Czechoslovakia), Longo and Reale (Italy).

The Kominform, controlled from Moscow, was rapidly to exert its activities in a domain which its promoters had not foreseen.

186* Indeed, Slav solidarity, already overtaken and superseded
665 by the watchword of Marxist unity, was to suffer a still more
648 serious set-back from the rupture between Tito and Moscow.
175 It was in Belgrade that the Kominform had set up its seat; from Belgrade came the blow which was to shake its authority, and the dogma of Muscovite infallibility, in the whole of Eastern Europe.

1 [Delegate of Russian Communist Party, Idanov -- Analyst]

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In a motion published on June 28, 1948, the Kominform, which met in Bucharest from June 16–24, approved the sensational resolution of the U.S.S.R. Communist Party, denouncing the policy of the Yugoslav Communists and the errors of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovitch, 'who have embarked on a road leading to treachery towards the international solidarity of the working classes'. 186* 665 648 175

Thereupon began the struggle between Moscow and Belgrade, which was to grow more acute as the months went by. And the organisation of the offensive against Tito and the progress of 'Titoism'—in other words, 'national Marxism'—in the popular democracies, headed the agenda of all the meetings of the Kominform, especially the one held in Hungary in November, 1949, when a resolution passed at the conference invited even the Yugoslav Communist Party to get rid of the 'spies' and the 'assassins' who were governing the country.

One of the consequences of the Soviet-Yugoslav rupture has been the revival of the old Bulgaro-Serbian quarrel over Macedonia: the Balkans are again being plunged into hatred and irredentism, as we saw them at the end of the nineteenth century, during the Balkan Wars, and in the First World War.

Such were the events which, between 1946 and 1948, transformed the general physiognomy of the Slavonic world. A rapid review of the internal policies of the different countries concerned will show how they evolved.

* * *

Until 1947 the Belgrade Government's policy remained based on complete solidarity with the Soviet Union. The agreements reached on June 10, 1946, during the Stalin-Tito interview, formed the basis for the commercial agreements of July 25, 1947. 648 175

The starting-point of the rupture between Stalin and Tito is to be found in an exchange of letters (in March, 1948), between the (Russian) Bolchevik Party and the Yugoslav Communist Party, regarding the conduct of Soviet officers in Yugoslavia. [665]

But that was only a pretext. In reality, the Soviets could not forgive Tito for being the only head of an Eastern European Government to pride himself on having been an armed leader 186* 648 829 175

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186* in the fight for liberation, at a time when Russia could not
648 intervene. His dictatorial attitude, his personal prestige, aroused
829 distrust on the part of the Kremlin. On the Yugoslav side, they
175 were shocked by the conceit of the Russians, who lavished instructions and counsel on a nation which considered its own political experience superior to that of the Russians, and who, in the course of history, had won and rewon its independence entirely by its own efforts. Serbian pride, wounded by the demands made by Moscow, precipitated the rupture.

565 On the other hand, Yugoslavia is peopled by an emancipated
423 peasantry; it has made its own agrarian reforms, and has not
175 had to suffer the yoke of political dynasties (as has been the case with Rumania), nor (like Hungary) that of a landed aristocracy. Communism could not get a footing there, either in the same form or at the same speed, as in the other 'popular democracies'.

Finally, the systematic enslaving of the economy of Yugoslavia to Russian interests was bound, one way or another, to provoke violent reaction in Belgrade.

186* It was nevertheless a surprise for the world when, on June 28,
665 1948, the Kominform communiqué pronounced the condemna-
648 tion of Tito and his collaborators, accused of desiring to establish
175 themselves by a régime of terror, of over-estimating the possibility
687 for their country of safeguarding its independence without the assistance of the other Communist Parties; finally, of seeking the support of the capitalist States.

Dr. Pijade, the theoretician of Tito's régime, felt able to reveal[1] that the Kominform's resolution simply reproduced a text prepared in Moscow: he stated that the hands of waverers had been forced by a lying assurance that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party contained spies on behalf of England and the United States.

175 Then began a diplomatic battle between Moscow and
648 Belgrade: at first it took the form of a criss-cross exchange of
[439] notes, then that of an economic boycott and, finally, of a vast scheme to detach Yugoslavia from the other popular democracies and reduce her to isolation.

The diplomatic notes at first (July-August, 1948) dealt with the fate of Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia; then (August-

[1] Speech made on July 8, 1949, at Novi Sad.

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September) the role played by the Soviet Union in international conferences regarding Yugoslav claims to Southern Carinthia. In one of these notes (August 11) Moscow accused the Belgrade Government of acting 'not as an ally, but as an enemy of the Soviet Union'.

'We can establish Socialism without the U.S.S.R.', Tito had declared.

For a few months the Belgrade press attacked the Kominform, without going so far as to mention its real promoters. On May 30, 1949, for the first time, *Borba,* the organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party, openly attacked the Soviet Union, which it accused of seeking to foment the Yugoslav people against the Government. And Pijade denounced 'Russian nationalism', cloaked under the mantle of Marxist orthodoxy, 'which does not allow any other Communist Party to consider itself the equal of the Bolchevik Party, or any other State to raise itself above the level fixed for it by Moscow'. He accused the Soviet Union of recruiting traitors to form a 'pro-Stalin, anti-Tito front' in Yugoslavia.

The friendship and mutual assistance pacts concluded by the other popular democracies with the Belgrade Government were denounced during the same week: on September 28, 1949, the Kremlin gave the signal for these notices of termination. On October 1 Bulgaria annulled the pact of November 27, 1947, and was followed by Rumania in respect of the pact of December 19, 1947, and by Czechoslovakia (on October 4) in respect of the treaty of friendship of May 9, 1946, and the cultural agreement of April 27, 1947. The Warsaw Government had anticipated matters by declaring, as far back as September 8, 1949, that Tito's Government had 'trampled on and destroyed' the Polish-Yugoslav pact of March 18, 1946.

The heads of the Yugoslav diplomatic mission in Moscow, and of the Soviet mission in Belgrade, were recalled during the autumn of 1949, and the majority of their collaborators declared 'undesirable', on charges of espionage or sabotage. The cases brought, in Hungary and Bulgaria respectively, against Rajk, ex-minister (September) and Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council (December)—cases involving Yugoslavs—were so arranged as to bolster up the Soviet accusations against Tito and his role in the Balkans.

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648 175 687 The Yugoslav Government replied by trying, in Sarajevo, some White Russians, naturalised Soviet citizens, who, after having served the occupying authorities during the war, were said to have become agents for anti-Tito propaganda; on December 9 they were condemned to imprisonment for a term of years.

648 175 In the shade of Soviet-Yugoslav antagonism, the old quarrel between Belgrade and Sofia over Macedonia was reawakened.

Early in August, 1947, Tito and Dimitrov met at Bled and signed a protocol providing for closer collaboration between the two Governments: this protocol was to find its application in the 'pact of collaboration and mutual assistance' concluded on November 27 following, at Euxinograd.

648 563 175 [186] Yet, at Bled, there were signs of disagreement. Tito would have liked to see the formation of a Federation of Southern Slavs. But such a federation would imply the inclusion of Bulgarian Macedonia in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—which would have the effect of committing the Macedonians in Bulgaria to a policy for the future, on the lines of the old Serbian aspirations. Dimitrov shelved the solution of the Macedonian problem until the federal pact should be concluded. The Yugoslavs then insisted that psychological conditioning for the union should be ensured by the granting of 'cultural rights' to the Macedonians in Bulgaria. Now the Sofia Government refused to consider the latter as a minority, and therein lay the germ of the new Bulgarian-Yugoslav crisis.

Later, on December 20, 1948, after the Soviet-Yugoslav rupture, Blagoje Neskovitch, Vice-President of the Belgrade Government, was to claim that the quarrel unleashed by the Kominform arose simply out of the pressure brought to bear by the Bulgarian leaders, with a view to securing recognition of their territorial claims on Vardar Macedonia.

Then Belgrade reproached the Bulgarian Popular Republic with having refused a statute of autonomy and the designation of a 'nationality' to the Pirine Macedonians.

648 175 Thereafter the Macedonian Question remained in the forefront of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations: a Macedonian, Poptomov, became Minister of Foreign Affairs in Sofia and, when Bulgaria denounced the pact of November 27, 1947, Yugoslavia accused her of violating the peace treaty by refusing to pay the repara-

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tions due for the exactions made by Bulgarian troops who occupied Serbian Macedonia during the war. 648 175

Yugoslavia's relations with the other Slav States followed the same lines as her relations with the Soviet Union. In June, 1949, negotiations in view of commercial exchanges with Czechoslovakia came to a standstill. In July, the two Governments exchanged subacid notes: Belgrade accused the Czechs of inspiring a campaign of press hostility towards Tito; Prague replied that any criticism tending to unmask Titoist treachery was 'a mark of appreciation and friendship towards the Yugoslav people'. Such arguments prepared the way for the formal denunciation of the pact of friendship and assistance. The Czechs, like the Poles, accused the Yugoslav diplomats of carrying on subversive activities: there were numerous recalls of diplomatic or consular agents, on the now customary charge of espionage on behalf of the 'capitalist powers'.

On the other hand, Yugoslavia endeavoured to renew commercial ties with the West. Her negotiations with Washington resulted in the agreement of July 19, 1947, liberating 47,000,000 gold-dollars and 220,000 dollars accruing from other Yugoslav credits in America, subject to the settlement of various arrears and repayments under Lend-Lease. The United States granted Yugoslavia the necessary licences for the delivery of materials destined for the equipment of a steel-plate factory; on November 3 they removed the prohibition on the supply of military equipment to that country. 648 457 439 175

And, on December 22, 1949, President Truman, confirming an assurance given by George Allen, his ambassador in Belgrade, declared: 'An act of aggression against Marshal Tito and Yugoslavia would be regarded by the Government of the United States as being just as serious as any act of aggression elsewhere'. [829]

This change of attitude shows the road travelled in Washington since the declarations made, on November 1, 1945, by Secretary of State James Byrne, recognising 'the special security interests' of Russia in Eastern Europe, and affirming that the United States 'would never associate themselves with an intrigue directed against the Soviet Union . . .'.

Indeed, the United States and Great Britain decided to grant economic aid to Communist countries which were 'really independent', and resolved to fight the Kominform. In London,

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648 457 439 175 in August, 1947, a Yugoslav delegation opened negotiations for a commercial agreement. These negotiations were prolonged, but in September, 1949, the British Cabinet decided to open a credit of £9,000,000 for Yugoslavia.[2]

A parallel change of attitude was shown in the relations between Belgrade and Rome: after rather lively incidents in Julian Venetia, the two Governments drafted, in December, 1948, a reconciliation, which was to be recognised by the commercial agreement of August 4, 1949, in which press commentators saw a political significance. The question of Trieste, which had been settled by the agreement of April 27, 1947, between France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, henceforth became of secondary importance, although Yugoslav claims to the Trieste zone (as to Slovene Carpathia) were never formally renounced.

On October 20, 1949, Yugoslavia was admitted to the Security Council by thirty-nine votes (out of fifty-eight voters) to nineteen for Czechoslovakia.

To sum up: Yugoslavia is seeking to reconcile her fidelity to Marxism with economic collaboration, on a footing of equality, with the Western States. Her attitude is defined in these two declarations made by Tito: 'While remaining solidly in the Socialist camp, Yugoslavia will regard as her enemy any one who interferes with her Socialist construction'. 'With the East we maintain economic relations, without any political set-off. When we sell copper to buy machinery, it is the copper we sell, not our conscience'.

* * *

648 696 829 175 As for Bulgaria, she has maintained with the Soviet Union ties which the Soviet-Yugoslav crisis only served to strengthen. The Government dealt the opposition a mortal blow by condemning to death the Agrarian leader, Nicolas Petkov, who was executed on September 23, 1947. This execution called forth a declaration of disapproval from the American State Department; on September 29 a speaker on behalf of the Foreign Office

[2] On July 2, 1949, General Ivan Gochniak, Vice-Minister for Defence, affirmed that, in 1944, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had agreed upon their respective spheres of influence in the Balkans: the Russians were to have a 75 per cent predominance in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania; in Yugoslavia they were to be on an equal footing with the English, in whose sphere of influence Greece was left.

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described it as a 'crime against European civilisation', and on October 1 it was brought up at the Security Council by the French delegate, Parodi, during a discussion on Bulgaria's candidature for the United Nations. 648 696 829 175

In January, 1948, on the occasion of the signing of a treaty of mutual assistance with Rumania, the Bulgarian Premier, Dimitrov, risked an allusion to a project for the federation of the Balkan States, but this was immediately disavowed by the Kremlin. [185]

Dimitrov died on July 1, 1949; he was replaced as leader of the Government by Kolarov, and at the head of the Bulgarian Communist Party by his brother-in-law, Valko Tchervenkov.

The sentencing (March 8, 1949) of four Protestant pastors, accused of espionage, to life imprisonment, and the imprisonment of eleven others for a term of years, called forth vehement protests in the Christian world, and justified the sending of a diplomatic note by Great Britain, on March 12, in which these proceedings were described as a violation of Art. 2 of the peace treaty concerning 'fundamental liberties'.

The year 1949 was marked by progressive tension in the relations between Belgrade and Sofia. In September the Bulgarian Government denounced the treaty of friendship and, on October 6, the frontier agreement with Yugoslavia. This antagonism, which revived the Macedonian Question, reached a crisis at the trial of Traitcho Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council. Accused in March, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of 'flagrant errors' (the most serious accusation being that of having invoked the principle of State secrecy in order to withhold information of a commercial nature from representatives of the Soviet Union), Kostov found the charges gradually extended, until he was involved in a plot against the safety of the State, with the complicity of the Anglo-Americans and the agents of Tito. He was condemned to death, and executed on December 16. The Yugoslav press considered this charge as having been trumped up entirely with a view to compromising and discrediting Tito. 648 687 175 [208]

The municipal elections of May 15, 1949, gave the Communist-controlled Government of the 'Homeland Front' 92.1 per cent of the votes cast (370,000 blank votes); the legislative elections of December 18 raised this percentage to 666 175

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666 175 98.89 per cent (110,180 blank votes), the electors having no other option than to vote for the 'Front' or to register a blank vote.

185 175 Faithful to the guidance of Benes, Jean Masaryk and Ripka, the Third National Front Government, presided over by Gottwald, endeavoured to secure the triumph of a policy of equilibrium between East and West, between Liberalism and Marxism. 'In our country', declared Benes, 'under the pressure of the masses, Communism has become national.'

• 648 175 The first signs of Soviet pressure were seen when, after the Czech Cabinet had decided, in July, 1947, to accept an invitation to attend the Paris Conference for the application of the Marshall Plan, it was forced, on orders from Moscow, to withdraw its acceptance.

[578] The final crisis was reached in February, 1948. An exceedingly violent press campaign was launched against Vaclav Nosek, Minister of the Interior, as the result of a purge which followed the discovery of illegal arms deposits. The Communist Party accused the National Socialists (Benes Party), the Popular Democrats and the Slovak Democrats of attempting to constitute an 'anti-Communist bloc' within the Government, and of paralysing the legislative power of the National Assembly. Tension reached its peak with the approach of the elections, then fixed for April 11, 1948.

668 642 175 The partisans of obedience to Moscow centred their efforts around the nucleus of the police and the trade union organisations. A 'Central Action Committee' was established, to back up, by mass movements, the offensive led by President Gottwald and his Communist colleagues against the moderate section of the Government. On February 20, 1948, the Ministers belonging to the three incriminated parties resigned. The Marxists held demonstrations in the streets; a political strike was declared on February 4, and the Congress of Works' Committees demanded the removal of the 'reactionaries'. President Benes, taken unawares by the suddenness of this attack, rejected the idea of a Government of Civil Servants and, on February 25, he formed a new National Front Ministry, with Gottwald as President, Gapotocki as Vice-President, Jean Masaryk at the head of Foreign Affairs. The Communists secured entire control of this Cabinet, which was in favour of unconditional collaboration with the Soviet Union. The opposition was reduced to

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Congregation of the Holy Office, forbidding the publication and diffusion of Communist doctrine.

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So the *Kulturkampf* was waged, now energetically, now quietly. The Prague Government was accused by the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of violating 'human dignity and civilisation'; once more the conflict passed from the national to the international level, symbolising the ideological antagonism which exists between the Soviet world and the Western democracies. Neither the Government nor the clergy showed any signs of weakening. On November 17 the bishops again asked the civil power to abandon the laws relating to religious teaching, as conceived by the State, and the interference of lay authorities in the nomination of priests and the administration of Church property.

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The end of the year 1949 was marked by waves of purges in Communist circles, and by fresh trials on charges of treason, incriminating, like those of Budapest and Sofia, Tito's 'agents' or 'accomplices'.

* * *

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During this period politics in Poland were somewhat less sensational than in the other Slav countries. There again, however, the régime of 'popular democracy' evolved in the direction of Stalin-Marxism. The struggle against the Church was less open, and did not, as in Czechoslovakia, go to the length of making the clergy civil servants. The Government concentrated its efforts particularly on increasing exports, on economic reconstruction, and on exploiting the German lands brought under its control—and these efforts, it must be admitted, were attended with remarkable results.

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The German Question was its chief external problem; in its view, it was France's policy in respect of the Reich which prevented the renewal of the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance. What Warsaw particularly feared was lest a change of attitude on the part of the Allies towards Germany should reopen the question of the Oder-Neisse frontier, which the Poles considered sacrosanct, but which transferred to them territories whose final allocation was, legally, postponed until the making of the peace treaty for the Reich.

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The most sensational event was the nomination (on November 7) of Rokossovsky, the Soviet Marshal (of Polish

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6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

177 .64 175 origin), as Minister of Defence in the Warsaw Cabinet; he took as his deputy General Wladislaw Korczye, Chief of Staff of the Polish Army. This appointment was naturally interpreted as a further step in the subordination of Poland to the Soviet interests.

• 648 175 696 And the Polish-Sovietic *rapprochement* (at governmental level) had an unexpected result: the expulsion or the trial, on the ritual charge of spying, of French diplomats and nationals (Wroclaw case), thus creating a state of tension between two countries whose friendship had historic and spiritual roots of such strength that no political vicissitudes had hitherto been able to affect them.

* * *

186* 648 578 175 Thus the events of 1948–1949 once more disturbed that 'Slav solidarity' which had been revived by the Second World War. It cannot be said that there exist, between the Soviet Union on the one side, and Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, on the other, ties which are stronger than, or of any different nature from, those which unite Moscow to Budapest or to Bucharest. The 'collaboration' operates exclusively on the basis of Stalin-Marxism and obedience to Moscow.

On the contrary, the Soviet Union's Enemy Number One is Tito's Yugoslavia. There is violent and complete rupture between the Southern Slavs for the one part, the Bulgarians, Eastern and Northern Slavs for the other.

The historic current which has, periodically, split up the world of the Slavs, has reasserted its mysterious disintegrating force.

Two small but typical facts may serve as a postscript to this study. On Stalin's seventieth birthday the only country which sent no 'homage' to the master of the Kremlin was Yugoslavia. And the President of the Panslav Congress in the United States, George Pirinsky, was imprisoned in Chicago as belonging to an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the American Government by force.

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186* succeed in convincing the suspicious Muscovites — they felt a
175 Latin and a Catholic in him, and in accordance with an already well-established tradition they deported him to Siberia. However, that poor Panslavic enthusiast somehow escaped from Siberia and reached the more comfortable Wilno, traveled farther in order to volunteer in the army of Jan Sobieski and to die for the defense of Austria in the Battle of Vienna under the Polish banners which he had vehemently insulted during his Muscovite sojourn.[2]

Indeed, in the Križanić *Politica*, a work written in Siberia, it is possible to find several elements which some 200 years later were crystallized in the Slavophil and Panslavistic systems. As I suggested above, it would be possible to find some even earlier manifestations of Panslavic trends. But first of all we should indeed try to define at least in a general form the essence of this
● [648] doctrine. I think that by and large Panslavism is a conception which embraces two main, divergent currents: one was connected with the movements of and hopes for regeneration and liberation among the oppressed Slavs; and as such this movement was directed against the two main oppressors of these nations — the Turks and the Germans. Since the Germanization of Bohemia and the disappearance of Poland from the map of Europe there has remained only one independent and powerful Slavic nation—Russia. Therefore one could see quite strong tendencies among Bulgarians, Serbs, some Croatians and Czechs, and a few Poles toward Russia as a possible liberator of the Slavs. On the other hand, among the same nations there developed at certain periods, especially in the nineteenth century, conceptions of a Federation of Slavs around Austria and without Russia.

The other expression of the Panslavic movement is the Russian one. The oppressed Slavic nations were looking for liberation, and their Panslavistic conceptions represented their hopes for freedom. Russia had, of course, a different approach to the

[2] Cf. P. N. Milyukov, *Ocherki po Istorii Russkoi Kultury*, Paris, 1930, vol. 3, pp 135-185.

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186* a Slavophil philosophy was fostered by the propaganda of Czechs
829 like Dobrovský, Kollár, and others who championed the claims of
812 freedom for people of good will—propaganda based on affection for the national past and on Catholic conservatism which saw in the Slav world, and particularly in Orthodox Russia, a bulwark against Western Jacobinism. Finally there were many political factors to be taken into account: on one hand, the role of Russia in the Napoleonic Wars and the growing political power of Russia, which was held to be the only power able to win freedom for the Slavic nations; and on the other, the anti-Russian tendencies voiced in the Polish risings, the leaders of which considered the enemy a nest of political reactionaries and a stronghold of violence. All these elements, various and even contradictory though they were, contributed to the establishment of the Slavophil doctrine and at the same time indicated the goal which it might ultimately attain.[3] As far as the purely Russian Slavophil and hence Panslavistic doctrine is concerned, some other factors must also be taken into consideration.

186* I must start *ab ovo*. For several very important historical rea-
175 sons the Byzantine political influence in Moscow, in the Muscovite ideology, became particularly potent. I have in mind the fall of Byzantium and some other events bound up with this great
[648] catastrophe. In connection with the more and more imminent Turkish menace, in order to save Byzantium, in order to organize a coalition against the Turks, men in the Roman Church began to consider with even more urgency the already existing concept of a possible union of the two churches; and at the Council of Florence in 1439 the union of the churches was accomplished. The whole Greek world accepted this union. The representative of the Muscovite Church at the Council, the Metropolitan Isidor, also adhered to the union; but unfortunately his adherence did not conform to sentiments at home. And when he reached Moscow, after celebrating masses in Cracow, he was confronted by com-

[3] This follows my articles, "Poland and the Slavophil Idea" published in the *Slavonic and East European Review*, London, 1928 29.

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186* 175 1848, the Crimean War of 1854-56, the Polish Insurrection of 1863, the Slavic Congress in Moscow in 1867, the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the period preceding the World War of 1914-18 with the so-called Neoslavism and finally the recent movements organized by Russia in Moscow and in this country among the American Slavic population and the Congress organized recently, also by Russia, in Belgrade.

2. The Polish Problem

186* 668 648 The first "set" of the Muscovite Slavophils was composed of well-to-do people, people belonging to the Russian landed nobility; they had estates with serfs, they had fine and rich apartments in Moscow. In the beginning they devoted their time either to discussions on historical, theological, and literary problems in Moscow salons or to writings in which they expressed their views. And they also manifested these views in a special national type of domestic life; they wore peculiar hats and *kaftans*, which very often provoked sensations in the streets of Moscow; they ate Russian meals and drank Russian vodka. All these details concerning their private lives and their naïve manifestations of Russianism are very pleasantly related in the memoirs of Herzen and Chicherin. At this stage of their development they were rather innocent and pacific, but they later became strongly intolerant and aggressive. Chicherin gives some episodes characteristic of this intolerance and aggressiveness. This appears particularly in connection with the great Slavic and European problem which the Muscovite Slavophils, by the very fate of their doctrine, were the first to be called upon to solve. This problem was the Polish one. Slavic reciprocity, Slavic sympathy, harmony, regeneration, wars for the liberation of the oppressed Slavic nations—all these slogans, ideas, and initiatives could mean but very little in the face of the still bloody Polish nation under the Russian regime. How could other Slavs who were outside of Russia trust all the great promises given to them by the Russian Slavophils and later Pan-

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slavists if these same Slavophils and Panslavists had no solution for the fate of a Slavic nation which was within Russia? As in our days, Poland was a test case, and without a just solution of the Polish problem there was no possibility of offering any more or less satisfactory solution for the Slavic problem in its entirety. And just here the whole system broke; and sympathy, justice, and harmony were replaced by pure violence. The usurping character of the whole doctrine and its demagogical essence became obvious in the light of precisely this problem. As a matter of fact, the Slavophils had a precursor in this field—and a great one. This man was Pushkin. And unfortunately he may be considered ideologically responsible for the direction taken by Russian political thought toward Russian-Polish relations. The intransigent and even ferocious attitude which Pushkin took at the time of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31 predetermined the attitude of many generations of Russians toward Poland.[12] His anti-Polish and anti-European odes published immediately after the defeat of the Polish Insurrection could not but create an abyss between Russia and Europe. This historical event was especially tragic because of the fact that its creator was the most outstanding and captivating symbol of Russian Europeanism—a Russian who indeed might be considered the Peter the Great of Russia in the field of her spiritual culture. Pushkin refused to see that Russia's annexations in Poland brought her geographically closer to Europe only at the cost of moral separation. In his odes he expressed not only a violent anti-Europeanism and an aggressive imperialism but also traced the lines for broad Panslavistic, Panrussian conceptions. These vociferous odes, belligerent as they were, became a kind of poetical citadel, an arch of triumph under which passed one generation after another of Russian Russificators and persecutors of Poland as well as all Russian Slavophils and Panslavists. These odes became a canon, a national catechism, a kind of lasso thrown by the powerful hand of the great Russian

[12] I cannot enter into details of Pushkin's role in this case. I have devoted a special book to it.—Cf. *Pouchkine et la Pologne*, Paris, 1928.

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186* poet over the heads of Russian politicians, writers, and poets.
668 From this point of view it would be difficult to evaluate the enor-
648 mity of the moral disaster achieved by Pushkin. And, as I men-
538 tioned before, the fact that it was just the great European Russian who assumed the responsibility for this makes it particularly painful. One has the right to say that had Pushkin taken a different attitude, the fate of Russian-Polish relations and therefore partly of Russian-European relations could have been different. It is possible, however, that my point of view is too idealistic and that I evaluate too highly the importance of poetical texts in the life of nations; nevertheless I am not at all certain that I am wrong. When examining the works of the Russian Slavophils and Panslavists—the Aksakovs, Khomyakov, Samarin, Pogodin, Leont'ev, Katkov, Danilevsky, Dostoevsky, and even Vladimir Solov'ev (whose opinions were in many respects opposite to those of the Slavophils and especially the Panslavists), whose views are so actual for our own day, one sees how completely Pushkin's poems were in accord with the basic tendencies of Russian nationalistic historical and political thought, and particularly with its anti-Polish aspects. As a matter of fact, the sources of the historic, philosophic, and religious inspirations of the Slavophils were quite different; Pushkin had nothing to tell the Slavophils in this sphere. Yet it is sometimes difficult to resist the impression that they had him in mind and that his "anti-Polish trilogy" was a sort of poetical noose cast over Russian political thought, the coils of which bound even the most courageous and the most spirited.[13] It appeared that the Muscovite Slavophil system was unable to find any solution for the Russian-Polish problem which would harmon-
186* ize with the general conception of Slavic unity. The Slavophil
668 systems, both Russian and Polish (to which I shall come later),
648 failed to produce anything positive and creative: the Russo-Polish
829 antagonism in these systems could be dissipated only at the expense of either Russia or Poland; there was no other alternative. This applies especially to the Russian side—to Aksakov, who in

[13] Cf. my article "Poland and the Slavophil Idea," as mentioned above.

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the presence of foreigners preferred not to speak of this "family quarrel," and to Pogodin, who, forgetting the ethnographic frontiers of Great Russia, attempted to enclose Poland within ethnographic and "democratic" lines. In Pogodin's opinion the latter boundaries were soon destined to disappear, since the only obstacle to an alliance with Russia lay in the Polish gentry, of "mixed Celtic and Latin origin," which should be destroyed by the Russian government with all possible speed. Aksakov used similar arguments in regard to the old Polish frontiers, while both Strakhov and Katkov attacked these frontiers even more vehemently.[14] Samarin saw in "Latin and Catholic Poland" "not only a historical contradiction of Russia but of all the Slav world." According to him Poland, "having become a poisoned sword and an instrument of destruction in alien hands, has received the same poison into her own flesh and blood." Her only salvation lay in union with Russia, which should become "the historical representative of the Orthodox and Slavic element." This would, in Samarin's view, be the triumph of the one cultural view over the other, although he admitted the possibility of Poland's separation from Russia. Aksakov admitted this separation in the same way, prophesying that in such case Poland would be eaten by Germany. But even here we see the break of the Slavophil conception: the Slavophils indeed did not know what to do with Poland. However, the most characteristic speculations were connected with the analysis of possibilities as to how a real union between Russia and Poland might be realized. The Slavophils were sure that the only obstacle between Poland and Russia was the Polish Latinism and Catholicism—in other words the Polish Western civilization. They thought that this civilization did not penetrate to the masses and that only the Polish inelligentsia—the gentry—represented that civilization. Consistently enough, they advocated the liquidation of this class—a liquidation which would bring into the Russian pale the amorphous masses of the Polish peasantry. This was

[14] The case of Strakhov, however, was less simple in this circumstance. Cf. my article "Russian Polish Cultural Relations," *New Europe*, New York, 1944.

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186* the liberation and regeneration which the Muscovite Slavophils
668 were trying to secure to the enslaved Polish nation. The whole
648 armament of their arguments and weapons may be found in the
829 writings of Aksakov, Pogodin, Samarin, Leskov, Danilevsky, and Dostoevsky. In the light of the present Slav movements organized by Soviet Russia and in the light of the present extermination of the Polish intelligentsia under Russia's "liberating protection" one may see that the most audacious dreams of the Slavophils and Panslavists of the nineteenth century are now being realized. The Russian autocracy was not able to use all means of extermination against the Polish spiritual culture because some of the elements of it were attached to a social regime which the Russian autocracy was bound to protect and preserve in Russia itself. From this point of view Stalin's hands are more free, and his policy of Russification might become more efficient in its destructiveness. However, even at the time of Alexander II and Alexander III, in accordance with the plans of the Muscovite Slavophils and Panslavists the Russian government began certain reforms aiming at the gradual liquidation of the Polish landed gentry through the emancipation of the peasants and through measures favoring the latter at the expense of the former. These reforms would have been entirely justifiable if they had not followed the principle *divide et impera*. Russia was usurping the role of a liberator of the peasants, because the Polish revolutionary national government of 1863 proclaimed the emancipation of the peasants and promised them land without any compensation for the landlords. At this time the Slavophil school became indeed a political one.

And here something very important should be stressed: the Russian democratic and radical groupings were sympathetic to the Poles just because of the democratic character of this insurrection. Such was the attitude of the society *Zemlya i Volya* and of Herzen in his *Kolokol*. They were even trying to prevent the Russian soldiers and officers from fighting against Poles. Herzen at that time published eloquent articles in which he attacked the

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"patriotic syphilis" which was raging in Russia. The whole of reactionary and nationalistic Russia launched its offensive precisely at this point—the slogan was that the Polish Insurrection was not a national one and that presumably the Polish masses had nothing in common with it. This point of view became the leitmotif of all Katkov's writings, but very soon Aksakov's *Den'* (the organ of the Slavophils) joined Katkov's *Moskovskiya Vedomosti*. The Slavophil phraseology followed that of the government, and Aksakov as well as Samarin explained the Russian-Polish War of 1863 as a war of Slavs against Latinism, as a war of Russia against the Polish landlords. We may see that history indeed repeats itself. The same slogans were used during this war when it was necessary to abolish the legitimate Polish government in London. Herzen understood this situation very well. On January 1, 1864 he wrote in his *Kolokol* as follows: "Having grasped here and there some vague ideas about the social mission of Russia and about her lack of any solid aristocratic principle, our sweet dreamers preach that Russia represents some sort of democratic empire, some sort of kingdom of *equality* and masses, that *she* fights with Poland in the name of the freedom of the peasants against the landlords, etc. Do not be mistaken. . . ."[15]

Sumner in his excellent book *Russia and the Balkans* (Oxford, 1937) brings very correct comments to this development: "The Polish revolt of 1863 unleashed century-old hatred and fears. In the years which followed, the old 'Congress Poland' was mercilessly dragooned within the framework of the administration common to Russia proper while the 'Western Lands' Lithuania, White Russia, and the Western Ukraine were subjected to every measure of Russianism. Meanwhile a campaign was initiated of the same nature in the Baltic provinces and Bessarabia; and, to show without mistaking that Russian meant Great Russian alone, the Little Russian or Ukrainian cultural revival of that time was successfully attacked by Moscow, above all by the prohibition in 1876 of the use of the Ukrainian 'dialect' for any academic or

[15] *Istoriya Rossii v xix Veke*, vol. 3, Z. Lensky, "Polskoe Vosstanie," p. 322.

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186* 175 648 literary purposes. Symptomatically two of the men most actively associated with this denationalizing, Russianizing policy, were among the most prominent Slavophil or Panslav Muscovites of the day: Prince Cherkassky and Yuri Samarin, a close friend of Aksakov."[16]

186* 668 Cherkassky, Samarin, and N. A. Milyutin worked at the agrarian reform in Poland, and Cherkassky "distinguished" himself in the campaign for reuniting the Uniates with the Orthodox Church. "Samarin and Cherkassky are significant in the Panslav movement in that, unlike Aksakov or the earlier Slavophils, and unlike the professorial type, represented by Lamansky, Miller, or Grot, they were active in administration and were well-known public figures. . . . Both men are also, above all, significant as representing the transformation of the idea of Panslavism into that of Panrussianism." (*op. cit., p.* 67) Characteristically enough, Samarin was, besides all the traits mentioned by Sumner, a "considerable theologian," the collaborator of Khomyakov in this field.

186* 812 It is not mere chance that I mention this trait of Samarin's personality. The Slavophil doctrine was from its very beginning deeply rooted in religious thought. The father of the Muscovite school, Ivan Kireevsky, was first of all absorbed by problems of religious and moral categories. Parallel to the pre-Romantics, the Romantics, and the German idealistic philosophers, he was primarily interested in the spiritual structure of the human personality and in the problem of perfecting it. He was fighting for the unity and entirety of the human personality and believed that the superior truth cannot be conceived by rationalism but by the entire spiritual personality in which the factors of feeling and belief were more efficient than reason. M. Gershenzon, in his book, *Istoricheskie Zapiski* (Berlin, 1932), sensationally enough stresses that Kireevsky committed a mistake which became the starting point for the whole Slavophil Doctrine. Milyukov pretends that the century-old Russian trends toward Constantinople and world domination also originated from a mistake—from an orthographic

[16] B. H. Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

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186* ing the fact that Byzantinism was the most definite historical type
829 ("for the state it means autocracy, for religion—Orthodoxy, for the moral world—contempt for earthly things, repugnance for the dreams about the earthly happiness of people, humility") and that the "Byzantine spirit with its principles and influences, like the complicated tissues of the nervous system, penetrated he whole Russian social organism," he proclaimed that: "Russia should be frozen so that she may not decay," as every living process ends in death and decomposition—the state in which Western Europe now finds itself. Although there are no universalistic elements in the Russian past, the Russian civilization must be preserved as it is.

For Leont'ev all means are good as "politics are not ethics." He calls for courage, for people who will not fear the words "reaction" and "reactionary," who will understand "that nothing can be achieved without violence" and that in order to stop the "defrosting" of Russia "retrogressive reforms" are indispensable, first of all "the fight against public education because if Russia has succeeded in her resistance against the spirit of the times, she owes it to the ignorance of the Russian people."[32]

5. Tyutchev (1803-1873)

186* Perhaps from the purely chronological point of view Tyutchev
● 648 should have been discussed before Danilevsky. Indeed some of Danilevsky's most essential views were first brought to public opinion in 1869 in the review *Zarya*, in which he said that: "Europe not accidentally but in her very essence is hostile to us. Therefor only when she is in conflict with herself might she be safe for us."[33] In a letter to Aksakov on the second of October, 1867, Tyutchev said: "Civil war in the West is our best political ally."

[32] K. Leont'ev, *Vostok, Rossiya i Slavyanstvo*, vol. I, vol. II, Moscow, 1885-1886; vol. I, p. 81; vol. II pp. 86, 109-120, 78-152, 180, 24-27; quoted by P. N. Milyukov (Milioukov), *Le mouvement intellectuel russe*, Paris, 1918, pp. 400-410.

[33] K. Pigarev, F. I. "Tyutchev i problemy vneshnei politiki Rosii" in *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, vol. 19-21, Moscow, 1935, p. 206.

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(cf. *ibid.*) However, as early as June 26, 1864, Tyutchev wrote 186* to his sister: "I of course am not one of those who in their gloomy 648 patriotism would like to doom Russia to permanent solitude, isolate and seclude her forever. I admit agreements, but on the condition that they be only *accidental* and that, accepting them, they never forget the truth-dogma, that between Russia and the West there can be no alliance, neither for the sake of interest, nor for the sake of principles, that in the West there exists not a single interest, not a single tendency which would not conspire against Russia, especially against her future, and which would not try to harm us. And this is why the only *natural* policy of Russia toward the Western powers must be not an alliance with one or the other of these powers, but *disunion*, division of them, because, only when they are divided among themselves do they cease to be hostile to us—because of impotence and, of course, never because of conviction. This severe truth will perhaps shock the tender souls, but in the end this is the law of our existence as a tribe and as an empire, and the only way of ignoring this is to cease to be Russian."[34]

The case of Tyutchev is perhaps the most fascinating. Belonging 186* to a distinguished Russian family, a man with intimate ties with 538 the court, a diplomat, one of the most brilliant Russian poets, the poet of the *Last Love*, the poet of the metaphysic fear of "the cosmos" and the universal "chaos," the poet of nature, the poet who created new rhythms and melodies in Russian poetry, the Russian poet who translated Goethe, Byron, Schiller, Heine, Lamartine, and who himself wrote poems in French, a man who was plunged in religious indifference and scepticism, a pantheist, an "ashamed atheist" who was "entirely foreign in his domestic life not only to orthodox customs of the church, but alien to the traditions of the Russian church,"[35] (words of Aksakov), a man who had an arrogant disdain for the "gloomy grey Russian life," in which he saw only "offices and barracks, *chin* and *knut*," a man

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.
[35] A. Lezhnev, *Dva Poeta*, Gos. Izd., 1934, p. 22.

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186 538 who spent most of his time abroad courting Germans, French, Italians, establishing very friendly relations with Heine, Schelling, and other distinguished poets, writers, and intellectuals in Europe, married to two foreign women who did not know Russian, a cosmopolitan in his private life, "entertaining German barons, poets, and diplomats," always speaking French[36]—Tyutchev became not only in his political treaties, articles, and diplomatic reports but also in his poetry the most violent advocate of Slavophil and Panslavistic ideas and of Russian anti-Europeanism.

186* 648 There were, of course, slight distinctions between him and the Muscovite Slavophils. The kind of patriarchial democratism which characterized them, their adulation of the Russian peasant, their theory about the Russian village community—for all these things Tyutchev cared very little. His primary interests were connected with foreign affairs. He was the "minister of foreign affairs" of the Slavophils. Therefore the Slavic problem was always important to him. He wrote and published many political poems addressed to the Slavs and to the Czechs and poems connected with the Polish problem,—but again in a very peculiar way. When Murav'ev the "hangman" plunged the Polish Insurrection of 1863 into massacres and blood, Tyutchev addressed to him a homage of greatest thankfulness and admiration. And when the grandson of Suvorov, the famous hero of the Prague massacre in Warsaw in 1794, appeared decent enough to refuse participation in a collective address to Murav'ev, Tyutchev launched a mischievous and sarcastic epigram in which he made fun of Suvorov's misplaced humanitarianism. Besides, he, in 1866 wrote a poem glorifying Murav'ev's memory. True enough that in 1831 his attitude had been a little different. He wrote at that time a poem by which Poles have very often been lulled and which was usually quoted as a Russian pro-Polish text. First of all there is, I think, a kind of moral insanity in bringing the name of Tyutchev as a symbol of Russian-Polish fraternity; the name of the poet who in the most cynical way sang the glory of Murav'ev! Besides, even

[36] Lashnev, *ibid.*, p. 20.

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the poem of 1831 gives a rather peculiar consolation to the Poles —this is what Tyutchev says to them: "Believe the word of the Russian nation: we shall sacredly preserve your ashes, and our common freedom as a Phoenix will find its birth in them." 186* 648

In the recent works devoted to Tyutchev such as those of Pigarev, Gippius, Stremoukhov, Lezhnev, one important detail has been revealed. Both the Slavophils and Tyutchev representing the landed Russian nobility, were deeply impressed by the revolutionary movements in Europe. Tyutchev in his anti-revolutionism, became a kind of Russian Joseph de Maistre and he very soon came to the conception that in Europe there existed two powers: Revolution and Russia. He developed this conception in his articles and poems and for many years he was busy with the organization of Russian propaganda in Europe for the spreading of his political ideas.

One of his[1] most significant poems in this respect was the poem *The Sea and the Rock*, in which he gives a picture of how the gigantic foot of the rock will appease the stormy waves of the sea. The idea which was symbolically presented in this poem was developed in a political language in his article *Russia and Revolution* written in 1848.[37] His conception of the greatness of Russia developed as a function of the mission which he attributed to Russia; and here his imagination becomes boundless. In his famous poem *Russian Geography* he mentions Moscow, Petersburg, and Constantinople as the *capitals* of the Russian empire, in which he sees "seven interior seas and seven great rivers from the Nile to the Neva, from the Elbe to China, from the Volga to the Euphrates, from the Ganges to the Danube—this is the Russian empire." 186* 829 538

This was written by a poet who, although he revealed in his lyrical poetry his tenderness for the "original charm" of the "poor villages," "humble nakedness," "boring nature," of the "land of everlasting patience," did not himself care at all for the Russian landscape. This is what he wrote in a letter to his wife:

[37] Pigarev, *op. cit.*, *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, pp. 195-196.

1 [Tyutchev's ---Analyst]

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It is true enough that in the very last period of his life as if 186*
having lost his hopes for Russia to achieve that universal mission 829
he suddenly called: "To Asia! To Asia!" "To that great mother of all religions, to the original 'neighborhood of God,' to the sacred nearness of the thousand-year-old contemplators of heavenly revelations—to India and Palestine. . . ."[50]

7. Bakunin (1814-1876)

There is a literary theory that Dostoevsky's "possessed" Stav- 000
rogin is a fictionized portrait of Bakunin. The author of this hypothesis, L. Grossman, accumulated extremely interesting proofs for his discovery. I shall not enter into an analysis of this theory, but it is quite true that the moral labyrinths of Bakunin's life and political revolutionary career lend themselves very well to this comparison. Bakunin's biographers made great efforts to explain and justify by political Machiavellianism Bakunin's rampant attitude towards Nicholas I and Alexander II, and his behavior in Siberia, which was morally paradoxical to say the least. Therefore, there is no doubt that the ideological prestige of Bakunin's political activities as well as of his writings is strongly contaminated by his very doubtful personality. His *Confession* and his letter to Alexander II surpassed the repentence of the Decembrists, the agony of Chaadaev, and the yielding of Dostoevsky. His infatuation for Murav'ev-Amursky and the role he played in the Irkutsk society are not less astonishing. However, he has his 186*
place and an important one in the development of Slavophil and Panslavistic ideas. Bakunin represents a kind of revolutionary Panslavism, but in this field of his political conceptions one may find the same inconsistency that characterized his moral attitude.

National and Slav feelings as well as feelings of sympathy for 186*
Poland had been awakened in him by Lelewel, famous Polish his- 829
torian and geographer, radical democrat and member of the Rev- 648
olutionary Government of 1830-31, during their meeting in Brus-

[50] Grossman, p. 213.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* sels. Lelewel "told him about the primitive democratic Polish
829 municipality, about the agrarian Slavic collectivity, about broth-
●648 erly institutions and customs distorted later by the class structure and the enslavement of people which came from the West. At that time he conceived a new goal for himself which was "a Russian revolution and a republican federation of all Slavic lands, and the establishment of one indivisible Slavic republic, federative only as regards administration, and politically centralized."[51] At that time, under the influence of western European populism and socialism on one side and, on the other, of his intimate contacts with the Polish emigration in Paris, Bakunin started to crystallize his own Russian populist and revolutionary ideas. The first manifestation of these crystallized ideas took place in Paris in 1847 when he delivered his famous Polish speech at the commemoration of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31. In this speech he attacked Nicholas I, he asserted that the Russian and Polish nations must be reconciled, that both were paying for the discord introduced by Russian autocracy, and that the Russian revolution would bring freedom to both nations. He said that this task could be realized only through the Russian-Polish alliance: without the liberation of Poland, Russian freedom could not be born. And finally he called for the liberation of all Slavic nations in order to bring about the final collapse of despotism in Europe.

186* A little more complicated was the atmosphere of the Slavic
668 Congress in Prague, in which he took part and delivered several
[575] speeches. At that Congress, as we know, Palacký advocated the idea of a Slavic federation with Austria in which the Czechs would play the dominant role. This idea was not popular among other Slavs, and the atmosphere of the Congress was not at all encouraging.

Bakunin first of all stressed the fact that Russia, by enslaving Poland and especially by giving a part of her to the Germans—the main enemies of the Slavic race—tore herself away from Slav-

[51] J. Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 161-162; cf. also V. Polonsky, *M. A. Bakunin*, vol. I, Gos. Izd., 1925, pp. 155 156.

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slavism of a special order, which would consist of grouping the different Slavic nations under the sceptre of the Romanovs as protected powers. This thought appears from the beginning to the end in the long Panslavist epos of the Slovak poet Kollár under the title *Slávy Dcera*. The poet visualizes the peoples as united to form a sort of Colossus modeled on the Babylonian Colossus of the Bible. Russia forms its head, Poland its heart, Bohemia and Illyria are its hands and feet. It would be imprudent to contest what the ideas have of the seductive and the dangerous, one must indeed recognize the exxistence of a Russian Panslavism, only one may deny its Slavic character and that it ever could possess the eympathy of any independent Slav."

C. Robert stresses another important point when speaking about the activities of the "great protector" among the Danubian and Adriatic Slavs. He would protect them on the condition that they would never follow the example of Serbia and show any pretension for a distinct national existence. "Let one look through the history of these Russian protectorates since the protectorate has been exercised over the last kings of Poland and Georgia to those which the tsar exercises at the present time over the Serbian and Moldavian-Wallachian principalities and over the crumbling Persian empire. One will see that these various protectorates have always had and still have as a unique aim to prevent the protected nations from rising from their humiliation and being reborn to independence."[87] More than that, the same C. Robert observed that during the upheavals in Cracow and Galicia Russia constantly played the role of an ally of Germany.[88]

On the other hand from time to time, as we may see not only in the brilliant articles of Marx but also in the extremely interesting recent publications of the Soviet scholar Tarle connected with the Crimean War, the tsardom was ready to utilize the Panslavic conceptions when they appeared advantageous for it. It is quite true, for instance, that for Nicholas I it was not easy to combine his

[87] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1846, pp. 472-473.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 479.

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his Scotch origin, with Dostoevsky and his Polish origin, and Gogol with his Ukranian descent, not to mention Kantemir, Fonvizin, Delvig, Boratynski, Korolenko, Blok, and so many others? And is it not really stupefying that the ultimate aggressiveness of an Asiatic Scythian Panslavism found its expression in the terrible poem *The Scythians*, written by one of the most European of Russian poets, the above mentioned Alexander Blok?

Let us return again to the Russian Polish problem, which is edifying enough. The Russian Slavophils and Panslavists, who, because they were indebted for their inspiration to European humanitarianism and idealism, seemed to have been destined in theory at least to sanction Poland's right to independence and thereby to redeem the political crime committed by Russia, never proved capable of being true to the dictates of political conscience. They remained blind even to the dictates of necessity, because any attempt to achieve the unity of the Slavic world as long as the Polish question was unsettled was chimerical, just as indifference to Polish national injuries was dishonesty of thought and conscience. No wonder, then, that the Russo-Polish *mariage forcé* was not dissolved by the Slavophils and Panslavists; divorce by collusion was achieved between those Poles and Russians who lacked connections with the Slavophil traditions and represented the spirit of positive Western thought. It is indeed striking to note the absence among the Russian Westerners of any irreconcilable hostility toward Poland. From the brothers Turgenev, who are contemporaries of Pushkin down to Granovsky, Stankevich, Chicherin, and the later liberals, the Westerners, although they realized the difficulties of solving the antagonism, did not succumb either to Slavophil fancies or to an elemental Slavophil hatred for Poland. The Polish problem, as I mentioned above, was from the very beginning the most important obstacle to the advancement of Slavophil ideas, for either the system collapsed or the "unity" of "indivisible Russia" was endangered; consequently the Russian Slavophils and Panslavists were frozen into immobility by the dangers of both alternatives and were unable

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186* to pursue their proper course. An exit from this dilemma did, ●648 however, exist and was discovered by the Westerners. Characteristically enough, the author of the manifesto by which the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov proclaimed Poland's independence, Professor Milyukov, was one of the most brilliant critics of the Slavophil and Panslavistic doctrines. His collaborator in this field was a Pole, Alexander Lednicki, who also never had any tendencies toward the Slavophil fancies but from the beginning to the end of his life remained faithful to his European orientation.

But perhaps the most edifying Russian example of the overcoming of nationalism and chauvinism by Christianism and humanitarianism is to be found in the "Polish story" of Tolstoy —in the touching tribute paid to the Polish martyrdom which truly inspired this great Russian writer.[92]

13. "Facies hippocratica"

186* 829 648 After this rapid course through the thoughts of so many Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovak and other writers and politicians, one unavoidable conclusion is that practically all of them, in spite of their political conflicts, ideological contradictions, and national antagonisms, agreed on one point—the recognition of the moral weakness and lack of moral dignity of Europe. Of course their approaches, motives, points of view, and goals were different. The Russians stated the moral decrepitude of Europe in a more or less speculative way. The Muscovite Slavophils could, after all, take an attitude of indifference and disinterestedness towards Europe. Russia could separate herself from the West and build a life independent from Europe. The Russian Panslavists could try to take advantage of the weakness of Europe for the realization of their Russian imperialistic views. The other Slavs, and especially the Poles, were in a different situation—for them the di-

[92] W. Lednicki, *Quelque aspects du nationalisme et du christianisme chez Tolstoï*, Cracow-Paris, 1935.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

lemma, Europe—Russia, was not a question of speculation—it was a question of life or death. What did Europe give to the Poles? Every day of their life was a day of betrayal by Europe of those ideals which Poles considered Polish ideals because of the very fact they were European. This is the main item of the Polish political texts of that period; and perhaps the most eloquent and at the same time tragic expression of these feelings is to be found in the famous message of the Polish National Government of August 15, 1831 addressed to its Western agents: "Truth, seen whole, has appeared before our eyes. We no longer count on the support of the great powers, who could and who would not, who still can and who will not, save us. We can no longer place any faith in the promises which they have made to us and which they belie by their conduct. . . . England and France, then, would not have employed us for the occasion except as an instrument fit to serve the course of their interests. England would not have lulled us with a few illusions except in order to have one more method of establishing the independence of Belgium. And France would not have made promises to us except to win a majority in the Chambers. Will faith, then be wholly banished from cabinets, and the words of a French and English minister be nothing but worthless farthings? . . . If France and England abandon us today and fail to justify the hopes that they have aroused, our ruin will have been brought about, not by the fury of Russia, or the hostility of Prussia, or the indifference of Austria, but by the self-styled sympathy shown us by France and England. . . . If the cabinets lack the courage to help us, let them at least possess enough dignity to acknowledge their barbaric indifference toward our cause. And if they have ignored the duty imposed on them by prudence, morality, and humanity, the Poles will know how to follow him who prescribes to them the sanctity of their rights and the love of their country. . . ."[98]

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For Poland was facing not only the loss of her independence but a complete change of her historical mission. For centuries

[98] W. Lednicki, *Life and Culture of Poland*, pp. 212-213.

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186* 829 648 she was considered the *antemurale christianitatis*, the rampart of Western civilization. An absorption by Russia within the frames of a Panslavistic conception would mean that Poland would become an anti-Western rampart. This is what Count Valerian Krasiński stressed already in 1848, foreseeing the present Polish catastrophe; Krasiński wrote: "If however the Poles will see that they have no chance of receiving from other nations and particularly from the Germans, the necessary assistance for the recovery of their country's independence, and that those nations in granting them some advantages, have no other object in view, than to make use of them as a bugbear to frighten Russia, in order to prevent the consolidation of the internal strength of that country by an intimate union of its Slavonic elements, being themselves ready to sacrifice the Poles as soon as their interests may demand it. If such a conviction becomes prevalent amongst the Poles, and there can be no doubt that it is rapidly spreading, what will then remain to them except cordially to unite with the Russians and to become, from a barrier between Russia and the rest of Europe, the vanguard of the Slavonic race against western Europe and Germany in particular."[94]

000 There was perhaps some consolation in the fact that the Poles, Russians, and the Slavs in general were not alone in their pessimistic critique of Europe. The Polish catastrophe, which absorbed the Poles and became a test case for all conceptions of Slavic union, was not the single factor that shook all European life in 1830-31 and in 1863. The French Revolution inaugurated a long period of upheavals and perturbations—revolutions, wars were following one after the other and the thunder of social turmoils was constantly menacing Europe during the whole 19th century. Have I to mention here the piercing voices expressing despair and "Weltschmerz," the voices of Chateaubriand, Byron, Alfred de Musset, Alfred de Vigny, and so many others as far as the "period of transition," to use Krasiński's formula, is concerned? Have I to recall the pessimism of H. Taine, the indig-

[94] Valerian Krasinski, *Panslavism and Germanism*, London, 1848, pp. 218-219.

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disciples of Methodius made their influence felt that Christianity as religion made real progress among the Serbs, and even so, many pagan customs were retained and, more or less, blended with the new Faith. But the official conversion of the Serbs is dated from the baptism of Mutimir. During his reign the Serbian Church was under the direct influence of Byzantium and the services were in Greek. But as Bulgarian ascendency became predominant in the Balkans, Byzantine suzerainty gradually gave place to Bulgarian, and the Greek liturgy to the Slavonic. 797

The first Bulgarian king to receive baptism was Boris, who reigned from 852 to 889 and was one of the ablest monarchs in Bulgarian history. Christianity had penetrated into Bulgaria before that time, and there had even been some persecution of it, due largely to fear of it as an agent which prepared the way for foreign and, in particular, for Byzantine domination. Boris was a statesman and although his own personal religious convictions played their part in his acceptance of Christianity, there were other considerations also that he had in mind. To make his realm a Christian State was some defence against the political and religious missionary zeal of his Christian neighbours. Further, it would tend to consolidate his own position. The great bulk of his subjects were Slavs, and many of them already Christian; the Bulgars were a ruling minority among whom Boris was the chief of many rulers. To favour the Slav element in his realm, therefore, and to Christianize it would be to break the power of the Bulgarian nobility and establish himself as sole ruler with all the force of the current Christian conception of royalty and the divine authority delegated to kings, to support him. The revolt of the Bulgarian nobles which subsequently broke out showed that they realized all this clearly enough, but they were too late. 659

In furtherance of his plans Boris looked first towards Rome for the same reason that Rastislav of Moravia had looked to Constantinople, i.e., each looked to the opponents of those from whom their own danger was greatest. But the Byzantine Emperor and Photius, then at the height of his quarrel with the Pope, were just as much alive to the facts and struck first. 659 648

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648 Boris found his country invaded and himself compelled to receive baptism at Greek hands. Accepting the situation, Boris now set himself to achieve the independence of the Bulgarian Church and with much astuteness availed himself of the bargaining power which the quarrel between Rome and Constantinople placed in his hands. He would have preferred to align himself with the West, and he made urgent and persistent efforts to induce the Pope to give him a Patriarch of his own. Pope Nicholas, who saw a chance of recovering for the Papacy the jurisdiction of which Leo III had deprived it, gladly sent Boris a couple of bishops, Latin service books and much good instruction (in answer to Boris's questions), but not a Patriarch. So Greek priests and books were turned out and Latin took their place and Boris continued patiently but urgently to press his request. But the Pope's star was in the ascendant, in 867 the Byzantine Emperor was assassinated, and the Patriarch Photius deposed. Feeling the ball at his feet the Pope ignored Boris's requests and adopted a high-handed policy towards him.

Boris lost patience and turned to Constantinople, which was ready enough to receive his overtures. But in view of the fact that a Council had been called to try to settle the differences between the two great sees, the question of the Bulgarian Church was submitted to it. The Council was packed with Eastern bishops, and in spite of the protests of the Papal legates who were present, naturally it was decided that the Bulgarian Church should be under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. An archbishop, with considerable independent powers, was appointed for Bulgaria. He was himself a Bulgar and with a train of bishops and priests he left for his archbishopric where once more everything Latin was replaced by Greek. Thus the victory in this affair remained with Constantinople. Not that the Papacy acquiesced in it. Much expostulation, many exhortations, and the sternest threats issued from the Pope, but no one paid any attention. But the time came when the sagacious Photius, now again Patriarch, thought it prudent to try to secure the Pope's recognition of his status. The Pope agreed provided that Bulgaria was restored to him.

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The matter was once more submitted to a Council (in 879) which, surprisingly, decided that Bulgaria should be returned to Rome. But Boris refused to be returned to Rome. It is possible that this was a contingency which had been foreseen by Photius, but in any case he loyally abode by the agreement reached, sent no more clergy to Bulgaria, and remained on good terms with Nicholas's successor, John VIII. The final decision had, however, been reached and the Bulgarian Church was to remain within the orbit of Orthodoxy. One other aspect of Boris's policy remained to be realized. To make his Church a really national institution, worship must be in the language of the people, to whom the bewildering changes from Greek to Latin had meant but the substitution of one foreign language for another.

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The disciples of Methodius, who had just been expelled from Moravia provided Boris with precisely what he needed. The less important of these unfortunate men had been dubbed heretics and sold as such into slavery, the more prominent leaders, Gorazd, Clement and others more politely conducted to the Danube and bidden to cross it, never to return.

Boris gave them a cordial welcome, and under his patronage they did a great work, far-reaching and permanent, for Slav Christianity and culture. A centre for the training of a Slav clergy was established, a Slav Bulgarian Church was organized, and many translations into the Slav language were made. Boris was wise and skilful enough to effect these changes without offending Byzantium and his own Greek hierarchy, and the latter were in due course replaced by Slav bishops. Thus through Clement of Okhrida and his companions the work of the Apostles of the Slavs bore a rich harvest among the Slavs of the Balkans. For the political ascendency of Bulgaria continued to grow until for a while it wrested the hegemony from Constantinople itself. Boris's successor, Simon, was an outstanding personality, who not only decisively defeated the Byzantines in war, and had himself crowned with an imperial title, but himself a scholar and erstwhile monk, carried on his father's ecclesiastical and cultural policy and declared the Bulgarian Church autocephalous. Thus was welded into shape in Bulgaria a cultural and religious instrument which was ready to hand when needed for the evangelization of Russia.

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but they at least tolerated Christianity, and Olga who lived until 969 was able to foster the growing Christian community. 797

It was Vladimir, an illegitimate son of Svyatoslav, who less than twenty years after Olga's death took the decisive step and accepted the new religion for himself and his people. He was lord of Novgorod and made himself master of Kiev. Much discussion has taken place about the circumstances of Vladimir's baptism and the relation in which that event stood to his marriage and his capture of Kherson.

Some scholars see no reason to look for any one external event as the occasion which brought about his baptism. He must have been familiar with the Christian religion and with the work of his paternal grandmother Olga, and it would not escape the attention of an intelligent man that while culture, civilization and political power were associated in his world with Christianity, paganism belonged to the half-barbarous hordes against whom he warred on the steppes. They therefore suppose that Vladimir was baptized in his own city of Kiev, before, or possibly during, the visit of an Embassy from Constantinople.

The more usual view is that the baptism took place at Kherson after Vladimir had captured that place, in the following circumstances. In Byzantium the imperial throne was being shaken by rebellion, and its occupants hard put to it to deal with the rebel. The Embassy was sent to solicit the military assistance of the Russian chieftain. It was successful, Vladimir's terms being good payment for his men and the hand in marriage of the Emperor's sister for himself. The terms were accepted, Vladimir carried out his part of the bargain, and with his help the rebellion was crushed. When the danger was over, however, the Emperors showed marked reluctance to let their sister go back with the victorious Russian, and Vladimir had to resort to force to secure possession of his bride. The walls of Constantinople were too strong even for his wild warriors, so on his way home he besieged and captured the Greek town of Kherson in the Crimea. This display of force proved sufficient to bring the Byzantines to reason, and the bride was forthwith despatched to her distant future home. She, with her ecclesiastical retinue from Constantinople, joined Vladimir 797 648

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at Kherson. And thither also at the same time arrived an Embassy from Pope John XV.[1]

Vladimir set to work with energy to make his people Christian. The idols of the great god Perun and others, erected in not too distant a past (for Vladimir before he embraced Christianity had toyed with the idea of revitalizing the pagan religion) were overthrown and churches built in their place. The more or less instructed people were baptized in droves in the Dnieper. Other influences were at work beside that of Byzantine Orthodoxy. The institution of tithes is found in the early Russian Church, and it would seem that that must have come from the West, and the same is true of the veneration of certain distinctively Latin saints.

Even before the time of Vladimir, books and perhaps missionaries also had arrived from Bulgaria. The work which the disciples of the Apostles of the Slavs had carried on in that country spread into Russia, with the result that the Russian Church had a Slavonic liturgy from the beginning. After Vladimir's death there was a continued period of quarrelling among his sons, in the course of which the celebrated Boris and Gleb, unresisting, met their deaths. But one of the sons, Yaroslav, finally succeeded in establishing his position and reigning for thirty-five years. He it was who finally settled the dependence of the Russian Church upon the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

In 1037 Alexis the Studite consecrated Theopemptos as Metropolitan of Kiev and thereafter, with two notable exceptions, the Russian Metropolitans were Greeks appointed from Constantinople until the fall of that city. Yaroslav was a great lawgiver and he raised Kiev to a status in which he treated with European nations on equal terms and married his daughters into royal houses of the West. He built the superb cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev and in his time the Petchersky Monastery was founded there. He died in 1054, the year in which the schism between Rome and Constantinople was finally consummated.

[1] On the puzzling question of the contact between the West and the Russian Church of this early period, see Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*. London, 1949, p. 173 ff. and 255 f.

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chians and Tivercians between the Dnieper and the Dniester as late as the ninth century, remarking that their settlements once extended as far as the coast of the Black Sea. These are, however, the same tribes who later took refuge in the eastern Carpathians and are the ancestors of the modern inhabitants of Subcarpathian Russia. In any case, after the elimination of the Avars, the East Slavic process of southward settlement was resumed until it was once more interrupted by the passage of the Magyars across southern Russia after the middle of the ninth century, and by subsequent inroads of the Pechenegs (Patzinaks), another wave of Turko-Tartar nomads, in the tenth century. Hence, among the earliest traditions preserved in the medieval Russian annals is that the South Russian Slavic tribes were ancient Khazar tributaries. In the early ninth century these subject tribes extended up the Dnieper as far as the river Sozh, well north of Kiev, and thus brought the whole initial extent of the subsequent principality of Kiev under Khazar tutelage.

The Khazars were a progressive race capable of rapid intellectual development and avid in the absorption of foreign ideas. Despite close diplomatic relations with Byzantium, they carefully sidestepped all influence toward conversion to Christianity with its political implications. Persecutions of the Jews in Byzantium during the reign of Leo III (717-740) caused a considerable Jewish migration from the Empire to the Khazar cities around the straits of Kerch. Since these Khazar centers (Kerch and Phanagoria, together with Itil, at the mouth of the Volga) were the chief transit points for Asiatic trade with the west, the Jewish settlers found abundant scope for their innate commercial talents, and rapidly came to exert a pronounced intellectual influence which culminated in the eighth century in the conversion of the Khazar ruling classes to Judaism. A remarkable feature of the Khazar polity was its religious tolerance, which guaranteed equal privileges not only to Jew and Moslem, but also to Christian refugees fleeing the rigors of the iconoclastic movement in Byzantium itself.

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656 GOVERNMENT REGULATION--policies underlying government regulation of private enterprises and activities; general aspects of supervision, restriction, and enforcement; specific instances of government regulation not classifiable elsewhere; etc. See also:

Government regulation of hunting and fishing . . . 22
Government regulation of food processing 26
Government regulation of the manufacture and distribution of liquor and drugs 27
Government regulation of banking and finance . . 46
Government regulation of business and industry . . 47
Government regulation of travel and transportation 48
Government regulation of immigration 167
Conservation policies 185
Government regulation of radio 297
Government regulation of dairying 334
Rationing 434
Price controls 435
Government regulation of wages 465
Government regulation of marriage 582
Wartime regulations 723
Government regulation of medical personnel . . 789
Government regulation of weights and measures . 804

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pictures of the decaying landed gentry. Goncharov composed 538
the classic of Russian imagination paralyzed by inertia. Tolstoi 829
studied the peasant problem, painted the first twenty years of the century on the magnificent canvas of his *War and Peace*, and returned to contemporary agrarian and urban problems with *Anna Karenina*. Dostoevski, after poignantly describing the bitter life of the humble in *Poor People*, acquired still deeper sympathy in his exile, and having expounded his doctrine of atonement through suffering in *Crime and Punishment*, attacked the radicals in *The Possessed*, and revealed the whole scope of his psychological penetration and the breadth of his religious philosophy in *The Brothers Karamazov*. With other authors of scarcely less merit describing contemporary life, these three decades constitute an outburst of brilliance unequaled in any world literature. Russian verse of the period was no less meritorious, and even Russian painters chose subjects which reflected the contemporary state of mind.

While the aims of political and social thinkers expanded, 668
the tempo of the reforms gradually slowed down with danger- 175*
ous results. Active revolutionary groups had begun to take shape even in the heyday of reform, and strove for rapid democratization in the public interest. Even in the fifties, literature had ceased to be an exclusive perquisite of the aristocracy and was professionally practiced by many young men from the new middle class who were impatient at the slowness of change. Some of the young radicals made unfruitful efforts to form a community of interest with the peasantry. Others attempted to force the hand of the government by acts of violence. Marxist socialism became known in Russia during the seventies and, while it supplied the young radicals with a more aggressive program, it suggested a transfer of their missionary efforts from the peasants to the urban industrial workers who were expanding in numbers with the progressive industrialization of the country.

The rising tide of radicalism stimulated repressive measures 175*
by the government, which gradually lost much of the sympathy 656
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which it had previously enjoyed in more moderate spheres, and even rejected loyal proposals for conservative reforms advanced in order to discourage the repeated outrages of the terrorists. In 1880 the situation came to a head with an explosion in the Winter Palace itself at St. Petersburg in which the whole imperial family narrowly escaped a violent death. Alexander II then called liberal statesmen who enjoyed the public confidence to work out a series of innovations which, though not aiming at a constitution, were at least conciliatory and progressive. These reforms were viewed with apprehension by the radicals, who not only feared to lose their public but also believed (mistakenly, as it proved) that the elimination of the tsar would be the prelude to a great popular uprising. They thus assassinated Alexander II on March 13, 1881.

The results were devastating. Moderate opinion was profoundly shocked, the government relapsed into a reactionary policy which endured until 1917, only briefly interrupted by the revolution of 1905. Political freedom and even political thought were discouraged, and many conscientious liberals were reduced to disillusion and despair by the bitter conviction that progress was impossible. The situation was not helped by the economic crisis of the eighties which followed an inflationary period of hasty industrial overexpansion.

This disillusion is most clearly reflected in the dramas of Chekhov, those twilight pictures of a class which vegetates without hope of change, without faith in its capacity to influence events. To this situation the accession of Nicholas II in 1894 brought no cure; since he was largely surrounded by ministers who deprecated even local self-government as only a step toward constitutionalism. But beneath the surface a new spirit was about to break ground. Some of the younger generation could no longer accept the resignation which Chekhov's characters practiced. For them, failure, however tragic, was not an everlasting stop-signal. Marxism gave them a program and a method. It warned them not to expect salvation from the middle class, and preached the virtues and strength of the so

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entrances in the old imperial days. Linguistic minorities which never even had alphabets, let alone schools, now have both. Their cultural representatives are hailed as contributors to the intellectual life of the nation, which has a chance of not remaining purely Slavic or European, but may instead draw new life and inspiration from the resident Asiatic and other alien stocks. The intermediate and elementary school system has been extended into the most remote districts, and in non-Slavic areas the native tongue has an equal chance with the official Russian.

The pressure of doctrine which long lay heavy on literature and art, however, has been intensified in recent years. The trend of the times is naturally in favor of a somewhat romantic and dogmatic picture of reality, since it would not be in the interest of the prevailing system to admit that its present imperfections are permanent departures from the ideal which has been set up. Present-day Soviet culture is intensely patriotic, not to say nationalistic. But of the great legacy of the nineteenth century surprisingly little has been lost. The classics are the models for present-day writers. But upon the accomplishment of the past have been grafted the materialistic aims of a new society which aims at a degree of organization and technical achievement which even the great progressives of the sixties would not have deemed possible. For though the autocracy of the Soviet State echoes more than once the spirit of the Muscovite Middle Ages and sometimes applies the methods of the Tartars for its self-preservation, the fact still remains that this autocracy is inwardly devoted to a program of national service, the execution of which we may only hope will not be too seriously hampered or interrupted by international factors and power politics which divert national energy and resources from domestic growth and construction to baser military ends.

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186* 178 than that of France, Germany or England. And even the Serbs and Bulgars, while they were affected by Russian influence, yet preferred to go to Western Europe in quest of models for their civilisation and institutions.

Moreover, when their political interests were at variance, the Slavs did not hesitate to make war on each other. Not until the last World War were they to be found in the same camp, during a European conflagration.

That was what gave the Soviet Union an ideal pretext for posing as the animator and leader of Slav solidarity—considered, not as an end in itself, but as the means of creating, in the Slav masses, a wave of feeling favourable to Russian imperialism.

Whilst reviving historical memories well calculated to exalt Russian patriotism, the Moscow Government organised Slav congresses, with united resistance to German oppression as their chief theme: upon the Soviet Union had devolved the role of liberator of the Slavs.

That, again, was only a diplomatic move. Panslav propaganda was the rule from 1942 to 1945. Then Moscow perceived the danger attendant on maintaining a scale of preferential treatment among the various peoples placed under Soviet influence—some of which, such as Hungary, Rumania and Eastern Germany had, in the course of their history, lived in a state of permanent hostility to the Slavs. 'Panslav' slogans disappeared from official oratory. And the 'Titoist' diversion, setting Belgrade in opposition both to Moscow and to Sofia, once more broke Slav solidarity.

[829] With the exception of Poland, all the Slav peoples had desired greatness for Russia, but within certain limits: that of their own independence. When, from being a liberator, Russia became a dominator, the notion of Slav solidarity was purged of its political content, and the ties binding the countries of Eastern Europe to Moscow then depended entirely on Marx-Leninist unity.

• [656] The Slav peoples saw the Russians at work in their own countries, replacing the *mystique* of emancipation by a policy of assimilation and force. The progress of 'Titoism' in Bulgaria and in Czechoslovakia is really nothing but a manifestation of the old Slav individualism, rising once more against imperialist hegemonies.

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176 648 aggressive policy, or against any other State which might revive this policy, under any form whatsoever.

Backed both without and within by the might of Moscow, Tito's régime seemed to be irresistibly established.

Its[1] first care had been to renew its claim to the territories of which Yugoslavia had been defrauded immediately after the First World War. It raised the question of Trieste and its hinterland. The Yugoslav delegation in London warmly defended a case supported by detailed and absolutely pertinent documentation, based on ethnographic and economic considerations. But they were imprudent enough to allow it to be understood that they would lay claim to Aegean or Hellenic Macedonia—which was bound to alienate the goodwill of Great Britain. They also mentioned the exorbitant sum which they intended to demand from Italy by way of reparations—thereby upsetting the United States, from whom Italy was at the same time seeking material aid to help her out of her desperate financial situation.

642 661 175 Yet, to tell the truth, the distrustful atmosphere which grew up around the Yugoslav claims arose more directly from the form of government and the political principles established by Tito. Under colour of anti-Fascism, the régime exercised the same reprisals against all its detractors. It was accused of borrowing the methods of the totalitarian régimes; the Opposition said that it had introduced the word 'Democracy' into the name of the State in order to dispense with it in reality, as, in the past, Pavelich gave the name of 'Independent State of Croatia' to a political offshoot of the Axis. He governed, on Russian lines, a very sensitive nation, which perhaps had not a very 'Western' notion of democracy, but had always shown itself stubbornly attached to the external forms of its independence. Certainly Tito had succeeded in grouping around him zealous young men, who had been tested under fire and were indifferent to the juridical or constitutional rites which, in the West, accompany the exercise of liberty. Certainly, too, the Yugoslav National Front represented itself not as a single party but as a synthesis of all the various energies resolved to work for the restoration of public life.

•656 204 625 Nevertheless to Anglo-American eyes the régime appeared to be a dictatorship. Was not its slogan—'No liberty for the enemies of liberty'—calculated to justify an administration

1 [Tito's régimes -- Analyst]

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founded on despotism and personal power? The law of August 25, 1945 on the control of the press banned not only the ex-'collaborators', but also the publishers of 'alarmist' news or of news 'contrary to the general interest'—as conceived by the Government, naturally. A well-informed police organisation, modelled on Russian methods, ceaselessly exercised a very close watch over public opinion and, naturally, indulged in arbitrary arrests and acts of violence. 656• 204 625

This policy led to dissension within the Government. The leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, Milan Grol, resigned on August 19[1]; on October 8[1] he was followed into retirement by Dr. Ivan Choubachich and the Minister Chouteï, both Croat Agrarians. 578 175

Choubachich's resignation was serious, for it upset a ministerial equilibrium which had been agreed upon among the Allies. Yet what was this agreement worth, since Tito, repudiating the terms of the compromise which had sanctioned his authority, had pronounced against the monarchy? 'Not one of our combatants thought that anything new could be created under the leadership of the King, especially as the Nediches and Mihaïloviches committed their crimes in his name. . . . The point is, whether the monarchy is compatible with the new system of Yugoslav Federal Democracy. . . . For several reasons, I think it is not'.

The next day (August 8, 1945) King Peter replied to this declaration by withdrawing from the Regents the power they held from him.

Tito was not intimidated by this retort. He declared that the Government acted in agreement with all the creative and constructive forces of the country, with all sincerely democratic parties. The masses of the populace had acquired, during the war, firmly-rooted political knowledge which had nothing in common with the electoral catchwords with which they previously used to be taken in.

The Opposition replied that free elections would prove the truth of this assertion, whereas those to which the country had been called were not free. The Americans and the English repeatedly emphasised the reserves they made regarding their attitude towards the régime which would result from this poll. 666 829 175

The elections took place on November 11.[1] They gave to the

1 [1945-- Analyst]

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and responsible to it. The Assembly comprised two Chambers, the Federal Council and the Council of Nationalities; the former was elected by all the citizens, the latter appointed by the republics and autonomous districts. The Constitution established the right of referendum, compulsory military service, the separation of Church and State. Private property was recognised, up to a maximum of 25–30 hectares. But foreign trade and the greater part of the means of production, mining resources, springs, hydraulic power, woods, transport, wireless, etc. were under State control.[4] The Federated Republics were organised, and elected their Governments, early in 1946 (Bosnia-Herzegovina on February 15, Serbia on February 20, Slovenia on February 23; it will be noticed that the latter took the name of 'Popular Republic of the Slovenes'—obviously with the intention of serving as a magnetic centre for the Slovenes who remained under Italian or Austrian domination).

The promulgation of the new Constitution closed the first stage in post-war developments. The new Federal Government was introduced to the Legislature on February 2, 1946. Its President was Tito, who held the portfolio of National Defence, assisted by two Vice-Presidents, one Communist, the Slovene Edward Kardelj, a militant member of the Slovene Workers' Associations and principal instigator of the Constitution, and one Republican, the Serb, Jasa Prodanovich. Foreign Affairs were entrusted to Stanoje Simich. Kardelj was President of the Federal Control Commission, an all-powerful organism which supervised the acts of the Ministers and of the President himself. The spokesman of the Communist Party was Milovan Djilas, who was responsible for the Youth Movement. The President of the Presidium was a Croat, Ivan Ribar, a former Deputy of the Serbo-Croat Coalition, President of the Constituent of 1921 and one of the authors of the so-called Constitution of Vidovdan. After having joined the Democratic Party, he left it at the time of the dictatorship of King Alexander. Under the occupation he did liaison work between the Republicans and the

[4] The arms of the Federal State represent a field, between two sheaves of corn, connected by a ribbon inscribed: '22nd November, 1943'. Between the tips of the ears of corn is a five-pointed star; in the middle of the field five torches, bending over, converge into a single flame. The federal flag is red, white and blue (with the red at the bottom), and has a red star in the middle.

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fessor P. N. Sakulin[6] "to the conservation of serfdom and of forms of life tied with it. Besides, Uvarov realized very well this spiritual relationship between serfdom and absolutism, and he definitely expressed the view that autocracy and serfdom, having the same historical source, must have the same historical fate." When the Chaadaev scandal exploded, Count Benckendorff, head of the Russian police and the closest collaborator of Nicholas I, expressed the following opinion: "*Le passé de la Russie a été admirable; son présent est plus que magnifique; quant à son avenir il est au delà de tout ce que l'imagination la plus hardie se peut figurer.*"[7]

The establishment of this ideology was not confined merely to official interviews, proclamations, and manifestos. The government had in its hands powerful means with which to imprison the thought of the country within its official ideology. The most efficient weapon was censorship and interdiction of foreign travel. The aim was not only to impose respect for the "three whales" of that ideology but also to eliminate any disaggregating Western influence. I need not mention the fact that in the eyes of the representatives of the *ofitsial'naya narodnost'* the West was considered a source of all kinds of mischievous and dangerous ideas. Strong echos of slogans launched by the official ideology often resounded in the writings of people who from a certain point of view might be considered independent. The most striking example is to be found in the works of a man who, by the way, was one of the closest friends of the Russian Slavophils—I have in mind Nicholas Gogol.

One remembers certainly Chichikov's troika "flying like a whirlwind" on the last pages of the first volume of *Dead Souls*, and one recalls perhaps that the writer compares that troika to a Russia "flying onwards like a spirited troika that nothing can overtake." "The road is smoking under thee," writes Gogol. "The bridges rumble, everything falls back and is left behind. . . .

[6] *Istoriya Rossii v xix Veke*, Ind. A. I. Granata, vol. II, p. 445.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 445.

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186* ings, manifestations, and commemorations in America; in June 1942 such meetings and congresses took place in New York, in 668 Pittsburgh, in Detroit, in Kansas, in Cleveland, in San Francisco, 575 in Oakland, and also in Canada, Argentina, etc., organized by local Slavic committees. These organizations in America and in other countries represent ramifications of the Moscow center; and at each meeting they manifested this relationship by sending addresses and telegrams not only to the Panslavic committee in Moscow but to Stalin, Kalinin, Molotov, and so on. Around the Muscovite center were organized during the war all kinds of Slavic national committees and unions of patriots at the head of which one could find the members of the Panslavic committee in Moscow. These committees and unions were nuclei from which originated the "democratic governments" imposed by Russia to the Slavic and non-Slavic countries (similar committees were organized for Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria) which found themselves in the sphere of Russia's influence.

[208] For the task of propaganda of these Panslavic ideas of union and fraternity of the Slavs under the protection of Soviet Russia and under her cultural leadership there has been established a monthly review under the title *The Slavs*, published in Moscow in Russian.

186* It is paradoxical enough that if one takes different Soviet encyc- 829 lopedias one may find a radical refutation of Panslavic con- 651 ceptions; the Panslavism of the 19th century has been always qualified there as a bourgeois imperialistic doctrine. It would be very difficult, however, to find any salient difference between the Panslavistic imperialistic conceptions of Tsarist Russia, as far as their essence is concerned, and the Panslavistic policy of the Soviets, even though their motives and ultimate goals are not identical. In order to save appearances the official Soviet press still stresses that difference; so N. Leonidov in his articles *The New Phase in Slav History* published in *New Times* in Moscow in September, 1946, said: "The Russian people never identified themselves with the imperialistic chauvinistic Panslavism of the

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186* monarchists." "The slanderous talk about new Panslavism is part of an anti-Soviet campaign."[95]

829 Of course there are differences. The Russian tsarist government used to change from time to time its attitude toward the doctrines of the Muscovite Slavophils and those of the Panslavists. All depended on the international situation. Besides, in spite of its Machiavellian policy the tsarist government was still bound by precepts of international and public law as well as by international public opinion, and because of that its Russianizing methods and proceedings were still in a certain degree moderated. Therefore in some cases there appeared a divergence of views between the representatives of the government and the most chauvinistic, aggressive representatives of Russian Panslavism as, for instances, the famous apologist of the Russification of Poland—Katkov. Anyhow the Slavophils and Panslavists at that time represented a free, independent initiative. From time to time they even found themselves under a governmental observation that was not very benevolent to them, especially when their Panslavic enthusiasm was bringing harm to the Russian government in its relation with neighboring countries.

186* It is obvious that the present situation from this point of view is completely different. Everyone knows that there is no room and no possibility for any individual free political initiative under the rule of the *Politburo*. The whole present Panslavic movement has been organized by the Soviet government, and people who are taking part in it are agents of that government. In the beginning the aim was to organize Slavic elements for the fight against Fascism and Hitlerism, against Germany; the unspeakable German atrocities greatly encouraged these activities. Such is the aspect of the first years of the publication *The Slavs*. We find there articles dealing mostly with war events, with German crimes, or with the military history of Russia, articles glorifying great Russian generals like Kutuzov, Suvorov, great Russian tsars or princes like Alexander Nevsky, Peter the Great, some articles

[95] Quoted from "Degeneration of Panslavism" by George C. Guins. The article has not yet appeared, but the author has kindly permitted me to use it.

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186a 656 glorifying the outstanding Soviet generals and, of course, men like Molotov, Lenin, "the great son of Slavdom"; and Stalin, "son of the nations of Russia"—it would be rather difficult to make of him a Slav. There are also articles about different manifestations of old and modern Slavic culture, biographies of great Slavs, predominantly Russian. Copernicus, one of them, had a rather amusing fate under the pen of Soviet clerks writing under the *Politburo's* dictates. The *Small Soviet Encyclopedia* (1926) calls Copernicus the "greatest Polish scholar"; and later, its *Great* brother leaves the reader with the impression that he was a German Scholar. Finally, the review *The Slavs* emphasizes his Polish patriotism and the prestige of the University of Cracow!

186* 575 668 The activities concerning the further organization of Panslavic meetings abroad have not been abandoned. On the contrary, recently at the end of 1946 there again took place such meetings in America and in Belgrade with the predominant role played by official and unofficial agents and delegates of Soviet Russia, ending with telegrams and addresses expressing loyalty to Soviet Russia, sent to Stalin, Kalinin, and Molotov. All these facts must lead one to the conclusion that we are witnessing here the organization of a new International, of a Slavic International, parallel to the Comintern, and that the numerous ramifications of this organization outside of Russia represent nuclei of a Slavic fifth column in the countries which are outside of the immediate zone of Soviet influence. Within this zone Russia is much less interested in the development of the Panslavic movement through any special organizations, as she has there at her complete disposal the governments of the countries which are under Russian political domination. I do not have to stress what I mentioned before—that Stalin has in his hands means of Russification about which Goldmann and Katkov could only dream.

Not without interest is the fact that the Inter-Slav Bureau of Foreign Contacts had during the war six sections—for the United States, Canada, Central and South America, Australia and New Zealand, the Near and Middle East, and Great Britain. A seventh

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section dealt with the "occupied countries" and came partly under the jurisdiction of the Bureau and partly under that of the Committee for Active Struggle Against Fascism. In 1942 the All-Slav Committee's budget amounted to 320,000,000 roubles, in 1943 to 400 million, and in 1944, when the financial division had ceased to come under the control of the Secretariate, the Committee's budget had risen to 550 million roubles. The All-Slav Congress which took place recently in Belgrade has afforded some indications of the place which the All-Slav Committee holds in Russia's post-war political propaganda apparatus. The main speech of the Soviet delegate, General Gundorov, was an invitation to the Slav peoples to ignore "the sinister forces of world reaction" and submit to Communist guidance. Two resolutions passed by the Belgrade Congress deserve attention. The first, which makes Belgrade the center of the All-Slav Committee and Maslavitch its chairman, is an indication of the importance attached in Soviet policy to Slav sentiment in the Balkans, where to some extent it is a substitute for nationalist sentiment. The second resolution provides for the participation in the work of the All-Slav Committee of representatives of "the largest progressive Slav organization from non-Slav countries, with the right to an advisory vote."

In order not to be misunderstood I feel it necessary to stress that in spite of some striking parallelisms in the use of Panslavic conceptions by Soviet foreign policy and by the Russian tsarist governement, the differences remain enormous—but not at all in the sense of Mr. Leonidov's views. As I mentioned before, the Russian tsarist government of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was bound by international and public law; and because of this the fate of the Russian subject of those times cannot be compared to the fate of the modern Russian citizen. Russia was not hidden behind an iron curtain from the world, and foreign travellers could visit Russia and freely observe her life. Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Russians were sent to Siberia, but tsarist Russia did not know concentration camps; and the conditions of

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871 entrances in the old imperial days. Linguistic minorities which
658 never even had alphabets, let alone schools, now have both. Their cultural representatives are hailed as contributors to the intellectual life of the nation, which has a chance of not remaining purely Slavic or European, but may instead draw new life and inspiration from the resident Asiatic and other alien stocks. The intermediate and elementary school system has been extended into the most remote districts, and in non-Slavic areas the native tongue has an equal chance with the official Russian.

186 The pressure of doctrine which long lay heavy on literature
[656] and art, however, has been intensified in recent years. The trend of the times is naturally in favor of a somewhat romantic and dogmatic picture of reality, since it would not be in the interest of the prevailing system to admit that its present imperfections are permanent departures from the ideal which has been set up. Present-day Soviet culture is intensely patriotic, not to say nationalistic. But of the great legacy of the nineteenth century surprisingly little has been lost. The classics are the models for present-day writers. But upon the accomplishment of the past have been grafted the materialistic aims of a new society which aims at a degree of organization and technical achievement which even the great progressives of the sixties would not have deemed possible. For though the autocracy of the Soviet State echoes more than once the spirit of the Muscovite Middle Ages and sometimes applies the methods of the Tartars for its self-preservation, the fact still remains that this autocracy is inwardly devoted to a program of national service, the execution of which we may only hope will not be too seriously hampered or interrupted by international factors and power politics which divert national energy and resources from domestic growth and construction to baser military ends.

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Turkish journalist) some people in Eastern Europe who would like to return to the old policy of oppression of the Slavonic peoples. . . . The new friendship among these peoples, related to each other and bound by century-old ties of a common culture, was being tempered in the crucible of the war of liberation. . . . Their *rapprochement* would displease none but those who dreamed of seeing them dominated once again'. 186* 829 204

* * *

The Orlemanski affair has shown us an attempt at Slav solidarity in the domain of religious tolerance. In the same order of things, but this time in connection with the Orthodox Slavs, we cannot omit to mention the deep impression produced by the restoration of juridical personality to the Russian Orthodox Church (September, 1943) and the elevation of the Metropolitan Serge to the office of Patriarch, abolished in 1721 by Peter the Great and which enjoyed a brief restoration in 1917. With its hundred and fifty million followers, the Orthodox community, placed at the cross-roads of the war, was undergoing one of the most tragic crises in its history. Its suffering was all the more serious, inasmuch as the Orthodox Churches are organised on national lines, in contrast to the hierarchical unity of Roman Catholicism. These churches are bound together by identical doctrine and canons. But, in the course of the centuries, they have progressively relaxed the bonds of dependence which used to attach them to the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. Religious autonomy has advanced side by side with the emancipation of the nationalities. In restoring the rights of the Church, Stalin not only indicated his desire to reawaken the traditions of Russian national life, within the framework of a social renovation; he also tightened the historic bonds between his country and the Balkan nations of the Orthodox religion, thus reinforcing, by new spiritual affinities, sympathies founded on community of race, of oppression, and of destiny. 186* 659 796

Germany tried to foil this policy by summoning to Vienna, on November 5, under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Belgrade, the Orthodox prelates adhering to the Axis cause, and especially the Metropolitans of Berlin and of Paris, who declared the election of the new Patriarch to be null and void. This demonstration was of no effect; the vast majority of the Serbian, Rumanian, Greek and Bulgarian hierarchies either had nothing 648 793 795

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666 National Front 80–90 per cent of the votes cast.[4] It is true that
829 the Opposition abstained from voting (its Belgrade organ,
175 *Demokratia*, was suspended) and that the electoral system favoured the Coalition Government. But the Anglo-Americans took no action. They declared the results of the poll to be 'acceptable'. On these results were based the two Assemblies (Union Assembly and Assembly of the Nationalities) which, following Russian lines, were to control the country's constitutional life.

578 In short, both at home and abroad, Tito was master of the
643 situation. He had armed forces, the levers of control, fanatical partisans, a 'Youth' following, attached to a régime which had radically reorganised the whole staffing of the army, the administrative services, and diplomacy. But certain large sections of opinion were not with him. In the provinces the old parties were still solidly rooted. Those circles criticised the 'personal' and 'plebiscite' character of the régime, which was an unprecedented innovation in Serbian political life. Against the Marshal were the Monarchists, the old army, Serbian nationalism, Croat par-
• [659] ticularism, Slovene 'Clericalism'. For a long time he alienated the Catholic clergy; on October 18, Radio-Vatican broadcast a letter from the Yugoslav bishops to the Belgrade Government, accusing the latter of systematically persecuting the Roman Church.

And this was only criticism of internal affairs. Tito was further reproached with having reorganised relations between the Yugoslav populations on anachronistic bases. How would this State turn out—a State of twelve million inhabitants, with six autonomous Governments, capped with a Federal Government? Where would the frontiers of Croatia and Serbia be? And those of Serbia and Macedonia? Could the Macedonian question be considered as settled by the granting of autonomy? And would not the Bulgaro-Yugoslav *entente*, advertised as a victory for the régime, be submitted to a severe test when autonomy gave rise to political disputes in this country which, for a century, had been torn by undercurrents of passion and foreign intrigue? Was

666 [4] According to official statistics, out of 8,383,455 electors and 7,415,214 votes cast, 6,574,975 went to the National Front. The franchise had been given to women; the electoral age had been lowered to 18, and even lower for those who had fought in the liberation.

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645 Communists, then rejoined the partisans in Bosnia and was
175 elected President of the National Liberation Front.

687 The chief event of this period was the trial of General Draja
175 Mihaïlovich, who had organised the earliest resistance to the invader, but was subsequently accused of collaboration with the Germans and the Italians. Arrested on the borders of Bosnia and Serbia, he was court-martialled on June 10, 1946, by the Military Tribunal of Belgrade, which condemned him to death on July 15. He was shot. Some American airmen had vainly asked to bear witness in his favour. The Belgrade Government had documents published establishing his 'treason'; they reveal undeniable complicity with the enemy in the lower ranks, and, especially, the implacable intention of eliminating the Communists from the Resistance; the role of Mihaïlovich himself is less clearly shown—which explains the emotion his condemnation aroused in England and in America.

[829] The *Daily Telegraph* thus expressed itself on this condemnation: 'The long perspective of history will enable the truth about the much-discussed figure of Mihaïlovich to be more clearly perceived. His contemporaries can do no more than think that, caught up in the whirlwind of events beyond his control, he was a victim of Fate'.

In the same connection the British statesman, Noel Baker, declared that the decision to suspend aid to Mihaïlovich during the war had been taken as the result of numerous denunciations from various sources, alleging that he was no longer adequately contributing to the war effort. 'Subsequently', he said, 'it became evident that certain of his lieutenants were actively collaborating with the Germans'.

793 No less sensational was the trial of the Catholic Archbishop
687 of Zagreb, Mgr. Aloysius Stepinac. This followed proceedings
175 against numerous members of his clergy, notably that involving
• 657 some Slovene priests, in December, 1945, at Ljubljana. The bishop of that town, Mgr. Rozman, a refugee in Italy, was condemned to eighteen years' imprisonment.

[208] The action against the Croatian priests accused of collaboration was prepared in January, 1946, by a violent press and radio campaign, denouncing the Archbishop's relations with the *Oustachi* of Pavelich, by whom he had been decorated (in

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common with the Croatian Orthodox Metropolitan, Hermogene Maximov, and the German Lutheran bishop, Popov).

Arrested on September 18, 1946, Mgr. Stepinac was tried, on the 30th of the same month, not only on the charge of intelligence with the enemy, but also of having, after the liberation, worked with the opponents of the régime. These charges (as well as that of having forcibly converted Orthodox Christians to Catholicism) were upheld by the judges, who condemned the prelate (on October 11) to sixteen years' hard labour, to the loss of his civic rights for a period of five years, and to the confiscation of all his possessions. In vain had the defence recalled the fact that Mgr. Stepinac had protested against the racial laws and collective reprisals, and that the allied press had, while the war was actually in progress, rendered homage to his courageous stand.[5]

Pope Pius XII, in a public speech, protested against this verdict, denying the compulsory conversions—which, moreover, are contrary to canon law. And, although Tito had declared that the proceedings were by no means the prelude to a campaign against the Church in Czechoslovakia, Christian circles throughout the world protested against what they called a 'religious trial'. The 115 Catholic archbishops and bishops of the United States, assembled in Washington for their annual Assembly, described the verdict as 'an outrage on justice'. The Archbishop of Westminster declared that, during the war, 'in Croatia the only voice raised against Nazism and its works had been that of Archbishop Stepinac'.

The Vatican, in an unofficial note, recalled the Church's sanctions against members of the laity sitting in judgement on a bishop, or guilty of any act of violence upon his person; it nevertheless continued to maintain its Nuncio in Belgrade—Mgr. Patrick Hurley, a priest of American nationality, who had entered upon his office at the beginning of the year. In October, 1946, it appointed a co-adjutor to the Bishop of Maribor and another to the Bishop of Ljubljana. (In the absence of a

[5] A Catholic Agency announced, at the end of February 1947, that the President of the Croatian Government, Dr. Bakarich, was said to have invited the prelate to sign his appeal, giving him reason to hope that he might be liberated and, with American support, go abroad. Mgr. Stepinac refused, not wishing to leave either his people or his diocese.

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793 Concordat in Yugoslavia, the Vatican proceeds directly to the
794 appointment of bishops, without previous agreement with the
648 Government.)

648 Relations between the Holy See and Belgrade again became
175 strained when on January 31, 1947, Tito's Government handed
• [659] to the Secretariat of State two notes, demanding the handing over of five Yugoslav 'war criminals', said to have taken refuge in the Vatican, and accusing the latter of having facilitated the escape to South America of other Yugoslav nationals, wanted by their country's police. The Pope denied these allegations, but added 'that he distinguished between those who were persecuted for political reasons, and criminals; to the former he gave every assistance in his power, without asking whence they came'.

Yugoslavia's external policy remained unshakeably based on Soviet support. 'The Slav peoples now look to Moscow as, after 1919, they looked to Paris; nothing is more natural', said a semi-official commentary on Tito's tour of Central Europe. Far from endeavouring to gain the confidence of the English and the Americans, whose co-operation a wise diplomacy would have sought, in order to bring their claims on Trieste to a successful conclusion, the Belgrade Government was continually in conflict with those powers.

Its relations with Washington were particularly chequered. On January 8, 1946, President Truman had declared: 'As regards Yugoslavia, recognition of the present Government is still subject to certain conditions'. (Moreover, he put Rumania and Bulgaria on the same footing.)

These 'conditions' were the assurance that the new Yugoslavia would recognise the existing treaties and agreements between the two countries (commercial exchanges, extraditions, naturalisations, etc.). Having obtained this assurance on April 18, he recognised Tito and appointed Mr. Richard Patterson ambassador in Belgrade. 'In granting diplomatic recognition', said the *Washington Post* next day, 'the United States are but looking unpleasant realities in the face'.

And when Sava Kosanovich, the representative of Yugoslavia, presented his credentials to President Truman, the latter said to him, with bantering courtesy: 'The United States are following, with interest and sympathy, the efforts of the Yugoslav people . . . to succeed, individually and in harmony with the United

648 728 175 tion, and the reconstruction of German economic life subordinated to the reconstruction of the devastated countries.

648 175 On the United Nations' Security Council the Polish delegation fastened on the Spanish problem, displaying all the more energy, inasmuch as none of their positive interests was at stake. They backed the views supported by France and the Soviet Union on rupture with Franco, and decided, on April 5, 1946, to recognise the Giral Government--an eminently platonic gesture, for Franco's Spain and Poland had no diplomatic relations.

*186 •659 [798] The religious question, too, was a serious preoccupation of the Government, which refuted the widespread accusation of wishing to persecute the Catholic Church. It had, moreover, always included 'practising' Catholics among its members, for Poland is certainly one of the few countries where 'Leftists' are just as good Catholics as 'Rightists'. Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland and Archbishop of Warsaw, himself declared that, in spite of the denunciation of the Concordat of 1925, and the absence of relations between Chruch and State, there was no question of a Kulturkampf in Poland.

[586] There is no doubt; however, that the law (which came into force on January 1, 1946) rendering civil marriage compulsory and authorising divorce conflicted with the consciences of a large section of the population. The education reforms had dealt a death-blow to the religious schools. In the face of these measures, the Church adopted an attitude of restrained disapproval, in order not to make the situation worse; moreover, she had her 'Red Bishops', such as Mgr. Adamski, Bishop Katowice, whose sympathies were known to lie with the Soviet Union.

One of the reasons why the hierarchy avoided clashes was the fear of reviving accusations brought against certain of their members as the result of their attitude during the occupation; this in spite of the courageous conduct of the enormous majority of the prelates, and the murder by the Germans of four bishops and two thousand priests.

*186 659 798 It was, moreover, evident that the Warsaw Government's hostility was directed less against the Polish Church than against the Vatican, which they reproached with its policy during the war and its attitude in certain actions brought against agents of the occupying authorities. Yet M. Osubka-Morawski likewise

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accused the hierarchy, in connection with the Kielce pogrom,[18] of not having adopted a sufficiently bold attitude towards anti-Semitism, and of having refused to sign the declaration of all political parties, condemning this racial crime. 186* 659 798

The Cardinal addressed to the foreign press declarations in which, while deploring the acts of violence, he attributed them largely 'to the dominant position assumed by the Jews in the Polish Government, and to the efforts made to give Poland a governmental structure that the majority of the country did not desire'. As may be imagined, these words aroused passionate comments. The same remark applies to the pastoral letter addressed to the faithful on the eve of the elections, asking them to vote only 'for persons, lists or programmes in favour of Catholic teaching and morals'. Without mentioning the Marxist Parties by name, the pastoral reminded Catholics that they must not belong to 'organisations whose principles are contrary to this teaching and this morality'. The Cardinal was anxious, he said, to 'reconcile the Christian faith with a sound revolutionary movement'.

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It was in Czechoslovakia that the adaptation of political and social life to the new state of affairs was achieved with the minimum of clashes and the maximum of realism. The Second Republic was stabilised under the form of a 'Socialising Democracy' (according to President Benes's term), half-way between Communism and the Bourgeois State. It no longer had the same exterior structure as Masaryk's republic, having adopted a *sui generis* type of bi-national community, with equal rights for Czechs and Slovaks. There was another innovation—a still more vital one—the elimination of minorities, whose presence and militancy had hindered its development, before contributing to its dislocation under the Hitlerian onrush. 642 563 175

[18] In this locality,[1] on July 4, 1946, there was a pogrom, arising out of a trifling cause, in the course of which 45 Jews were massacred. Nine of the presumed authors of this massacre were condemned to death. The clandestine organisations were accused of having fomented anti-Semite passions, whereas, in reality, the latter had remained very much alive in Poland—as witness the testimony of Dr. Shoskes, South America's representative in the Society for Assistance to Jewish Immigrants, and M. Segal, delegate to the World Jewish Congress of New York. Despite the frightful losses they suffered during the occupation, which reduced them to an insignificant minority, the Polish Jews, for the most part, aspire to leave the country. This is one of the indirect aspects of the Palestinian problem. 798

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Chapter Seven

ORTHODOXY AND PANSLAVISM

IN the renewal of the spirit of Slavonic solidarity an important place must be attributed to the action of Orthodoxy.

The Muscovite Patriarchate, almost as soon as it was reconstituted on new juridical bases and assured of the Kremlin's support, set out to reconquer the communities who had relaxed their ties as a result of the Bolshevist Revolution, thereby renewing a Russian tradition which dates from Ivan III. The spiritual object of this pacific crusade was to restore union and harmony to the Orthodox or 'Pravoslav' world. But its political objective, though not openly avowed, was none the less obvious; the Moscow Government sought to extend its influence by having recourse to the 'armour of light' of which the Apostle speaks.

This campaign met with no canonical obstacle, since, among the Pravoslavs, there is no primacy of jurisdiction. But it *did* meet with resistance from the autocephalous 'national' tendencies of the various Orthodox Churches—tendencies which had been affirmed in the States created or enlarged by the First World War and in which the hierarchy had seized the opportunity of breaking away from the spiritual control of the Phanar (Constantinople Patriarchate).

But the weight of Soviet power enabled the Russian clergy easily to overcome the prejudices felt by the national Churches against any moral control exercised outside their State frontiers. For this purpose the clergy borrowed their arguments from the Muscovite temporal power, that is to say, they posed as champions of proletarian emancipation, and exploited the Orthodox Slavs' old prejudices against the Catholic Church. Whilst the Patriarch Alexis visited the Christian communities of the Middle East to restore the 'primacy of honour' of the Russian Church in the Orthodox Pentarchy (Moscow, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem), the Metropolitan Alexis of Juroslav went to the United States to try to rally the section of Orthodox emigrants who resisted the authority of the Patriarch of Moscow.

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But it goes without saying that it was upon the Churches of the Balkan States that Muscovite influence was exercised most directly and decisively. In Yugoslavia the hierarchy created at Sremski Karlovtsi by Russian exiles, and which Mgr. Antoine, ex-Archbishop of Kiev, had organised immediately after the First World War, was dissolved and had to go into exile. A Russian delegation, presided over by the Metropolitan Serge of Odessa, went to present a mitre to Joseph, Metropolitan of Serbia, in February, 1946. The real object of this mission, which spent a month in Belgrade, was to define the future relations between the Yugoslav Church and the Muscovite Church.

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Then arose the case—a rather complicated one, it must be confessed—of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch, Mgr. Gavrilo. The latter had been accused by the Germans of having hidden part of the Crown treasure; he was interned, then taken to Dachau. When the Allies occupied Bavaria, he preferred retirement to Italy to a return to his country, where he was being begged to resume his duties. He adopted an attitude of opposition towards the régime established by Marshal Tito, as shown [798] by his pastoral letter of Easter, 1946. The Serbian Orthodox Church had been rather badly treated by this régime, for she had been deprived of the education of the young, religious marriage had been declared invalid in law, and she had lost most of her property. It is said that it was under the influence of the Russian clergy that her Metropolitans invited the Patriarch to return. He did, in fact, return on November 14, 1946, and had an interview with Tito, during which 'all misunderstandings were cleared up'. And, as proof of this, at the Slav Congress in Belgrade on December 11, he made a speech in which, after having recalled the sacrifices made for the 'safeguarding of truth, the application of justice, and the defence of liberty', he manifested his joy at finding that the Slavonic peoples 'sorely tried by the bitter experience of their recent and remote past, were expending all their energy in their spiritual unity'. 'Slav solidarity', he concluded, 'is manifested, today more than ever, with the help of our mother, Russia, and of Generalissimo Stalin; it is the surest guarantee of the development of the Slavonic peoples'.

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In Bulgaria the clergy, after seventy-five years of schism, returned to nominal obedience to the Patriarchate of Con-

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stantinople, in agreement with the Muscovite hierarchy. The thousandth anniversary of the death of the anchorite, Saint John of Rila, restorer of Bulgarian monastic life, was the occasion, in May, 1946, of impressive solemnities which were attended by the Patriarch Alexis. It was the second time in ten centuries that the head of the Russian Church had visited the monastery. He officiated in person. The head of the Communist Party, George Dmitrov, took the opportunity of reminding the Bulgarian clergy that they should no longer look back towards the fallen régime :—

'Today we can ask that our Church shall remain faithful to her millenial traditions and become, in fact, a Republican Church, by ceasing to render homage to the dynasty and the monarchs who have betrayed the Bulgarian nation. Let our Fathers in the Holy Synod and all honest servants of the Church understand that today we are living in new times, that they must on no account thwart the aspirations of the people, and that they may take example from the chiefs of the Russian Orthodox Church'.

We can fully understand this warning only if we visualise the state of latent tension existing in the relations between the Church and the Bulgarian State since the liberation. It had shown itself, since the month of January, 1946, in a protest from the Exarch, Mgr. Stephan, against the prohibition of religious instruction in the schools. Since the new Constitution provided for the separation of the Churches and the State, the Bulgarian Holy Synod announced in December, 1946, that, while remaining hostile to this separation, it would nevertheless accept it if the Charter surrounded the exercise of the Church's spiritual mission with juridical guarantees. Moreover, it demanded that lay instruction should be neither anti-religious nor anti-Christian, but strictly neutral.

At the same time, in order to create conditions facilitating adaptation to the new state of affairs, it announced a programme of reforms destined to 'democratise' the internal régime of the Church and to bring its principles more in line with those of popular power.

So that, in Bulgaria, the separation did not appear as persecution; it was manifested rather by a strengthening of the autocephalous character of the Church, too closely bound up

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186* with Bulgarian national life to be neglected by the new régime,
•659 which will continue to subsidise it, and counts upon its co-operation in rallying the masses; in which, moreover, it is assured of the goodwill of Mgr. Stephan and his clergy. On August 28, at the Bachkovo pilgrimage, Mgr. Cyrille, Metropolitan of Plovdiv, made a speech urging the faithful to vote, at the referendum, for the Republic and against 'the abhorred monarchy, whose role', he said, 'has been as fatal in the history of the country as in that of the Church'.

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185 Whereas, in the Balkan countries, the religious problem lay in getting the clergy to forget that they had, for some centuries, been the support of the monarchical institution, it had a quite different aspect among the Western Slavs, where the problem was, first and foremost, the liquidation of Uniatism.

175 As the reader will know, the 'Act of Union' (hence the word
795 'Uniat') was concluded three and a half centuries ago, in 1596,
648 at Brest-Litowsk, where the Metropolitan of Kiev acclaimed the renewal with Rome of the Union of Florence. As a result, since that date there had been flourishing communities 'of the Oriental rite', which recognised Papal supremacy while keeping their national liturgy and their discipline—which, among other regulations, permits (as the Orthodox Church does) the clergy to marry. These communities today number in all about two million followers, especially in territories formerly incorporated in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

[829] Uniatism had always been regarded by the Russians as a 'turning movement' on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, supported first by Poland, then by Austria-Hungary, to detach the Orthodox from their traditional faith. Urban VII's apostrophe: 'Ruthenians, the East will be conquered by you!' has obsessed the Muscovite Church, which has never ceased to endeavour to recapture its positions.

After the fall of the Tsarist régime this Church's efforts were paralysed by the crisis she was herself experiencing, and by the official atheism professed by the Soviet State. The Holy See sought to take advantage of this crisis to restore the 'seamless robe of Christ'. It gave repeated proofs of solicitude, placing the Uniats on a footing of complete equality with their brethren of the Latin rite. It cherished the hope, thanks to these Uniats,

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175 779 795 Church of St. Charles Borromeo, assigned to the Orthodox cult. They were discovered, and, after a regular siege, killed themselves rather than fall into the enemy's hands. The Orthodox Bishop Gorazd and his assistants, who had hidden them, were executed. And their church, which had just given marytrs to the national cause, was dissolved, and the cathedral turned into a shop.

After the liberation this church was restored to its rights and transferred (in April, 1946) from the jurisdiction of the Serbian Patriarchate to that of the Moscow Patriarchate, which raised Prague to the rank of an Archbishopric. On the following May 19 there arrived in the capital Mgr. Jelevferij, Exarch of the Patriarch of Moscow and Archbishop of Prague, who was received by the members of the Government and the Russian Orthodox Archbishop, Mgr. Sergej. The first service celebrated by the prelate was offered in memory of Bishop Gorazd.

• [659] In the following June Karpov, President of the Soviet's Council of State for Orthodox Affairs, gave a talk on 'Religion in Russia' to officers of the Czechoslovak Army, to emphasise the liberty of divine worship permitted under the Soviet régime, and the clergy's loyalty to the State.[7]

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186* 779 659 As in the time of the Tsars, Catholicism has again become the 'sore point' of the Slavonic community. Soviet Russia, which had so ostentatiously dissociated itself from the religious tradition of the Slavophiles, has rediscovered the latter on its line of expansion. The Kremlin has, by the force of circumstances, been obliged to play the Orthodox card in the regions placed within its sphere of influence. But action is followed by reaction. If Uniatism is retreating before Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism represents, in Poland, in Slovakia, in Croatia, in Slovenia, a basis of resistance to Russian penetration in its twofold aspect of Marxism and schism. With the result that one would need the gift of prophecy to be able to say, today,

assassination of Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914. Bishop Gorazd, Cikli, a parish priest, and Petzek, a curate, who sheltered the two heroes, were discovered on June 18.

[7] The reconstituted Hussite Church aspired to the role of an official Church; it held a Congress at the beginning of January 1946, and its Primate, M. Kovar, presented the new bishops to M. Benes on the 23rd of that month. The President advised him to co-operate with the other Churches of the West and the East, taking care, however, not to mix politics and religion. The Church numbers 850,000 members.

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whether the gains which Orthodoxy confers on Soviet influence will or will not be offset by the opposition it revives or awakens.

The mind is struck by an anomaly—the cheerful alacrity with which the Orthodox hierarchy condemned régimes whose merits it had so often praised, and under which it had lived for so long. It is quite remarkable that, despite their national character, the Balkan Churches did not change their spiritual leaders at a time when the State was undergoing a political, social, and moral revolution. It would be possible to compile an 'Anthology of Repudiation' by publishing the speeches of the Patriarchs who have remained in office. To condemn the régime under which they were appointed, they have found as many arguments as they formerly invoked to justify it. It is true that the Orthodox Church is essentially more 'democratic' than the Roman Church. But this inconsequentiality on the part of its leaders has not increased its authority, any more than that of the Catholic hierarchy has been strengthened by the time-serving attitude of certain prelates towards the Hitlerian order.

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642 175 563 the preceding Constitutions, this one contained no clause designed to protect minorities.

[666] The elections, postponed until May 30,[1] gave 88 per cent of the votes (6,429,145) to the National Front, but the figure of 770,100 blank voting slips exceeded that anticipated by the Government. The latter was, however, fully master of the situation. On June 14 Clement Gottwald was elected President of the Republic, on the unanimous vote of the 296 deputies present. Under the chairmanship of Zapotocki, he formed a Cabinet on the lines of the previous one (sixteen Communists or supporters, and six non-Communists); the portfolio of Foreign Affairs remained in the hands of Klementis, who replaced Masaryk. The new Head of the Government announced implacable repressive action against 'those guilty of disorder or confusion, who seek to hinder the reconstruction of the country'.

[661] Indeed, during the months that followed, there was a vigorous • 659 purging of diplomacy, the army, the police. But, in 1949, it 798 was the religious question which was to dominate political 175 life, owing to an offensive conducted against the Roman Church, opposing the old Czech Hussite spirit to Catholicism, the dominant trait in the Slovak national character.

Gottwald and his ministers, relying on this 'religious geography' peculiar to Czechoslovakia, embarked upon a struggle with the clergy in the domain of monopoly of the schools. They pursued the contest by seeking to alienate the Catholic Church from her natural hierarchy, and by encouraging the 'schism' of the Czech 'National' Church. To protest against the obstacles put in the way of the exercise of the cult, the bishops drew up a pastoral letter, setting forth the conditions required in order to regularise relations between the Church and the State. The Government forbade the distribution of the pastoral; infringements of this decree, specially numerous in Slovakia, were sternly repressed. Mgr. Beran, Archbishop of Prague, was detained in his palace; the civil authority created 'Catholic Action', an official organisation placed under the control of priests with Communist leanings. At the head of this movement was the Minister of Public Health, Father Plojhar, suspended by the ecclesiastical authorities for having sought a legislative mandate without his bishop's permission.

Tension rose with the 'resolutions' passed on June 28 by the

1 [1948 -- Analyst]

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Congregation of the Holy Office, forbidding the publication and diffusion of Communist doctrine.

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So the *Kulturkampf* was waged, now energetically, now quietly. The Prague Government was accused by the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of violating 'human dignity and civilisation'; once more the conflict passed from the national to the international level, symbolising the ideological antagonism which exists between the Soviet world and the Western democracies. Neither the Government nor the clergy showed any signs of weakening. On November 17 the bishops again asked the civil power to abandon the laws relating to religious teaching, as conceived by the State, and the interference of lay authorities in the nomination of priests and the administration of Church property.

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The end of the year 1949 was marked by waves of purges in Communist circles, and by fresh trials on charges of treason, incriminating, like those of Budapest and Sofia, Tito's 'agents' or 'accomplices'.

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During this period politics in Poland were somewhat less sensational than in the other Slav countries. There again, however, the régime of 'popular democracy' evolved in the direction of Stalin-Marxism. The struggle against the Church was less open, and did not, as in Czechoslovakia, go to the length of making the clergy civil servants. The Government concentrated its efforts particularly on increasing exports, on economic reconstruction, and on exploiting the German lands brought under its control—and these efforts, it must be admitted, were attended with remarkable results.

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The German Question was its chief external problem; in its view, it was France's policy in respect of the Reich which prevented the renewal of the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance. What Warsaw particularly feared was lest a change of attitude on the part of the Allies towards Germany should reopen the question of the Oder-Neisse frontier, which the Poles considered sacrosanct, but which transferred to them territories whose final allocation was, legally, postponed until the making of the peace treaty for the Reich.

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The most sensational event was the nomination (on November 7)[1] of Rokossovsky, the Soviet Marshal (of Polish

1 [1949 -- Analyst] 2 [1949 -- Analyst]

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disciples of Methodius made their influence felt that Christianity as religion made real progress among the Serbs, and even so, many pagan customs were retained and, more or less, blended with the new Faith. But the official conversion of the Serbs is dated from the baptism of Mutimir. During his reign the Serbian Church was under the direct influence of Byzantium and the services were in Greek. But as Bulgarian ascendency became predominant in the Balkans, Byzantine suzerainty gradually gave place to Bulgarian, and the Greek liturgy to the Slavonic. 797

The first Bulgarian king to receive baptism was Boris, who reigned from 852 to 889 and was one of the ablest monarchs in Bulgarian history. Christianity had penetrated into Bulgaria before that time, and there had even been some persecution of it, due largely to fear of it as an agent which prepared the way for foreign and, in particular, for Byzantine domination. Boris was a statesman and although his own personal religious convictions played their part in his acceptance of Christianity, there were other considerations also that he had in mind. To make his realm a Christian State was some defence against the political and religious missionary zeal of his Christian neighbours. Further, it would tend to consolidate his own position. The great bulk of his subjects were Slavs, and many of them already Christian; the Bulgars were a ruling minority among whom Boris was the chief of many rulers. To favour the Slav element in his realm, therefore, and to Christianize it would be to break the power of the Bulgarian nobility and establish himself as sole ruler with all the force of the current Christian conception of royalty and the divine authority delegated to kings, to support him. The revolt of the Bulgarian nobles which subsequently broke out showed that they realized all this clearly enough, but they were too late. 659

In furtherance of his plans Boris looked first towards Rome for the same reason that Rastislav of Moravia had looked to Constantinople, i.e., each looked to the opponents of those from whom their own danger was greatest. But the Byzantine Emperor and Photius, then at the height of his quarrel with the Pope, were just as much alive to the facts and struck first. 659 648

Boris found his country invaded and himself compelled to receive baptism at Greek hands. Accepting the situation, Boris now set himself to achieve the independence of the Bulgarian Church and with much astuteness availed himself of the bargaining power which the quarrel between Rome and Constantinople placed in his hands. He would have preferred to align himself with the West, and he made urgent and persistent efforts to induce the Pope to give him a Patriarch of his own. Pope Nicholas, who saw a chance of recovering for the Papacy the jurisdiction of which Leo III had deprived it, gladly sent Boris a couple of bishops, Latin service books and much good instruction (in answer to Boris's questions), but not a Patriarch. So Greek priests and books were turned out and Latin took their place and Boris continued patiently but urgently to press his request. But the Pope's star was in the ascendant, in 867 the Byzantine Emperor was assassinated, and the Patriarch Photius deposed. Feeling the ball at his feet the Pope ignored Boris's requests and adopted a high-handed policy towards him.

Boris lost patience and turned to Constantinople, which was ready enough to receive his overtures. But in view of the fact that a Council had been called to try to settle the differences between the two great sees, the question of the Bulgarian Church was submitted to it. The Council was packed with Eastern bishops, and in spite of the protests of the Papal legates who were present, naturally it was decided that the Bulgarian Church should be under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. An archbishop, with considerable independent powers, was appointed for Bulgaria. He was himself a Bulgar and with a train of bishops and priests he left for his archbishopric where once more everything Latin was replaced by Greek. Thus the victory in this affair remained with Constantinople. Not that the Papacy acquiesced in it. Much expostulation, many exhortations, and the sternest threats issued from the Pope, but no one paid any attention. But the time came when the sagacious Photius, now again Patriarch, thought it prudent to try to secure the Pope's recognition of his status. The Pope agreed provided that Bulgaria was restored to him.

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The matter was once more submitted to a Council (in 879) which, surprisingly, decided that Bulgaria should be returned to Rome. But Boris refused to be returned to Rome. It is possible that this was a contingency which had been foreseen by Photius, but in any case he loyally abode by the agreement reached, sent no more clergy to Bulgaria, and remained on good terms with Nicholas's successor, John VIII. The final decision had, however, been reached and the Bulgarian Church was to remain within the orbit of Orthodoxy. One other aspect of Boris's policy remained to be realized. To make his Church a really national institution, worship must be in the language of the people, to whom the bewildering changes from Greek to Latin had meant but the substitution of one foreign language for another.

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The disciples of Methodius, who had just been expelled from Moravia provided Boris with precisely what he needed. The less important of these unfortunate men had been dubbed heretics and sold as such into slavery, the more prominent leaders, Gorazd, Clement and others more politely conducted to the Danube and bidden to cross it, never to return.

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Boris gave them a cordial welcome, and under his patronage they did a great work, far-reaching and permanent, for Slav Christianity and culture. A centre for the training of a Slav clergy was established, a Slav Bulgarian Church was organized, and many translations into the Slav language were made. Boris was wise and skilful enough to effect these changes without offending Byzantium and his own Greek hierarchy, and the latter were in due course replaced by Slav bishops. Thus through Clement of Okhrida and his companions the work of the Apostles of the Slavs bore a rich harvest among the Slavs of the Balkans. For the political ascendency of Bulgaria continued to grow until for a while it wrested the hegemony from Constantinople itself. Boris's successor, Simon, was an outstanding personality, who not only decisively defeated the Byzantines in war, and had himself crowned with an imperial title, but himself a scholar and erstwhile monk, carried on his father's ecclesiastical and cultural policy and declared the Bulgarian Church autocephalous. Thus was welded into shape in Bulgaria a cultural and religious instrument which was ready to hand when needed for the evangelization of Russia.

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viction that the world was to be subdued to Islam. If the people they conquered were simple pagans they were offered the crisp alternative of accepting either Islam or death. But the Jews and the Christians were different. They were recognized as being, like the Mohammedans themselves, People of the Book. Each had a scripture, a written record of revelation. Their faith was regarded by the Turks as true but incomplete, since Mahomet had superseded both Moses and Christ. 798

The Orthodox were, therefore, permitted to survive and to practise their religion, but under severe restrictions. They had to pay tribute, to wear a distinctive dress and to conform to other irritating and humiliating regulations. In practising their religion they had to refrain from letting any outward sign of it be seen or heard, there were to be no crosses, for instance, on their churches, and no bells were to be rung. All this was the letter of the Law, nor was there any guarantee that it would be adhered to by the victorious Turkish governors; indeed, it was often violated by a harsh sultan or a bloodthirsty local administrator. There was much suffering and many instances of martyrdom. Doubtless there were many cases of apostasy also.[1] Social pressure was a more effective agent in winning converts to Islam than deliberate oppression and direct official action.[2] Its results are to be seen in the atrophy of the Christian Church in North Africa, and in the considerable number of adherents which Islam gained at the expense of Christianity in the Balkans.

But it is the glory of the Orthodox people as a whole that under centuries of Turkish oppression and misrule, with every inducement to abandon their religion, they remained faithful to it in spite of all.

For purposes of administration under the Turks the Orthodox Church became the *Rum Millet*—the Roman nation, with the Ecumenical Patriarch as its recognized head and representative. That is to say the Patriarch of Constantinople 793 659.

[1] See Latourette: *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. III, p. 71 and f. London, 1945.

[2] It has been discovered in modern Russia that religion is like a nail, the harder you hit it, the deeper it goes in, and that the subtler policy of leaving social pressure to do its work is the wisest course for those who hope to see the disappearance of religion.

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was given civil jurisdiction over all the Orthodox within the Turkish Empire; he was responsible for their behaviour, they could approach the Government only through him. Thus, to his former claim to ecclesiastical precedence over the other Eastern Patriarchs, was now added a delegated civil jurisdiction as well.

The result was a signal example of the corrupting influence of power. The temptation to use secular authority as a means to ecclesiastical aggrandizement was strong, and it is one of the ironies of history that the Turkish régime led to the steady expansion of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. It reached its climax in the eighteenth century when the Churches of Rumania, Bulgaria and Serbia were brought under its sway and the Patriarchate extended right across Asia Minor. But the price paid was seen in the Patriarch's relation with his Turkish masters.

He was obliged to receive his "berat" from an infidel source, that is the confirmation of both his spiritual and secular authority. He was removed, and sometimes more than once reinstated, at the Sultan's will, and this combination of humiliating loss of prestige with the prize of rich emoluments led to a long and depressing story of simony and intrigue. There have been notable exceptions and some Patriarchs have suffered deprivation and even death for their principles. But over long periods of time the acquisition and tenure of the Patriarchate was a matter of intrigue and money, and the precarious nature of the dignity is reflected in the fact that "out of 159 Patriarchs who have held office between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries, the Turks have, on 105 occasions, driven Patriarchs from their throne; there have been 27 abdications, often involuntary; 6 Patriarchs have suffered violent deaths by hanging, poisoning or drowning; and only 21 have died natural deaths while in office."[1] During the seventy-five years from 1625 to 1700, there were 50 Patriarchs—an average of eighteen months each.[2]

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Nor was the evil limited to the Patriarchate itself. The party which had bought the office for their nominee recovered

[1] Kidd: *The Churches of Eastern Christendom* (1927), p. 304.
[2] Fortescue: *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (1907), p. 242.

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795 781 according to their own account, by community of faith and love. In this respect their life is in striking contrast with the fissiparous tendencies displayed by the West. The Orthodox Church includes men of different races and languages, they are frankly national in outlook, they worship in the language of the people, not in a common and liturgical tongue. There are marked divergencies of temperament, especially between Greek and Slav which run like an undercurrent beneath the surface of their history and threaten disruption, as much now as ever. Yet in spite of all this the Orthodox Communion holds together and retains its identity. The case of Bulgaria serves but to underline the fact. For the schism which occurred in 1871 between Constantinople and the Bulgarian Church, precisely on the grounds of what the former regarded as the excessive nationalism of the latter, has now at length been healed, and Bulgaria is once more restored to the full communion of Orthodoxy. This unity in diversity which maintains itself in the face of so many factors which might make for disintegration, and which owes its existence to no coercive principle but to bonds which are intangible and belong to the moral and spiritual sphere, is an impressive fact of which a disordered world may well take note.

795 659 If the life of the Orthodox Church in past centuries has been conspicuously defensive, a rôle of guardianship of its faith and a willingness to suffer in its defence, the twentieth century has revealed the fact that such a life has not ceased to be the vocation of Orthodoxy. The geographical situation of the Orthodox peoples in Eastern Europe places them in a peculiarly exposed position in the conflict which atheistic Communism wages with all forms of religion. This conflict is something new in the modern world. The Christian creed and way of life have been rejected before by individual people or small groups. Alternative creeds have been proposed and accepted, more or less in the seclusion of the study. But the twentieth century has seen the proclamation of rival creeds to the Christian in the market place, publicly, with explicit claims to be superior, supported by argument and backed perhaps by force. Communism, with its definite philosophy of history and its altruistic appeal on behalf of the downtrodden

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and oppressed, has made vast numbers of converts at the expense of Christianity.

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This is not the place to discuss the compatibility of Communism with Christianity in theory. It has claims to be regarded as in itself a religion, inasmuch as it has its own philosophy of life which is totalitarian in character, and an equipment of fundamental ideas which claims the allegiance of the whole personality and seeks to control every aspect of life. It insists upon rigid and impeccable orthodoxy in its party members; it has its heresy hunts in the form of purges, its sacred texts and its official interpretation of them. Like Christianity itself, it has its Golden Age in the future, not in the past, but for the Communist the Golden Age will be reached within the confines of this world and within historical time.

Communism has secured political power in the countries of Eastern Europe and here it finds itself face to face with Orthodoxy. If in Yugoslavia the interesting fact has come to light that politically Communism can assume a form which deviates in some respects from the Soviet pattern, yet its attitude to religion remains that of Communism elsewhere when in power. The crux of the conflict lies in the fact that Christianity also claims the whole man, body, soul and spirit, and neither can in theory tolerate the existence of another *total* allegiance. The clash is emphasized by the fact that Communism regards this other allegiance as an aberration of the human mind, and the idea of the spiritual principle in man as an illusion.

So far as words are concerned freedom of religion is guaranteed under Communist rule, but the Communist has his own meaning for the word freedom, as he has for many other words, and in practice Orthodoxy, in common with other forms of religion, faces attack.

It is subject on the one hand to a stream of propaganda of which perhaps the most potent aspect is the explicit assumption that religion is due simply to lack of education. On the other hand it suffers from insidious attempts to undermine the position of religious leaders and to discredit them in public opinion. This may culminate in a trial, the pattern of which has become familiar and may include the uncanny and macabre "confession" of the accused.

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Meanwhile, pending the disappearance of religion under the influence of enlightened education, Communism is prepared to use it as a tool. Like art, literature, history and science, religion also is to be pressed or cajoled whenever possible into the service of the Communist *Weltanschauung*. The case of Bulgaria may suffice as an instance: In June, 1948, a letter was sent from the Department for Religious Affairs in the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry to the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the head of which, the Exarch Stepan, with the Synod behind him, had attracted the attention of the Government by his wise but firm attitude in defence of the rights of the Church and the claims of religion. The letter contained the following sentences:

> "The representatives of the Church must not criticize the people's rising of 9th September, 1944, and the subsequent change of government."
>
> "The nationalization of private industry and the mines must have the approval and daily support of the hierarchy of the Church."
>
> "The representatives of the Church must stress, in their daily work, their respect for the State and their acknowledgment that the State stands above the Church, and that the Church fulfils the laws of the People's Republic and the State's discipline."
>
> "It is further required that the Church should make certain changes in the educational system of her institutes where—the government claims—subjects are taught which contradict the scientific knowledge of the evolution of nature and society and which are opposed to the democratic and progressive spirit."
>
> "It is desirable that the Church use the pulpit, the Church press and private talks for the education of the faithful in love for the state leaders of Bulgaria and Soviet Russia and to ask that their portraits be placed in public places and private homes."

There was, moreover, a significant note that the reply to this letter should be signed individually by each member of the Synod.

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The solid front of the Synod disintegrated under pressure brought to bear upon its individual members, and Stepan found himself obliged to resign.

The general picture must not be drawn too much in sheer black and white. There is a Communism which is not the sworn foe of religion; and even when it is, it is well to recall Berdyaev's frequent warning that even the fight against God may be a form of affirming God if it is a protest against unworthy conceptions of God which have allowed cruelty and injustice to prevail in human life.[1]

But so far as the Orthodox Church in the Communist State is concerned, we may remember that Orthodoxy has tried conclusions with the secular power before. In the interests of political unity the Byzantine Emperors often tried to force it to come to terms with heresy, as later they endeavoured to impose upon it union with Rome upon Rome's conditions in order to save the State. There was everything to be said for the Emperor's attitude from the worldly point of view and much perhaps from the spiritual point of view also. But Orthodoxy refused to compromise. Henri Grégoire assures us that it is no paradox to represent the religious history of Byzantium as a conflict between the Church and the State, from which the Church emerged unquestionably the victor.[2]

Orthodoxy lived for centuries under the harsh Government of the Turk. But with the coming of political emancipation, it is found to have retained its faith intact, its identity unimpaired and its unity preserved. It has known how to bend before the storm and, unbroken, to abide its time. Doubtless it has had its sinners, its time-servers even in high places. But the two-fold cry of Orthodoxy "Lord have mercy" and "Glory be to Thee O Lord", has rung out above them all, and still rings out. The host of its saints and prelates and of common folk held fast to their faith in the power of the Resurrection to transform the whole world, and they have seen and see in Orthodoxy the authentic faith of Christ, for which many of them have been prepared to die.

[1] See the Report of the Lambeth Conference, 1948, Part II, p. 20 ff., London, 1948.

[2] Baynes and Moss: *Byzantium*, p. 130.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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Historical Bulgaria EE2
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IV

SOURCES OF ANCIENT MAGIC AND MEDICINE

I

During the pagan and semi-pagan period the Slavs lived in small, independent tribes, later forming loose federations within territorial limits. For long the Greeks were unable to negotiate with them, because they did not agree among themselves and had no central authority. The organisation of a united state in Rascia coincided with the establishment of state Christianity, and the pagan empire of Bulgaria was comparatively short-lived.

The tribal religious cult was likely to have been an extension of a domestic cult, probably rarely accompanied by the specialised functions of an official priesthood. The domestic cult lasts to the present day. The head of the household officiates in ceremonial, and the assistance of an outsider is not essential. In ceremonial which involves the whole tribe or village, the heads of households—the tribal elders—are again responsible; but that they have not an entire monopoly of ritual is evident in ceremonies which are performed by a group without a specially chosen leader, particularly those which belong to the younger people, or ceremonies conducted by old women doctors, etc.[1]

[1] The rites of the peasants hint also at an independent development. It is not true only that the non-Christian element enjoyed a revival, tended to revert to type, after the fall of the mediaeval empire. A direction was taken at that time, perhaps, in which the popular religion continued a course of development and adaptation. The popular religion, or sometimes a popular aversion to religion as well as to social forms that flourished under a feudal church, must have sought new outlets much earlier. Local forms of peasant cults must be of comparatively recent growth, and contain more than the survivals of an ancient paganism. The *slava*, for instance, is a typical example of a domestic rite which does not require a special priesthood. It has become perhaps the central

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* This process was occasionally delayed, if not arrested, by the
643 appearance of competent princes who reëstablished for brief periods the stability and prestige of Kievan authority. For example, Vladimir Monomakh (1113-1125), grandson of Yaroslav, fought during his entire adult life either against the nomad Polovtsi or to maintain the unity of the principality against his kinsfolk, but such formal agreements as were reached for the assignment of domains to the various princely families were seldom of long standing. At the same time, the minor principalities of the western border were exposed to Polish or Hungarian aggression, and many southern frontier towns in the steppe country were either wiped out by the Polovtsi or abandoned because they might be.

175* The confusion which prevailed during the sixty years after
661 Yaroslav's death in 1054 marks the onset of the decline of Kiev.
567 While the feuds and disputes among the kindred princes were fought out by the princes themselves and their servitors, the lower classes of the population—the free peasants and the humble urban artisans—saw their fields laid waste and their earning power curtailed. If one prince occupied by force the domain of another and then was forced to withdraw, he frequently dragged off with him on his retirement the peasantry of the area he had temporarily occupied, and turned them into slaves in his own district. The result was a decrease in the free population and an enormous increase in the number of slaves available for work on princely estates.

175* By the end of the reign of Yaroslav the steppe country for
162 one hundred miles or more south of Kiev had been settled by
166 an agricultural population composed partly of free farmers, partly of war captives whom Yaroslav had located there, and partly by semicivilized pagans who had given up their nomad existence to live peacefully among their former foes and to form a sort of border militia. It was on this frontier population that the raids of the Polovtsi fell most heavily. The resulting migration from these exposed positions was most marked after 1125, but it began almost half a century

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

far silent but ambitious proletariat. The lower strata of society 175*
were no longer looking for sympathy. They wanted power, and 668
if properly led would break down all barriers to its attainment.
The voice of the grumbling dispossessed first sounded clearly [538]
in Russian literature through Maxim Gorki's early stories, which began to appear in 1892. The best example of the young intellectual who discovered saving graces in Marxism was Lenin. He began to study Marx's *Capital* in 1888, organized a group of Marxists at Kuibyshev (Samara) in 1893, and was a social-democratic propagandist in St. Petersburg the next year. The emergence of Marxism as an active political and economic system in Russia dates from this period.

The rise of the Social Democratic party and the foundation 175*
of the more activist section known as the Bolsheviki (the maxi- 665
malists) headed by Lenin himself preceded the outbreak of the 668
Russo-Japanese war by barely one year. At the same time, another radical party, the Social Revolutionaries, revived the tradition of terrorism as practiced before the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. The government pursued a policy of [661]
repression even when the necessity of prosecuting a war for which the nation was totally unprepared might well have dictated a more conciliatory attitude. Profound resentment now mastered not only the middle class but the urban proletariat, and though the police resorted to desperate provocatory acts in order to discredit the agitators, a united front against the government was rapidly forming. When open revolution broke 175*
out early in 1905, neither the middle-class liberals nor the 668
radical Marxist groups possessed an organization equal to or- 642
ganizing and directing a mass movement. As a result, after the government made various constitutional concessions and the extremists showed every sign of fighting to a finish, the moderate groups gravitated away from the revolutionary idea, leaving the Marxist leaders and the workers isolated. With the urban middle class again passive, the government speedily recovered its sangfroid and applied repressive measures of forbidding severity which were far from supplying any basis for

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

of enabling Poland to be admitted, at least *in extremis,* to the San Francisco Conference. For as the result of London and Washington's refusal, on April 18, to allow an invitation to be sent to the Warsaw Government, it looked as though Poland, the first victim of German aggression, might be absent from the discussion of the statute destined to preserve the world against the recurrence of similar attacks. 648 175 578

The invitation found the London Poles divided. Of the three organisations invited, M. Mikolajczyk, ex-President of the Council, and M. Stanczyk, Vice-President of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party, accepted; M. Witos declined the invitation on health grounds, and M. Zakowski, the representative of the Socialist Party, reflected the discord which had apparently developed in that party by refusing to join the delegation.

The trial of sixteen Poles who had been detained in Moscow for several weeks, charged with sabotage and anti-Soviet activities, interfered with the negotiations. In vain did the Poles in London try to secure their release, by emphasising the role these men had played in the Resistance; Marshal Stalin declared that the Conference must not prevent the trial from taking place. At the hearing certain of the accused pleaded guilty to acts of terrorism directed against Soviet troops, and attributable to the *Armija krajowa* (Armed Forces of the Interior), which had been recognised on the previous August 30[1] by the English and the Americans, and to a political organisation called *Niepodlegosc* (Independence). The verdict returned on June 21[2] was mitigated; the chief offender, General Okulicki, was condemned to ten years' imprisonment, while the remaining accused were either acquitted or received very light sentences. 687 661 175

The objects of this trial, synchronised with the Conference from which, on principle, was to come the reconciliation of the Warsaw Poles and the London Poles, seem to have been as follows. Firstly, to discredit the leaders of the Government-in-exile and their staffs; secondly, to give (by the verdict) an example of the Russians' spirit of moderation; and thirdly, to emphasise their unshakeable determination to put an end, once for all, to anti-Soviet propaganda on Polish territory.

So the agreement reached on June 23[2] found the atmosphere 648 175

1 [1944 -- Analyst]
2 [1945 -- Analyst]

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725 648 175 with 'Great Serbian' and 'reactionary' tendencies. Subsequently a much more serious charge was made against him; carried away by his struggle against the Communist elements, he was said to have parlied with the Occupying Authorites and with the agents of Nedich, the Serbian 'Quisling'. General Mihaïlovich was nevertheless the War Minister *in partibus* to the London Cabinet, where the accusations brought against him were never seriously considered until Churchill[1] echoed them. They were the basis of the case brought against his partisans in July, 1945, and the severe sentence passed against them.

[829] Then there was, between the London Government and the 'Tito Movement', the psychological opposition between the exiled politicians (except those of Czechoslovakia) and the insurgents, who, remaining within the country, risked their lives day in and day out. The latter were inclined to see the 'London people' as theorists, if not profiteers of the Resistance, who, in assured comfort and relative security, carried out a paid task with the pen or by radio.

[668] Finally, Tito's partisans merged, in many cases, with the Communist or extremist elements, for whom the old Yugoslav political formations and their staffs embodied a régime of despotism, patronage, and reaction, whose return to power would have constituted an historical retrogression.

643 661 648 175 However, the break did not come immediately. Although King Peter agreed, under pressure from the Allies and especially from Russia, to disown Mihaïlovich, he showed greater hesitation in negotiating with Tito, whose republican trend and attachment to the Soviet régime were well known.

On June 16, 1944, he resigned himself, rather against his convictions, to authorising Choubachich to sign an agreement with Tito, which provisionally safeguarded the rights of the Crown. On the following November 1 he agreed to the formation of a National Union Government in liberated Yugoslavia. But he reserved his approval as to the nomination of a Regency and the exercise of political power by one single party, the National Liberation Front, until a Constituent Assembly should have met. On this point he even entered into conflict with his

[1] 'General Mihaïlovich, I regret to say, has gradually adopted a changed attitude, and certain of his leaders have parlied with Italian or German troops'. (Speech in the House of Commons on February 22, 1944.)

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own Government, which he forced to resign. The Choubachich Cabinet disregarded this and on January 23, 1946 published a communiqué, according to which the sovereign would not return to the country until a Constituent Assembly had pronounced on the question of the régime. In his absence, the royal power would be delegated to a Council of Regency whose members would be chosen from the London Government and from the Tito Government. 643 661 648 175

On January 30 the King finally agreed to this formula, as recommended by Moscow, London, and Washington.

Then Choubachich went to Belgrade to agree with Tito on the names for the new Government. Prolonged and painful haggling resulted in the formation of the Provisional Cabinet on March 7,[1] in which Tito kept the Presidency and the War Ministry, while Choubachich assumed control of Foreign Affairs. A Serbian democrat, Milan Grol, and a Croat Agrarian, Choutei, entered the new administration. 642 175 [695]

Yugoslavia was to be reconstituted on a federative basis; the State itself officially took the name of 'Democratic and Federal Yugoslavia'. So the constitution of the 'Yugoslav' Government was followed by the formation of 'National' Governments, six in number—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia. Care had been taken not to give this federal organisation a statute and frontiers, on account of the conflicts these would not have failed to provoke; the National Assembly would, in due course, decide upon the internal structure of the State.

It remained to be seen whether Tito would bring to the management of affairs the eminent qualities of which he had given proof in the Resistance. Would history salute him not only as a detached figure in the epic background against which the tragedy of the Serbian nation is played, but also as a reconstructor of the State? 000

Born in 1893 in the Croat village of Klanyets, Joseph Broz was the son of an artisan. He had known hardship in his youth, and soon exhibited a revolutionary temperament. At seventeen he engineered a strike, and showed himself to be an agitator. It is said that he took his appellation of 'Tito' from the bishop of medieval Crete whose relics rest in the Church of St. Mark in Venice. Taken prisoner by the Russians in 1914, he took part 175 643

[1] [1946 -- Analyst]

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

175 648 aggressive policy, or against any other State which might revive this policy, under any form whatsoever.

Backed both without and within by the might of Moscow, Tito's régime seemed to be irresistibly established.

Its[1] first care had been to renew its claim to the territories of which Yugoslavia had been defrauded immediately after the First World War. It raised the question of Trieste and its hinterland. The Yugoslav delegation in London warmly defended a case supported by detailed and absolutely pertinent documentation, based on ethnographic and economic considerations. But they were imprudent enough to allow it to be understood that they would lay claim to Aegean or Hellenic Macedonia—which was bound to alienate the goodwill of Great Britain. They also mentioned the exorbitant sum which they intended to demand from Italy by way of reparations—thereby upsetting the United States, from whom Italy was at the same time seeking material aid to help her out of her desperate financial situation.

642 661 175 Yet, to tell the truth, the distrustful atmosphere which grew up around the Yugoslav claims arose more directly from the form of government and the political principles established by Tito. Under colour of anti-Fascism, the régime exercised the same reprisals against all its detractors. It was accused of borrowing the methods of the totalitarian régimes; the Opposition said that it had introduced the word 'Democracy' into the name of the State in order to dispense with it in reality, as, in the past, Pavelich gave the name of 'Independent State of Croatia' to a political offshoot of the Axis. He governed, on Russian lines, a very sensitive nation, which perhaps had not a very 'Western' notion of democracy, but had always shown itself stubbornly attached to the external forms of its independence. Certainly Tito had succeeded in grouping around him zealous young men, who had been tested under fire and were indifferent to the juridical or constitutional rites which, in the West, accompany the exercise of liberty. Certainly, too, the Yugoslav National Front represented itself not as a single party but as a synthesis of all the various energies resolved to work for the restoration of public life.

656 204 625 Nevertheless to Anglo-American eyes the régime appeared to be a dictatorship. Was not its slogan—'No liberty for the enemies of liberty'—calculated to justify an administration

1 [Tito's régimes -- Analyst]

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

648 175 protest, had refused to load the boat carrying UNRRA supplies to Yugoslavia, received instructions from their Union to proceed with the loading.

648 175 661 Hardly had this incident been settled when a fresh one arose, provoked by the American notes of July 26, August 10 and 18, and October 18, denouncing the internment in concentration camps, without any legal steps having been taken, of 165 persons entitled to claim American nationality; ten of these, it was alleged, had died as the result of ill-treatment. The Washington Government 'expressed the deep horror it felt at such practices, which are a violation of the principles of international law regarding the protection of foreign nationals, which amount to instances of unwilling or forced labour, in disregard of the natural rights of human beings, and present no feature to distinguish them from slavery'. Belgrade replied that the persons concerned were members of the German minority, were formerly affiliated to the *Kulturbund,* and had formed part of the fifth column, under cover of a borrowed nationality. The Government agreed to liberate the non-Yugoslavs whose American nationality should be recognised by the United States Embassy, on condition that they should leave the country immediately if they were *Volkdeutsche.*

Yugoslavia, in her turn, lodged a complaint against the United States, when she demanded the return of her river flotilla, detained in the upper reaches of the Danube by the American authorities. The latter recognised Yugoslavia's rights to 161 vessels, but contested ownership of sixteen others. It was not until the beginning of November, 1946, that restitution was ordered.

Another incident—omitting the arrests or charging of American nationals or members of the United States Embassy staff suspected of spying[6]—was caused by the closing, on September, 26, 1946, of the American Information Bureau in Belgrade, accused of circulating information prejudicial to the safety of the State. In this matter, the State Department appeared to disapprove of the zeal of Ambassador Patterson; after an exchange of notes, the Bureau was reopened in the following month.

[6] Especially in January 1947 in connection with the Trifounovich case.

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648 175 —in other words, renounce the very principles for which they would have been elected.

Pressed by solicitations or criticisms from London and Washington, M. Gheorgiev placed himself under the ægis of Moscow. He went to Russia on January 7, 1946. 'I am glad', he said on landing, 'to be within the fortress of the Slavonic peoples, which, thanks to the wise direction of Generalissimo Stalin, has become the hope of the whole of democratic humanity'. And to give a yet more decisive proof of the credit which he enjoyed in Moscow, his visit was immediately followed (on January 10) by that of M. Vyshinsky to Sofia.

• [661] These manifestations did indeed strengthen the Bulgarian Government majority, but they disarmed neither the English nor the Americans, who protested, in diplomatic notes, against the police tactics of the régime, and the arrests of politicians.[8] In return, the Russians accused the Western Democracies of giving a false interpretation to Moscow's decisions affecting Bulgaria, and of encouraging subversive elements.

642 175 In Sofia, they showed signs of anxiety over the persistence of this lack of harmony on the eve of the conclusion of the peace treaties, on which the future of Bulgaria was to depend. M. Gheorgiev hoped to clarify the situation by resigning on March 22. But the Opposition imposed, as a condition of its accepting office, the exclusion of any Communist from the Ministry of Justice and the Home Office. Agreement proved impossible; another Gheorgiev cabinet, restricted, like the previous one, to the parties of the Patriotic Front, was formed on March 29, 1946.

A few days later, this Government promulgated a decree convening the National Assembly, charged with revising the Constitution on Republican lines. The monarchical régime was denounced to the country as the cause of all its misfortunes—a statement which could, with greater truth, have been applied to the Treaty of San Stefano and the Macedonian psychosis it had

661 [8] For three months, the arrested men included Assen Stamboliiski, son of the famous Agrarian leader, assassinated in 1923, and a member of the Central Committee of the Agrarian Party. One of the grievances harboured by the Bulgarian Agrarians against the Communists was the attitude of neutrality maintained by the latter at the time of the *coup d'état* of June 9, 1923, which had marked the triumph of 'reaction' over Stamboliiski's régime.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

131 war, now had only three—Russia, Germany, and Czechoslovakia.
175 One aspect of her new position which represented an innovation was her transformation into a great maritime nation, thanks to the three ports, Stettin, Gdynia, and Danzig, and to her 312 miles of coast-line. Nevertheless, her destiny would henceforth be more closely bound to that of Central Europe, while remaining subordinate to the *entente* with Moscow.

666 The western frontiers were approved by the plebiscite of June 30, which covered not only the frontier-ratification, but also the abolition of the Senate and the economic organisation of the
[471] State (Agrarian reform and nationalisation of key industries).
[423] The first ballot gave 10,534,697 in favour and 995,584 against; the second gave 7,844,522 in favour and 3,686,029 against; the third, 8,896,106 in favour and 2,634,446 against.

578 This popular referendum did not have the tranquillising
648 effects that had seemingly been expected. Poland continued to
• 661 be a prey to 'terrorist' agitation, the repression of which, in
175 turn, gave rise to scenes of violence and to exactions. While dissociating himself from the extremists, the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, M. Mikolajczyk, himself protested against the way in which the referendum had been carried out (except in Cracow, where the 'Noes' had been in the majority). So the British Government reserved its opinion on the legitimacy which this poll conferred on the régime, and awaited the general elections before giving legal recognition to the new state of affairs. And the whole of 1946 was taken up with exchanges of subacid notes between London and Washington on the one side and Warsaw on the other. The Anglo-Americans denounced the persecution to which the Opposition was subjected, and considered that the Polish Government was failing in the undertaking given in execution of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, to guarantee the liberty of elections. But the Russians interpreted quite differently both the scope of these agreements and the meaning of the word 'liberty'. And so the most obvious result of the diplomatic offensive on the part of England and the United States was to intensify Polish-Sovietic solidarity.

648 The formation, in June, of a National Unity Government
175 under the Presidency of M. Osubka Morawski seemed, for the
[642] time being, to dissipate the apprehensions of the Anglo-Americans, although the dissident Polish Government in London

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642 175 563 the preceding Constitutions, this one contained no clause designed to protect minorities.

[666] The elections, postponed until May 30,[1] gave 88 per cent of the votes (6,429,145) to the National Front, but the figure of 770,100 blank voting slips exceeded that anticipated by the Government. The latter was, however, fully master of the situation. On June 14 Clement Gottwald was elected President of the Republic, on the unanimous vote of the 296 deputies present. Under the chairmanship of Zapotocki, he formed a Cabinet on the lines of the previous one (sixteen Communists or supporters, and six non-Communists); the portfolio of Foreign Affairs remained in the hands of Klementis, who replaced Masaryk. The new Head of the Government announced implacable repressive action against 'those guilty of disorder or confusion, who seek to hinder the reconstruction of the country'.

• [661] 659 798 175 Indeed, during the months that followed, there was a vigorous purging of diplomacy, the army, the police. But, in 1949, it was the religious question which was to dominate political life, owing to an offensive conducted against the Roman Church, opposing the old Czech Hussite spirit to Catholicism, the dominant trait in the Slovak national character.

Gottwald and his ministers, relying on this 'religious geography' peculiar to Czechoslovakia, embarked upon a struggle with the clergy in the domain of monopoly of the schools. They pursued the contest by seeking to alienate the Catholic Church from her natural hierarchy, and by encouraging the 'schism' of the Czech 'National' Church. To protest against the obstacles put in the way of the exercise of the cult, the bishops drew up a pastoral letter, setting forth the conditions required in order to regularise relations between the Church and the State. The Government forbade the distribution of the pastoral; infringements of this decree, specially numerous in Slovakia, were sternly repressed. Mgr. Beran, Archbishop of Prague, was detained in his palace; the civil authority created 'Catholic Action', an official organisation placed under the control of priests with Communist leanings. At the head of this movement was the Minister of Public Health, Father Plojhar, suspended by the ecclesiastical authorities for having sought a legislative mandate without his bishop's permission.

Tension rose with the 'resolutions' passed on June 28 by the

1 [1948 -- Analyst]

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

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Congregation of the Holy Office, forbidding the publication and diffusion of Communist doctrine.

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So the *Kulturkampf* was waged, now energetically, now quietly. The Prague Government was accused by the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of violating 'human dignity and civilisation'; once more the conflict passed from the national to the international level, symbolising the ideological antagonism which exists between the Soviet world and the Western democracies. Neither the Government nor the clergy showed any signs of weakening. On November 17 the bishops again asked the civil power to abandon the laws relating to religious teaching, as conceived by the State, and the interference of lay authorities in the nomination of priests and the administration of Church property.

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The end of the year 1949 was marked by waves of purges in Communist circles, and by fresh trials on charges of treason, incriminating, like those of Budapest and Sofia, Tito's 'agents' or 'accomplices'.

* * *

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During this period politics in Poland were somewhat less sensational than in the other Slav countries. There again, however, the régime of 'popular democracy' evolved in the direction of Stalin-Marxism. The struggle against the Church was less open, and did not, as in Czechoslovakia, go to the length of making the clergy civil servants. The Government concentrated its efforts particularly on increasing exports, on economic reconstruction, and on exploiting the German lands brought under its control—and these efforts, it must be admitted, were attended with remarkable results.

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The German Question was its chief external problem; in its view, it was France's policy in respect of the Reich which prevented the renewal of the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance. What Warsaw particularly feared was lest a change of attitude on the part of the Allies towards Germany should reopen the question of the Oder-Neisse frontier, which the Poles considered sacrosanct, but which transferred to them territories whose final allocation was, legally, postponed until the making of the peace treaty for the Reich.

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The most sensational event was the nomination (on November 7) of Rokossovsky, the Soviet Marshal (of Polish

2 [1949 -- Analyst] 2 [1949 -- Analyst]

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'Young Brigade', and by the predominance of the 'social' over the 'political' and even over the 'national'.

This revolution was in the logic of events; was there any need to invoke the ascendancy or the presence of Russia to explain it? On emerging from an upheaval unprecedented in their history, the little nations, stupefied by the blow and completely helpless, saw their recent past only as error or treason.

We cannot even reproach Russia with having bound up her action with a policy of patronage or aimed at an ideological synchronisation of the régimes born on the territories she had liberated. In Hungary, for example, she was very careful not to recreate the atmosphere of the time of Bela Kun, whose sinister memory, she found, was still alive.

But, in the Slavonic countries, the parties of the extreme Left, almost everywhere identified with the Resistance, took advantage of the presence and the prestige of Russia in order to get into power and stay there. This led to a misunderstanding which, by associating the Russian authorities with the Governments which they were believed to favour, risked one day exposing the popularity of the Soviet Union in these countries to a turn in the tide of internal politics.

Obliged henceforth to gravitate in the orbit of the powerful Russian State, the Slavonic nations could not consider the future from the same angle as they had done in 1918. At the conclusion of a devastating war, Russia would never again allow neighbouring States to serve as a diplomatic or military jumping-off ground for a possible adversary. She regarded them as her security ramp.

One might be tempted to see in this Muscovite hold over Eastern Europe a revolution of an international order. In truth it was a revolution only in relation to an abnormal state of affairs—that of the 1920–1940 period, which rested on Russia's inertia in Europe. It could not reasonably be expected that this state of affairs would last indefinitely. The Europe of 1945 was more logical than that of 1918—at any rate, more in conformity with the classic play of international forces.

The slogan of Slav solidarity, which formed the *leit-motiv* of the Moscow Congresses of 1942–1944, had galvanised and co-ordinated the movements for resistance to the invader. In

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engendered. For the occasion, they forgot the fact that the monarchy had, more than once, had its prerogatives disputed by dictatorships. Only by assassination did Ferdinand get rid of Stamboulov, and Boris of Stamboliiski. And M. Gheorgiev himself had been able to overthrow parliamentary government only because the army had given him a helping hand. The will of the sovereign had entered little into that event. 642 175 [662]

However that might be, the fate of the monarchy was settled. By doing away with it, the Bulgarian people were convinced that they were clarifying their destiny. The young King Simeon II, then aged 8, was living in Vranja with his mother and his sister, in an isolation which was practically exile, while the royal duties were performed by three regents appointed by the National Front. On September 8, 1946, the Bulgarian nation, by a huge majority (3,800,000 votes to 179,000), voted in favour of the republic, which was proclaimed on the 15th of the same month. The following week Simeon II, under the care of the Queen-Mother, who was dressed in deep mourning, embarked on a Turkish vessel bound for Egypt, where he was to join his maternal grandfather, ex-King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy. One newspaper *Otetchestvene Front* (Homeland Front) published, by way of farewell, an article by General Hristo Stölkov, reproaching the defunct monarchy for having isolated Bulgaria from the other Slavonic peoples. 'It is no accident if, at the time of the first imperialist war, all the Slavs [*sic*] were on the side of the Allies, whilst Bulgaria alone threw in her lot with Germany'. [666]

The convening of the electoral body for October 27[1] gave rise to a diplomatic passage of arms among the Allies. The British Government protested against the obstacles put in the way of the Opposition's campaign, and against the persecution to which the Agrarians were subjected. And Mr. Byrnes asked the Allied Control Commission, sitting in Sofia, to take adequate measures to guarantee the integrity of the poll. Russia's representative on the Commission, General Birousov, opposed the consideration of this request, which he denounced as foreign interference with Bulgarian home affairs. 648 175

The elections gave the anticipated results; the Home Front secured 346 seats (of which 277 went to the Communists) as against the Opposition's 101 seats. It would appear that this 666 175

1 [sic - Analyst]

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far silent but ambitious proletariat. The lower strata of society 175*
were no longer looking for sympathy. They wanted power, and 668
if properly led would break down all barriers to its attainment.
The voice of the grumbling dispossessed first sounded clearly [538]
in Russian literature through Maxim Gorki's early stories, which began to appear in 1892. The best example of the young intellectual who discovered saving graces in Marxism was Lenin. He began to study Marx's *Capital* in 1888, organized a group of Marxists at Kuibyshev (Samara) in 1893, and was a social-democratic propagandist in St. Petersburg the next year. The emergence of Marxism as an active political and economic system in Russia dates from this period.

The rise of the Social Democratic party and the foundation 175*
of the more activist section known as the Bolsheviki (the maxi- 665
malists) headed by Lenin himself preceded the outbreak of the 668
Russo-Japanese war by barely one year. At the same time, another radical party, the Social Revolutionaries, revived the tradition of terrorism as practiced before the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. The government pursued a policy of [661]
repression even when the necessity of prosecuting a war for which the nation was totally unprepared might well have dictated a more conciliatory attitude. Profound resentment now mastered not only the middle class but the urban proletariat, and though the police resorted to desperate provocatory acts in order to discredit the agitators, a united front against the government was rapidly forming. When open revolution broke 175*
out early in 1905, neither the middle-class liberals nor the 668
radical Marxist groups possessed an organization equal to or- 642
ganizing and directing a mass movement. As a result, after the government made various constitutional concessions and the extremists showed every sign of fighting to a finish, the moderate groups gravitated away from the revolutionary idea, leaving the Marxist leaders and the workers isolated. With the urban middle class again passive, the government speedily recovered its sangfroid and applied repressive measures of forbidding severity which were far from supplying any basis for

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186* 648 Prague and Belgrade should be of the same quality as those existing between Warsaw and Bucharest, or between Belgrade and Warsaw—which no one can claim to be the case. Rather, it is precisely regarding the manner of averting the Teutonic peril that Czechs and Yugoslavs have held views which, if not conflicting, were at least divergent: in Prague they feared a restoration of the Habsburgs more than the *Anschluss*, while the reverse was the case in Belgrade.

To the credit side of the relations between Belgrade and Prague must be put the action, both sentimental and positive, of the Slovene statesmen and propagandists, many of whom, [665] moreover, had studied in Bohemia. Immediately after the First World War, Abbé Korochetz' Popular Party (Catholic), which had come under the influence of the Czech Popular Party (*Lidova Strana*), was the one which, in its organ, the *Slovenets*, dealt most fully with questions relating to the Serbo-Bulgarian reconciliation and with Soviet Russia. The Czech Government was for a time tempted to intervene as mediator in the dispute between Belgrade and Sofia. It wisely abstained; the Serbs would certainly have been offended. At least its press always treated this dispute with tact and discretion.

Summing-up, let us say that, between the two wars, the atmosphere of the Czech-Yugoslav relations was one of the positive factors in the spirit of Slav solidarity.

* * *

If the Russo-Polish relations (and, in a certain measure, the Polish-Czech) are the touchstone of this solidarity in Central Europe, in the South-East it is through the Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations that crises are manifested. We have defined the place that Bulgaria, a Slavicised rather than a Slav people,[12] holds in the ethnical community, and the alternations of Russophilia and Russophobia through which she has passed. In 1915 she

563 [12] It will be remembered, however, that in 1933, when MM. Gömbös and Kanya, respectively Hungarian Chairman of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, returned from Sofia (where Gömbös had conferred, in the Serbo-Croat language, with Mouchanov, the Bulgarian President), they declared to the Hungarian newspapers that they had 'visited Bulgaria, a country related to them by blood'. The Bulgarian press was unanimous in protesting against this expression; Bulgars and Magyars can be friends, but not relatives. The argument of ethnical relationship (Finnish) had nevertheless been put forward by certain Bulgarian propagandists in 1916–1917; it was the time when the poet Cyrille Kristov called himself a 'Tartaro-Bulgar'.

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186* those of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia—although the
648 two latter had not yet recognised the Soviets. The new under-
829 takings marked an advance on the part of Soviet Russia towards a policy of interest, if not of action, in Europe. Western opinion, then entirely occupied with the Economic Conference, gave the matter only casual attention; it did no more than manifest its satisfaction at seeing the question of Bessarabia disappear from the list of outstanding disputes. But the importance of the event lay elsewhere; it represented nothing less than an attempt to regroup forces in Eastern Europe. The territorial statute arising out of the treaties was consolidated by the backing of a power, the U.S.S.R., which hitherto had not been thought to be very favourable to it. Henceforth the Slavs of Central and Southern Europe felt morally obliged to consider recognising the Soviets. The defensive reflexes of the Slavonic instinct came
[665] into play. At the seventeenth Assembly of the Communist Party, in January, 1934—the first to take place after the offensive on the part of Russian diplomacy in Europe—Stalin declared: 'Some people think that war must be prepared by the *superior race, i.e.*, the Germanic race, against the *inferior races*, and, especially, against the Slavs . . .'. This language aroused a world of memories, and an ideology which was believed to have lapsed. It was understood far beyond the frontiers of the U.S.S.R.

There was, however, one obstacle which prevented the Slavonic peoples from seeing in it more than a diplomatic gesture. They had hitherto looked to France for security guarantees. In Prague, as in Belgrade, they were anxious, at all costs, to prevent the development of a situation which might put the country under the obligation of choosing between Paris and Moscow. This was the constant, though unacknowledged, preoccupation of all the Little Entente Conferences. The policy of Louis Barthou, which prepared the way for a Franco-Sovietic *rapprochement*, did away with this possibility, and so the Czech Government recognised the Soviets on June 9, 1934. That summer of 1934 was a period of intense diplomatic activity for the Slavonic nations. In Bulgaria, on May 19, a *coup d'état* carried to power Kimon Gheorgiev with his National Union Cabinet. The first item on his programme was the *entente* with the Yugoslavs, the second the resumption of relations with the Soviets. It was on July 23 that the recognition was made official; it was the work

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pursued on parallel lines, in Slav and non-Slav countries alike. 177 .18

On the instigation of Moscow, these countries entered into 186 treaties of friendship and mutual assistance. These were so 648 worded as to give the impression, at first, of being designed to 175 wipe out long-standing heritages of hatred or distrust between peoples hitherto antagonistic to one another. Passed for a period of twenty years, and all on the same lines, these treaties were signed on the following dates:—

November 27, 1947: between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.
December 8: between Hungary and Yugoslavia.
December 16: between Bulgaria and Albania.
December 19: between Yugoslavia and Rumania.
January 16, 1948: between Bulgaria and Rumania.
January 24: between Hungary and Rumania.
February 4: between the Soviet Union and Rumania.
March 18: between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.
April 23: between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

The commentaries which accompanied the signing of these [829] agreements spoke, with ever-growing emphasis, of the 'peril' to the peace of Europe involved in the attitude of the Western powers. Centred at first on the German menace, they subsequently referred to fresh risks, clearly indicated. Thus the Soviet radio declared that the pact between Bulgaria and Moscow acquired significance from the fact that 'certain Western powers have, under the patronage of the United States, taken the creation of military blocs as the basis of their policy'.

Even the idea of a 'Balkan Federation', which in 1944 had found partisans in Moscow, was gradually pushed into the background, for fear that the essential core of this federation, the Bulgarian-Yugoslav bloc, might create a Slav community, which should one day grow strong enough to adopt an attitude of independence in regard to the Soviet Union. So, although it was originally inspired by Russia, this project for a union was later to be denounced by the Kremlin as a ruse of 'Western imperialism', and Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Premier, was to be disavowed by Moscow, in January, 1948, for having made an untimely allusion to it.

* * *

The standardisation of Soviet policy in Europe was to take 177 648 its definite shape in the conference held in Warsaw in September, 665 175

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177 1947, by the delegates of the Communist Parties of nine
648 European nations. It was then decided to set up a 'Joint
665 Information Bureau' (*Kominform*), whose function would be
175 to ensure organic liaison between these different parties, with a view to co-ordinating their activities and pooling their experience. A communiqué was broadcast on October 9 by the delegate of the Russian Communist Party, Idanov, a member of the Soviet Politburo. He contrasted the 'war-mongering' of the Western States with the 'pacifism' of the 'popular democracies' placed
[185] under the influence of the Soviet Union. He affirmed the mission of the Communist Parties to combat 'attempts at enslavement', the most dangerous form of which was, in Moscow's view, the Marshall Plan.

The seat of the new organisation, which was to publish a bi-mensual organ, was fixed in Belgrade. Its activities, in conformity with policy dictated by the Kremlin, aggravated the crisis in relations between East and West, and opened the period of tension to which the name of 'cold war' has been applied.

The Kominform is not a resurrection of the Komintern, dissolved in 1943. It is based, indeed, on the idea that the 'national' Communist Parties have reached a state of maturity and power which enables them to be henceforth regarded as autonomous on the plane of the common struggle against capitalist régimes.

The signatories to the Kominform's declaration were: Idanov and Malenkov (U.S.S.R.), Kardelj and Djilas (Yugoslavia), Tchervenkov and Poptomov (Bulgaria), Gheorghiu Dej and Anna Pauker (Rumania), Farkas and Revai (Hungary), Gomulka (Poland), Duclos and Fajon (France), Slanski and Bastovanski (Czechoslovakia), Longo and Reale (Italy).

The Kominform, controlled from Moscow, was rapidly to exert its activities in a domain which its promoters had not foreseen.

186* Indeed, Slav solidarity, already overtaken and superseded
665 by the watchword of Marxist unity, was to suffer a still more
648 serious set-back from the rupture between Tito and Moscow.
175 It was in Belgrade that the Kominform had set up its seat; from Belgrade came the blow which was to shake its authority, and the dogma of Muscovite infallibility, in the whole of Eastern Europe.

1 [Delegate of Russian Communist Party, Idanov -- Analyst]

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In a motion published on June 28, 1948, the Kominform, which met in Bucharest from June 16–24, approved the sensational resolution of the U.S.S.R. Communist Party, denouncing the policy of the Yugoslav Communists and the errors of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovitch, 'who have embarked on a road leading to treachery towards the international solidarity of the working classes'. 186* 665 648 175

Thereupon began the struggle between Moscow and Belgrade, which was to grow more acute as the months went by. And the organisation of the offensive against Tito and the progress of 'Titoism'—in other words, 'national Marxism'—in the popular democracies, headed the agenda of all the meetings of the Kominform, especially the one held in Hungary in November, 1949, when a resolution passed at the conference invited even the Yugoslav Communist Party to get rid of the 'spies' and the 'assassins' who were governing the country.

One of the consequences of the Soviet-Yugoslav rupture has been the revival of the old Bulgaro-Serbian quarrel over Macedonia: the Balkans are again being plunged into hatred and irredentism, as we saw them at the end of the nineteenth century, during the Balkan Wars, and in the First World War.

Such were the events which, between 1946 and 1948, transformed the general physiognomy of the Slavonic world. A rapid review of the internal policies of the different countries concerned will show how they evolved.

* * *

Until 1947 the Belgrade Government's policy remained based on complete solidarity with the Soviet Union. The agreements reached on June 10, 1946, during the Stalin-Tito interview, formed the basis for the commercial agreements of July 25, 1947. 648 175

The starting-point of the rupture between Stalin and Tito is to be found in an exchange of letters (in March, 1948), between the (Russian) Bolchevik Party and the Yugoslav Communist Party, regarding the conduct of Soviet officers in Yugoslavia. [665]

But that was only a pretext. In reality, the Soviets could not forgive Tito for being the only head of an Eastern European Government to pride himself on having been an armed leader 186* 648 829 175

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186* 648 829 175 in the fight for liberation, at a time when Russia could not intervene. His dictatorial attitude, his personal prestige, aroused distrust on the part of the Kremlin. On the Yugoslav side, they were shocked by the conceit of the Russians, who lavished instructions and counsel on a nation which considered its own political experience superior to that of the Russians, and who, in the course of history, had won and rewon its independence entirely by its own efforts. Serbian pride, wounded by the demands made by Moscow, precipitated the rupture.

565 423 175 On the other hand, Yugoslavia is peopled by an emancipated peasantry; it has made its own agrarian reforms, and has not had to suffer the yoke of political dynasties (as has been the case with Rumania), nor (like Hungary) that of a landed aristocracy. Communism could not get a footing there, either in the same form or at the same speed, as in the other 'popular democracies'.

Finally, the systematic enslaving of the economy of Yugoslavia to Russian interests was bound, one way or another, to provoke violent reaction in Belgrade.

186* 665 648 175 687 It was nevertheless a surprise for the world when, on June 28, 1948, the Kominform communiqué pronounced the condemnation of Tito and his collaborators, accused of desiring to establish themselves by a régime of terror, of over-estimating the possibility for their country of safeguarding its independence without the assistance of the other Communist Parties; finally, of seeking the support of the capitalist States.

Dr. Pijade, the theoretician of Tito's régime, felt able to reveal[1] that the Kominform's resolution simply reproduced a text prepared in Moscow: he stated that the hands of waverers had been forced by a lying assurance that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party contained spies on behalf of England and the United States.

175 648 [439] Then began a diplomatic battle between Moscow and Belgrade: at first it took the form of a criss-cross exchange of notes, then that of an economic boycott and, finally, of a vast scheme to detach Yugoslavia from the other popular democracies and reduce her to isolation.

The diplomatic notes at first (July-August, 1948) dealt with the fate of Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia; then (August-

[1] Speech made on July 8, 1949, at Novi Sad.

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September) the role played by the Soviet Union in international conferences regarding Yugoslav claims to Southern Carinthia. In one of these notes (August 11) Moscow accused the Belgrade Government of acting 'not as an ally, but as an enemy of the Soviet Union'.

'We can establish Socialism without the U.S.S.R.', Tito had declared.

For a few months the Belgrade press attacked the Kominform, without going so far as to mention its real promoters. On May 30, 1949, for the first time, *Borba,* the organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party, openly attacked the Soviet Union, which it accused of seeking to foment the Yugoslav people against the Government. And Pijade denounced 'Russian nationalism', cloaked under the mantle of Marxist orthodoxy, 'which does not allow any other Communist Party to consider itself the equal of the Bolchevik Party, or any other State to raise itself above the level fixed for it by Moscow'. He accused the Soviet Union of recruiting traitors to form a 'pro-Stalin, anti-Tito front' in Yugoslavia.

The friendship and mutual assistance pacts concluded by the other popular democracies with the Belgrade Government were denounced during the same week: on September 28, 1949, the Kremlin gave the signal for these notices of termination. On October 1 Bulgaria annulled the pact of November 27, 1947, and was followed by Rumania in respect of the pact of December 19, 1947, and by Czechoslovakia (on October 4) in respect of the treaty of friendship of May 9, 1946, and the cultural agreement of April 27, 1947. The Warsaw Government had anticipated matters by declaring, as far back as September 8, 1949, that Tito's Government had 'trampled on and destroyed' the Polish-Yugoslav pact of March 18, 1946.

The heads of the Yugoslav diplomatic mission in Moscow, and of the Soviet mission in Belgrade, were recalled during the autumn of 1949, and the majority of their collaborators declared 'undesirable', on charges of espionage or sabotage. The cases brought, in Hungary and Bulgaria respectively, against Rajk, ex-minister (September) and Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council (December)—cases involving Yugoslavs—were so arranged as to bolster up the Soviet accusations against Tito and his role in the Balkans.

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during the last phase of the war, between the 'partisans' of the two countries. This solidarity was increased by the ideological affinities between the two régimes. 648 175

On September 15 the Russians made their entry into Sofia. The day before, Gheorgiev had issued a proclamation: 'The Homeland Front will place all its means and all its forces at the disposal of the Soviet Union and her great allies, in order to drive the Germans out of the Balkans. It will immediately do its utmost to establish *an indissoluble alliance with the U.S.S.R. and the new Yugoslavia,* and to form ties of sincere friendship with the great Western democracies, with the United States and with our neighbours'.

It was in her effort to reconcile the Russian 'alliance' with her democratic 'friendships' that liberated Bulgaria made her first blunder on the international stage. The Government had fixed the general elections for August 26, 1945. It was backed by a coalition of five parties (Communists, Agrarians, Socialists, *Zveno,* Radicals), forming the *Otetchestvenni Front* (Patriotic Front), which unleashed against its adversaries a violent campaign of persecutions. It did not seem, either to the English or to the Americans, that this régime represented very sound ideas of democracy. Evidently several members of the Bulgarian Cabinet shared this view, for in the month of August they resigned and went over to the Opposition.

It was then that the London and Washington Governments advised Sofia that they could not recognise the régime that might result from the elections, in view of the atmosphere of oppression and constraint under which these promised to be held. 648 175 666

The Gheorgiev Government haughtily rejected this communication, while the press denounced the old 'colonial policy' habits, of which it bore the stamp. But to the general surprise it was learned, on the following day, that the elections were adjourned indefinitely. And a few hours later the President of the Council explained that the incident was due to a misunderstanding; that, in Bulgaria, democracy was of the 'Balkan' type, and that the chief thing for Bulgaria was to conclude a peace treaty by the quickest possible means. On the next day but one (August 27) the American Government agreed to the restoration of diplomatic relations and received the new Bulgarian representative in Washington, General Vladimir Stoïtchev.

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648 175 • 666 The sudden volte-face on the part of the Sofia Cabinet was very easy to explain. Trusting entirely to Russian support, the Bulgarians had never for a moment doubted that Russia would consider the Anglo-American attitude as negligible. They therefore contented themselves with invoking the necessity of consulting the Inter-allied Control Commission, in which the Soviet representative's influence was predominant. Judge of the Government's surprise on learning, from the mouth of that representative (General Birousov), that the Commission had been unanimous in recommending the postponement of the elections!

They had been put off until November 18. The day before, the Washington Government renewed its warning of the month of August, to the effect that the conditions under which the election promised to be held would no doubt prevent it from considering the resulting Government as being the authentic expression of the 'popular will'.

It was difficult to know whether the American attitude arose from the conviction that the Bulgarian electoral law was less 'correct' than the Yugoslav electoral law, or whether the discrimination followed from the fact that Yugoslavia was an allied, and Bulgaria a vanquished, country.

But this time the Sofia Cabinet held out and the elections took place on the date fixed. They gave 75–85 per cent of the votes cast to the Patriotic Front, the Opposition parties having decided to abstain.

However, the Government wisely refrained from giving to this poll the appearance of a retort to the American veto. On the contrary, it advised Washington of its intention to enlarge the basis of the Government on democratic lines.

[829] It is certain that the rivalry between the Agrarians and the Communists offers prospects of internal crises. But, from the external point of view, Bulgaria's policy is fixed *ne varietur*. It will depend on Moscow's goodwill. The Bulgarian people, profoundly Russophile, will find little difficulty in accepting this new state of affairs. There is more doubt as to whether the same thing will be true of the leaders, who will always find it difficult to resign themselves to having only one card in their diplomatic game.

* * *

1/86* The Slavonic problem presents quite a different appearance

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founded on despotism and personal power? The law of August 25, 1945 on the control of the press banned not only the ex-'collaborators', but also the publishers of 'alarmist' news or of news 'contrary to the general interest'—as conceived by the Government, naturally. A well-informed police organisation, modelled on Russian methods, ceaselessly exercised a very close watch over public opinion and, naturally, indulged in arbitrary arrests and acts of violence. 656 204 625

This policy led to dissension within the Government. The leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, Milan Grol, resigned on August 19[1]; on October 8[1] he was followed into retirement by Dr. Ivan Choubachich and the Minister Chouteï, both Croat Agrarians. 578 175

Choubachich's resignation was serious, for it upset a ministerial equilibrium which had been agreed upon among the Allies. Yet what was this agreement worth, since Tito, repudiating the terms of the compromise which had sanctioned his authority, had pronounced against the monarchy? 'Not one of our combatants thought that anything new could be created under the leadership of the King, especially as the Nediches and Mihaïloviches committed their crimes in his name. . . . The point is, whether the monarchy is compatible with the new system of Yugoslav Federal Democracy. . . . For several reasons, I think it is not'.

The next day (August 8, 1945) King Peter replied to this declaration by withdrawing from the Regents the power they held from him.

Tito was not intimidated by this retort. He declared that the Government acted in agreement with all the creative and constructive forces of the country, with all sincerely democratic parties. The masses of the populace had acquired, during the war, firmly-rooted political knowledge which had nothing in common with the electoral catchwords with which they previously used to be taken in.

The Opposition replied that free elections would prove the truth of this assertion, whereas those to which the country had been called were not free. The Americans and the English repeatedly emphasised the reserves they made regarding their attitude towards the régime which would result from this poll. 666 829 175

The elections took place on November 11.[1] They gave to the

1 [1945-- Analyst]

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National Front 80–90 per cent of the votes cast.[4] It is true that the Opposition abstained from voting (its Belgrade organ, *Demokratia*, was suspended) and that the electoral system favoured the Coalition Government. But the Anglo-Americans took no action. They declared the results of the poll to be 'acceptable'. On these results were based the two Assemblies (Union Assembly and Assembly of the Nationalities) which, following Russian lines, were to control the country's constitutional life.

In short, both at home and abroad, Tito was master of the situation. He had armed forces, the levers of control, fanatical partisans, a 'Youth' following, attached to a régime which had radically reorganised the whole staffing of the army, the administrative services, and diplomacy. But certain large sections of opinion were not with him. In the provinces the old parties were still solidly rooted. Those circles criticised the 'personal' and 'plebiscite' character of the régime, which was an unprecedented innovation in Serbian political life. Against the Marshal were the Monarchists, the old army, Serbian nationalism, Croat particularism, Slovene 'Clericalism'. For a long time he alienated the Catholic clergy; on October 18, Radio-Vatican broadcast a letter from the Yugoslav bishops to the Belgrade Government, accusing the latter of systematically persecuting the Roman Church.

And this was only criticism of internal affairs. Tito was further reproached with having reorganised relations between the Yugoslav populations on anachronistic bases. How would this State turn out—a State of twelve million inhabitants, with six autonomous Governments, capped with a Federal Government? Where would the frontiers of Croatia and Serbia be? And those of Serbia and Macedonia? Could the Macedonian question be considered as settled by the granting of autonomy? And would not the Bulgaro-Yugoslav *entente*, advertised as a victory for the régime, be submitted to a severe test when autonomy gave rise to political disputes in this country which, for a century, had been torn by undercurrents of passion and foreign intrigue? Was

[4] According to official statistics, out of 8,383,455 electors and 7,413,214 votes cast, 6,574,975 went to the National Front. The franchise had been given to women; the electoral age had been lowered to 18, and even lower for those who had fought in the liberation.

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engendered. For the occasion, they forgot the fact that the monarchy had, more than once, had its prerogatives disputed by dictatorships. Only by assassination did Ferdinand get rid of Stamboulov, and Boris of Stamboliiski. And M. Gheorgiev himself had been able to overthrow parliamentary government only because the army had given him a helping hand. The will of the sovereign had entered little into that event. 642 175 [662]

However that might be, the fate of the monarchy was settled. By doing away with it, the Bulgarian people were convinced that they were clarifying their destiny. The young King Simeon II, then aged 8, was living in Vranja with his mother and his sister, in an isolation which was practically exile, while the royal duties were performed by three regents appointed by the National Front. On September 8, 1946, the Bulgarian nation, by a huge majority (3,800,000 votes to 179,000), voted in favour of the republic, which was proclaimed on the 15th of the same month. The following week Simeon II, under the care of the Queen-Mother, who was dressed in deep mourning, embarked on a Turkish vessel bound for Egypt, where he was to join his maternal grandfather, ex-King Victor Emmanuel II of Italy. One newspaper *Otetchestvene Front* (Homeland Front) published, by way of farewell, an article by General Hristo Stölkov, reproaching the defunct monarchy for having isolated Bulgaria from the other Slavonic peoples. 'It is no accident if, at the time of the first imperialist war, all the Slavs [*sic*] were on the side of the Allies, whilst Bulgaria alone threw in her lot with Germany'. [666] •

The convening of the electoral body for October 27[1] gave rise to a diplomatic passage of arms among the Allies. The British Government protested against the obstacles put in the way of the Opposition's campaign, and against the persecution to which the Agrarians were subjected. And Mr. Byrnes asked the Allied Control Commission, sitting in Sofia, to take adequate measures to guarantee the integrity of the poll. Russia's representative on the Commission, General Birousov, opposed the consideration of this request, which he denounced as foreign interference with Bulgarian home affairs. 648 175

The elections gave the anticipated results; the Home Front secured 346 seats (of which 277 went to the Communists) as against the Opposition's 101 seats. It would appear that this 666 175

1 [1946 - Analyst]

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•666 175 result even exceeded the expectations of M. Gheorgiev, who took fright at the excitement stirred up in the country by the Communists—hence this appeal to the population: 'Victory often intoxicates men, and defeat makes them lose their self-control. Tension resulting from elections, if not rapidly mastered, may help to foster a state of excitement prejudicial to order and tranquillity. The Government earnestly exhorts all citizens strictly to observe the laws'.

Spectacular as was the triumph of governmental coalition, it did not reach the overwhelming majorities of which Russia and Yugoslavia held the secret. In particular, the ministerial fraction belonging to the *Zveno* was beaten, so that the country had modified, to the advantage of the Communists, the relative strengths within the coalition. Now, in a nation which had neither capitalism nor trusts nor large industrial concerns nor *latifundia,* the word *Communist* had a meaning which was much more political than social.* It was above all the victory of the 'Russianisers', long held in check by the official policy.

[563] It must moreover be admitted that, renewing the gesture of the liberating Tsar, the Soviet Union had just saved the Bulgarian people by protecting them from the consequences of their rulers' collusion with the Axis. The question that still remained was whether Russia would not have preferred to be defended in Sofia by traditionally 'national' elements, rather than by a party too openly connected with Moscow, and whose leader, George Dimitrov, the hero of the Leipzig trial, was thought to be a tool of Russia.

642 175 As a logical consequence of the elections, a new Government was in fact formed by Dimitrov on November 23.[1] It included ten Communists, five Agrarians, two Socialists, two members of the *Zveno* and one Independent. The ex-President, Kimon Gheorgiev, held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. The semi-official press saw it as 'the most democratic Government Bulgaria has ever had', whilst the Opposition emphasised the complete hold on power which the Communists had obtained.

648 175 This Government's vital tasks were to be signing the peace and voting the Constitution. On February 12, 1947, it secured

[162] * The working-class strengths, on which the Communists rely, are very small; indeed, 80% of the population are engaged in agriculture, not to mention tradesmen, civil servants, and members of the liberal professions.

1 [1946 - Analyst]

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war, now had only three—Russia, Germany, and Czechoslovakia. One aspect of her new position which represented an innovation was her transformation into a great maritime nation, thanks to the three ports, Stettin, Gdynia, and Danzig, and to her 312 miles of coast-line. Nevertheless, her destiny would henceforth be more closely bound to that of Central Europe, while remaining subordinate to the *entente* with Moscow.

The western frontiers were approved by the plebiscite of June 30, which covered not only the frontier-ratification, but also the abolition of the Senate and the economic organisation of the State (Agrarian reform and nationalisation of key industries). The first ballot gave 10,534,697 in favour and 995,584 against; the second gave 7,844,522 in favour and 3,686,029 against; the third, 8,896,106 in favour and 2,634,446 against.

This popular referendum did not have the tranquillising effects that had seemingly been expected. Poland continued to be a prey to 'terrorist' agitation, the repression of which, in turn, gave rise to scenes of violence and to exactions. While dissociating himself from the extremists, the leader of the Polish Peasant Party, M. Mikolajczyk, himself protested against the way in which the referendum had been carried out (except in Cracow, where the 'Noes' had been in the majority). So the British Government reserved its opinion on the legitimacy which this poll conferred on the régime, and awaited the general elections before giving legal recognition to the new state of affairs. And the whole of 1946 was taken up with exchanges of subacid notes between London and Washington on the one side and Warsaw on the other. The Anglo-Americans denounced the persecution to which the Opposition was subjected, and considered that the Polish Government was failing in the undertaking given in execution of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, to guarantee the liberty of elections. But the Russians interpreted quite differently both the scope of these agreements and the meaning of the word 'liberty'. And so the most obvious result of the diplomatic offensive on the part of England and the United States was to intensify Polish-Sovietic solidarity.

The formation, in June, of a National Unity Government under the Presidency of M. Osubka Morawski seemed, for the time being, to dissipate the apprehensions of the Anglo-Americans, although the dissident Polish Government in London

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had refused to recognise this new Cabinet. But the truce was a short one. The preparation of the electoral law, voted on September 23, revived the controversy[13] and occasioned a fresh diplomatic assault. The Foreign Office and the State Department sent to Warsaw, on August 19, concerted notes, couched as 'warnings'. They recalled the irregularities known to have taken place on the occasion of the referendum, and suggested a series of measures calculated to prevent their repetition in connection with the elections. When handing over the American note, the United States ambassador felt the need to justify such an unusual step: 'In departing from its traditional policy', he said, 'and in assuming responsibilities in the affairs of another State, my Government is obeying a conviction that its important role in the liberation of the European peoples imposes on it very particularly the duty to assist the Polish people, so sorely tried by the Nazi occupation, to be quite free to elect the government of its choice'.

648 175 [666]

M. Osubka Morawski took this double admonition very badly. His embassy in Washington declared to the press that the American note 'constituted a violation of the sovereign rights of Poland and an interference in her internal affairs'; the Warsaw press spoke of 'vassalisation'; and the two notes received no official reply.

A few days later the Polish leaders went to Minsk, where, on August 29, they met Generalissimo Stalin, with whom they discussed the question of the elections. They received assurances which enabled them, thenceforth, to resist the Anglo-American offensive.

Meanwhile a disagreement which had arisen between London and Warsaw a few weeks previously was being settled. This concerned a protest made by the Polish Government against

[13] A memorandum was sent, in August 1946, to the representatives of the United Nations taking part in the Peace Conference in Paris by the 'Polish Socialist and Workers' Associations Abroad'; its authors recalled the sufferings of Poland during the war, demanded the re-establishment of civic liberties, and declared that the Government had against it 'about 90% of the public opinion of the country'. The Conference was also notified of a protest on the part of the Central Union of Poles in France and of the Union of Catholic Polish Societies in France. In the following month, the Congress of Americans of Polish Origin addressed to Mr. Byrnes a memorandum suggesting that the problem of Poland should be laid before the United Nations, and asking for recognition of the western frontiers.

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2. Reorganisation and re-equipment of the Anders Army.
3. Control exercised by the exiled Polish Government in London over property wrongfully left at its disposal, together with that of the Polish Consulates abroad.
4. Retention of the Polish gold deposited in London during the war.
5. Retention of the Polish battle-ships placed at the disposal of the British war-fleet during the occupation.
6. Financing by Great Britain of the campaign to dissuade Polish refugees and deportees from returning to their country.
7. Reduction of the quota of Germans from the western territories of Poland that England had undertaken to admit to her occupation zone in Germany.

This fruitless exchange of notes continued until the eve of the elections. In the end, England realised its futility, whereas, on January 5, 1947, America laid before her two major Allies a proposal for joint supervision of the electoral proceedings. Russia rejected this proposal, once again refuting its motives, and a further American note of January 9, was described by the Polish chargé d'affaires at Washington as 'very regrettable'.

[666] The elections, held on January 19,[1] resulted in 9,003,682 votes for the Governmental bloc (*i.e.*, 80.1 per cent of the voters) as against 1,154,847 for the Polish Peasant Party (*i.e.*, 10.3 per cent).

The comedy of the Anglo-American protests did not end with this poll. It had its epilogue in a note from Washington, dated January 29, affirming that the State Department neither considered the elections to have been free, nor Poland's engagements to have been kept, but did not, nevertheless, intend to break off diplomatic relations.[15] The British Under-Secretary

[15] This did not prevent Mr. Truman from making the following statement to the new Polish ambassador, M. Winieniez, when, on February 4, the latter presented his credentials. 'We, the American people and myself, were very much upset to find that the Provisional Government of Poland had failed to fulfil its undertakings with regard to freedom of elections' —which was contrary to the conventional optimism with which these ceremonial occasions are usually surrounded. And, in the *New York Herald Tribune* (European edition), the ex-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, published this violent commentary: 'The results of the elections in Poland have been even more fantastic than was to be expected. The P.S.L. (Polish Peasant Party) have been allocated one-tenth of the man-

1 [1947 -- Analyst]

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concerned, and executive agents for Prague for Czechoslovak 642
affairs. This was the solution found for the dualism previously 175
existing in Czechoslovakia.

In virtue of this system the Slovaks have institutions which enable them to settle their own problems, while at the same time participating in the general control of the country. Hence the current joke about the 'Slovakisation of Czechoslovakia'.

Thus did President Benes succeed in adapting the spiritual [186]
heritage of Masaryk, and his own tendencies, to an internal [829]
and external situation very different from that which, in 1918, had shaped the rebirth of the Czech nation. And yet Benes took pains to safeguard signs of independence, and to maintain bonds of spiritual solidarity with the West, in order to attest his faith in his country's mission as a mediatrix, her role as a stabilising factor between the East and the West of the Continent. But the new Czechoslovakia no longer reflected the image that Masaryk had popularised—that of a European Slavism formed in the school of the Liberal Democracies.

The first elections carried out after the liberation—those of 666 •
May 26, 1946—gave a slight majority to the Marxists, who had 175
153 seats out of the 300 of which the National Assembly was composed.[19]

This shift in the majority had little practical effect. The internal policy, based on nationalisation,[20] and the realisation of a very advanced social programme, underwent the fewer modifications, inasmuch as the Communists, anticipating their electoral victory, had already secured possession of the principal control levers.

[19] The results were as follows:—

	Votes	Percentage
Bohemia-Moravia		
Communists	2,205,658	40.17
National-Socialists	1,298,967	23.66
Populars	1,010,920	20.23
Social-Democrats	855,771	15.59
Slovakia		
Democrats (Christian)	988,275	61.43
Communists	490,257	30.48
Liberty Party	67,575	4.20
Labour Party	49,983	3.11

As will be seen, the majority was reversed in Bohemia and in Slovakia. 471

[20] The nationalisation programme which took effect on March 13, 1946, 175
placed the majority of the key-industries under State control. Commenting on this event, the Minister of Industry declared: 'This day marks a date in the history of the world's industry'.

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described it as a 'crime against European civilisation', and on October 1 it was brought up at the Security Council by the French delegate, Parodi, during a discussion on Bulgaria's candidature for the United Nations. 648 696 829 175

In January, 1948, on the occasion of the signing of a treaty of mutual assistance with Rumania, the Bulgarian Premier, Dimitrov, risked an allusion to a project for the federation of the Balkan States, but this was immediately disavowed by the Kremlin. [185]

Dimitrov died on July 1, 1949; he was replaced as leader of the Government by Kolarov, and at the head of the Bulgarian Communist Party by his brother-in-law, Valko Tchervenkov.

The sentencing (March 8, 1949) of four Protestant pastors, accused of espionage, to life imprisonment, and the imprisonment of eleven others for a term of years, called forth vehement protests in the Christian world, and justified the sending of a diplomatic note by Great Britain, on March 12, in which these proceedings were described as a violation of Art. 2 of the peace treaty concerning 'fundamental liberties'.

The year 1949 was marked by progressive tension in the relations between Belgrade and Sofia. In September the Bulgarian Government denounced the treaty of friendship and, on October 6, the frontier agreement with Yugoslavia. This antagonism, which revived the Macedonian Question, reached a crisis at the trial of Traitcho Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council. Accused in March, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of 'flagrant errors' (the most serious accusation being that of having invoked the principle of State secrecy in order to withhold information of a commercial nature from representatives of the Soviet Union), Kostov found the charges gradually extended, until he was involved in a plot against the safety of the State, with the complicity of the Anglo-Americans and the agents of Tito. He was condemned to death, and executed on December 16. The Yugoslav press considered this charge as having been trumped up entirely with a view to compromising and discrediting Tito. 648 687 175 [208]

The municipal elections of May 15, 1949, gave the Communist-controlled Government of the 'Homeland Front' 92.1 per cent of the votes cast (370,000 blank votes); the legislative elections of December 18 raised this percentage to 666 175

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•666 175 98.89 per cent (110,180 blank votes), the electors having no other option than to vote for the 'Front' or to register a blank vote.

185 175 Faithful to the guidance of Benes, Jean Masaryk and Ripka, the Third National Front Government, presided over by Gottwald, endeavoured to secure the triumph of a policy of equilibrium between East and West, between Liberalism and Marxism. 'In our country', declared Benes, 'under the pressure of the masses, Communism has become national.'

648 175 The first signs of Soviet pressure were seen when, after the Czech Cabinet had decided, in July, 1947, to accept an invitation to attend the Paris Conference for the application of the Marshall Plan, it was forced, on orders from Moscow, to withdraw its acceptance.

[578] The final crisis was reached in February, 1948. An exceedingly violent press campaign was launched against Vaclav Nosek, Minister of the Interior, as the result of a purge which followed the discovery of illegal arms deposits. The Communist Party accused the National Socialists (Benes Party), the Popular Democrats and the Slovak Democrats of attempting to constitute an 'anti-Communist bloc' within the Government, and of paralysing the legislative power of the National Assembly. Tension reached its peak with the approach of the elections, then fixed for April 11, 1948.

668 642 175 The partisans of obedience to Moscow centred their efforts around the nucleus of the police and the trade union organisations. A 'Central Action Committee' was established, to back up, by mass movements, the offensive led by President Gottwald and his Communist colleagues against the moderate section of the Government. On February 20, 1948, the Ministers belonging to the three incriminated parties resigned. The Marxists held demonstrations in the streets; a political strike was declared on February 4, and the Congress of Works' Committees demanded the removal of the 'reactionaries'. President Benes, taken unawares by the suddenness of this attack, rejected the idea of a Government of Civil Servants and, on February 25, he formed a new National Front Ministry, with Gottwald as President, Gapotocki as Vice-President, Jean Masaryk at the head of Foreign Affairs. The Communists secured entire control of this Cabinet, which was in favour of unconditional collaboration with the Soviet Union. The opposition was reduced to

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642 175 563 the preceding Constitutions, this one contained no clause designed to protect minorities.

[666] The elections, postponed until May 30,[1] gave 88 per cent of the votes (6,429,145) to the National Front, but the figure of 770,100 blank voting slips exceeded that anticipated by the Government. The latter was, however, fully master of the situation. On June 14 Clement Gottwald was elected President of the Republic, on the unanimous vote of the 296 deputies present. Under the chairmanship of Zapotocki, he formed a Cabinet on the lines of the previous one (sixteen Communists or supporters, and six non-Communists); the portfolio of Foreign Affairs remained in the hands of Klementis, who replaced Masaryk. The new Head of the Government announced implacable repressive action against 'those guilty of disorder or confusion, who seek to hinder the reconstruction of the country'.

[661] 659 798 175 Indeed, during the months that followed, there was a vigorous purging of diplomacy, the army, the police. But, in 1949, it was the religious question which was to dominate political life, owing to an offensive conducted against the Roman Church, opposing the old Czech Hussite spirit to Catholicism, the dominant trait in the Slovak national character.

Gottwald and his ministers, relying on this 'religious geography' peculiar to Czechoslovakia, embarked upon a struggle with the clergy in the domain of monopoly of the schools. They pursued the contest by seeking to alienate the Catholic Church from her natural hierarchy, and by encouraging the 'schism' of the Czech 'National' Church. To protest against the obstacles put in the way of the exercise of the cult, the bishops drew up a pastoral letter, setting forth the conditions required in order to regularise relations between the Church and the State. The Government forbade the distribution of the pastoral; infringements of this decree, specially numerous in Slovakia, were sternly repressed. Mgr. Beran, Archbishop of Prague, was detained in his palace; the civil authority created 'Catholic Action', an official organisation placed under the control of priests with Communist leanings. At the head of this movement was the Minister of Public Health, Father Plojhar, suspended by the ecclesiastical authorities for having sought a legislative mandate without his bishop's permission.

Tension rose with the 'resolutions' passed on June 28 by the

1 [1948-- Analyst]

S.P. T.R. 578 186 centuries. However, formerly the conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, did not exist in its present day sense. On the contrary, the two parts had a sense of kinship, or even of unity, as may be seen in an examination of the motives for which Bohdan Khmelnitskyj gave himself to Moscow and to Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (in 1653), after detaching the Ukraine from Poland.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 The conflict[1] between the two Russian nations did not in fact break out until the Nineteenth Century.

Its basic causes were:

1. The efforts of the Ukrainians to create or to revive a language and a literature of their own.

2. A whole series of scientific discussions upon the question as to what were the connections between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, especially from a linguistic and an anthropological viewpoint.

Finally and above all:

3. The actual political and social status of the Ukrainians in the Empire and the general development in these latter years of social and democratic ideas.

/53/ Thus today the conflict is moving more and more from the literary and scientific field into the political field.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 538 The conflict began in 1798, when J.P. Kotljarevs'kji published in Ukrainian his Aeneid. From that date on there has been a great effort to create an indigenous literature. But these tendencies were quickly opposed by the government, which feared that this literary separatism might be prejudicial to national unity. And upon various occasions, especially in 1847, 1863, and 1876, it was forbidden to print or publish, save for a few rare exceptions, books in Ukrainian. But the result of these prohibitions was completely opposite from that which was intended. The tendencies toward literary emancipation asserted themselves so much the more strongly as they were more rigorously suppressed, and they found favorable soil in eastern Galicia, which belongs, as we know, to Austria.

S.P. T.R. 197 814 829 On the other hand, the conflict,[1] strengthened by the scientific discussions concerning the ties between the two nations, became aggravated. There were arguments about the antiquity of the Ukrainian idiom, especially in the Kiyev region, about the question of

1 [Between Great Russians and Ukrainians, cf. ch. 116 pp. 35-37 - Ax.]

S.P. T.R. 144 829 are frequently greater than those which exist between them. (1)

1. Furthermore, I am quite willing to admit the existence of two pre-European types in various localities within primitive Slavia. In the period when these two types were pure, there were not yet any Slavs in Europe. When the Slavs appeared, the two types had already crossed with each other; one of them predominated in a certain region the other, in another region. But the original one remained predominant; new arguments are constantly supporting this theory. (Note of the author).

S.P. T.R. 668 These, then, are the conditions in, and the influences under which, the conflict burst forth, the result of which we see today. The intellectuals of the Ukraine flatly declare that they make up a distinct Slavic nation: and for this "Ukrainian" nation they demand all of the natural rights which may insure its preservation and development. For them the exercise of these rights should not be confined to securing schools in which the teaching is conducted in Ukrainian, or to the free expansion of their literature, but should extend to the recognition of their political autonomy. The moderate and practical patriots, bearing in mind the existing conditions, are content to demand autonomy within the Empire. The radicals are naturally more exigrent. They think that the present organization of the Russian State will not last. They count upon a dismemberment, they dream of the creation of an independent Ukraine, organized upon democratic and socialistic principles.

000 /58/ Should I venture to express frankly my opinion upon this conflict and upon the probable outcome of these tendencies? I am among those who believe it natural and equitable that the Russian government should satisfy the legitimate demands of the Ukrainians. But I do not hesitate in declaring that, despite the differences which have been exaggerated, there are so many common features in the history, the tradition, the faith, the language, and the culture of the two peoples--not to mention their common origin--that, to a distant and impartial observer, they are only two segments of a single and unique Russian people.

From the Slavic point of view, and even from the Russian point of view, we hope that this unity may be preserved in relation to outsiders and as far as possible in the political, literary, and linguistic life, while at the same time the needs and political demands of the two parties may be respected. We wish this at least in the field of fine literature. Until the close of the eighteenth century the language was a common one and the greatest writers of the nineteenth century have brought honor to the two groups.

1 [Great Russian-Ukrainian Conflict, cf. col. 116, pp. 35-39 — Analyst]

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175 external development. From their primitive homeland located in the
648 basins of the Oder, of the Warta, and of the Vistula, they sought to spread out in all directions. But they encountered in the west the resistance of the Germans; they were unable to overcome it; they were even compelled to give way and they sought to assure their existence and expansion by constant fights and invasions against the Prussians, the Lithuanians, and the Russians. Obviously, the Poles clearly recognized that one of their first tasks was to maintain in the north a wide passageway to the sea and in the west, their frontier on the Oder, if not on the Elbe. Unfortunately all of the advantages, all of the conquests which they gained in this direction were of a purely ephemeral character. A terrible blow fell upon them through the Tatar invasion and through the battle of Legnica--/In German--Liegnitz/ (1241). It broke the bonds which united Silesia with Poland and threw this province into the arms of Germany, who began to Germanize it. Another check was the summons of the Teutonic Knights into the country of Chelm
P and of Loba (1226) which facilitated the Germanization of the seacoast.
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[513] Finally, let us point out the German colonization which the ecclesiastical or lay princes invoked, beginning with the thirteenth century, in Silesia, into Little Poland, Great Poland and Mazovie; these colonies did not become assimilated and remained completely German in language and customs. Thus a grave peril for Polish nationality was created and developed. "Exterminare idioma Polonicum" /exterminate the Polish language/ became the order of the day for the Germans on the western froniter. Beginning with the thirteenth century, the Polish nationality appeared to be gravely compromised.

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175 However, it succeeded in escaping from this peril.[1] The clergy
668 showed themselves to be highly patriotic; literature was born and exercised a happy influence upon all classes of society. The Hussite movement also exercised its influence in Poland against the Germans. The dynasty followed a national political line. It accomplished noteworthy successes,
P especially over the Teutonic Knights, who were defeated at Grunwald
SP in 1410. In truth, the provinces beyond the Oder and to the north
175 could not be saved. The Poles lost three-quarters of their primitive
648 domain; but what they lost in the west, they attempted to regain in the
668 east, that is toward the northeast, and toward the southeast. This double direction was imposed upon them by the very nature of the terrain; in the center, the basin of the Pripet presented an inhospitable and insurmountable area; to the south rose the barrier of the Carpathians. The Polish flood had to direct itself on the one hand towards Lithuania,

1 [Germanization of the Polish nationality beginning with the 13th Century -- Analyst]

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on the other, towards the Ukraine, and this double march characterized a new phase of Polish history.

The offensive movement was begun at an early date, /66/ but it achieved no serious result until the Union of Lublin (1569) when Lithuania was rejoined to Poland together with a large section of southern Russia (see above in S. 3).*

Kazimir had already occupied Red Russia in 1340, and in 1370 the Galician area was detached from the political control of Kiyev.

In Lithuania Polish institutions and language gained the upper hand over the native institutions and language; the upper classes of society took on Polish ways, and Polish colonization penetrated into the country, especially in Polesia. The same occurred in Galician Russia, the Volhynia and Podolia. The Poles were unable to hold Russian Galicia except by making it a base of operations for invading the basins of the Dnestr and the Bug. In the fifteenth century they colonized Podolia and Volhynia, and carried on this enterprise through the sixteenth century. Bobrinskii (1) claims that at this period this

1. A contemporary Polish historian. See my Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire de Pologne in the 3d series of the Monde Slave (Paris, Hachette, 1902). Translator.

province was half Polish! To these attempts at colonization was joined a religious action, the "union" of Polish-Lithuanian Russia with Rome.

During that time the Russian princes, emancipated from the Tatar yoke, had formed at Moscow a new and formidable political center. They /67/ had undertaken to group about them all of the Russian countries. We do not need to explain here how this plan was carried out. Moscow naturally entered upon a struggle with Poland: the war at first had as its object the Lithuanian provinces, then the Ukraine and finally Poland proper. It went steadily against Poland and finally resulted in the three partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795.

These events naturally had an ominous influence upon the development of the Polish national group; the conquests of the Poles were annulled and with them all of the Polish colonization of Russian territory. The states which divided up the Polish domain among themselves had for some time the idea of annihilating the Polish nation. But the vital force of this nation, its great traditions and its high hopes for the

*[cf. E16 Slavic Peoples, 1: Niederle, p. 16, category 116-Analyst]

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future, preserved it and even strengthened it so that its adversaries themselves had partially to renounce their intentions.

The struggle which the Polish national group has undergone for its existence since the fall of the Republic has been extremely painful and still is so today, especially the struggle against the Germans.

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When the Congress of Vienna in 1815 perpetuated and revised the partition, it annexed to Russia the Duchy of Warsaw and set up the realm which the Poles call "Kongressowka." It guaranteed to the Poles their nationality and their autonomy. /68/ At first they enjoyed these benefits; but beginning in 1830 the situation changed. The revolution of Warsaw was smothered in blood. An the anti-Polish reaction which already existed in Russia became only more pronounced. The unhappy revolution of 1863 brought about the enslavement and the misery of Poland. Russianization was carried out with eagerness, and it required a terrible blow struck at the governmental system--the unfortunate war with Japan--to permit Poland to breathe a little more freely. The advent of the constitutional regime and the institution of the Parliament provided her with the possibility of making known her miseries, and we can hope that at the present moment, they will, at least in the Russian Empire, receive satisfaction.

The situation in Prussia is more serious. There arose, before 1775, a new and intensive movement of German colonization, especially in the basin of the Netze, and, after the insurrection of 1830, a political evolution which tended very simply to Germanize the Polish element. The attempted insurrection of 1845 and the events of 1848 gave this policy an opportunity to assert itself. At the beginning neither force nor violence was used. The Prussian government was convinced that the Polish element would eliminate itself little by little. The census of 1870 proved the contrary. Bismark then had recourse to new methods. He strove to uproot the Polish nation and had /69/ recourse to the most violent means. Certainly, in Russia the Poles were not comfortable; but in the Empire such violent measures, such refined ones as the Prussians thought up had not been employed. What no nation had ever before attempted to do against another nation, the Germans now undertook against Poland. They sought to dispossess an entire people by the law of colonization (Ansiedelunggesetz), which placed at the disposal of the government one hundred million marks to purchase ground from the Poles and to establish German colonies there. Thanks be to God

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177 there; about 1700 they were in great measure Germanized; the last Slav group was that of the Dravani (Drawaina) in the district of Luchow which even today is called Wendland, country of the Wends.

172A The Slavic language disappeared between 1750 and 1766. It was in 1751 that mass was celebrated in Slavic for the last time.[1]

161 In the years 1890-1900 the newspapers reported, according to A. Parczewski, that the census /94/ of 1890 had found 570 Slavs-Wends still in this region. But it was an error. The official census had indeed found in the Luchow area 570 Wends, but they spoke only German.

197 The Slavic tongue in this region has been dead for more than a century, as Mr. Muka reported without hesitation.[1] He was sent out as an investigator by the Academy of Sciences of Cracow.

000 However, the Slavic character is still found in great measure in the type and in the manner of life of the inhabitants of the Wendland.

101 Originally the Sorbs of this region[2] occupied in a compact mass
175 all of the country situated between the Saale, the Verra*, the Fulda, the upper Havel, and the Spree. They extended as far as Frankfort on the Oder, on the Lower Bobra, the Hvizda (Queis). The group included the so-called Sorbs between the Saale and the Elbe (1) then the Lusatians

1. These Sorbs are designated in Latin texts of the Middle Ages by the name Sorabes. (Translator)

on the middle Saale, and the Milczani on the upper Elster, the upper Spree and the Neisse. From the eleventh century on, the Germans began to penetrate into these regions; but they only came there in large numbers beginning with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At this period the Sorb national group began to diminish to the west of the Elbe; it finally succumbed as a result of the Thirty Years War. The situation was better in /95/ Upper and Lower Lusatia, united under the Bohemian crown. Unfortunately, in 1635 the Treaty of Prague ceded
175 the territory to the House of Saxony. The Sorbian national group
● 668 commenced to decline, especially in Lower Lusatia. Its decadence was not arrested until the nineteenth century by the literary renaissance which restored some energy to this small people.

Thanks to the efforts of a few patriots, the national conscience

[2] [Wendland -- Analyst] [1] [Among the Polabian Slavs - Analyst]

175 was reawakened, literature revived, the Slavic tongue was introduced into the primary schools and the Germans of Saxony granted to their Sorbian fellow-citizens a tolerable modus vivendi. How long will this state of affairs endure? It is difficult to foretell.

177 Germanization is making great progress especially in Lower Lusatia, subjected to Prussians.

101 162 S 17. Boundary of the National Group. ---In 1886 Muka established on his ethnographic map, the best which exists up until the present, this boundary by a line which began to the south of Lubja (Lobau), passed between Rychbach (Reichenbach) and Wosporg (Weissenbach*), ran to Nizka (Niesky*), Reczice* (Rietschen*), went toward Muzakow* (Muskau*) on the Neisse, then following the Neisse reached Barsc (Forst), ran to Gresna* (Griessen*), to Barklawa* (Baerenklau*), to the west of Gubna (Guben*). The line then went straight to the west by Luboraz* (Lieberose*), Mochow*, Waldow*, Bocklin* (Burglehne*) then toward the south through Lubnjow* (Lubbenau*), /96/ through Wotrowce* (Bischofsdof*), Kalama* (Kalan*), Rudna* (Reuden*) and Bukowina; then towards the southwest the boundary ran around Komorow* (Senftenber*), Rolana* (Ruhland*) on the Elster, went through Nadzicow* towards Kamence*, Elstra*, Biskupci* (Bischofswerda*), where it turned sharply to the east towards Velecin* (Wilthen*) on the Lubia*. Such was the outer boundary of the region in which the majority of the people spoke Sorbian; there was in this region an absolutely Sorbian territory in the neighborhood of Chotebuz* (Cottbus*) and of Grodk*. There were also numerous German islands.

On the map drawn up in 1902 by A. Czerny, the territory had diminished and the Germans had gained ground. Today the northern part of Lower Lusatia is separated from the southern part only by a straight line between Grodk* and Chotebuz* on the two banks of the Spree. However, Tetzner in his book wrongly indicates Lower Lusatia as forming only an island.

164 S 18. Statistics. --The figures in effect confirm that the number of Lusatians is diminishing. At about 1880-1884, Muka, travelling from village to village, had set the total number of Sorbs at 175,966. He counted 72,000 in Lower Lusatia and 103,000 in Upper Lusatia. The official statistics for 1900 numbered only 93,032 Sorbs, speaking only Sorbian. If one adds about 23,000 bilinguals speaking both Sorbian and

S.P. C. 175 177 191

1. Quite a long time ago I indicated the importance of this chronicler. See my Boheme pittoresque et historique (Paris, 1867).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century matters had gone so far that at the coronation of King John in 1311 the larger part of the people sang in German and the minority in Czech.

S.P. C. 175 668 [798]

Under Charles IV and his son Vaclav a reaction took place to the benefit of the Slavic element.[1] The nobility and the clergy took an interest in this. This evolution was crowned by the wars of the Hussites, who fought at the same time for Czech faith and Czech nationality. The Germans lost their influence in the towns or were completely driven out; the Czech language reassumed its place. Among the towns which became Slavic may be cited Zatec (Saaz), Litomerice (Leitmeritz), Usti nad Labem (Aussig), Dvur Kralove, Jaromer, Hradec Kralove, Nemecky Brod, Caslav, Kutna Hora, Pelhrimov, Susice, Budejovice, Kaplice, Stribro and Plzen, all of which were already Czech at the end of the fourteenth century.

/108/ At this time, in Bohemia, in Moravia, in Siberia, Czech became an official language. It was proclaimed to be the sole administrative language at Opava (Troppau) in 1431, at Tesin (Teschen) in 1434, in Moravia in 1480, in Bohemia in 1495. In short, in the course of the fifteenth century Bohemia and Moravia rapidly became Czech, the national consciousness grew stronger, all the more because germanization became weaker within the country and in the frontier districts. Nevertheless, this very brilliant period had no enduring results. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a portion of Czech territory was again germanized as a result of the introduction of Protestantism and through the efforts of the new dynasty. Then came a long period of wars and persecutions which desolated entire regions and was followed by the new influx of German colonists from Misnie*, Voigtland*, from Franconia and from the Palatinate. Thus, at the very moment when the Czech language became official within the kingdom, when the Czech literature was flourishing, a great section of Czech soil was lost.

S.P. C. 175 177 167

S.P. C. [728]

Then came the defeat of Bila Hora (1620) and the unhappy events which placed the Czech nation in the hands of a dynasty which was German and absolutist. In 1627 a new organization was imposed

[1] [Against the influence of the German element upon the country - Analyst]

S.P. c 175 177 167

again in 1827 Jungmann in a moment of discouragement gave vent to this sad cry: "We have had the sad fate of being the witnesses and the accessories of the final annihilation of our mother tongue."

S.P. c 175 668 517

Nevertheless, certain men succeeded in awakening the nation, in saving what might be saved. The history of the Czech literature since the second half of the eighteenth century shows us in an admirable fashion the work which a little group of men, obscure but impassioned, taken with a great idea, have been able to accomplish.

Aroused by the progress of liberalism in Europe, by the "Josephinism," they succeeded in reviving an interest in national affairs, in shaking the people out of their torpor, at first among the lowly ones who had preserved the language, then in the intellectual class. This Czech people, whose existence appeared doubtful one hundred years ago, of whom the Viennese educator Kindermann von Schulstein, basing himself upon the new scholastic program, had proclaimed the approaching disappearance, this Czech people, is today conscious of itself, it forms a compact mass of six and one-half million persons and constitutes an impregnable citadel against which the powerless efforts of the germanism bent upon the ruin of the Slavs come and break. There is only one thing to regret and that is that political conditions have prevented the union and assimilation of the two million Slovaks settled in northern Hungary.

S.P. c 101

S 21. National Frontiers. --The compact mass of the Czechs and Slovaks are distributed among six administrative regions: in Austria, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, and the Duchy of Silesia, in Hungary, and, for a few segments, in Prussian Silesia.

The ethnographic boundary which separates the Slovaks from the other Czechs runs across Moravia; but the Slovaks of Moravia are so closely associated with the life of the Czech nation and are drawing so much closer to them each day that one may /112/ consider as the true boundary the political frontier which separates Moravia from Hungary. There, in the Carpathians, a wall stands which separates the two groups, Czechs and Slovaks, and unless unforeseen circumstances intervene, it is to be feared that their former unity will wind up in a dualism: Czechs on the one side, Slovaks on the other.

Thanks to a series of ethnographic studies, and also to the acute

S.P. C. 543 162 In Bohemia 50,000 Jews declared themselves to be Czechs, and in Moravia 6,792; 40,521 in Bohemia and 34,261 in Moravia declared that they were Germans. Hungary actually possesses one-tenth of the Jews of the entire world, and they are increasing more rapidly than the other national groups (14.8%). Almost all of them claim that they are Magyars.

S.P. C. 177 668 In studying the history and the ethnography of the Czecho-Slovaks, one sees that the Czechs began by losing much more territory than they gained. But this unfortunate situation has ceased; the national consciousness has developed; the spirit of an entire people has set up a solid barrier against the Germanic invasion. Certain losses are still inevitable, but they can be retrieved. The most threatened section is made up of the frontier of northern Moravia where the Germans today are concentrating their strength. They wish to unite their compact masses with the islands of Lanskroun, Zabreh, Olomouc and to cut Bohemia from Moravia. It is here that the Czech nation should especially think of acting and defending itself.

S.P. C. 161 Moreover, the increase of the Czechs with respect to that of the Germans is good. During the last ten years the Czechs have increased by 8.49% and the Germans only by 1.96%.

/124/ In the German region the Czechs have increased by 0.1% and in the Czech region the Germans gave decreased by 0.5%. The least favored region from a Czech viewpoint is that of Moravska Ostrava (Mochrisch Ostrau), where the Czechs are greatly decreasing.

000 It is important to reinforce the Czech element upon the frontier, to raise Czech capital in opposition to German money, to set up Czech schools as opposed to German schools, and, in order to stand against all assaults, to strengthen the national consciousness. It is necessary to build up the Czech element from an economic and physical viewpoint, to improve the general well-being, to increase the means of exchanging ideas.

In brief, the progress of the Germans upon the frontier has been so insignificant for the past century, that it will still be hundreds of years before it becomes a cause of concern.

What is much more serious is that the Czech areas are losing

000 only upon the internal situation of the two sections originally unified, but also upon their mutual relations.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 668 191 There indeed developed between 1830 and 1840 a movement called Illyrian, which sought to unite them,[1] but it had no other results than to unify the literary language for which the dialect called stokavski was adopted. But from the political viewpoint, each of the two sections, despite the original unity of their language, differentiated only by dialectical shadings, followed its own course.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 175 167 Their[2] development has been particularly hindered by exterior circumstances. At first there were the Turkish invasions and the servitude which followed them. Many of the groups emigrated from their ancient homes to seek a more certain asylum. At the outset, Sb [361] Serbian colonization went upstream on the Morava, towards the south. The first centers, the first /152/ capitals were Novi Pazar, Pristina, Prizren, and Skoplje.

But the arrival of the Turks completely displaced the movement. Beginning with the sixteenth century, the Croats went back towards the north, and the Serbs did so even more. To escape from the Turkish oppression, Croat colonies were established in Hungary, in the region situated between the middle reaches of the Raab, the lake of Ferto-Tava (Neusiedler Lake), Bratislava and Vienna. Some even pushed as far as into Moravia and the interior of Hungary.

S.P. Sb. 175 167 These migrations greatly modified the type of the primitive Serbian population. From the regions which formerly had been the home and center of the nation, from Kosovo Polje, from Old Serbia, hundreds of thousands of men came forth to establish themselves in the relatively peaceful regions of Austria-Hungary.

This movement began at the end of the fourteenth century, after the battle of Kosovo (1389) and the conquest of Skoplje by the Turks (1391), after which the Turks began to march towards the region of Lom, Bosnia, and the country of Khum, and finally towards the north. The Serbs then had to withdraw towards the Danube and move their Sb center towards Krusevac and finally towards Smederevo (Semendria). [682] In 1459, the Turks definitely abolished Serbia, and in 1463, Bosnia. The Serbs then began to cross in great masses to the other side of the

[1] [i.e. Serbs and Croats -- Anon.]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

pictures of the decaying landed gentry. Goncharov composed 538
the classic of Russian imagination paralyzed by inertia. Tolstoi 829
studied the peasant problem, painted the first twenty years of the century on the magnificent canvas of his *War and Peace,* and returned to contemporary agrarian and urban problems with *Anna Karenina.* Dostoevski, after poignantly describing the bitter life of the humble in *Poor People,* acquired still deeper sympathy in his exile, and having expounded his doctrine of atonement through suffering in *Crime and Punishment,* attacked the radicals in *The Possessed,* and revealed the whole scope of his psychological penetration and the breadth of his religious philosophy in *The Brothers Karamazov.* With other authors of scarcely less merit describing contemporary life, these three decades constitute an outburst of brilliance unequaled in any world literature. Russian verse of the period was no less meritorious, and even Russian painters chose subjects which reflected the contemporary state of mind.

While the aims of political and social thinkers expanded, 668
the tempo of the reforms gradually slowed down with danger- 175*
ous results. Active revolutionary groups had begun to take shape even in the heyday of reform, and strove for rapid democratization in the public interest. Even in the fifties, literature had ceased to be an exclusive perquisite of the aristocracy and was professionally practiced by many young men from the new middle class who were impatient at the slowness of change. Some of the young radicals made unfruitful efforts to form a community of interest with the peasantry. Others attempted to force the hand of the government by acts of violence. Marxist socialism became known in Russia during the seventies and, while it supplied the young radicals with a more aggressive program, it suggested a transfer of their missionary efforts from the peasants to the urban industrial workers who were expanding in numbers with the progressive industrialization of the country.

The rising tide of radicalism stimulated repressive measures 175*
by the government, which gradually lost much of the sympathy 656
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4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* which it had previously enjoyed in more moderate spheres,
652 and even rejected loyal proposals for conservative reforms ad-
668 vanced in order to discourage the repeated outrages of the terrorists. In 1880 the situation came to a head with an explosion in the Winter Palace itself at St. Petersburg in which the whole imperial family narrowly escaped a violent death. Alexander II then called liberal statesmen who enjoyed the public confidence to work out a series of innovations which, though not aiming at a constitution, were at least conciliatory and progressive. These reforms were viewed with apprehension by the radicals, who not only feared to lose their public but also believed (mistakenly, as it proved) that the elimination of the tsar would be the prelude to a great popular uprising. They thus assassinated Alexander II on March 13, 1881.

The results were devastating. Moderate opinion was profoundly shocked, the government relapsed into a reactionary policy which endured until 1917, only briefly interrupted by the revolution of 1905. Political freedom and even political thought were discouraged, and many conscientious liberals were reduced to disillusion and despair by the bitter conviction that progress was impossible. The situation was not helped by the economic crisis of the eighties which followed an inflationary period of hasty industrial overexpansion.

829 This disillusion is most clearly reflected in the dramas of
538 Chekhov, those twilight pictures of a class which vegetates without hope of change, without faith in its capacity to influence events. To this situation the accession of Nicholas II in 1894 brought no cure; since he was largely surrounded by ministers who deprecated even local self-government as only a step toward constitutionalism. But beneath the surface a new
175* spirit was about to break ground. Some of the younger genera-
668 tion could no longer accept the resignation which Chekhov's characters practiced. For them, failure, however tragic, was not an everlasting stop-signal. Marxism gave them a program and a method. It warned them not to expect salvation from the middle class, and preached the virtues and strength of the so

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

far silent but ambitious proletariat. The lower strata of society were no longer looking for sympathy. They wanted power, and if properly led would break down all barriers to its attainment. The voice of the grumbling dispossessed first sounded clearly in Russian literature through Maxim Gorki's early stories, which began to appear in 1892. The best example of the young intellectual who discovered saving graces in Marxism was Lenin. He began to study Marx's *Capital* in 1888, organized a group of Marxists at Kuibyshev (Samara) in 1893, and was a social-democratic propagandist in St. Petersburg the next year. The emergence of Marxism as an active political and economic system in Russia dates from this period.

The rise of the Social Democratic party and the foundation of the more activist section known as the Bolsheviki (the maximalists) headed by Lenin himself preceded the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war by barely one year. At the same time, another radical party, the Social Revolutionaries, revived the tradition of terrorism as practiced before the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. The government pursued a policy of repression even when the necessity of prosecuting a war for which the nation was totally unprepared might well have dictated a more conciliatory attitude. Profound resentment now mastered not only the middle class but the urban proletariat, and though the police resorted to desperate provocatory acts in order to discredit the agitators, a united front against the government was rapidly forming. When open revolution broke out early in 1905, neither the middle-class liberals nor the radical Marxist groups possessed an organization equal to organizing and directing a mass movement. As a result, after the government made various constitutional concessions and the extremists showed every sign of fighting to a finish, the moderate groups gravitated away from the revolutionary idea, leaving the Marxist leaders and the workers isolated. With the urban middle class again passive, the government speedily recovered its sangfroid and applied repressive measures of forbidding severity which were far from supplying any basis for

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175* reconciliation with society. The new parliament was never al-
668 lowed to function efficiently, and excessive parcellation of par-
642 ties within it also prevented the formation of a workable united front against the government, though the fundamental tone was one of hostility.

The first World War began in this atmosphere of mutual distrust between government and society, and only a brief interval of patriotic *entente cordiale* intervened before official incompetence as revealed by repeated military defeats once more opened the breach, which was further widened by a complete collapse of transportation and economic life. General resentment was intensified by evidence of a total lack of comprehension of the situation by the tsar and his advisers, and culminated in the events of March, 1917, by which the tsar was forced to abdicate and a democratic regime was set up. The vacillations of successive moderate provisional governments played into the hands of the Bolshevik leaders, who could always bank on the support of the urban factory workers and certain sections of the army, and on November 7 they were masters of Petrograd. The subsequent fortunes of the Soviets are so close to our own times as to be matters of common knowledge.

175* The chasm which existed between government and society
829 between 1894 and the first World War did not prevent simul-
538 taneous developments in Russian intellectual life. In spite of
517 government surveillance and occasional restriction of educational facilities, a highly educated and talented middle class had evolved in Russia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Though literature declined in some degree after the death of Dostoevski, Tolstoi lived on to combine moral philosophy and creative letters until 1910. Chekhov's later plays expressed his own prevision that an epoch was about to end. A younger generation of prose writers revived traditional Russian realism in a more individualistic spirit without regard to the political and social aims that had inspired their predecessors. In poetry, symbolism sought to penetrate and express deeper

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A CENTURY OF A PHANTOM
PANSLAVISM AND THE WESTERN SLAVS

by S. Harrison Thomson

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AMONG the gorgeous phantoms of history, none has had a more rich or variously enticing story than Panslavism. It may well be that more literate Europeans have enjoyed the thrill of frightening themselves by it and more designing political manipulators have used it as a stage illusion than would be true of any other fiction. On the other hand there have been published several serious histories of the spectre.

By 1848 Panslavism was already an old and ripe story. To go back to the empire of Samo in the early seventh century is perhaps to be too inventive, but we can certainly trace the idea of Slavic reciprocity in the plans of Bolesław Chrobry (the Hardy) of Poland, who, around the year 1000, planned a western Slavic empire comprising the Poles, the Czechs, the Moravians, the Elbian Slavs and the western Ukrainians. His obvious purpose was to block further German expansion eastward.[1] Whatever their motivation, those grandiose plans proved ephemeral, as did others conceived by Polish or Czech rulers for centuries thereafter. There is no discernible difference, so far as we can judge, between the territorial and dynastic maneuvering that went on among Slavic princes and that of Austrian, Hungarian and Wallachian rulers in these centuries of the formation of national states. One Slavic people was as likely to be antipathetic to a neighboring Slavic people as to a neighbor who was Germanic or Turco-Ugric. Territorial nationalism or dynastic combination were already the prevailing patterns.

But from the seventeenth century on concepts of a common ethnic and linguistic background begin to grow and take shape. From the Croat Juraj Križanić in the seventeenth century,[2] who spent fifteen years in Siberian exile after proclaiming his Panslav ideas in Russia, to the great Slovak poet, Jan Kollár, in the early nineteenth century, we can trace an unwavering line of western Slavic intellectuals who formulated and reformulated the idea of a glorious Slav race which should of right be united in heart and body, preferably under one paternal Slav ruler.

Somewhat ironically a Baltic German, Johann Gottfried Herder, had contributed much to the most recent upsurge of this Slav feeling by glori-

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[1] On whom the classic study is St. Zakrzewski, *Bolesław Chrobry Wielki* (Cracow, 1925); and cf. more recently, Z. Wojciechowski, "Bolesław Chrobry i kryzys stosunków polskoniemieckich" in *Przegląd Zachodni* IV (1948), 369-383.

[2] Smurlo, E., "From Križanić to the Slavophiles," *Slavonic Review* VI (1928), 321-335; of A. Fischel, *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1919), p. 20ff.; P. G. Scslardi, *Krijanich, messager de l'unité des chrétiens et ère du panslavisme* (Paris, 1947).

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175 fying the Slavic race and treating it as one, from the Moldau to the Urals.
186 He would doubtless have been disturbed to be credited with partial parent-
668 hood of both Pangermanism and Panslavism. Early in the nineteenth
829 century most western Slavs were of necessity romantics. Romanticism was the only recourse left them: Poland tragically partitioned, the Slavs of the Austrian Empire barely existing under Metternich, the South Slavs predominantly under the Ottoman Turk. Any voice even faintly suggesting a prouder past, and by implication a comparable future, would be welcome. Their history was their refuge and their hope in time of troubled humiliation.[3]

Philology, poetry and letters, history and the trend of international events in the forties of the nineteenth century all combined to deepen and broaden the feelings but dimly and sporadically aroused a half century before by the wildfire spread of the ideas of the French Revolution. There was now, after decades of scholarship, scientific and historical ground for the concept of Slavic community. The ferment of the Slav Revival, however, romantic it may have been in a technical sense, was a psychological fact of great moment to all the western Slavs, whether living under Magyar repression in Slovakia or Croatia, clumsy Austrian Biedermeier in Bohemia, or awkward Hapsburg pampering in Galicia. The springs of hope and confidence were filling. The single great Slavic state to the east—Mother Russia—was still victoriously radiant from defeating Napoleon, and her very glamor drew irresistibly the yearnings of the Slavic millions enslaved by alien peoples. In many quarters among the western Slavs there was talk of the all-Slavic Tsar, while in Russia there was not infrequently an expression of interest among scholars and publicists as well as among reflective politicians in the possibility of strengthening the natural bonds between Mother Russia and her temporarily estranged children in the west. Pushkin's lines, written after the Polish revolution of 1830-31

> Will the Slavic rivulets pour into the Russian sea,
> Or will it dry up? That is the question.

reflected current Russian thought.[4] A. S. Chomyakov, the Slavophil poet,

[3] See the illuminating discussion of Panslavism by Wacław Lednicki in *European Ideologies* (New York, 1948), pp. 808-951, particularly rich in literary background. His earlier study, "Poland and the Slavophil Idea," *Slavonic Review* VII (1928-29), 128-140, 649-662, can also be consulted with great profit. It is significant that this study of Polish Slavophilism ends about the middle of the nineteenth century. See also W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej w okresie przebiorowym*, I (Lwów, 1913), *passim*. For the echoes of this current of thought in Polish literature, and an explanation of how and why it took a line divergent from that in other Western and Southern Slavic countries see Zofja Klamerowna, *Słowianofilstwo w literaturze polskiej lat 1800 do 1848* (Warszawa, 1926), *passim*.

[4] See Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 168ff., and Lednicki *passim*. The literature on Russian

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in the next year spoke dramatically of "the brothers in fetters, who wait yearningly for thy call and thy protective embrace." There was much more, a good deal of it more effusive, and all of it tinged with theology, from poets, essayists and even historians, but mostly urging the western Slavs, and particularly the Poles, to recognize their divinely appointed lot as part of a great Slavic nation, naturally under Russian leadership. The Slovak Kollár's "On Slavic Reciprocity" was first published in German in 1837, then appeared in Russian in 1838 and a second time in 1840, but the concept of reciprocity was interpreted by the Russian editor and Russian readers in a Russian sense.[5] It would be difficult to determine whether the Russian espousal of Slavophilism was more or less enthusiastic than that of the western Slavs in the period before 1848, but it is certain that Russian Slavophilism could, even at this early date, be more properly called Panrussism than Panslavism.

175 186 668 829

We can indeed thus early discern a fairly clear and perhaps radical split in the aims of those who supported Slavic unity. On the one hand the western Slavs thought in terms of reciprocal aid, comfort and support, implicitly and explicitly favoring the independent existence of the several Slavic peoples. On the other hand the Russian Slavophils, from their proud vantage-point of an independent state existence, regarded the lesser Slavic peoples beyond their borders as strayed, lost or stolen children who should return to the mother's heart and hearth, the mother of course being Russia. Their principal concern, indeed, was that Russia herself should perceive her providential mission to carry on the torch of the true Christian faith which was visibly falling from the hand of the weakening West. It was taken for granted that the errant western and southern Slav brethren would accept the new situation with appreciation and even enthusiasm.

Decades of Romanticism, the European enlightenment followed by three-quarters of a century of Slavic renaissance in philology, poetry, ethnography, history and science, has made the dispersed Slavic peoples very sensible of their similarities and their differences, and eager to grasp and hold their own future. The events of February 1848 in western Europe only precipitated these feelings into action. German nationalism had found its voice in the Frankfurt Parliament. It was only natural that the western Slavs should answer with a Slavic assembly. In April the Slovak Ljudevit Štur was agitating in Prague for a meeting of representatives of the Slavic

Slavophilism is tremendous. Of the more recent literature in western languages, see Charles Quénet, *Tchaadaev et les lettres philosophiques* (Paris, 1931); A. Gratieux, *A. S. Khomiakov et le mouvement slavophile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939); Alexander von Schelting, *Russland und Europa* (Bern, 1948); and Bernhard Schultze, *Russische Denker* (Vienna, 1950).

[5] Clementis, Vl., *Panslavism Past and Present* (London, 1943), p. 38.

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peoples, and Dr. Fr. Brauner received a letter from Ondrzej Moraczewski in Poznań, dated April 23, inviting the Czechs to initiate a Slavic congress.[6] But the first public suggestion to this effect came from the Croat Ivan Kukuljević in the April 20 issue of the *Narodni Noviny*, and a revised call to meet was published on April 30 in the same paper over the signature of Palacký and 19 other leading Czechs.[7] A public statement was issued on May 5 to "our brothers of the Austrian Empire" inviting them to convene in Prague on May 31, in order "to deliberate on our common interests ... We are resolved to remain faithful to the hereditary house of Habsburg-Lorraine ... and to maintain the integrity and independence of the Empire by all means in our power. We therefore reject all accusations of separatism, of Panslavism, of Russianism, which might be brought against us by ill-intentioned accusers.... Our undertaking is essentially conservative in nature and should in no wise disturb our liberal and justice-loving non-Slavic fellow-citizens." This was the voice of Austro-Slavism.

Of the 340 participants, 237 were Czechs and Slovaks, 42 South Slavs, 60 Poles and Ruthenians, and one Russian. Of the Poles several were from Prussian Poland, and the Russian—Bakunin—did not officially represent Tsarist Russia. The very thought of revolution of any sort was uncongenial to Tsar Nicholas I. The Poles would have preferred to have the Congress declare for a restitution of all of Poland, but there was little support for so revolutionary a concept.[8] The ruling motivation was anti-German and anti-Magyar. It was certainly not pro-Russian. Bakunin, the sole Russian present, a voluble guest, was quite un-Russian in his advocacy of Slavic federation.[9] The enthusiasm was tearful and tremendous, the speeches were moving, the parades, dinners and celebrations were elaborate and mystic. Palacký's speech of June 12, resuming the conclusions of the several commissions, specifically demanded a federalized Empire, with Slavs enjoying equal rights and privileges with the Germans and the

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[6] Tobolka, Zd., *Politická dějiny československého národa od r. 1848 až do dnešní doby*, I (Prague, 1931), 77.

[7] Published in J.M. Černy, *Boj za právo* I (Prague, 1893), 183 and F. Palacký, *Spisy z oboru politiky* (Prague, 1898), p. 24f. See also F. Roubík, *Český rok 1848* (Prague, 1948), p. 199, and K. Kazbunda, *České hnutí roku 1848* (Prague, 1929), p. 182ff.; Albert Pražák, "Slavonic Congress of 1848 and the Slovaks" in *Slavonic Review* VII (1928-29), 141-159.

[8] Batowski, Henryk, *Współpraca słowiańska* (Warsaw, 1946), p. 53. See also W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej* I (Lwów, 1913) 288-291.

[9] *Bakuninovo Zpověď* (Prague, 1926), p. 72ff.; see also B. P. Hepner, *Bakounine et le panslavisme révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1950), pp. 236-284; and on Bakunin's Panslavism and his participation in the Prague Congress see V. Cejchan, *Bakunin v Čechách* (Prague, 1928), pp. 14-30. It seems quite clear that Bakunin had little or no understanding of the orientation of the Slavs of the Hapsburg monarchy.

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Magyars.[10] This was the last plenary session of the Congress. Tumultuous events in Prague, not directly connected with the Slav Congress, made further meetings impossible, and on June 28 it was adjourned *sine die*.[11] An attempt was made to carry on the work of the Congress through a society bearing the name *Lipa slovanská* (the Slavic linden tree), but it did not survive the reaction that set in the next year. There remained, however, for a few years, one insistently free voice. Karel Havlíček, one of Palacký's adjutants at the Congress, refused to be quiet, and through his journal *Slowan* continued, for the two years he was relatively unsilenced, to defend the rights of the Slavs in the Hapsburg Empire, and went so far as to warn Vienna: "If they will not allow the lesser Panslavism in Central Europe they should take care lest the greater crash on their necks."[12] This is especially suggestive in view of the fact that Havlíček had but recently returned from a trip to Poland and Russia completely cured of any pro-Russian sentiments.[13] There was no western Slav who spoke more frankly than this in the early fifties.

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Thus as of 1849, Austro-Slavism had apparently had its day within the Hapsburg Empire, and Tsar Nicholas I, after reading the statements written out by Ivan Aksakov in answer to a police questionnaire, wrote in the margin of Aksakov's plaidoyer two comments: "Under the guise of compassion for the pseudo-persecution of Slavic tribes there is hidden a criminal thought about an uprising against the constituted authority of neighboring and partly allied states and about a general unification, which is expected, not from God's will, but from a revolution, which is perilous to Russia." "Only God can determine what is being prepared in the distant future, but if an accumulation of circumstances would indeed lead to such

10 Palacký, Fr., *Spisy z oboru politiky*, p. 46ff.

11 Roubík, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

12 Quoted in Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 307f. See Karel Tuma, *Karel Havlíček Borovský* (Prague, 1883) who follows the development of Havlíček's thought in these years with extensive quotations from his letters and editorials. In addition to T. G. Masaryk's classic work, *Karel Havlíček* (Prague, 1896), see the more recent work of Jaromír Bělič, *Karel Havlíček Borovský a slovanstvo* (Prague, 1947), especially pp. 27ff. and 180ff. This latter section is particularly illuminating in its analysis of the changes of attitude Havlíček went through toward the Poles, the Russians and Slavism in general.

13 Jirásek, J., *Rusko a my* II (Prague, 1946), 161f.; Tuma, *op. cit.*, pp. 71ff., 92ff. Havlíček saw no reason to modify his unfavorable opinion of Russia even after the failure of the Congress and the onset of reaction. He wrote in the August 30, 1848 issue of his issue of his *Narodní Noviny* (quoted by Tuma, *op. cit.*, p. 234f.): "If Russia were a free constitutional country the Austrian Slavs (in case Austria were to be broken up), could consider a union with their blood brethren like the Germans, the Magyars or the Wallachs. They would then be a part of one of the most honorable, and perhaps leading countries of the world. But Russia is a land of despotism, and the rest of us free Slavs must, unfortunately, consider this our brother as our worst enemy."

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175 unification, it would be for the peril of Russia."[14] Not only did the Tsar
186 disapprove of Slavophilism, but the presence of Russian armies in Slovakia
● 668 as allies of Habsburg repression in the same year did not encourage Slavo-
829 philism among the western Slavs.

For the better part of a decade, both among the western Slavs and within Russia little is heard of Panslavism or even of Slavophilism. The interest of the Russian intellectuals was taken up, in these years, by the polemics focussed around the question of the relations of the Orthodox to the Roman church. The encyclical of Pius IX to the Eastern Christians set off the sharp dispute.[15] In the Empire the reaction of Bach was severely anti-Slav,[16] and Tsar Nicholas would not hear any talk of Slav federation. But the end of the Crimean war, coinciding with the death of Nicholas I and the end of his absolutism, heralded a change in the Russian attitude toward the lesser Slavic breeds beyond the pale. Russia defeated was more receptive to ideas of Slavic reciprocity than before. But to the western Slavs, for a time at least, the shock of Russia's military vulnerability was a bitter disillusionment.[17] This feeling of despair lasted for a number of years until Austria herself was humbled on the plains of Lombardy. Then hope welled anew. Bach's régime was through and Vienna was a suitor for the support of her Slavic peoples. It is not without interest that at about the same time, 1857 and 1858, a Slavic Benevolent Committee was organized in Moscow,[18] and the Foreign Minister, Prince Gorchakov, gave it his blessing. Its benevolence was preeminently directed toward strengthening cultural and ecclesiastical ties with the southern Slavs, particularly the Bulgars. The Tsarevitch was the patron. The list of the founders of the Committee included all the living Slavophils, of both currents—the romantic Panslavists and those we must henceforth call Panrussians. The significance of the junction of these two currents cannot be missed. This date may in fact be taken as a convenient dividing line between the earlier theoretical, romantic, Muscovite Slavophilism, best represented by the poet Chomyakov, the two Kireyevskys, Samarin and Konstantin Aksakov, and the later political Panslavism which should properly be called Panrussism.[19]

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[14] *Ivan Sergeyevich Aksakov v jego pismakh* I, ii (Moscow, 1888), 154-55, 160. I am indebted to Professor Leonid I. Strakhovsky for this quotation.

[15] von Schelting, A., *op. cit.*, p. 147ff.

[16] Denis, Edouard, *La Bohême depuis la Montagne Blanche* II (Paris, 1903), 353ff.; Tobolka, *op. cit.*, I, 187ff.

[17] See chapter VI, "Polonia farà da se (1857-1863)" of W. Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen (1795-1914)*, (Berlin, 1917). This German work is not identical with the previously noticed Polish work of the same author

[18] Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 367ff.; cf. also B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans* (Oxford, 1937), p. 60ff.

[19] Benel, *Unaby o Slovanstvi* (Prague, 1947), p. 79ff. C. Oulnet, *Tchaadaev* etc., p.

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Theoretical Slavophilism was influenced by poorly understood western thought—Rousseau, Hegel, and Fichte—into paths of unrealistic and unhistorical grotesquerie and then grafted onto Uvarov's threefold motto of nationality, orthodoxy and autocracy.[20]

It is a simple axiom of diplomatic history that a great and powerful state does not interest itself "benevolently" in other and lesser peoples unless it either needs their help or hopes to profit from that "benevolence." The change in the momentum of Russian Slavophilism in the late fifties of the nineteenth century clearly illustrates this axiom. Before 1855 Russia was too strong to need the support or loyalty of the western Slavs, and her leadership reasoned that her strength lay in the centralized autocratic system. As the system was regarded as good *per se* it was proper to support it elsewhere, in Prussia, in the Hapsburg Empire and, with qualifications, even in Turkey. But the Crimean War revealed considerable weaknesses in her state structure, and Vienna's affections had shifted to the enemies of Russia. Under these circumstances help, psychological at least, was welcome. Panslavism, it was obviously reasoned, might actually have its points, particularly since most of the western Slavs were in the Hapsburg Empire anyway, and a little discreet discontent there might pay diplomatic dividends. This period is thus a decisive period in the history of the theatrical property known as Panslavism.[21]

The Benevolent Committee actively wooed the South Slavs with appeals to their Orthodoxy, developing the thesis that West and East were irrevocably separate, that Slav, Eastern and Orthodox were and of right ought to be synonymous with Russia. Then came the January 1863 revolution of the Poles, put down by the butcher Muraviev with brutal ruthlessness. The Benevolent Slavic Committee was able to convince Russian opinion that it was all the Poles' fault, that their Catholicism blinded them to the truth of their Slavic heritage and made them guilty of the "great betrayal,"[22] but after Muraviev the western and southern Slavs were farther than ever from accepting the doctrines of Muscovite Slavophilism.[23]

408, would call this movement "the second slavophilism." See also M. Prelog, *Pouť Slovanů do Moskvy r. 1867* (Prague, 1931), p. 4.

20 See T. G. Masaryk, *Rusko a Evropa* I (Prague, 1930), 406ff. The English edition, *The Spirit of Russia* (London, 1919), was based on the German text which Masaryk revised for the 1930 Czech edition.

21 P. N. Milioukov has a chapter in his *Le Mouvement intellectuel russe* (Paris, 1918) p. 377ff., entitled "La décomposition du slavophilisme" in which his explanation of the processes of Russian thought from *ca.* 1848 to the publication of Danilevsky's *Russland und Europa* is treated mystically. Any resemblance between his discussion and the realities of Russia's changed position in European politics after 1855-56 is not even coincidental.

22 Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

23 Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen*, p. 223ff., and contemporary literature there cited.

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175 186 668 829 Among the South Slavs a considerable element of enlightened opinion, particularly the younger generation,[24] supported the Polish revolutionaries, and among the leaders there was much openly pro-British and anti-Russian expression. Nevertheless the dominant sentiment, both among Serbs and Croats in the 'sixties was one of nationalist aspirations and, as between other Slavic peoples, benevolent neutrality.[25]

Palacký remarked in 1863 that "Russian Tsardom was not based on Slavic principles but upon an amalgam of Mongolian and German principles."[26] The fact that European opinion had largely turned against Russia finally came home to many of the Russian Slavophils and a natural desire to repair the damage by allaying the suspicions of non-Russian Slavs soon made its appearance. In line with this feeling the Slavic Committee and the recently founded (1863) Society of Friends of the Natural Sciences projected an Ethnographic Congress to meet in Moscow in the summer of 1867.[27] Invitations were broadcast to learned societies throughout the Slavic world. Between the invitation in 1866 and the following summer several events transpired to give the Congress more potential significance. Austria had lost another war—this time to Prussia—and, within the Empire, the Compromise *(Ausgleich)* which divided the Empire into two parts, Hungary and Austria, had become law. The Slavs of the Empire were thus not only split, but put under their enemies, Magyars and Germans. Their long-standing aspirations for an equal share in a federative Empire were roughly dashed.[28] The outlook was black for the western Slavic peoples and it is not surprising that, with the exception of the Poles, the invitations to the Ethnographic Congress at Moscow were eagerly accepted.

In the meantime Ivan Aksakov, enthusiastic over the implications of the visit of so many leading personalities among the western Slavs to the Congress, constituted himself the propagandist of the Exposition, and many editorials in his journal *Den*, beginning with February 1867, concerned the Slav question. He emphasized the bonds between the Russians and other Slavic peoples, and expressed confidence that they had only to know each other to reject foreign, non-Slav control and join forces with

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24 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 13ff.

25 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 13ff.

26 Palacký, *Politisches Vermächtnis* (Prague, 1872), p. 26, quoting himself in 1863.

27 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 27ff.

28 Louis Léger recounts the opinion he met on a trip among the South Slavs in 1868, when their participation and hopes in the Moscow Congress were frankly explained to him. See his *La Panslavisme et l'intérêt français* (Paris, 1917), p. 232ff., reprinted from *La revue moderne* of April, 1868.

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their motherland.[29] His line was followed by most of the Moscow journalists.

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In Prague the *Národní Noviny*, the organ of the Young Czech party, avowed openly the political aims in the minds of the Czech representatives:

> "We make not effort to conceal the fact that the Moscow Exhibition has for us who are going not only philological or ethnographic interest, but a significance deeply political. We are not responsible for that significance; rather those who have inaugurated dualism in Austria and have endangered the independence of the Czech crown and even of the Czech people... those who have turned the Slovak nation over to the mercies of the Magyars, those finally who are recklessly sacrificing the heroic Croatian people to the greed of the Magyar magnates."[30]

The majority of the Czech delegates, though men of intellectual and often scientific attainments, were yet men active in political life. The delegates of the South Slavs were exclusively non-political. Bishop Strossmayer and Franji Rački, who were especially invited, did not join the delegation, though the Bishop gave the expedition his active support. Ljudevit Gaj, the leading Croat nationalist journalist, went to Moscow, but was unaccountably quiet.[31]

In the realization that the Poles would not be represented, Palacký and Rieger were anxious to show their consideration of Polish sensitiveness and went to Paris to explain their reasons for making the trip when the Poles refused to go. Prince Adam Czartoryski and Andrew Zamojski urged the Czechs not to go, and the son of Adam Mickiewicz wrote them an impassioned letter begging them not to attend the Congress. Another special delegation of representative Polish emigrés waited on them to the same intent.[32]

Opened by the Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich on April 23, the Congress was ostensibly an academic and scientific meeting, but railway passes had been given the foreign guests. The western Slavs, on their way to the Congress, crossed the Russian frontier at Granice (i. e. in Polish Silesia) on May 16 and on the 20th reached St. Petersburg.[33] On the way receptions and entertainment were provided by a number of municipalities, though the government took no official action in the matter. Enthusiasm was unbounded. The Czechs and the Serbs were received by Gorchakov

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29 Aksakov, I. S., *Slavyanskii voprosi* (Moscow, 1886), pp. 117-122.

30 *Národní Noviny*, 1867, no. 11, quoted by Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

31 Fric, J. W., *Die Kehrseite der slavischen Wallfahrt nach Russland* (Prague, 1867), *passim*.

32 A considerable literature has accumulated on Gaj's trip and activities. See Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 43ff. and literature there cited.

33 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 68ff.

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in separate audiences and greeted with honeyed and unintelligible words. The Tsar received 20 of the leaders of the various delegations in Tsarskoe Selo on May 26. He is reported to have said to them: "May God hearken soon to all your prayers," a hope which thus relieved the Tsar of any further need for action or hearkening. But he called them his "blood brothers here on native Slav soil" and thereby caused a sensation in western Slav capitals.[34] There were copious banquets and eloquent speeches by learned professors and publicists that left no room for doubt that the messianic hope of close Slavic collaboration was well on the way to realization.[35] They were so busy collaborating that there was barely time to visit the elaborate ethnographic and archeological exhibits for which the Congress had been called. The ghost of absent Poland did discreetly appear at several of the more formal occasions, but it was almost dispelled by confident and urbane diplomacy, which naturally deceived no one. The meeting made a deep impression upon everyone present. The Benevolent Committee was profusely congratulated for its felicitous initiative. But very few felt that much had been accomplished. Gorchakov apologetically stayed aloof, save to opine that the Czechs were apparently working for the King of Prussia. General Peter Suvalov acidly remarked that the pilgrims were pursuing a phantom, and the Austrian minister, Revertera, was told that the Russian court regarded the whole spectacle as foolish.[36] In the western Slavic press reports were, in a slight majority, critical and skeptical. The Moscow Congress may have been the high point in public tribute to the numerous concepts in the center and at the periphery of Slavophilism, but it left much disillusionment in its wake. The Poles were disgruntled at the Czechs for participating against their expressed wishes. The Austrian government had, or affected to have, more than grave doubts of the sincerity of the Czech leaders in their devotion to Austro-Slavism, and even the Catholic clergy saw in the expedition a leaning to Orthodoxy and a defection from Catholicism. Within the Austrian Empire the large Slavic public had lost confidence in the political sagacity of their leaders. There was, of course, after the Congress, not the slightest trace of implementation of all the high-sounding resolutions calling for increased cultural reciprocity between the general Slavic peoples.

About 1870 the vaguely variegated sensitivities and aspirations fo-

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[34] Kazbunda, K., *Pouť Čechů do Moskvy 1867 a rakouská diplomacie* (Prague, 1924), p. 63, and M. D. Miličević, Etnografska izložba a slovenska sastanak u Moskvi 1867 (Belgrade, 1884), p. 18ff.

[35] The classically bitter report on the Congress is that by Julian Klaczko, "Le Congrès de Moscou et la propagande panslaviste" in *Revue des deux mondes* LXI (1867), 132-181. Klaczko, a native of Wilno, had been the editor of the Paris *Wiadomości Polskie*, which ceased publication in 1861. A much more valid short account is that of Louis Léger in *Le Panslavisme et l'intérêt français* (Paris, 1917), pp. 211-249.

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cussing around the two general concepts of Slavism and Russian expansionism began to coalesce and crystallize. In that year there appeared a small book by General Rostislav A. Fadeyev under the title: *Thoughts on the Eastern Question*.[37] It had passed the censor in 1869. Fadeyev, as a soldier, was primarily interested in strengthening Russia's strategic position and in pointing the way to achieving her natural strategic aims—the control of the Straits. To him the Hapsburg Empire was the principal enemy, and not England and France. As the peoples of the polyglot Empire were mostly Slav, Russia should obviously take them under her wing, and eventually head an all-Slav state. This was Panslavism, clearly put, for Russia's political benefit.

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A much more radical and thorough treatment appeared by separate chapters in the periodical *Tsarja* in 1869 and, revised, in book form in 1871: Nikolai J. Danilevski's *Russia and Europe*. He was a trained botanist and geographer, and his broad approach covered questions of race, religion, climate, politics, and strategy. Because of its thoroughness and easily comprehensible conclusions, it became immediately the Bible of Panslavism.[38] Danilevski posited a deep-rooted antagonism between West, that is the Latin and the German, Catholicism and Protestantism, commercialism and pointless diversity, and East, that is the Slav, the orthodox and the ordered universal. Russia had a destiny to realize. She should save the smaller and weaker Slavic peoples from the curse of europeanization. The Poles had indeed gone farthest in that sinister direction, hence the great tension between Russia and the Poles. In their case Russia had had to be severe, but it was properly not with their Slavic nature but with its europeanized, Catholic perversion. The Poles should realize that Russia had had to discipline them for their own salvation. To Danilevski Panslavism, so far as it was good, was Panrussism.

It would be difficult to say which of these two works, Fadeyev on the Eastern Question or Danilevski's *Russia and Europe* had the more in-

[36] Revertera, on the other hand, had been instructed by Beust in May to give the whole matter no unnecessary notice. The two governments affected not to count it as of any political significance. See Kazbunda, *Pout' Čechů do Moskvy*, p. 57. Revertera was recalled the next year by Beust and the Tsar told his successor, Albin Vetsera, that he disliked the whole incident and regretted that it had occurred. "Russia is large enough for me; I want nothing from my neighbor" and disavowed any slightest desire to enitce away from the Emperor any of his Slav subjects. See Kazbunda, *op. cit.*, p. 121f.

[37] English translation by T. Michell (London, 1871), *Opinion on the Eastern Question*. See also Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 400ff.

[38] German translation by Karl Nötsch (Berlin, 1920), somewhat abridged, *Russland und Europa*. See further Benes, *Uvahy*, pp. 98-107, and the recent study of Alexander von Schelting, *Russland und Europa*, where the focus is on the relation of Danilevski to the church. On p. 238 he calls Danilevski "der eigentliche Systematiker der panslavistischen Weltanschauung."

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fluence. Their arguments were so dynamic in their implications that together they are a landmark in European psycho-political history. Panrussism now had a divinely appointed mission and a program for political implementation.[39] Those whose interests lay in cultural exchange with their western Slav brothers no longer felt unsupported, and those who had before been politically Pan-Russian could not rejoice in the moral support of the intelligentsia. It was a perfect coalescence of ideals and interests. There is no wonder that Gorchakov, the foreign minister, felt very gratified about the jelling of enlightened public opinion. He had shared the distrust felt by the court at cultural Slavophilism, so vocal at the Moscow Congress. It implied equality among the various Slavic peoples. Russian policy would be much happier if Russia's "leadership" and of course "benevolent" hegemony were generally accepted. It is hardly necessary to mention that the acceptance of Russian Orthodoxy—no longer Greek Orthodoxy—was by now assumed as a *sine qua non* of the whole Slavic program. It is not difficult to see how the atmosphere created by the wide circulation of these two sensational books may have convinced Gorchakov and the court that Ignatyev's reports and suggestions from Constantinople correctly represented the proper policy to be pursued—at least in the interests of Russia.[40] We are here far removed from any semblance of the Panslav sentiments of Kollár, or the Austro-Slavism of the Prague Congress of 1848 or even from the implications of Slav cultural reciprocity so fervently expressed by most of the leaders at the Moscow Congress of 1867. We are dealing with realistic political opportunism which makes use of the slogans and stage illusions evoked by romantic or even philosophical Panslavism. Gorchakov and Ignatyev and certainly—and indeed avowedly—Fadeyev, were quite aware of the political semantics fluttering around the words Slavophilism, Panslavism, Slavic solidarity. The fact that the words sent shivers up and down the spines of western diplomats and at the same time thrilled the Russian people and some western Slavs could only please the anti-western party at the Tsar's court.

In 1874 an Archeological Congress was held in Kiev under the auspices of the Moscow Archeological Society. It was sparsely attended by non-Russian Slavs, about a dozen in all, out of a total of 206 delegates. Several unpleasant incidents at this Congress showed that the resentments and tensions between, particularly, Poles, Russians and Ukrainians, were

[39] See Lednicki, *art. cit.*, p. 845ff., and Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 75ff. Feldman, *op. cit.*, says bluntly: "Unter den Russen vollzieht sich nach dem Jahre 1870 eine Umwandlung der alten slavophilenBewegung in einen selbstbewussten politischen Imperialismus."

[40] On Ignatyev see Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 73ff., and his article in *Slavic Review* XI (1932), 343- , 569-

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deep and lasting. Slavic solidarity was certainly not advanced by this meeting.[41]

It is true that the Bulgarian atrocities precipitated a resurgence, in Russia herself, of the emotional index of the Panslav idea, but basic political realities were not thereby at stake. The participation of Russian soldiers as volunteers in the Serbian army could not obscure the fact that Russia already saw clearly that Turkey was no longer a major antagonist. Indeed the Balkan wars of 1876-78 were only an incident which, if anything, confirmed the political Panslavists (*lege* Panrussians) of the necessity to consolidate their political program and its psychological and moral bases for use in a coming struggle with enemies much stronger than the Ottoman Empire. The Russian campaign of 1877-78 could have been lifted bodily from Fadeyev or Danilevski.

The fact that Gorchakov and Ignatyev had to retire from public life after the Treaty of Berlin has several interesting if not ironic aspects. What must have played a large part in their downfall was the fact that their aggressive Panslavism or Pan-Russism or Russian nationalism had gained less for Russia at Berlin than was popularly expected.[42] Yet they themselves, and here lies the irony, were substantially responsible for inducing Russian opinion to expect so much. The significant fact is the generality of the adoption of the Russian nationalistic thesis, and, in retrospect, the large-scale perversion of the thesis of Slav reciprocity. What, less than a half century before, seen from Paris or London, had been a cloud, small as a man's hand, on the eastern horizon, now seemed a swirling thunderhead, about to loose a torrent and a tempest. This menace bore the label Panslavism. No wonder the west shivered at the word. Yet it was by this time in no sense Panslav but pure Russian expansionism.

It would be of interest to examine the trends of thought among the western Slavs in these years. It was among them that the ideas of Slav reciprocity had first arisen. The great Croat leader, Bishop Strossmayer, had not modified his stand in favor of a South Slav federation and cultural reciprocity with the lands of Orthodoxy. Professor Jaroslav Jagić and George Daničić, the renowned South Slav philologists, both advocated a union of the Croats, Serbs and Bulgars. Nowhere among these leaders do we detect any desire to join a larger Slavic world led by Russia, or any urge to make Orthodoxy the common Slav faith.[43] Their insistence on their cultural and political independence constitutes an emphatic rejection of the

41 Léger, *Le Panslavisme . . .*, pp. 242-249. Léger was present at the Congress.

42 Gorchakov's last years have been frequently discussed. See in brief B. Nolde, *L'Alliance franco-russe* (Paris, 1936), pp. 199ff. and 209ff.

43 Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 347ff.; see also R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question* (London, 1911), p. 126ff.

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so-called Panslavism emanating from Moscow in these decades. The fact that, under Magyar rule, any move by South Slavs or Slovaks to cultivate their native language or culture was proceeded against as "Panslavism" and conseqently regarded as high treason[44] is obviously irrelevant, because erroneous in its factual bases. Palacký in his *Politisches Vermächtnis* observed that he had come to the conclusion that a Russian universal monarchy would mean "violent compulsion, absolute subjugation and enslavement of all civilized Europe, the suppression and suffocation of every free and noble thought and aspiration of the human race." He added that he thought that the enlightened minds of Russia would likewise regard the expansion of Russia westward as a misfortune.[45] He might not have counted Dostoyevski among the enlightened minds of Russia.

The Poles, crushed between Russian and Prussian calculated oppression, sought solace from their dire despair in their own literature and art. It was all that was left them. Memories of the Russian soldiery of Muraviev certainly estopped any warmth of feeling toward the Slavs they knew the most about from personal experience.[46] The less they had to do with the Russians the better. Orthodoxy was Russian and therefore they clung to their Roman Catholicism with deepening gratitude. The Poles were grateful also to Austria for the relative freedom they enjoyed in Cracow and Galicia, and used it to fortify their nationalism in literature and science.[47]

By the end of the century, whether because of absorption into a more potent and definitely programmatic Russian expansionism, or because its vagaries had repelled the western and more rational Slavs, or because the anti-Panslav campaign from Berlin, Paris and London had been effective, or because Russian imperialism was not too successful, the Panslavism of the Prague Congress of 1848, of the Moscow Slavophils, or the Moscow Congress of 1867 or even of Ignatyev, was dead. It might be more exact to say that the ghost had been laid.

The subsidence of the noble sentiments of Slavic reciprocity, of "interslavism," did not mean, however, that the scarecrow of Panslavism was not still usable. Eduard Beneš recently put these developments in urbane terms:

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44 Cf. the Vakanović memorandum of 1872, quoted by Palacký, *Politisches Vermächtnis* ,p. 13; cf. also Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 353f. It would appear that the Magyars were the most consistently fervent believers in Panslavism. At any rate they thought every Slovak was a Panslav. The record contains many instances of such fantasy almost too ludicrous to believe. The most fantastic aspect of this complex is its literal truth. See, e. g. Thomas Capek, *The Slovaks of Hungary: Slavs and Panslavism* (New York, 1906), pp. 47-52.

45 *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

46 Kucharzewski, Jan, *Origins of Modern Russia* (New York, 1948), p. 349ff.

47 Chlebowski, Bronislas, *La litterature polonaise au XIXe siecle* (Paris, 1933), chs. XXVIII and XXIX; and see Feldman, *op. cit.*, chapter IX, "Aufleben der Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen im Zusammenhange mit modernen sozialen Ideen."

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"Panslavism then, up to 1905, solved no question fully, it failed to attain its aims, and could not be transferred into the field of politics in any concrete form. Finally it became a synonym for Tsarist Russian nationalism and as such, in the form of a political doctrine, could only be prejudicial to all concerned: to the Russians, to the other Slavs, to Europe and to the world. It was harmful to the Slavs because, above and beyond the fact that it was in political fact in great measure a fantasy, it was used and misused against them by their opponents to such an extent that not only the Magyars and the Germans but all of western Europe saw in it a real danger and frequently, because of it, opposed them even where the Slavs were in the right. Against us Czechoslovaks it was for instance used during the first world war and here and there one heard echoes of it even during the second."[48]

The year 1905 brought a marked change, not only in Russia's external prestige and her internal constitutional structure, but also in the attitude of the western and southern Slavs toward the whole question of their own future and the relations between them and Tsarist Russia. Whereas for over a half century, since at least the Prague Slavic Congress of 1848, they had consciously or unconsciously looked to powerful Russia for moral or physical support, now, that Russia had been militarily humbled and they found their own strength growing and their interests in their western connections in a more satisfactory perspective, the prospect of a future independent of Russia was not unpleasing. The vestiges of admiration for Russia that remained clouded but did not basically alter the vision of the future that opened out before them.

As for the Poles, who had never accepted the thesis of Russian leadership, the harsh campaign for russification under Alexander III only increased their hatred of everything Russia stood for and their determination to maintain their separate polonism.[49] Among the Czechs and the Slovaks the "realism" of Masaryk, by which he had meant simply that they should trust in their own moral strength and the logic of national development in order to win out over an already corrupt, artificial and doomed monarchy, had made much headway and was destined to capture the dominant place in the people's thought. The South Slavs had not forgotten the disillusionment brought by the Congress of Berlin and had quickly adjusted themselves to the thesis that they should and could make substantial gains in cultural and political autonomy on their own initiative in the Balkan ambit.[50] The coup of 1903 in Belgrade furthermore opened vistas of actual independence from the Hapsburg monarchy. All the western Slavs had sensed vividly for a full quarter century that Russia had been increasingly

[48] Beneš, *Urahy o Slovanstvi*, p. 127f.
[49] Cf. M. Zdziechowski, *Wpływy rosyjskie na duszę polską* (Cracow, 1920), p. 33ff.
[50] Cf. E. Denis, *La Grande Serbie* (Paris, 1920), p. 121ff.

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disinterested, indeed bored, with them and their problems. What fleeting political *rapprochements* took place at top levels did not touch real public opinion save to confirm the general belief that arrangements between dynasts, foreign ministers and such like were cynical and opportunistic. In this case at least it would have been difficult to prove this instinctive judgment erroneous.

On a basis of these psycho-political developments among the Slavs within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and along her borders the decade between 1905 and the outbreak of the war of 1914 witnessed the rise to dominance of what is usually described as Neo-Slavism.[51] The leading and best known exponent and expositor of this short-lived but significant movement was the Czech politician, Dr. Karel Kramář. The essence of this movement, fundamentally indigenous and unconnected with Russia or the accidental fact that Russia was largely Slavic, was an effort to counterweight Central Europe and the Balkans against the aggressive expansion of Germany in every field of political, economic and social life in that area. Seeing that Austria-Hungary was weakening in the face of the steady pressure from the north, the Neo-Slavs even advocated support of the Empire on condition that it be federalized. If Austria-Hungary could be weaned away from Germany and the Triple Alliance broken up, Russia and Austria-Hungary could draw closer together. Pan-Germanism would then be blocked and the western Slavs could move and have their being in this larger atmosphere. Along these lines there was even, *mirabile dictu*, talk of a Polish-Russian *rapprochement*. Late in 1905 Swiatkowski, an energetic Russian journalist, proclaimed that the German danger made Slavic cooperation absolutely necessary,[52] and he proceeded to beat the drums for a broad-gauged campaign to bring it about—among the Sokols, in the press, by congresses, by cultural and social relations on every level. He envisaged a political union of some sort, but specifically an economic and customs union to which the non-Slavic states of Central Europe should also be invited. In the next two years the idea grew that it was time for all the Slavs to get together again, as in 1848 and 1867, to further their mutual interests. The leader of the movement in Russia was Lt. Gen. Volodimirov, whose recent retirement left him with time on his hands. He enlisted some publicists and men of letters of a poetic cast of mind, travelled to Warsaw, Cracow and Prague, where he found other optimists.

The second Slavic Congress of Prague, which met in July, 1908, was the result of this agitation. It was attended by represenatives of most, though

[51] Benel, *op. cit.*, p. 134ff. The most complete discussion of this movement is the collaborative work, *Slovanstvo. Obraz jeho minulosti a přítomnosti* (Prague, 1912), with a foreword by Dr. Kramář.

[52] Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 307f.

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not all, of the Slavic peoples in Russia, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans.[53] The slogans were unity, solidarity, reciprocity, equality and unification, though few if any of the delegates knew precisely what they meant. Roman Dmowski, the leader of the Polish delegation, ostentatiously shook hands with Krasowski, the head of the Russian delegation,[54] and the whole Congress echoed for days with the miracle that had been wrought. It all sounded like the ominous approach of peace and good will. But the fact is that the whole idea behind the Congress was based on a completely untenable assumption: that the interests of Russia and Austria-Hungary did not conflict.[55] It can only be charitably said that the organizers of the Congress had, in a greater degree and with even less excuse than their predecessors of 1848 and 1867, failed to think through their program, its logic and its practicability. Questions which the literate man on the street in Prague, Belgrade or Warsaw knew had to be faced either did not appear on the agenda or were greeted by bland smiles and silence. Two further facts highlight the absurdity of the meeting. The old Panrussians, now benignly veneered with liberalism, were in control of the Russian delegation and there is not the slightest reason to doubt that all their vocal support of the new Slavism was utterly cynical. Neo-Slavism in general and the Prague Congress in particular never aroused any enthusiasm among the Serbs. Roman Dmowski told Beneš in 1917 that his aims at the Congress of 1908 were solely the independence of Poland, and in no sense Slav.[56]

The roseate aura of Slavic amity and hope engendered by the Congress lasted less than three months. Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina and the hopes of the western Slavs for an acceptable *modus vivendi* within the then political framework were rudely dashed. The next year it became evident that the promises made to the Poles in Russia in 1905 of modest recognition of their nationalistic feelings were valueless and that reaction was again in the saddle in St. Petersburg.[57]

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[53] Léger, *Le Panslavisme . . .*, p. 271ff.; Beneš, *op. cit.*, 139ff. A rich source of documentation is the printed (but not published) record of the trial of Kramář, Alois Rašín, V. Červinka and Josef Žamazal, which went on from Dec. 6, 1915, to June 3, 1916. Letters, documents and testimony of all sorts on the whole movement, including the various congresses, are printed *in extenso*. See further Paul Milyukov, "World War and Slavonic Policy" in *Slavonic Review* VI (1927-28), 268-290, particularly interesting in its critique of Kramář's ideas and Beneš' opposition to them.

[54] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 149. Dmowski published this same year his *Niemcy, Rosja i Kwestja Polska* (Lwów) in which he argued that Poland's principal enemy was Germany and that it was to the interest of the Poles and the other western Slavs to support Russia.

[55] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 155f.

[56] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 154f.

[57] One of the resolutions passed at the Prague congress to which most weight was

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175 Yet there were still pleasantly optimistic souls among the Slavic in-
186 tellectuals. Another Congress was called for Sofia in 1910. It makes even
829 more fantastic reading than those that preceded it. Dr. Kramář was fre-
668 quently eloquent. No Pole was present as a delegate. The Russian delega-
tion was almost exclusively conservative. No Ukrainian representative came and the Bulgarian Tsar was ostentatiously absent from Sofia during the Congress. This was the last Slavic Congress before the outbreak of hostilities in 1914.[58] Almost everybody save the leading Czech slavophil Dr. Kramář left Sofia fully aware that he had witnessed the *rigor mortis* of an ailing phantom—indeed a cooling thought. The Neo-Slav movement had had a short life and an inglorious end. If it accomplished anything it proved that Slavism as a gospel, so long at least as there was an Austro-Hungarian Empire, had insufficient grounding in the tissues of international relations to have the slightest influence upon the trend of events in Central and Eastern Europe.

It is a commonplace among German historians and analysts of the origins of the first world war that it was essentially a defensive struggle by Germandom against Slavdom. Bethmann-Hollweg made the statement early, and so weighty a study as Fischel's *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* is avowedly devoted to this thesis. But it will hardly bear careful examination. There were Germans on one side—there was a majority of Slavs on the other. But that is more accidental than essential. Along with many Slavic-German issues there was in fact a greater number of issues completely unrelated to the Slavic-German question which in the inevitable logic of history would have had to be decided completely regardless of ethnics and culture. After the war, out of which arose three new or revised west Slavic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the principal inter-Slav questions were solved and there was hardly a whisper of Panslavism. Bolshevik Russia, emphasizing its multinationality and its supranational foundations, in the early years at least, had no interest in Slavic countries *per se*, and Panslavism, Slavophilism, Neo-Slavism and even Pan-Russism became historical curiosities, objects of antiquarian research.

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attached was to the effect that St. Petersburg should be the meeting place of the next Pan-Slav conference the following year. Léger (*op. cit.*, p. 278) says: "l'on se sépara en se donnant rendez-vous pour l'année suivante à St. Petersbourg. Ce rendez-vous ne devait pas se réaliser." S. B. Fay, *Origins of the World War* (New York, 1929), 401, and B. E. Schmitt, *Annexation of Bosnia 1908-1909* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 248, mention the congress in the summer of 1909 and the circular letter sent to Slav organizations in the Balkans. The contradiction is only apparent. There was such a conference and such a secret circular, but very few South Slavs attended the meeting. See dispatch from Count Brockdorff-Rantzau (German chargé d'affaires in Vienna) to Bethmann-Hollweg of July 25, 1909, in *Die Grosse Politik*, XXVI, 844f.

[58] See the *Kramář-Prozess*, pp. 402-407, for interesting sidelights on the meeting.

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This should cause no surprise. Whenever in the past these national groups had existed as independent states there had not been any discernible urge for exceptional collaboration on a basis of their consanguinity. They had pursued their particular needs, in the same way as France, Italy and Spain, also related by history, language, religion and ethnic bonds, had, throughout their history, tended toward particularism and strenuously rejected any centripetal pressures. It would seem reasonable to allow Slavic peoples to act according to a pattern assumed to be rational and even enlightened farther west.

The Little Entente was, quite accidentally, two-thirds Slav. Its collapse was precipitated by the early defection of Yugoslavia, one of the Slav thirds. The Balkan Entente followed no noticeable Slavic pattern.

The aggressive war of 1939 was variously advertised. It was directed against any people that objected to being nazified, Slav, Teuton, Baltic or Latin. The fourth partition of Poland, shared in equally by Russia and Germany, made it abundantly clear that it was not a war against Bolshevism or of German against Slav. It would have been difficult to arouse among western Slavs any enthusiasm for the Slav idea from August 23, 1939 to June 22, 1941.

At this point it is possible to draw some deductions from the history of the variations in Slav feeling. The sense of Slavic community weakened, or perhaps more accurately shuffled into the unrealistic or academic empyrean, in times of peace. Under stress and strain or in times of crisis Slavophilism became again, with the limitations of the moment, an active force.[59] But all wars, the ultimate in national interest, have acted as rapid solvents of these fond dreams. This failure of the idea to stand any real test will explain why we use the term phantom or illusion of the whole concept.

From 1941 on one heard much of Slavic solidarity. There were All-Slav congresses at Moscow in August 1941, April 1942 and May 1943. The Russian speakers emphatically repudiated the political Panslavism and Pan-Russism of the nineteenth century and appealed "for the union of all Slav strength in the struggle against Hitlerism."[60] There was to be a unity of equals with equals, all bound together in a happy family of democratic peoples. Thereafter Slavic committees sprang up and Slavic congresses were held in London, Detroit and Pittsburgh, and in 1945 and following years, in Sofia, Belgrade, Bratislava, Prague and Warsaw. The themes of all these meetings followed the same lines: rejoicing in new Slav unity

[59] Cf. A. Mousset, *Le Monde Slave* (2nd. ed., Paris, 1947), p. 385.

[60] Vl. Osmanin, Secretary of All Slav Committee, in May, 1943, quoted by Mousset *op. cit.*

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175 under the leadership of Soviet Russia. Whereas the pre-1914 congresses
186 were usually gatherings of professors and publicists, and the realist poli-
529 ticians generally abstained, the post-1941 gatherings were almost exclu-
668 sively made up of politicians and poets. The trained professorate was in a noticeable minority. It would perhaps be superfluous to quote many of these political leaders on the subject of Slav unity, but it would not be difficult to discover a marvelous, perhaps inspired, unanimity.

There were numerous speeches in all the western Slav capitals which emphasized "the Slavic bloc, directed by the great Russian people"[61] "for the protection of their freedom and democracy."[62] There is no room for question as to what was meant. The signing of every new treaty, of commerce, mutual defense or cultural friendship, was accompanied by headlines, radio propaganda and ministerial banquets, in all of which inter-Slavic devotion was lauded with profound conviction. Ceremonial visits of chiefs of state were exchanged, there were many elaborate parades and happy reunions. In between, naturally, there were visits to Moscow. M. Georgiev, the Bulgarian President, remarked, on landing in Moscow on Jan. 7, 1946: "I am happy to be in the fortress of the Slavic peoples which, thanks to the wise direction of Generalissimo Stalin, has become the hope of all democratic humanity." M. Vishinsky then visited Sofia.

The years 1946 and 1947 brought electoral and diplomatic victories to Russia. As all the Slavs were now safely enjoying their Slavic solidarity, it was no longer necessary to emphasize Slavism. Marxian Socialism was a more comprehensive concept into which Magyars, Rumanians, Austrians, Germans and Balts could conveniently be made to fit. We have therefore to remark upon the relative silence of western Slavic spokesmen on the subject of Slavic solidarity in the years 1947 and 1948. That stage illusion was no longer necessary, at least in so urgent a fashion as before. On the other hand it would be incorrect to say that it had been completely withdrawn from circulation. The enforcement of Russian language instruction in the schools, the extended tours of Russian artists, authors, scientists and athletes throughout all the Slavic countries, the dominant place in areas of cultural expression, education, science, press, radio, screen and stage, given to the products of Russia, all reveal the underlying plan. It should not be overlooked, furthermore, that the Orthodox Church has, with the support of the Kremlin, been incorporated into the program of implementation of the plan with considerable success in at least Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the Ukraine. Whereas under Tsarist rule the trilogy of

[61] Quoted by Mousset, *op. cit.*, p. 257, from Zdeněk Nejedlý, Czechoslovak Minister of Education.

[62] Nikolov, President of Slav Committee, at Sofia, quoted by Mousset, *op. cit.*, p 262f.

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nationalism, orthodoxy and autocracy was the slogan reserved for Russia herself, one is justified in remarking that Russian nationalism has now become Slavic nationalism or Slavic unity, Orthodoxy is being encouraged outside Russia, and of autocracy throughout the western Slavic states there appears to be quite adequate evidence. We have, on the other hand, little positive proof that thus far the various Slavic peoples love each other more than they did, say in 1860, 1890 or 1935. Titoism rather speaks for itself, and the great popularity of Gomulka in Poland would indicate, if there were any need, the continuity of Polish separatism from time immemorial. A thousand years of determined and consistent western orientation and nationalism are not obliterated in a decade of government by loud speakers, force and fear.

As we look back over the last century of Slav thought, interaction and political mutuality, several broad lines of change strike our notice. In 1848 Slavophil enthusiasm stemmed mostly from within the polyglot Hapsburg monarchy. A century later, not only has this Empire, officially a bulwark of Germanism with all its westward leanings, disappeared, but its place and much more has been taken by the heirs of the Tsars. In 1848 Slavic thought was largely centered on cultural and moral reciprocity. A century later the Slavic nations, under the direction of Russia (excepting, for the moment, Yugoslavia), constitute a solid and ruthlessly integrated political, economic and military unity, more tightly welded with each passing day. But nothing seemed more sure, and indeed necessary, in 1848 than the Hapsburg Empire. Yet that imperial idea was in actuality soon after 1848 rejected by those who had theretofore felt it to be necessary. Under similar circumstances there is every reason to think that the present, stronger than imperial, concept will be rejected. Of their own volition the western Slavs have never in their long history shown any general desire to become part of an inclusive Slav empire. They have at various times experienced the imperial idea only to repudiate it. Nor, in spite of present conditions, is there any evidence that the people of these nations have lost their historic particularism. All the verifiable evidence is in the opposite direction. These peoples have lived long and are wise from bitter experience, a teacher whose lessons last longer than those of ministers of propaganda. Nowhere is the common man more anxious to claim citizenship of the world than in Central Europe, where the western Slavs for much more than this past century have been exposed to the repeated appearances of, only to reject, the phantom of Panslavism.

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studies, and allowed themselves to be infected with that racial pride which German science displayed, with a tremendous orgy of texts and compilations. 186* 178 814

Kollár, a Slovak, Koukouljevich, a Croat, Kopitar and Stanko Vraz, two Slovenes, with Vuk Karajich, a Serb, formed the pleiad of romantic scholars and men of letters who revealed to the Slav peoples the common basis of their culture and their traditions. Their scientific offensive, which Renan was to call, somewhat disdainfully, 'Comparative Philology transplanted to the political domain', was the prelude to an era of ferment, when far-seeing minds could foretell the catastrophe which would abolish the work of the Congress of Vienna. Never had pure learning let loose such a storm. It was destined to pile up, under the throne of the Habsburgs, the explosive forces whose work of destruction has been completed under our eyes.

The movement was precipitated by the recrudescence of racial antagonism in Hungary. The 1848 Revolution had scattered powder-trails throughout Europe. Austria-Hungary found herself, in the years that followed, a prey to two opposing currents, representing the different life-aspirations, rather than political conceptions, of two enemy groups among the nations of this heterogeneous Empire. While the Liberals of Vienna, in revolt against absolute power, marched in union with the Frankfurt Parliament, and included in their ranks the Germans of Austria; while the Magyar Liberals broke with the Habsburgs and bore Kossuth to power, the Slavs of Cis-Leithania and Trans-Leithania, by a repercussion natural to oppressed races, rebelled against tendencies aiming at the strengthening of the two hegemonies, Germanic and Magyar. The ethnical crisis attained its peak in Hungary, where the Croats marched to the defence of the throne under the leadership of the Ban of Croatia, Jellachich, while the Slavs of Hungary (Slovaks and Serbs) kicked against the persecutions of a régime which Western journalism confused with Parliamentary Liberalism. Russia intervened in 1849 not only, as was long believed, to save the monarchical principle, but also under moral obligation not to let the Slavs of Hungary succumb. By the victory of Vilagos, the Russian armies restored to the Habsburgs Hungary, which they were on the point of losing. Six years later Austria, by her anti-Russian attitude in the Crimean War, was, according to a famous 186* 175 648 668

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186* saying, to astound the world by her ingratitude. It is said that
175 Nicholas I, towards the end of his reign, visited Warsaw and,
648 standing thoughtfully in front of Sobieski's statue, said: 'That's
• 668 the first of the fools who worked for the Habsburgs. And I was the second'.

175 It was in the thick of these racial tussles that the Slav peoples
186 held their first conclaves. Bohemia, the most civilised of the
668 Slav nations, was the first to extend her hand to her sisters. By way of a counter-stroke to the German Assembly in Frankfurt, the Slav Congress took place in Prague in June, 1848. Object: the establishment of periodical relations between the Slav peoples and the drawing up of a programme of action for such of those
[171] peoples as were subject to Austrian or Magyar domination. The language spoken at the Congress was German, then regarded as the Esperanto of the Slavs, thus enabling the Germans to claim the Slavs as belonging to their *Geistesleben*. This Congress, attended by three hundred and sixty-three members, under the chairmanship of the Czech historian, Palatsky, was divided into three sections: Russo-Polish, Jugoslav, and Czechoslovak. Whilst protesting its loyalty to the Habsburgs, it claimed, for the Slav populations, the rights and guarantees granted to the Germans and the Magyars. Outbreaks occurred in Prague after this meeting, and the manner in which they were repressed showed that the Slavs could not expect much from Vienna. Once more, the eyes of the Slavonic world turned towards Russia.

186 Bakunin, in his *Confession*, has left us a picturesque sketch
668 of this Congress of Prague. He had pleaded the cause of the Russian revolution, and of the Federative Republic of all Slavs. 'The Slavs', he said, 'are real children, but I have found among them an unbelievable freshness, and incomparably greater innate intelligence and energy than among the Germans. The Slavs' predominating sentiment is hatred of the Germans. The forceful, if not very polite, expression, "accursed German" ("*prokliatni Nometz*") pronounced alike in nearly all the Slavonic dialects, has produced an incredible result in every Slav. . . . Hatred of the Germans formed the inexhaustible topic of all conversations; it served as a greeting between strangers. . . . As regards the Congress itself, it was, like all the other political

[1. Slav Congress, June 1848 – Analyst]

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Congresses and Assemblies of the time, void of ideas, and absurd'.[1] 186 668

The poet and precursor of the Russian Slavophile current had been the Muscovite, Alexis Khomyakov, who was born in 1804, and died of cholera in 1860. Although a man of very wide and varied general culture (he invented a gun, and a new type of shell), he was deeply attached to national and religious traditions. Moving in literary and philosophical circles, which looked to the West for their standards, he felt a frenzied need for reaction. To the cosmopolitanism of ideas and to the philosophy of Schelling, with whom his contemporaries were infatuated, he opposed a new system, based on the obligation, for any nation wishing to attain its full development, to preserve its original atmosphere of faith, manners, and traditions. Thus, while the Czechs, the Croats, the Slovenes, had at first perceived in Slavism an instrument of joint solidarity and of liberation, Russia began by regarding it as a rampart against the intrusion of Western thought. 186* 156 829

The fundamental idea of the so-called Slavophile school was this: the West was in full decay; it was up to Russia to keep herself free of all contaminations, in order to play the regenerating role assigned to her by Providence. In the history of the universe, it was the destiny of each nation to realise one aspect of human genius and to carry this realisation to its point of perfection. Ancient Greece expressed plastic beauty, Rome's mission was to realise the conception of the State, and of Law. The Christian peoples of Western Europe had developed Rationalism and its applications to actual life by giving special prominence to individualist doctrines; witness Luther's doctrine, English political Liberalism, French equalitarianism. 186* 812

The late-comers in history, Russia and the other Slavonic peoples, still had a decisive role to play in the evolution of humanity—to define the social value of love and brotherhood. The Slavonic race would find, in its mentality and institutions, the necessary conditions for fulfilling this mission. All it had to do was to foster and develop its original characteristics.

That was the psychological and providential aspect of the Slavophile thesis, in which we find unconscious reminiscences of

[1] *Confession*, p. 105 *sqq.*

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heirs of Charlemagne. It had no meaning for Russians, who must reject any permanent agreement with the States of the Continent, and keep her hands free, paying no attention to the doctrines by which other governments are inspired. 186' 829

These ideas found fuller development in the well-known speculations of the Slavophile schools on the decadence of the West. Each civilisation, said Danilevsky, slowly exhausted the sap which had nourished it. There was the time of flower and the time of fruit, and Europe had flowered two centuries ago. She had then passed her maturity, and could but degenerate—so the Russian nation had nothing to expect from her. History, added Danilevsky, showed that spiritual supremacy tends to function 'spirally'; to pass from one human group to another; China, India, Egypt, Greece . . . Europe's mission was completed, he concluded.

These long quotations were necessary, in order to establish the starting-point of the Slavophile movement, and its anti-European aspect, manifesting itself at the very time when one section of Russian thought, and the whole of the other Slavonic peoples, were expecting 'light' from the West alone.

The word 'Slavophile' itself, to designate this specific form of Russian nationalism, was originally a derogatory nickname, given to Chichkov and his partisans, who were taxed with Obscurantism. In fashionable society, it was always to have an unpleasant ring about it. When Dostoievsky makes the hero of his novel, *The Idiot*, enter a drawing-room, people excuse his strange behaviour by saying, 'He's a Slavophile, or something very like it, but not a dangerous case'. [196]

This movement did not monopolise all the appeals to collaboration among Slavs. There existed a counterpart, of opposite and revolutionary tendency. In the Polish section of the Congress of 1848, Bakunin had denounced the illusions fostered by Tsarist propaganda. 'I have no doubt they anticipate the time, in a distant, very far distant future, when all the Slavonic peoples will form part of the Russian Empire. Before that happens, all the Slavonic peoples will have fallen into decrepitude. . . . Without Russia, Slavonic unity is incomplete; without her, Slavonic strength is non-existent. But it would be madness to expect help for the Slavs and their salvation from contemporary Russia. . . . Be the liberators of the Russian people 186' 668

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186* who, in their turn, will subsequently become your strength and
• 668 your buckler'.

The Pravoslav *mystique* of the Slavophiles and the revolutionary thesis of Bakunin coincided on two points—faith in the future of the Slavonic peoples, and the expectation of a European order in which no nation should feel humiliated or injured. Transplanted to the domain of international life, this was that 'eternal search for integral justice' in which M. Raoul Labry so pertinently saw the dominating feature of the Russian spirit, with its belief in miracles and 'the totalitarian exigencies which it owes to its long religious education and to the régime under which it has developed'.

The immediate aim of the theoreticians of the Slavophile school was to apply Russian solutions to the problems of their national life. That is why the question of the emancipation of the serfs was studied by Youri Samarin, one of the leaders of this school.

[668] In 1867, in the midst of the enthusiasm aroused by this reform, the Congress of Moscow, which marked the climax of Russian Slavophilia, took place. In actual fact, it was less a Congress than a friendly gathering, sponsored by the Moscow Society for Natural Sciences. Eighty delegates of the Slavonic peoples accepted the organisers' invitation: there were Czechs, Serbs, Croats, Bulgars, Slovaks, and Russo-Galicians. The Poles, still suffering from the 1863 repression, had stayed away. The delegates were received at Tsarskoy Selo. The Russian historian, Pogodin, made a speech in which he expressed the hope that the meeting might be the starting-point of an era of regular contacts between all the Slavs. It was decided to hold a biennial Congress, in a town to be selected in advance, with a view to discussing the various problems of mutual interest to Slavs; to found a publishing company, to knit closer the intellectual bonds between the Slavonic peoples; and to set up in Moscow a permanent committee to act as a link between Slavonic organisations.

[741] This programme remained a dead letter, except for a few philanthropic institutions, which contributed to give to Russian Slavophilia the character of 'help' rather than of real mutual aid. At the Congress, one speaker had proposed the adoption of Russian as the inter-Slav language. He was snubbed. The

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feature which most reveals the Russian exclusivism that animated the Slavophiles is the very fact that their campaign did not succeed in creating a more effective current of intellectual exchanges. In 1850, a young Russian aristocrat asked for a passport to go abroad, in order to study 'Slavonic peoples and ways'. His application was refused, on the grounds that 'between Moscow and Kamchatka there was ample space in which to pursue this branch of study'. 186* 668

Among the Orthodox Slavs there was, moreover, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, only one State exhibiting a certain independence, and that was Montenegro. After a long period of subjection to Venetian influence, it passed entirely under Russian tutelage. Its prince-bishops sent their nephews to study in Russia, to prepare themselves for rule. Many young Montenegrins settled there, and their descendants included several of the Russian generals who opposed the Great Army. [563]

With this exception, intellectual relations between Slavs and Russians were intermittent and restricted. If, once they had regained their independence, the Serbs and the Bulgars sent their statesmen to St. Petersburg, their students went to Vienna, to Leipzig, or to Paris. Even the Orthodox seminarists often preferred the Protestant Faculty of Tübingen to the Russian religious institutions. In short, the ascendency of Western civilisation remained the chief obstacle to an assimilation of Russian culture by the Slavonic peoples. 186* 177

The Slavophiles, despite the lack of support (and, very soon, the distrust) which their initiative experienced from the Imperial Government, did not allow themselves to be discouraged. The Moscow Slavonic Committee, founded immediately after the Congress of 1867, and its St. Petersburg branch, set up in the spring of 1868, were continually active in the years that followed. Among other activities, they established charitable societies, which educated young Slavs from the oppressed regions, and publishing houses, which produced books, dictionaries, maps, reviews, etc., intended to propagate the common ideal. Between 1875 and 1878 the two organisations were very much in favour in Russian society; millions of roubles flowed into the collections sponsored by them; Aid Committees came to the assistance of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina; arms were sent to the Christians in revolt against Islam; a legion of Russian 186* 668 575

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186* 668 575 volunteers was armed and sent to Serbia a year before Russia's declaration of war, which was not made until April, 1877.

In the other Slavonic countries, the movement borrowed an ever-increasing offensive power from the general upward thrust of the nationalities. While the Czech deputies refused to sit in the Cis-Leithan Parliament, the Slovenes claimed the rights of their race and their language; the Croats, under the leadership of Mgr. Strossmayer, made of Zagreb a centre of national culture; the Serbs completed their emancipation and the Bulgarians, in two stages (1860 and 1870), secured the creation of the Exarchate. The Slavonic world was in full effervescence. Germanism grew alarmed. 'If necessary, we will put the Slavs up against the wall', Chancellor de Beust had said.

[648] The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 was to some extent the military epilogue of this period of effervescence. The Congress of Berlin supplied Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield with the opportunity of repressing the outbursts of the Slavonic race, and of checkmating ethnical propaganda, under colour of ensuring European peace.

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186* 178 During the years that followed, the interest taken by Russia in the Slavonic countries appeared to decrease. Internal affairs absorbed the attention of the Imperial Government, and the disappointments following the Congress of Berlin kept Russian society of the time of Alexander III in a mood of weariness or of apathy. This disaffection became more marked at the beginning of the reign of Nicholas II. Whilst Europe saw Panslavism as a volcano for ever in eruption, Tsarist diplomacy kept in quarantine the heirs of Slavophile thought. The word *bratouchka* (little brother), coined in 1877, at the time of the liberation of Bulgaria, lost its touching significance, to become a scornful term, synonymous with 'cadger', applied to the Balkan Slavs. German influence, exercised in St. Petersburg by the Baltic barons and the Court, took advantage of the repugnance felt by Liberalism and the Western type of Intellectualism to a movement which claimed to bring the country back to the real sources of its tradition.

186* 668 The Slavonic Congress held in St. Petersburg in May, 1908, was attended by members of the Duma, of *Kolo Polsko* (Polish

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Club) and the *Skupshtina*. But only secondary questions were dealt with, to be re-examined—without any more practical result—in the following month in Prague. These questions included the creation of a Slavonic Bank, a Slavonic Telegraphic Agency, the preparation of an Exhibition, the extension of Sokolism. . . . The time of heroic debates had passed. 186* 668

Then, in the speculations founded on an identical destiny for the Slavonic community, there was one disturbing element—Poland. Towards that country, Tsarist Russia displayed implacable aversion. Had she pursued a really Slavonic policy, she would have tried to utilise the powerful factor formed by the persecuted Poles beyond her own frontiers. A Slavonic policy would have succeeded in making of Russian Poland, governed with tolerance and understanding, a centre of attraction, if not for Little Poland (where the Viennese policy of Austro-Polonism gave the illusion of some measure of individuality), at least for the savagely persecuted Poles in East Prussia, in Posnania, and in Upper Silesia. 186* 563 648

For their part the Poles were inclined to think that there existed only two Slavonic peoples, Russia and themselves, and, of the principles of Slavism, to grasp only that directed against Germany.

It was precisely in the measure in which she appealed to the Slavonic idea that Russia caused them uneasiness. As for the other Slavonic peoples, their relations with them were only occasional. *Bohemi Polonorum infestissimi inimici* ran an old saying. The seventy-seven Polish deputies who made up the *Kolo Polsko,* and together stood for all the parties represented in the Reichsrat, rarely cast their votes with those of the Slav bloc formed by the Czech, Slovene, Serbo-Croat parties of Istria and Dalmatia. Yet the Slavonic Union of 1907 proved—though for a very short time—that, with them, the Slavs would have secured an absolute majority in the Parliament of Vienna. The *Kolo Polsko* adopted a realistic and short-sighted policy; its members derived temporary advantages, but consolidated a régime which the other Slavs declared to be inhuman and condemned by the evolution of the modern world. The Poles saw the Serbs only as Orthodox Christians and vassals of the Russians. They boycotted the last Slav Congresses, in order not to sit at the same table as the Russians. In 1911, the Serbs succeeded in [646]

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national sentiment. It is not irrelevant to mention that the Orthodox Slavs of the Balkans are the least practising of Orthodox Christians, among whom it is the Serbs who have the largest number of unbelievers. It is said that, for a given number of inhabitants, there would be six times as many churches in Greece as in Serbia, four times as many in Rumania, and twice as many in Bulgaria. 186* 771

Muscovite Slavism differed from Czech Slavism not only in its internal tendencies but in its psychological structure. The patient mysticism of the Russians aimed at achievements on the basis of a millenary evolution. The Czechs, of less nebulous mentality and of intense volitional power, sought immediate results. In Moscow they talked of the divine mission of Eastern Christianity; in Prague, of the boycotting of German goods and the disposal of the products of Czech industry. Between two nations with such a differing mental outlook, it was difficult to maintain concomitant moral action for very long. 186* 563 185

The breach became apparent when the Czech, Karel Kramár, created the 'Neo-Slavism' which held its first Assembly in Prague in May, 1908. A Pole, Roman Dnowski, and a Bulgarian, Stevan Bobtchev, were in agreement with him to rejuvenate the old Slavonic ideal under a new climate. It was a doctrine tending towards cultural unity and the spiritual and economic collaboration of all Slavs, without distinction of religion, and on a footing of perfect equality. An anti-hegemonic conception of Slav solidarity thus replaced 'Russo-Orthodox-Panslavism', relegated to the order of romantic myths. It seemed to provide the positive basis and the practical aims which agreement among Slavs had always lacked. 186* 668

But, among the other Slav peoples, this movement did not meet with the success its founder anticipated. Too many of these peoples still had to contend with foreign domination. Kramár more or less approved the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Dual Monarchy. He saw in it the legalisation of a state of things which implied an increase in the number, and therefore in the influence, of the Slavs within Austria-Hungary; it was for the inverse reason that the German Liberals in Austria had, thirty years earlier (1878), unleashed furious opposition to the occupation of these same provinces. But bound up with this question were the security and the independence of the Serbian 186* 668 648

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186* people, who protested vigorously against Kramár's attitude.
• 668 The latter alienated, in turn, the Croats and the Slovenes,
648 by opposing 'Trialism'; in other words, the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Croatia-Slavonia, considered as a step towards the transformation of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy into an Austro-Hungarian-Jugoslav Triple Monarchy—a transformation which, by an entirely unsupported legend, was said to be favoured by Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian Empire. A memorable verbal passage of arms took place in the Reichsrat on this question, between Kramár and the Jugoslav deputy, Tresich Pavitchich. 'One is surprised', M. Benes was later on to say, 'to see how little effectiveness Neo-Slavism had, and how the governments concerned neglected to make use of it during the critical years between 1906 and 1914. This complete lack of influence was fully illustrated by the documents taken from the Foreign Affairs archives of the three Imperial powers'.

In any case, it is certain that the Czechs derived no benefit from it. In February, 1914, Scheiner, the President of the Czech Sokols, went to Russia to sound the intentions of officialdom. 'You are of no interest to us', said Sazonov. 'Do not count on us, you play no part in our plans of campaign'.

In Serbia, Russian Slavophilia found a very different climate in which to survive. The Jugoslav countries constituted an area in which Orthodox propaganda modified the interests of Tsarist
186* diplomacy. The latter, at the beginning of the century, con-
829 sidered the Poles as 'traitors', the Czechs as the fire-brands of democracy in Eastern Europe, the Slovaks, the Slovenes, and the Croats as the outposts of Papism. Out of the fifty million non-Russian Slavs, they were interested in only ten million—the Balkan Slavs. Indeed, the policy of the Romanovs considered the Balkan Peninsula as:—

(1) The approach which should, one fine day, enable Russia to make herself independent of the whim of the 'porter' of the Dardanelles.

(2) A field of competition with Austria-Hungary; in other words, the means of exerting counter-pressure on the Vienna Cabinet when the latter encouraged agitation on the borders of the Empire, in the form of Uniatism, Austro-Polonism, or Ukrainism.

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Thus, at the beginning of this century, the Slavonic idea had permeated all the currents of spiritual life of the nations whose historic personality it exalted. In Russia, after having arisen among the intellectual *élite,* it had been relegated to the rank of diplomatic accessories. But it had been rejuvenated by allying itself with Czech Agnosticism, with Croatian and Slovene Catholicism, with the positive sense of the Bulgars, the legendary spirit of independence of the Serbs. It had been an aspect, a 'phase' of the march of the nationalities towards emancipation. From the minutes of meetings of learned societies, it had advanced to the domain of direct action. After having taken stock (academically) of the injustices which formed landmarks in the history of the Slavonic world, it was preparing to achieve reparation for these injustices by conspiracies, acts of violence, war.

While Russia had given the emotional impetus to this movement, and the Czechs had demonstrated the educative elements in a Slavonic science and conscience, it was left to the Yugoslavs to set the ruthless pace which was to precipitate events. It was under their influence that Slavism entered upon its revolutionary phase. In Hungary it found the oppressive atmosphere which provoked this evolution; the beginning of the twentieth century is marked, in Croatia, by a series of trials and acts of violence which revealed to the world the progress of Yugoslav militancy. It was in fact in Bosnia, from a centre of Yugoslav irredentism, that sprang the spark which was to set the continent afire. Starting from the speculative heights of the learned world, the Slavonic idea culminated in shots, fired point blank, by a Herzegovine student, at the heir to the Austrian Empire, in a Sarajevo street. When the President of the Tribunal interrogated the authors of the crime as to the motives for their action, they repeated, with dogged fatalism, 'Francis Ferdinand was the enemy of the Slavs'.

Russian officialdom took fright at this effervescence. It sought excuses for its passive attitude. To explain why they had abandoned the Serbs at the time of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Stolypin stated that Imperial diplomacy had simply had an eye to the future. 'Give the peasants of Kostroma ten more years at the plough'. A second humiliation was inflicted on Russia in April, 1913, when, to please Austria, she

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186* 721 coherent nor systematised; no one was pursuing a policy of defending or destroying them as a whole. But the Slavonic world had let loose outbursts of passion which, for some years, had been fanning all the centres of trouble into flame. These had greatly helped to create the psychological atmosphere which had rendered the clash inevitable. So we may say that, if Slavism as such had indeed nothing to do with the development of the drama, it had at least written the prologue to it.

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186* 668 648 Such being the case, it is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that, during the 1914–1918 War, the Slavs had no general political policy. They evolved within the framework of their historical antecedents, as long as the conflict offered no other prospect than that of a German victory. On several occasions Russian officialdom even adopted an anti-Slav position. They agreed to the cession of Dalmatia to Italy, opposed the union of the Slovenes and the Croats with the Serbians, resisted the concessions which Russia's allies asked her to grant to Poland, and showed obvious lack of goodwill at the Czech suggestions for the creation of an independent army.

The Czechoslovaks had a more coherent policy, and gave ample proof of loyalism. From the very beginning of the operations, whole units deserted under fire and went over to the Russians. They have been reproached with having first declared themselves in favour of the autonomy of Poland within the framework of Russia, rather than of her full independence. At the time when they adopted it, that attitude was a realistic, rather than a sentimental one.

The Poles were, above all, anti-German; for a long time they humoured Austria-Hungary, and several of them served her brilliantly. It must not be forgotten that the Dual Monarchy's anti-Slav policy was often the work of Slavs: Coluchowski (Minister of Foreign Affairs), Bilinski (Joint Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina), Dumba (ambassador), Tarnowski, etc. In any case, a Slavonic policy would have meant a mortal struggle with Vienna and Budapest; the Poles could not resign themselves to that. Besides, would the Russians have given them sufficient understanding, if not support, to make up for the goodwill they could rely on finding among the Magyars and the Austrians?

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The Yugoslavs of Austria aimed at the dismembering of the Dual Monarchy and at the total emancipation of the Slav populations living under its sway. But they found themselves prevented from conducting a policy of integral Slavism, by the caution which the war-map forced them to observe with regard to Russia[2] and to Italy, owing to the Serbo-Bulgarian dispute and the Macedonian problems, and even by the difficulties encountered at the outset of the negotiations between Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs, for the formation of a single Yugoslav state.

There were, however, some attempts at understanding among the various emigrations, especially between the Polish National Committee (Dmowski, Paderewski), the Czechoslovak National Council (Masaryk, Benes, Stefánik) and the Yugoslav Committee (Troumbich, Hinkovich). These contacts lasted until the Peace Conference. But they never led to the elaboration of a programme, or of any organic agreement.

The Dual Monarchy, moreover, did not lack support among its Slav nationals. Stiepan Radich, a Russophile, a hundred per cent Slav and a poet into the bargain, addressed a rhymed call to arms against the Tsar to his brothers of Austria and of Hungary:—

> '. . . All persecuted, even to the shedding of blood, by the East,
> All having received their Faith from Rome,
> All having their fields bathed by the Danube'.

It is true that this same Radich, when things went badly for the Central Empires, reassured his friends, anxious about the fate reserved for Croatia: 'Have no fear', he said, 'nothing can happen to you as long as Russia exists'. This guileless inconsequentiality is rather reminiscent of the whole history of Slavism, adapted by each nation to the daily round of its own politics. Even the war made no change in this behaviour. Russia disappointed her Serbian ally by signing the London Pact, which stupidly dismembered the Dalmation coast, to the advantage of Italy, through ignorance of the fact that there were

[2] A slight incident will show how much the latter had remained attached to her prejudices. On the Feast of the Epiphany, 1916, the divisions of Serbian and Croat volunteers in Russia arranged for a religious service, at which prayers were recited for all Christians, 'Orthodox and non-Orthodox'. The Russians did not hide their disapproval, and declared this initiative to be 'not very liturgical'.

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Catholics in Southern Dalmatia and Orthodox Christians in Northern Dalmatia. Still the same ignorance of Slavonic geography! Pilsudski raised a Polish Legion against Russia, and the Bulgars made unforgivable war on the Serbs. It is true that, in the last period of the conflict, legions were formed, in which the Slavs of Austria-Hungary rejoined forces for the defence of their own cause. And at the meeting of the Reichsrat in mid-October, 1918, at which the nationalities bade farewell to the Empire of the Habsburgs, one might have believed in a renewal of Slav solidarity. After Stanek, representing the union of the Czech parties, had bravely declared: 'Know that no Czech willingly gave his life for the cause of the Central Empires', the Polish orator spoke of a 'Slavonic bloc, stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic'. But, in reality, what they were thinking of was not Slavism, but liberty.

This liberty was to be restored to them by the treaties of 1919–1920. Truth compels us to say that they owed it as much to the collapse of Imperial Russia as to the victory of the Allies. 'Russia', Dostoievsky had predicted, 'will have no more venomous enemies than these Slavonic nations, as soon as she has liberated them. They will immediately begin by seeking from Europe, from England, from Germany, the guarantee of their liberty, and it is against Russia that they will take measures'.

Dostoievsky had not foreseen the collapse of Tsarism. But, if the latter 'liberated' the Slavonic peoples, it was not by virtue of any conscious action, but by its own suicide. By disappearing, it did more for the independence of the Slavonic nations than the Slavophile Romanticism of three Muscovite generations. Old Imperial Russia, at her collapse, was to bequeath to the resuscitated Slavs what remained of the Slavonic idea. She might have repeated to them the beautiful words spoken by Cyril, on his death-bed, to his brother Methodius: 'We were like a yoke of oxen ploughing a field of corn; my days are over, I am going away, and you must carry on our joint task'.

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The first result of the Russian Revolution was, indeed, to remove the reactionary fetters which Muscovite Slavism had imposed on inter-Slav relations. Henceforth, all the Slavonic nations were ranged behind one and the same democratic ideal.

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But a new Slavonic problem was brought to the forefront—the problem of the Ukraine. A Ukrainian National Committee was formed, and began to negotiate with the Allies. Its action divided the Slavs; Poles and Russians greeted it with equal hostility; the Yugoslavs displayed disapproval or indifference; the Czechs adopted a half-and-half attitude, advocating the administrative and cultural autonomy of the Ukraine within the framework of the reviving Slav solidarity. 186* 648 578

Moreover, it was quite natural that, once in possession of their ethno-linguistic frontiers, the Slavonic peoples should cease to have any other horizons than these frontiers, within which they still had to build up a political, economic, and social organisation. They sought their vocation in their own history. We are continually forced back to this fundamental fact—Slavism has been, in its essence and from the force of circumstances, a revolt of the nation against the State, whether the latter was called Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Turkey. In Russia itself, the Slavophile school maintained the rights of the country (*zemlia*) against the encroachments of the State. With this tendency is connected the tinge of anarchy which the West is apt to associate with the word 'Slav'. The nation, in the spirit of the 1919–1920 treaties, being identified with the State, the Slavonic idea was doomed to lose the centrifugal opposition, the dissolving power which had long characterised it, and under whose action the Habsburg Empire had collapsed. 186* 668

And in fact, the triumph of the nationalities, ratified by the treaties of Saint-Germain and of Trianon, restored Slavism to its academic origins. Reminders of racial fraternity now seemed to serve no other purpose than to warm up the atmosphere for after-dinner speeches, or for inaugural meetings of congresses. The Slavonic nations lacked that basis of common culture which gives to Hispanism, for instance, the only positive value to which it can lay claim.

In the political order the counter-indications showed up all the more clearly, inasmuch as the territorial settlements were no longer made in virtue of force, but on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination. Now there were some populations which were caught between two opposing Slavonic currents; the Teschen district of Silesia, Macedonia, the Ukraine. A cynic has remarked that, the farther the distance between Slavonic 186* 728

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186* 829 There was then, in Belgrade as well as in Zagreb, a passing attack of 'Ententophobia'. A Belgrade newspaper which enjoyed a certain authority in foreign policy, the *Epoha*,[5] declared: 'We must see things as they are, and not hide from ourselves the fact that events in Eastern Europe are of capital importance for us, at a time when our Western friends have completely abandoned us.[6] . . . If a fresh policy of eastward trend is to be automatically imposed on us tomorrow, as a logical result of our international situation, we fail to see why it would not be wiser to choose it today'.

186* 668 The semi-official (radical) press had to react in fairly stiff terms against these appeals for a change in foreign policy. The Serbian municipal elections and the constituent elections of 1920 brought appreciable gains to the Communists. The Government suppressed this movement by the 'Decree' of December 30, prohibiting all Communist organisations and activity. It is superfluous to add that they accused Moscow of fomenting this activity, and submitted any person or propaganda coming from Russia to a still more rigorous quarantine.

But they showed themselves no less unshakeably determined to refuse any assistance, direct or indirect, to anti-Sovietic action. They were to be the last Government to recognise the *de jure* independence of the Baltic States, in whose existence they saw an intolerable dismemberment of Russian power. They were to take part in the campaign of assistance organised at the time of the great famine in Russia, in 1921–1922. Inversely, at the time of the earthquake in Herzegovina and Dalmatia in 1927, they were to refuse all aid from abroad, except (out of a spirit of Slav solidarity) that of the Soviet Red Cross.

186* 829 It is true that they were to defer for a long time—until the eve of the Second World War—recognition of the Soviets. But, in the case of Yugoslavia as in that of Bulgaria, this negative attitude, on closer examination, will be seen to be an indirect homage to the sympathies which Russia enjoyed among the common people. In Belgrade, as in Sofia, it was feared that a Soviet mission would find, among the masses, a support which would be dangerous for the security of the régime. The truth is

[5] Of July 26, 1920.
[6] Allusion to the attitude adopted by the Peace Conference in the Adriatic dispute and the reparations question.

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186* the immanence of the traditional values connected with the Slav ideology. M. Krofta, Joint Minister of Foreign Affairs for Czechoslovakia and intimate collaborator of Edward Benes, reviving the latter's ideas in articles published by the *Prager Presse* on May 6, 1933 and June 9, 1935, declares any positive action by the Slavonic peoples tending to a regroupment to be out of the question, 'unless it should be necessary for them to erect a wall of defence against foreign imperialism'.

186* 668 829 From Belgrade, a former minister and propagandist, M. Lazare Markovich, retorted with a certain vivacity. In his view, Slavism clung to its prospect of action. 'Our attachment to the Russian people and to Russia', he said, 'must positively exclude any intimate liaison between Yugoslavia and Germany. Hitler's speech of May 21, 1935 has so categorically stated Germany's attitude that there is no hope of any Russo-German agreement. . . . Unlike our Czech confrères, we do not hesitate to say that we ardently desire, and will work with all our strength to reconstitute in Europe, a Slav policy based on joint action by the Slavonic peoples'.[10]

So, while MM. Benes and Krofta considered any political construction of Slav solidarity as romantic and out-of-date, M. Markovich considered 'that there can be no real European entente without the participation of the Slavonic peoples, with Russia at the head'. And, when the Four-Party Pact was signed, M. Markovich advocated the drawing-up of a similar pact among Slavonic peoples, 'in order to place the latter on a footing of absolute parity with the Latins and the Teutons'.[11]

This controversy, perhaps, reflects less the opposition of two principles than the contrast between two temperaments, Czech realism and Yugoslav emotiveness. Events appear to have given the lie to M. Markovich's thesis (German-Yugoslav *rapprochement*, Moscow Pact). But what we must look at in international life is not the episodes, but the constants; is it not in forecasting the imminent that one runs the greatest risk of going astray?

186* The truth seems to us to lie between the two positions. Slavism is neither a force nor a leading principle of international

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[10] Lazare Markovich, *Yugoslavia's External Policy*, p. 343 *et seq.*; *Spirit of Belgrade* of May 14, 1933.
[11] *Spirit of Belgrade* of June 11, 1933.

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Hence the lack of enthusiasm encountered among the Soviets by the apostles of a 'Green International' of Slavonic peoples. The all-powerfulness of Stamboliiski's Agrarian Party in Bulgaria had given birth to the idea of a Slav coalition, on a peasant basis. M. Svehla, chief of the Czech Agrarian Party, went to Warsaw to confer with the Polish Peasant Leader, M. Vincent Witos; he felt himself assured of Bulgarian support, and counted on that of Radich, head of the Croat Peasant Party.

In actual fact, these various peasant parties were alike in name only. In Bohemia, the agrarian movement combined intellectuals, technicians, business men; although in the Prague Parliament it had scarcely half as many representatives as those who supported Radich in the Belgrade Parliament, yet it controlled banks, co-operatives, schools, newspapers, and about fifty magazines. Unlike Radich, Svehla did not dream of a peasant 'dictatorship' incompatible with the political climate of Czechoslovakia. There was the same divergence in point of view with regard to Communism. At his Party Congress, Stamboliiski had declared that he was 'ready to break the Communists' heads, if necessary'. Such was certainly not Svehla's intention. As for Radich, he had made a first visit to Russia in the time of the Tsars, about 1889, when the Russian Peasants' Federation had just been founded—which gave him the first idea for the Croat Peasant Party, founded by his brother Antoine and himself, in 1902–1903. Becoming an apostle of Slav solidarity, he founded the 'Slav Bookshop' in Zagreb, published a Czech Grammar, worked for Serbo-Bulgarian *rapprochement*. When he revisited Russia in 1924, he recovered the strains of his original Russophilia. But the Soviet leaders showed themselves rather cautious: as we have already indicated, they thought him harum-scarum and changeable. He joined the Peasant International, which he considered, he was to say later on, as simply the extension of the Peasant Federation of 1889. Moreover, in the Balkans, the words 'Agrarian Party' have not the same ring about them as they have in the industrialised States of Central [162] Europe. What Balkan party can, by its composition, its origins, its tendencies, be anything but 'Peasant' in States where (with the exception of Greece) the rural class represents 85 per cent of the population? However ephemeral it may have been, the

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movement in favour of a Green International of Slavonic Peasants yet merits a place in the chronology of inter-Slav relations. 186* 668

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At the same period (June 4–8, 1924) a Congress of Slav Geographers and Ethnologists was held in Prague. This too, awakened aspirations, either latent or at least dormant since the era of the great assemblies of the nineteenth century. The very choice of Prague was a reminder that Bohemia had been the 'laboratory' of the Slavonic idea. And it was the occasion of a spectacular return of Bulgaria into the community of peoples inspired by that idea. 186 815

But, when the totalitarian States had proclaimed their intention of attacking the 1919–1920 treaties, it was once more to Russia that all these peoples turned. From Moscow alone could come the watchword capable of rallying their energies—on condition that it should not look like an appeal to a Proletarian Dictatorship. 186* 829

Just as the exaltation of Teutonism, in the first half of the nineteenth century, had had as a reaction the awakening of the Slav conscience, so the National-Socialist drive, a century later, was to bring in its wake a defensive reaction tending to align, if not to regroup, the Slavonic forces.

The essentially anti-Marxist notion of race had been repudiated by Lenin. In internal affairs, it could not but hinder the work of 'mixing' undertaken by the Moscow government. In foreign affairs it had no *raison d'être,* so long as Russian diplomacy practised a Eurasiatic policy, and guided the country's destinies towards the East. But, after fifteen years, the problem of the allogeneous inhabitants had passed the crisis. The Soviet régime was firmly established. German imperialism obliged them to turn their attention towards the West: the repetition of the recurrent drama of which Europe had been the theatre since the era of Wilhelm II once more reminded the Russian world of its destiny.

The first check to Hitlerian arrogance on the part of the Kremlin was the signing in London, on July 2, 3, and 4, 1933, of agreements for the common acceptance of the definition of the aggressor, as formulated by Nicholas Politis. The U.S.S.R. signature appears at the foot of this document, side by side with 186* 648 829

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which had made of Croatia the bulwark of Christianity (*Antemurale Christianitatis*).

But, while Slovakia was the testing-ground of Germany's 'European' conceptions, it was from Mussolini's Italy that the Croatia of Pavelich took her watchwords.[5] It was to Mussolini that Pavelich, condemned to death by the Aix-en-Provence Assize Court, fled for protection. It was in the Doges' Palace in Venice that Pavelich signed Croatia's adhesion to the Tripartite Pact on June 15, 1941. Moreover, the 'oustachi' had not awaited the arrival of the Germans and the Italians before rallying to the Axis. The first step towards adhesion to the Tripartite Pact dates from the interview which took place in January, 1940, between Pavelich and Count Ciano, in the latter's home.

Moreover, the independence of the new State had, from the time of its constitution, been seriously mortgaged, for the Duke of Spoleto, son of the late Duke of Aosta, was to reign over it, with the title of Tomislav II. However, he never appeared in Croatia, and notified his abdication on August 27, 1943.

Italy had counted on Croatia to play the same role in the Balkans as Germany had assigned to Slovakia in the Danube Basin—that of a testing-ground for the New Order. 'Croatia represents the touchstone of the system which the Axis Powers wish to establish in Europe'.[6] As soon as it came to power, the pro-Hitler minority which governed by terror at Zagreb (or at Bania-Louka) had, in the name of racialism no doubt, abolished the word 'Slav' from their terminology. In the propagandist work (*The Croats*) published in Zagreb in 1943, we read (on page 75) that the Croats are of Iranian stock and 'derive their origin from the ancient cradle of the best European races in the Caucasus', while on page 78 we learn that Professor H. M. Chadwick's theory 'completes and corroborates the thesis concerning the Gothic origin of the Croats'. No doubt these two opinions are somewhat contradictory, but the Gothic connection was calculated to rejoice the hearts of the theorists of Nordic pre-eminence. Pavelich himself declared to a German journalist that he wished the German origin of his nation could be proved

[5] The Croatian National Socialist Party amalgamated with the 'oustachi' movement on July 13, 1941.

[6] Broadcast from Radio-Rome, April 27, 1942.

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186* 175 and that Croatian science would endeavour to elucidate this problem [*sic*].

186* 175 668 Croatia had been the starting-point of the defection which dislocated Yugoslavia, but a Croat, Joseph Broz (Marshal Tito), was at the head of the movement which resuscitated that country. This movement began as a guerrilla war waged by partisans; it grew into the rising of a whole nation. 'Tito', by his previous political activity, by his participation in the Spanish campaign (where he had met Rodnitzev, the future defender of Stalingrad), had made numerous contacts with Soviet generals and statesmen. He had Moscow's unconditional support in organising resistance in the Balkans and, at the request of the Russians, he ousted, in the confidence of the Allies, General Mihaïlovich, one of the earliest rebels, but who was reproached with Serbian exclusiveness and with executions of Communists.

By regrouping, under the ægis of Russia, the Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, and Macedonian populations, Tito made himself the champion of a cause that was specifically Slavonic.

In Bulgaria, Communist opposition and popular sentiment (immemorially attached to Russia, but, since Stalingrad, more enthusiastic than ever as the result of the recovery of the Red Armies) obstructed with increasing boldness the Hitlerophile policy of the Government, which periodic contacts with the Führer failed to stabilise.

* * *

186* 668 544 In order to galvanise and render articulate the new solidarity on democratic lines which was shaping itself among the Slavonic peoples against their common aggressor, congresses were organised. The first was held at Moscow in August, 1941, only a few weeks after Russia's entry into the war. It may be considered the cradle of this rebirth of Slavism. The opening address was pronounced by the Soviet writer, Alexis Tolstoy. 'We reject', he said, 'the old ideology of Panslavism, which we consider reactionary and contrary to the principle of equality among the nations. . . . Slavs, let us unite, that each Slavonic nation may be entitled, as the other nations are, to a free, peaceful existence, that the culture of our nations may flourish without restraint. . . . The fires of Warsaw and of Belgrade are not yet extinct. From the spark springs the flame; the wind of hatred fans these smoking ruins, in which are consumed German

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Fascism's dreams of bloodthirsty domination over the Slavonic world. . . . Slavs, Ukrainian Russians, White Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Bulgars, Slovaks, Ukrainians of Sub-Carpathia, the time has come to unite in the common struggle against German Fascism!'

The Congress paid tribute to the memory of the three million Slavs who had already died on the field of battle or in camps. The Polish authoress, Wanda Wassiliewska, announced that, on Soviet territory, a Polish army was being formed, 'which would fight shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army'. Two days earlier, the Czech Government in London had given the same assurance concerning their compatriots. All civilians of Slav nationality were called upon to sabotage the enemy's means of communication and military equipment, to starve him, to multiply ambushes for him. Before breaking up, the Congress (as in 1867) appointed a Committee to make contact with all the Slav organisations in the world; it was also to publish documents showing how Hitler was carrying out the extermination of the Slavs.

This Congress had been a first contact—a sort of family council. The one held in the following year (April 4 and 5, 1942) was the most extensive, the most eloquent demonstration of Slav solidarity that the world has ever seen. Spokesmen of all the Slavonic nations, each speaking in his own language, succeeded each other on the platform, whence their declarations were broadcast.

The proceedings opened with a call to 'a holy war against Fascism' by Lieut.-General Gondorov (who was to preside over all the great Slavonic Assemblies). They closed on an appeal formulated by the Soviet writer, Nicolas Tikhonov: 'Oppressed brother Slavs, forward for the national war, the war of liberation! This summons will ring like a tocsin in Belgrade destroyed by the German barbarians, in war-torn Warsaw, in Prague, streaming with the blood of her best sons, in the valleys of the Carpathians and of the Balkans, in the Steppes of the Ukraine, in the forests of White Russia and of Poland, on the banks of the Dnieper and the shores of the Adriatic, on the hills of the Vistula and on the blue Danube!'

The Serbian Professor, Bojidar Maslarich, according to the tradition of his country, quoted the epic of the drama in which

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the medieval Serbian Empire foundered, and the oath of Tsar Lazar:—

> 'If a man has not fought at Kossovo,
> His hands shall always be sterile;
> His fields shall yield no corn
> And his vineyards no grapes!
> Forward, brother Serbs!
> Liberty is calling you'.

A Bulgar, Ferdinand Kosovskj, proclaimed: 'We are bound to the great Russian nation by our past, our language, our customs. The words "Honour", "Liberty", "Fraternity" are the same in Russian and in Bulgarian. The Bulgarian people will never let themselves be drawn into a war against their liberator, the Russian nation!' His compatriot, Stella Blagojeva, called upon the Bulgarian women to urge the soldiers to turn their arms 'against Hitler, the implacable enemy of Slavism'.

The Croat, Djura Salaj, drew a pathetic picture of the atrocities and the exactions which his country had witnessed—hundreds of thousands of men deported to Germany, 375 members of the Croatian Peasant Party executed at Zagreb, outstanding personalities interned (Machek, the Peasant Leader, Ivan Mestrovich, the sculptor, etc.).

A Czech deputy, Marek Culen, called upon the Slovaks to 'assume their responsibility in the face of history, on the eve of great and decisive battles' and urged their soldiers to go over to the Russians, with their arms.

Two representatives of Poland, the authoress Wanda Wassielewska and the workman Alexander Jocis, drew a picture of the fresh martyrdom of their country, and urged resistance.

A German also spoke—the poet, Johannes Becher—to stigmatise the Hitlerian racial theories, the pretext for their colonial schemes in Eastern Europe. 'The crimes perpetrated by Hitler make every German blush to admit his nationality. . . . German people, understand this: the Slavonic nations, in their liberating war, do not and never will, wish to conquer German lands. . . . Join with all the Slavonic peoples, emancipate yourselves from the accursed Hitlerian domination! Wipe out the shame and the curse which weigh upon Germany!'

The Congress also heard the Slovene, Ivan Regent, and

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numerous Soviet militants, including the composer, Dmitry Chostakovich, member of the Panslav Committee, who, opposing the Pan-Germanic theories, vindicated Slavonic culture. 'I am proud to be a Russian, I boast of being a Slav. . . . If we must speak of "superior" and "inferior" representatives of humanity, then we can class the German Fascists in the category of the basest! Have they not profaned Yasnaia Poliana (Leo Tolstoy's house), the most sacred treasure of the Russian nation; trodden underfoot Tchaikovsky's scripts at Klin; destroyed at Tikhvina the house where Rimsky Korsakov was born; demolished immortal monuments of Russian architecture at Novgorod and Istra? . . . May all the spiritual forces, all the intellectuals of the glorious family of the Slavonic nations intrepidly fulfil the great mission entrusted to them by history!' 186* 668

The philosophy of this Congress was summed up in an article in the form of a programme, from the pen of the Russian writer, Alexis Tolstoy, and published by the *Pravda* of Moscow:

'We must revise the whole history of the Slavonic peoples. Our contribution to European civilisation has not been less than that of other peoples. During the space of a thousand years, our young blood gave life to Byzantium in its decrepitude. It was thanks to the Slavs that Byzantium preserved ancient civilisation, and transmitted it to feudal Europe. The Slavonic peoples, hard-working, lovers of liberty, peace, and culture had as their neighbours, on the east, nomadic Empires which always cherished the chimerical design of conquering the world, and, on the west, medieval emperors whose imposing cavalcades were no less vain. These aggressions from the east and from the west broke against the intrepid resistance of the Slavonic world. The role of the Slavonic peoples in the formation of European Humanism has not yet been appreciated at its true value. . . . Slavs, to arms! Up, for our mutual relentless struggle!' [544] [829]

Would you not take this—except for the religious note—for a page from one of the Slavophiles of the forties, or a speech by the historian, Pogodin, at the 1867 Congress?

Anticipating Tolstoy's hopes, the Congress had decided on the publication of a monthly review (*The Slavs*), the aim of which was to make known the services rendered to humanity by the Slav civilisation and to tighten the bonds uniting its present representatives. 186* 203

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186* 814 In Russia, this same year 1942 saw an unprecedented output of works on Slavonic history and philology. Nicolas Derjavin studied Slavonic palæology, Russo-Bulgarian intellectual relations, the origin and history of the Slavs up to the eleventh century. The literature and history of the Slavonic nations were included in the syllabus of the High Schools; a chair of Slavonic Philology was created in the University of Leningrad; in May, 1942 the chair of Slavistic in the University of Moscow became a 'centre of studies in the history of the Slavonic peoples and of their role in intellectual evolution and in progress'.

186 608 829 The Ethnographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences undertook a huge investigation into the origin of the Slavonic settlements. A Tass Agency communication of July 4, 1943, announced the first results of this inquiry; the Slavs were aboriginals, not invaders. Professor Gudaltov proved that they descended from tribes settled between the Elbe and the Vistula. He pointed out the direct relationship between the Scythians of the Dnieper and the Polanes who played a decisive role in the formation of the State of Kiev.

186 533 536 Literature, the theatre, the arts, vied with each other in contributing to this revival of Slavonic spiritual life. An exhibition of the theatrical art of the Slavonic nations was held in Moscow in July, 1942. Chebalin's *Slavonic Quartet* obtained the Stalin Prize in 1943. The Musicians' Congress, which met in Moscow in January, 1943, praised Victor Belyi's 'Slavonic Suite' (Hymn of Anger, Serbian Guerrilla, To Arms!), the libretto of which, borrowed from Serbian folklore literature, is the work of the Montenegrin poet, Radoul Stiyensky.

186* 575 668 But the essential task remained a political one. Five committees were formed, for liaison with sympathisers in the allied countries—Panslav Committee, Youth Committee, Committee of Savants, Feminine Committee, Jewish Committee. The Panslav Committee launched message after message to oppressed Slavs, insurgent Slavs, Slavs in exile. They received from the Yugoslav Vetché—a political organisation struggling with Tito for independence—a telegram thanking them for their assistance with a view to the establishment of a 'Democratic Yugoslavia, federal and equal in rights', which concluded as follows: 'Long live the fraternal solidarity of all the Slavs in the struggle against German Fascism!'

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The Third Panslav Congress opened in Moscow on May 9, 1943. Two thousand people assembled—authors, artisans, soldiers, partisans, priests of the Eastern rites. There were seen, side by side, the Soviet General Alexander Gondorov, the Czech Colonel Svoboda, the Colonel of the Polish 'Kosciuszko' Division, Sigmund Berling, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Nicolas. Once more the union of all the oppressed Slavs was urged; the Czechs were invited to evade the total mobilisation which the Germans were organising in their country. Already the partisans were everywhere at work; the Soviet victories guaranteed the triumph of the common cause. The Congress voted messages to Stalin, to Churchill, to Roosevelt, to all the Slavs in the world. 186* 668

In the month of July,[1] an exhibition in Moscow showed specimens of the independent Slav press—of more than a hundred reviews and newspapers which were then appearing in the United States, in Great Britain, in Canada, in Australia, in the Argentine. 186* 204

The Panslav Committee held its sixth full Assembly in Moscow on October 16 and 17, 1943. It voted congratulations to the Red Army, to the Yugoslav partisans, to the first Czecho-Slovak Brigade in Russia—which was about to leave for the front—to the Union of Poles (since October 12 the Kosciuszko Division had been in the firing line). The Czech Zdenek Mejedli, Professor of Musical Art in Prague, spoke of the reconstitution of Czechoslovak unity; the Metropolitan Nicolas told of the German Army's atrocities on Russian territory; the Academician Derjavin recounted the exploits of Russian military history—the defeat inflicted by Alexander Nevsky on the Teutonic Knights on the ice of Lake Peipus (1242), the prophecy of the victor, 'He who attacks us with the sword will perish by the sword', which, for seven centuries, was the watchword of the Russians; the crushing of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg (Grunwald) in 1410; Frederick's defeat in the Seven Years' War (Jagersdorf, Kunersdorf) which carried the Muscovite troops to Berlin; the failure of the German adventure in Ukraine in 1918. 186* 668 576

'We see', Derjavin was to write, 'the Slavonic peoples' hatred of the Fascist invader grow under our eyes. . . . One single front of national revolt unites the Slavs against Hitlerism in the name of the defence of liberty, of political independence, of civilisation and honour'.

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Throughout the year 1944 there was a succession of demonstrations, all striking a similar note. On January 23, the Panslav Committee of Moscow appealed to the Bulgars to join the Serbian, Albanian, and Greek partisans. In Moscow, on February 23, two thousand Slav combatants celebrated the anniversary of the creation of the Red Army. The Polish General, Sigmund Berling, declared that the future of Poland lay 'in the permanent support of the Soviet Union and the common front of the Slavonic peoples'. He dissociated himself from the Polish Government in London, 'who have designs on the liberty of other nations in their desire to sacrifice millions of Ukrainians and White Russians to their own greed'. The 'white-haired' Czech General Ludovit Svoboda prophesied: 'The day is not far off when we shall proudly hoist our flag in Prague the Golden'. The Bulgarian soldiers were once more urged to turn their arms against the Germans: 'Not until they have taken the destinies of the country into their own hands will the patriots perhaps be able to save Bulgaria from terrible disaster'. The meeting implored Czechs to redouble their sabotage. It promised the Poles restitution of 'the centuries-old territory of Western Poland, stolen by the Germans'. It denounced to the Yugoslavs the fraticidal policy 'of the traitors Nedich, Pavelich and Mihailovich'. A special appeal was launched to 'brother Slavs across the Ocean', inviting them to do 'everything in their power to speed up and render more deadly the blows at Hitlerian tyranny'. All the Slavonic peoples were told that their ways would never again diverge; after having crushed the common enemy, they would live in security, liberty, and independence. 'The Slavonic nations have risen up together; they have reared their gigantic form', declared Franciszek Kupez, chaplain to the First Polish Corps.

To commemorate the third anniversary of the national rising, the Yugoslavs living in Russia, in their turn, held a meeting, which was presided over by Bojidar Maslarich. This meeting acclaimed the names of the Yugoslav intellectuals engaged in the Resistance side by side with their doyen, Vladimir Nazor, the Croatian epic bard. A message to Marshal Tito was accompanied with enthusiastic demonstrations; then there was an exchange of views, conducted by a Serb, Stefanovich, a member of the Constituent Assembly; a Montenegrin, Markovich; a

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Macedonian, Vlakhov; the Slovenes Goustinchich and Ivan Regent; a Bulgarian, Tchernevov. 186 668

Benes, subtle and realistic as usual, in an English newspaper expressed his approval of this propaganda, and the value of this approval lay, not in the personality of the writer, but in the attitude he was long known to have held concerning the problem of Slav solidarity. M. Benes recalled that, 'without the establishment of the Soviet régime in Russia, Poland would never have recovered her independence'. 'The present war', he added, 'is favourable to the settlement of differences outstanding between Poland and the U.S.S.R. as well as between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Whilst preserving their independence and their social institutions, the democratised Slavonic nations—they are democratic by nature—must unite and collaborate in all fields. This union of Slavonic peoples will alone be capable, in future, of neutralising the cruel racial policy consistently pursued by Germany, and thus guaranteeing future peace in Europe and in the world'. 186 829

In London, the Slavs in exile also banded together, with a view to common action. Early in 1943, the refugee Slavonic Governments (Polish, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav) formed a 'cultural committee'. Seton Watson, the specialist in the problems of South-East Europe, in a public lecture given in London[7] thus defined the importance of the conflagration: 'It is the greatest Slavonic war in history. It may well prove decisive for the fate of all the Slavonic nations and their future relations with the Germanic world. . . . The absorption of these nations by Germany would establish that country's hegemony on the continent of Europe; it is therefore as much in the interest of Great Britain as of Russia to go to their assistance'. 186 668

A Congress of Slavonic nations met in London on May 25, 1944. The next day a message was read to the Congress from the Slav Committee of Moscow, in which the latter pointed out that Polish troops and Czech military formations were fighting side by side with the Red Army, whilst a Yugoslav unit, trained in Russia, was preparing to join them. They added that the attempts of German propaganda to make the Czechs fall out with the Russians when the latter appeared on their frontiers

[7] January 12, 1944.

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186* 668 had been foiled by the signing of the Soviet-Czech Pact. The message ended with an exhortation to 'unmask the Hitlerian agitators and the political adventurers of the reactionary cliques of exiles who are seeking to disturb the unity of the Slavs'. The Congress, presided over by Seton Watson, was also addressed by Rumanian, Austrian, and Hungarian democrats. It heard speeches by Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, and Poles, and in its turn sent a message of 'fraternity' to the Slav combatants and partisans, especially the Carpatho-Ukraines. We may notice that this term, formerly considered as subversive, had been substituted, on the initiative of the Czech circles in London, for the official designation 'Sub-Carpatho Russia'.

[67] But it was perhaps in America, with its fifteen to sixteen million citizens of Slavonic origin, that Panslav demonstrations attracted most attention. On March 27, 1942, a conference of forty delegates met in New York to prepare the Detroit Slavonic Congress. It was decided to give energetic support to Roosevelt's anti-Hitler policy. The appeal to Slav solidarity has always played its role in American political struggles; when Antoine Cermak, a Czech recently arrived in America, was elected Mayor of Chicago he secured the votes of tens of thousands of naturalised emigrants; many election meetings opened to the strains of the Panslav hymn, *Ei Sloveni!* On the occasion of the Detroit Congress, April 25 and 26, 1942, were declared 'American Slav Days' by the Governor of the State of Michigan. Two thousand delegates—Russians, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, and numerous representatives of the American Trade Union organisations—took part in this Congress, presided over by Mr. Blair Gunther. They resolved to help the military and 'underground' operations by spying out the movements of the 'fifth column'. 'Our relatives, our fatherlands have been plundered, ruined, destroyed. We do not wish America to suffer the same fate, and we are going to avenge our fatherlands'.

At the pro-Soviet meeting in Philadelphia, Jan Mazaryk, Czech Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed more than fifteen thousand people. In Chicago in July, 1942, thousands of Americans of Slavonic descent celebrated the 532nd anniversary of the defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg; they heard a message from President Roosevelt read to them, concluding as follows: 'We will crush the tyrant, we will purge your fathers'

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countries and bring peace and liberty to men'. In the following September the Slav delegates to the Washington Congress of anti-Fascist Students passed a resolution calling upon their Anglo-American comrades to bring pressure to bear on their Governments with a view to opening a second European Front. In April, 1943, the Central Committee of the Congress of Slavs in America, sitting at Chicago, declared that if efforts were not made to crush Germany quickly, 'there will be nothing left to liberate but cemeteries'. They organised a 'Panslav Day' for June 22, and demanded the re-establishment of free circulation for Slav newspapers in Brazil.

Needless to add, there were reactionary or dissident movements, and certain Slav groups maintained contacts with the pro-Axis Governments, or pursued an anti-Soviet policy.

Their case was raised at the Congress of Slavs in America, which was held in Pittsburg on January 24, 1944, and was attended by seventy-five delegates from New York, Buffalo, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Saint-Louis, and even from Canada. This Congress studied reports on the activities of a hundred local committees during the year 1943. The chief subject for discussion was the attitude of the Committee of Americans of Polish Origin, of which Colonel Matuszewsky was the head, and of their newspaper, *Nowy Swiat,* which was unanimously censured. Then the Congress applauded a resolution approving Roosevelt's war policy as well as the Teheran, Moscow, and Cairo agreements. A second meeting was held in Pittsburg on September 23 and 24. Like the previous one, its chief object was to create a 'Slavonic electoral front' in favour of Roosevelt's candidature, to speed up the American war effort,[8] and to combat the action of the Matuszewsky Committee, a Polish breach in Slav solidarity. (The Congress of Americans of Polish Origin held in Buffalo in the preceding month had included this action on its agenda.)

* * *

A few months earlier, the Poles in America had been deeply moved by a strange episode, the journey of Father Stanislas Orlemanski to Moscow. This unassuming priest, of Polish

[8] The sale of bonds for the Fourth American War Loan by the Slav Committee of New York served to build, among other things, a bomber, 'The New York Slav', and a chaser, 'Spirit of Stalingrad'.

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seeking to encourage the Church in her traditional opposition to the Soviets. But the *Post Dispatch* regretted that the Kremlin should have chosen such an unimportant person as Orlemanski for such a demonstration. The *Louisville Courier* deplored the censure passed on this priest by his bishop; no doubt the latter tolerated disparagement of the Soviet Union, but not efforts to understand it. 648 793 159 208

The truth seems to be that Father Orlemanski's initiative, whether concerted with Moscow or not, aroused in Slavonic circles reactions calculated to handicap the Government and prejudice Roosevelt's electoral campaign. While the Slavonic Committee of America approved this initiative, the *émigré* Poles threatened to launch a campaign which would have brought Washington and Moscow into opposition. It happened that Orlemanski's superiors were of Irish origin—which, obviously, did not predispose them to regard his journey with a favourable eye. In any case, the episcopal decision and the priest's submission cut short any attempts at propaganda, thus rendering a very opportune service to the Government, but postponing or compromising the perspective of a possible easing of the situation, if not of a *rapprochement* between Poland and the Soviets, and between the Soviets and the Vatican.

In Latin America the headquarters of the permanent Slav Committee were at Montevideo, where, in April, 1943, three hundred and ninety-four Slav delegates assembled at a Congress which established the Union of Slav Nationals (they were estimated at two millions), to organise the struggle against pro-Hitlerian activities. 186* 668

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This sketch of the recovery of the Slavs in the Old World and the New brings out two features: the gravitation of all the Slavonic nations round the Muscovite colossus, and the repugnance of a sector of Polish opinion to this method of regrouping. 186*

As was to be anticipated, German propaganda affected to see in this the execution of a plan tending to 'Bolshevise' Europe, and even America. Germany again launched her old commonplaces about the inferiority of the Slavs. A Radio-Paris broadcast (February 21, 1943) assured listeners 'that about one-quarter of the American population is composed of Slavonic elements, of 186* 648 723

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When the collapse came, all these nations turned against an aggressor who had not only trodden their sovereign rights under foot, but even violated their consciences. The Governments which had been at his beck and call were either handed over to popular justice, or taken along with the baggage of the defeated army. On September 7, 1944 Bulgaria broke with the Reich; a few days later the Pavelich Government was dispersed; Slovakia gradually passed under the control of the partisans; Belgrade was occupied by the Tolbukhin army on the following October 20, the day that Tito liberated Ragusa. In the last few weeks of 1944 the map of war operations reflected the real political positions of the Slavonic world, based on Soviet victory. 'Fraternal union with Russia is one of the most deeply-rooted sentiments of the Slavonic peoples', declared King Peter of Yugoslavia in a communiqué dated from London on January 11, 1945.

Within this Slavonic world, relations were entering upon a new phase. They were ceasing to be a speculation of the learned world, a poet's dream, a field for sentimental outpourings. They had become a reality of international life. The resisting elements in the Slavonic community had at first represented a complete range of specimens of the struggle against oppression—the Czech's masked militancy, the Poles' street-fighting, Serbian guerrilla warfare, Bulgarian terrorism. They had made contact, concerted their action. Early in 1945 it was possible to speak of a 'Slavonic Front', a thing unknown to history. Something had changed in the destiny of the Slavs. The representative of Pavelich's Croatia accredited to the Vichy Government was one day lunching with some French ministers. He went so far as to say, in an expansive moment: 'All the same, the time has come to give the Slavs their place in the sun!'

A very unexpected remark in the mouth of the envoy of an Axis Government, and, moreover, an envoy who had officially repudiated his ethnical ties.[12] It passed unnoticed by the guests, who were not very well acquainted with the historical laws of European evolution; but it revealed the depth and unanimity of the Slavs' faith in a revival of their fortunes as the result of the Second World War.

[12] It should be noted that the visit to France of Croatia's 'diplomatic' representatives seems to have inspired them with a clearer feeling of realities. The first of them, Kokotovich, went to Switzerland, whence he sent a letter to the French Foreign Minister, begging him not to pay any attention to what his successor did. Moreover, the latter, Krenik, joined Kokotovich in Switzerland a few months later.

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'Young Brigade', and by the predominance of the 'social' over the 'political' and even over the 'national'. 177 .64

This revolution was in the logic of events; was there any need to invoke the ascendancy or the presence of Russia to explain it? On emerging from an upheaval unprecedented in their history, the little nations, stupefied by the blow and completely helpless, saw their recent past only as error or treason. 177 .18 181

We cannot even reproach Russia with having bound up her action with a policy of patronage or aimed at an ideological synchronisation of the régimes born on the territories she had liberated. In Hungary, for example, she was very careful not to recreate the atmosphere of the time of Bela Kun, whose sinister memory, she found, was still alive.

But, in the Slavonic countries, the parties of the extreme Left, almost everywhere identified with the Resistance, took advantage of the presence and the prestige of Russia in order to get into power and stay there. This led to a misunderstanding which, by associating the Russian authorities with the Governments which they were believed to favour, risked one day exposing the popularity of the Soviet Union in these countries to a turn in the tide of internal politics. 662

Obliged henceforth to gravitate in the orbit of the powerful Russian State, the Slavonic nations could not consider the future from the same angle as they had done in 1918. At the conclusion of a devastating war, Russia would never again allow neighbouring States to serve as a diplomatic or military jumping-off ground for a possible adversary. She regarded them as her security ramp. 186* 829

One might be tempted to see in this Muscovite hold over Eastern Europe a revolution of an international order. In truth it was a revolution only in relation to an abnormal state of affairs—that of the 1920–1940 period, which rested on Russia's inertia in Europe. It could not reasonably be expected that this state of affairs would last indefinitely. The Europe of 1945 was more logical than that of 1918—at any rate, more in conformity with the classic play of international forces. 648

The slogan of Slav solidarity, which formed the *leit-motiv* of the Moscow Congresses of 1942–1944, had galvanised and co-ordinated the movements for resistance to the invader. In 186* 648 000

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186* 1945 it became the common denominator of the foreign policy In
•668 of the liberated States which were more directly subject to Russian influence, *i.e.*, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria. But the international personality of those States and their liberty of action will never again be what they were between the two wars. Is it necessary to quote the opinion of the leading Slavicisers of the nineteenth century to remind readers that, outside Russia, the idea of Slav solidarity has always excluded the domination of one people over the others, and that, in popular terminology, it has never been expressed otherwise than by the word 'fraternity'? That is why we have known men who, avowedly attached to the Slavonic *mystique* but not prepared to admit that this may become a predominantly political policy, were obliged to choose between conformity and exile, and disappeared from public life.

In their innermost hearts the Governments were not far from believing that this *mystique* had exhausted its virtue and could not contribute much to the rebirth of political and social life that the Russian presence infused into them. Slavism had not played the role in unleashing this war that it had assumed in the previous war. Stalin had not drawn the sword for the Czechs in 1938, nor for the Poles in 1939, as Nicholas had done in 1914 for the Serbs. It was not against the oppressor of Slav nationalities, incarnated in 1914 by the Dual Monarchy, in 1938 by the Reich, that Russia had risen. It was against a design which aimed at overthrowing the structure of the world.

But how could one forget the great Panslav Assemblies of the war years? How gloss over the fact that Stalin, forsaking Lenin's anti-racial determinism, had reintroduced the words 'Slav' and 'Russian' into the official terminology of the régime? Finally, how overlook that intuitive reflex that assigns to Slavism, in international life, a place analogous to that of the proletariat in social life?

Then, too, the idea of Slav solidarity had an unacknowledged advantage. It allowed the leaders of the liberated countries to disguise under the appearance of fraternal solidarity the state of dependence to which they were doomed by the new Eastern equilibrium.

Russia was indeed the arbiter of the Slavonic world, but of a Slavonic world condemned to model its ideology on her political

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mediatisation. In the past, Slavism had mobilised more feeling than will-power, animated more Congresses than Crusades. It now reassumed the academic, 'poet and professor' form it had exhibited a hundred years earlier. 186* 668

So that Russia's first acts as a liberating power were not particularly Slavonic. In virtue of the ethnical principle, exercised in her own favour, she annexed to the Ukraine Carpatho-Ruthenia, which had been a Civilisation Front for another Slavonic power—Czechoslovakia. As far as Poland was concerned Russia drew the logical advantages of her victory. Poland's annexation of Prussia's Eastern Marches was simply compensation for the amputations she suffered in favour of the Ukraine and of White Russia. The support discreetly given by Moscow to the Bulgaro-Yugoslav claims on Aegean Macedonia reflected less concern for Slav solidarity than the desire to liberate the outlet from the Straits. 186* 668 723

The award of the Teschen Basin, once more disputed between Poland and Czechoslovakia, provided Russia with a very delicate arbitration task, in which the necessity for compensating the sacrifices demanded of the Poles weighed more heavily than the memory of Czech fidelity; had not Czechoslovakia, for ten years, been considered as the 'aircraft-carrier' of Soviet military power?

In reality—and a large dose of ingenuousness was required in order to believe that it could ever be otherwise—the territorial changes over which the Russians presided were all inspired by Russian interests, in the historical and traditional sense of the word.

* * *

Let us briefly recall the evolution of the Slavonic peoples immediately after their liberation. 648 175

Poland was, during the war, represented by a Government-in-exile in London, which negotiated with the Allies, to whom they gave valuable military assistance. In Moscow this Government was regarded as 'reactionary' and incompatible with a policy of good Polish-Sovietic relations. So it was constantly attacked by the Russian leaders and the Russian press. [829]

As long as the war was conducted outside Polish territory, London and Washington classed this dispute with those that are

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725 with 'Great Serbian' and 'reactionary' tendencies. Subsequently
648 a much more serious charge was made against him; carried away
175 by his struggle against the Communist elements, he was said to have parlied with the Occupying Authorites and with the agents of Nedich, the Serbian 'Quisling'. General Mihaïlovich was nevertheless the War Minister *in partibus* to the London Cabinet, where the accusations brought against him were never seriously considered until Churchill[1] echoed them. They were the basis of the case brought against his partisans in July, 1945, and the severe sentence passed against them.

[829] Then there was, between the London Government and the 'Tito Movement', the psychological opposition between the exiled politicians (except those of Czechoslovakia) and the insurgents, who, remaining within the country, risked their lives day in and day out. The latter were inclined to see the 'London people' as theorists, if not profiteers of the Resistance, who, in assured comfort and relative security, carried out a paid task with the pen or by radio.

• [668] Finally, Tito's partisans merged, in many cases, with the Communist or extremist elements, for whom the old Yugoslav political formations and their staffs embodied a régime of despotism, patronage, and reaction, whose return to power would have constituted an historical retrogression.

643 However, the break did not come immediately. Although
661 King Peter agreed, under pressure from the Allies and especially
648 from Russia, to disown Mihaïlovich, he showed greater hesitation
175 in negotiating with Tito, whose republican trend and attachment to the Soviet régime were well known.

On June 16, 1944, he resigned himself, rather against his convictions, to authorising Choubachich to sign an agreement with Tito, which provisionally safeguarded the rights of the Crown. On the following November 1 he agreed to the formation of a National Union Government in liberated Yugoslavia. But he reserved his approval as to the nomination of a Regency and the exercise of political power by one single party, the National Liberation Front, until a Constituent Assembly should have met. On this point he even entered into conflict with his

[1] 'General Mihaïlovich, I regret to say, has gradually adopted a changed attitude, and certain of his leaders have parlied with Italian or German troops'. (Speech in the House of Commons on February 22, 1944.)

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175 in the Bolshevist Revolution, and distinguished himself in the
643 attack on the Kremlin. He fought on all the Soviet fronts, from the Caucasus to Finland. He married a Russian, who died, leaving him a son of Soviet nationality (who, for his part in the defence of Moscow in 1941, was to win the title of 'Hero of the Soviet Union').

He returned to Croatia in 1924 and took his place as a militant in the Communist and Trade Union ranks. Arrested for illegal propaganda, he served four years' imprisonment. As soon as he was liberated he went to Paris, travelled in various European countries, and returned to France in 1936, charged with the organisation of the so-called 'railway' for supplying volunteers to the International Brigades in Spain.

When he learned of the capitulation of Yugoslavia in 1941, he returned to Zagreb and launched a summons for a general revolt. He had two interviews with Mihaïlovich, but the Communist and Proletarian ideology which he openly professed frightened the Serbian general—no basis for agreement was possible.

176 The Serbian rising began on July 7, 1941. On that day was
643 constituted, in the region of Belgrade (the seat of the partisans'
• 668 general staff), the first formation destined to embark upon the struggle with the invader and to continue it until he was crushed. Tito proved to be an irresistible organiser and 'live wire'; his influence grouped around him a veritable army, whose numbers increased daily, and constantly deprived the Occupying Authorities of food supplies and communications.[2] Starting with 35,000 men, Tito's army was to number 700,000 at the liberation. This epic is one of the most glorious pages in the history of the Yugoslav people—and they already possess not a few.

175 Not only did Tito enjoy the confidence of the Russians, who
648 considered him as one of themselves, but he was in constant
643 touch with the Allies. The first English mission reached him on May 27, 1943, during its fifth offensive. At the very end of 1943 Churchill placed his son with Tito, to assist him during the most

[2] At Bihach, on November 27, 1942, he declared: 'Our country is enslaved, our people the victims of a fruitful terror. Barefoot, starving, bloodless, they are at the mercy of the occupiers and their acolytes. But their determination to live is unshakeable, because they believe in victory'.

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186* 829 create an indissoluble union of Slavs which will be a bulwark against the repetition of catastrophes similar to that of 1941'.[8]

On October 2, addressing a group of Polish journalists, Tito used the expression 'Slavonic era'. But this expression must be understood in a constructive, not an imperialist sense. 'United spiritually, the Slavs form a barrier against medieval [*sic*] ideas directed against culture and humanity. . . . The Slavs will bring peace and security to Europe'.

There were the same oratorical outpourings among the Bulgars. Kimon Gheorgiev's programme included 'a cordial friendship with the Soviet Union and an eternal friendship with the sister nation of Russia'. Nikolov, President of the Slav Committee in Sofia, also protested against the legend of Slavonic imperialism, but announced a 'union of the Slavonic peoples for the protection of their liberty and of their independence'.

[795] In the same spirit the Bulgars, walking hand in hand with Tito's Yugoslavia, affected an ostentatiously detached attitude to the question of Macedonia. They abolished the schism caused by the Exarchate, which had been created solely for the purpose of propaganda on behalf of annexation. Formerly the Macedonians were divided into Orthodox (Serbs) and Exarchists (Bulgars). Once this distinction was abolished, Bulgaria could, according to international circumstances, proclaim her disinterestedness or extend her claims to Macedonia.

[648] The Slavonic Governments backed one anothers' reciprocal claims. Marshal Tito approved the Czech policy with regard to the Hungarian minorities; Poland and Czechoslovakia handed to the London Conference notes supporting the Yugoslav territorial claims, which ran counter to those of Italy. Bulgars and Yugoslavs conducted a joint campaign against Greece regarding Aegean Macedonia.

• [668] There was another manifestation of this general fraternisation. A Slav Congress was held in Bratislava in July, 1945. It passed a motion favouring the conclusion of a regional pact of friendship and mutual aid among all the Slavonic nations. The speakers indulged in striking forecasts of the possible effect, in international life, of a bloc of 205 million Slavs, *i.e.*, one-third of the total population of Europe, covering two-thirds of its surface.

[8] Speech made at Bela Tsrkva on July 8.

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Chapter Six

THE SLAVONIC WORLD AND THE PEACE TREATIES

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THE negotiation of the peace treaties, which occupied the whole of 1946, was both a testing-time for the solidarity of the Slavonic States, faced with international problems, and the period of their internal consolidation.

In an article published on February 3, 1947, by *Pravda*, the Russian Professor Voznesensky, Vice-President of the Panslav Committee, defined these two aspects of the post-war period for Slavs.

'The present Slav movement has no precedent in history. Our peoples have undertaken two main tasks. The first is the struggle against the traces of Fascism and the struggle for peace against political reaction. The second consists in a fraternal collaboration in the political, economic, and cultural domains, the bases of development and progress for any country'.

During this 'second phase' of the post-war period, demonstrations of Slav solidarity were to be based on two watchwords:—

(1) An almost ritual affirmation of gratitude and attachment to Soviet Russia.

(2) The external 'democratic' and 'pacific' aim of this solidarity—hence the strict avoidance of the words 'race' and 'bloc'.

In the diplomatic field the unity of view of the Slavonic peoples followed from an elementary postulate—the collapse of Teutonic power, a collapse with which their common security was bound up.

186* 648 728 That is why, on April 25, 1946, the eve of the opening of peace negotiations by the meeting in Paris of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the four Great Powers, the Diplomatic Editor for the Moscow Radio, Yermachov, thought it well to recall that the struggle against Teutonism was the common denominator of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. and of the other Slav peoples:—

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Solidarity between Slavs in Europe and those in America

among whom the attitude of a part of the population, Polish in origin, maintained a dangerous schism—was revived by a mission sent to Moscow, at the end of 1946, with M. Leon Krycky, Leader of the United States Panslav Congress, as its President; he was received by Stalin. The latter is reported to have declared to him that the Soviet Union and the United States were the only two countries capable of guaranteeing world peace. This was the outcome of the Third Congress of Slavs in North America (held in New York on the previous September 23), during which the meeting had cheered the name of Stalin and booed that of Mr. Byrnes, who had recently, in Stuttgart, made a speech reopening the question of Poland's western frontiers.[1] At this meeting the Polish delegate, M. Lange, emphasised the role the Slavs could play as permanent links between the United States and their countries of origin. But this American-Slav Congress failed in its task; prepared during the Roosevelt era, but actually meeting under the Truman administration, it functioned in a very different atmosphere from that which its organisers had anticipated. It was vigorously attacked by a section of the American press.

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After a preparatory Conference of the Panslav Committees, held in Prague in May, 1946, the first great post-war Panslav Congress took place at the Kolarats University, in Belgrade, from December 8 to 12 of the same year. It was attended by delegates from the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the Serbs of Lusatia, and the Slavs of North America.

Its organisers made very marked efforts to prevent the Congress from assuming the aspect of a demonstration of Slav nationalism. On the contrary, they emphasised the benefits which could accrue to the cause of peace and universal democracy from harmony among the Slav States. Consequently the agenda was restricted to very general questions, bound up with cultural propaganda and the struggle against Fascism. Alexander Gundorov, President of the Moscow Panslav Committee, and a veteran of these assemblies, declared that 'the Congress would reveal to the world the truth about the Slavonic peoples and destroy the lies propagated by reactionary circles

[1] This Congress gave rise to a diplomatic incident, arising out of the refusal of the American visa to eight Yugoslav delegates who owed allegiance to the Communist Party. 648

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186* in Europe and in America'. And in the Belgrade newspaper,
• 668 *Politika,* M. Stankovich, President of the Serbian Assembly, showed still greater discretion: 'Only the enemies of democracy could see in this meeting of Slavonic countries a manifestation tending to the creation of a Slav bloc, or an attempt to separate East and West'.

Marshal Tito, supported by Marshal Tolbukhin, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Mgr. Nicolaï, and the President of the Yugoslav Assembly, Ivan Ribar, opened the Congress. 'The Slavs', he said, 'have a mission, but not a mission to create a bloc. Yet the time has come to decide that they shall never again be divided against one another'. A message from Stalin, on the same lines, was read. The *leit-motiv* of the speeches was the merit of the Slav peoples in the triumph of democracy, and their contribution to universal civilisation.

In short, the eloquence of the Congressists did not go beyond a speculative exchange of views; it avoided drawing too much attention to the agreement of views between the small nations and Moscow.

[175] Nearly a hundred years had elapsed since the Prague Congress of 1848. By a curious trick of fate, over both these demonstrations of Slav solidarity, at a hundred years' interval, Russia exercised unopposed control. Great as was the opposition between the ideas of the Slavophiles and those of the Congressists of 1946, both Assemblies, with the same pride, saw their work as a threat to reaction—Austro-German reaction in 1848 and Western reaction in 1946.

The Congress organised the strengthening of economic and cultural relations between the Slav States. It formed a permanent Liaison Committee to sit in Belgrade.

[208] The press in the Slavonic countries gave enthusiastic reports of these assemblies. In general, newspapers in the other countries were very reserved in their comments. On December 17 the *Manchester Guardian* recalled the century-old vision of a Slovak poet, a vision of the Slavs united in a powerful body with Russia as the head, Poland the trunk, Bohemia the arms, Serbia the legs. 'The new Panslav movement has arisen out of a common struggle against the invader. If it fosters the community feeling on the human plane, it may do good. If it tries to establish itself in the political domain, it will fail, as in the past'.

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A sceptic might have observed that, despite the oratorical manifestations of harmony and goodwill, three specifically Slav problems which had arisen in 1919 still appeared on the agenda of questions at issue in 1946—the allocation of the Teschen Basin, the definitive status of Macedonia, the fate of the Lusatian Serbs. 186* 668•

Indeed, the Macedonian question does not seem to have been finally settled by the creation of a Macedonian Republic within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation. That is why, at the end of 1946, Yugoslav newspapers demanded the incorporation of the Bulgarian districts (Petrich, Gornya-Djumaïa, Nevrekop) in the Popular Republic of Macedonia, and reproached the new Bulgarian constitution with submitting every project for the transfer of territory to the decision of the legislature—a step which Belgrade considered as a stipulation derogatory to the 'Macedonian minority's' right to self-determination.[2] In other words, in Yugoslavia the Macedonian population of Bulgaria was still considered as non-Bulgarian in character. Latent, but still discernible, it was the old quarrel which had, for half a century, set the two peoples in opposition to each other. It was recalled in the Sobranje on December 12, by an Agrarian Deputy, who asked the Government whether it did not consider the Yugoslav claims as an interference in Bulgarian Home Affairs. And early in 1947 a much-talked-of action brought at Skoplje plainly pointed to the survival of the famous ORIM (Macedonian Internal Revolutionary Organisation) directed by Vanka Mihaïlov—that organisation which had been so widely discussed at the conclusion of the previous war. 563 578 648 175

[2] An action which the French Press Agency described (on January 27, 1947) as 'typically Macedonian' was brought against Albanians, Yugoslavs of Albanian or Turkish origin and 'real Macedonians', accused of having organised, in 1945, an illegal society—*National Chiptare Demokratia*—to overthrow the Albanian Government of Enver Hodja and set up a 'Great Albania', including a part of Western Macedonia, with Kossovo and Metova. The conspirators were in league with Mihaïlov's Revolutionary Committee—the famous ORIM (Macedonian International Revolutionary Organisation), whose hand had already been detected in a separatist Macedonian plot which had been judged in November 1946. In this plot was involved no less a person than Metodijé Andorov Cento, one of the most popular figures among the Macedonian 'partisans' and, up to the spring of 1946, President of the Macedonian Liberation Assembly. Cento was sentenced to eleven years' hard labour. Decorated by Tito, he was in opposition to the Government, criticising its Communist affiliations, and in conflict with Lazar Koulichevsky, Prime Minister of the Macedonian legislature. [668]

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666 175 98.89 per cent (110,180 blank votes), the electors having no other option than to vote for the 'Front' or to register a blank vote.

185 175 Faithful to the guidance of Benes, Jean Masaryk and Ripka, the Third National Front Government, presided over by Gottwald, endeavoured to secure the triumph of a policy of equilibrium between East and West, between Liberalism and Marxism. 'In our country', declared Benes, 'under the pressure of the masses, Communism has become national.'

648 175 The first signs of Soviet pressure were seen when, after the Czech Cabinet had decided, in July, 1947, to accept an invitation to attend the Paris Conference for the application of the Marshall Plan, it was forced, on orders from Moscow, to withdraw its acceptance.

[578] The final crisis was reached in February, 1948. An exceedingly violent press campaign was launched against Vaclav Nosek, Minister of the Interior, as the result of a purge which followed the discovery of illegal arms deposits. The Communist Party accused the National Socialists (Benes Party), the Popular Democrats and the Slovak Democrats of attempting to constitute an 'anti-Communist bloc' within the Government, and of paralysing the legislative power of the National Assembly. Tension reached its peak with the approach of the elections, then fixed for April 11, 1948.

•668 642 175 The partisans of obedience to Moscow centred their efforts around the nucleus of the police and the trade union organisations. A 'Central Action Committee' was established, to back up, by mass movements, the offensive led by President Gottwald and his Communist colleagues against the moderate section of the Government. On February 20, 1948, the Ministers belonging to the three incriminated parties resigned. The Marxists held demonstrations in the streets; a political strike was declared on February 4, and the Congress of Works' Committees demanded the removal of the 'reactionaries'. President Benes, taken unawares by the suddenness of this attack, rejected the idea of a Government of Civil Servants and, on February 25, he formed a new National Front Ministry, with Gottwald as President, Gapotocki as Vice-President, Jean Masaryk at the head of Foreign Affairs. The Communists secured entire control of this Cabinet, which was in favour of unconditional collaboration with the Soviet Union. The opposition was reduced to

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helplessness; Benes capitulated before Gottwald's ultimatum. It was the end of the Putsch which Hubert Ripka later described as a 'prefabricated revolution'. On March 9[1] Jean Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote a personal letter to Stalin, in which he denounced the intervention of Zorine, the Soviet Ambassador, in the events of February: 'When a time of mortal danger for the country, and for all Slavs, comes, you will have in Prague nothing but a Government hated by the country, despised by the *élite*, and relying entirely on the bayonets of its police organisations'. The next day Masaryk committed suicide: contradictory versions of his death were circulated, although the above-mentioned letter had made clear his intention of ending his life.

Thus the inspirer of two Czech liberations, heir to the thought of Thomas Masaryk, disappeared in shameful oblivion; the commentaries in the Communist press, in which he was later accused of having betrayed the interests of the country, lead us to wonder whether his inglorious end did not save him from an even more tragic fate. Posterity will pronounce a mixed judgment on his political achievement. His tomb might fittingly have been engraved with this epitaph, taken from one of his books (*Whither the Slavs?*): 'The existence and the prosperity of all the Slav States is inseparably bound up with a régime of true democracy, that is to say, a régime in which the elementary principles of individual liberty, liberty of conviction, liberty of religion, liberty of political expression and liberty of public opinion, are guaranteed and fully respected'.

As for Benes, whose authority was henceforth without scope, on June 7, 'for health reasons' he resigned his presidential office, which he had held since June 19, 1946, in a message by which he invited his fellow-citizens 'to encourage liberty and consciously enjoy it'. He died a few months later, on September 3, 1948.

The events of February were to be mentioned at the United Nations Security Council, with a view to appointing a commission of inquiry—which was opposed by a Soviet veto (May 24).

On March 9, 1948, was voted the Constitution which made Czechoslovakia a 'democratic peoples' republic'. It instituted a Single House system, and proclaimed the equality of Czechs and Slovaks: the republic was to be a bi-national State. Unlike

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plete disaster. He was imprisoned, and Moscow declined the union. 186* 175

Ever since that time Moscow considered herself as the new and unique center of pure orthodoxy, of pure Christianity. When in 1453 Byzantium was invaded, Moscow's prestige became even greater in her own mind. The Muscovite monks, working out a sort of Muscovite historiosophy and formulating the Muscovite political program, gave a very significant interpretation of that catastrophe: Byzantium had been punished by God for the sin of the Union of Florence. And then came the establishment of the theory of the "Third Rome": "Two Romes have fallen, but the third still remains." This third Rome was Moscow.

Thus was established a Muscovite eastern Messianism. This Messianism became more and more universalistic in its scope. The Muscovite tsars began to consider themselves the representatives not only of their own Orthodox world but of the whole Orthodox community in the world and, even more, of pure, unsoiled Christianity in general. Very soon after the fall of Byzantium and the spread of the Turkish invasion in the Balkans, many Serbian and Bulgarian émigrés, intellectuals of those times, arrived in Moscow with all sorts of Bulgarian and Serbian Messianic and imperialistic conceptions and theories, modeled on Byzantium and on Greek and Hebrew texts. Messianistic honey was collected from these Bulgarian-Serbian-Hebraic-Byzantine hives by various monks and old men like Philotheus. There were fantastic genealogies, orthographical mistakes — consciously or unconsciously committed—daring eschatological solutions of such problems as why the world did not come to an end on March 25, 1492, which escape it was supposed to owe to Moscow for not having acceded to the Florentine union. Greek prophetic legends, exploited by Bulgars as well as by Serbs, legends promising victory for the *rusy* (reddish) race, *xanthos genos*, became *russky* (Russian) race; and so, as Professor Milyukov stressed, "an orthographical mistake became a source of the Russian imperialistic dreams about Constantinople and the Straits." In a word, ortho- 186* 175 668 795

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graphical errors and boundless imagination, fed on Byzantine and autocratic Imperial doctrines, decided for a long time the style of Russian political thought. Hence, practically, the Moscow Tsar and later the St. Petersburg Emperor became the head of the church of a Byzantine Caesaro-Papist type and assumed the position of a Byzantine theocrat. The conception of absolute power coming from God, absolute in the universalistic sense, meaning that the monarch was the ruler of all material goods as well as of human souls, became established in Russia particularly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, after the period of the Mongolian yoke had excellently prepared the ground for such a conception of monarchical power. As the ultimate result of these events Moscow represented the type of an Oriental despotism with a tendency toward state control characteristic of these organizations (especially at the time of the *oprichnina* of Ivan the Terrible and later) and the equally characteristic tendency towards imperialism based on Byzantine religious and historical premises.

These bonds with Byzantium became particularly strong after, and in connection with, the marriage of Ivan III to Sophia Paleologus, the Byzantine princess in exile whom Ivan III received from Italy. This marriage is also an interesting story. Both Rome and Venice were still meditating a war against the Turks in order to liberate Byzantium. For the realization of this new, grandiose enterprise the help of the already developed might of Moscow appeared very desirable. Moscow had succeeded at that time through all sorts of belligerent activities and political manoeuvres in establishing its predominance among Russian princes and was on the eve of liberating Muscovy from the Tartar yoke. Led by western political conceptions, Rome and Venice thought that the good will of Ivan III could be bought by the offer of the title of *king*, and on the other hand by a marriage with a Byzantine princess who after the death of the legitimate heir to the Byzantine Empire would become vested with the right to the Byzantine throne.

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ern world. The Slavs, organized around the holy Orthodox faith and under the leadership of Russian autocracy, based on the strong foundations of the Russian land community, would become a powerful political organization strong enough to bring the Western world to the Russian pale.

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Here we are already in the center of the Russian Panslavistic doctrine. And this is, by the way, the picture of the whole Hegelian road of the Slavophil philosophy of history: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Chicherin in his profoundly interesting memoirs, mocking the Slavophils and especially Constantine Aksakov, says: "He (Aksakov) conceived Russian history according to all the rules of Hegel's logic; the old Russia represented the statement, the new—the negation, and the future announced by the Slavophils was to be the restoration in a superior form of the original statement. This formula could be successfully applied perhaps only to the beard: the beard existed in old Russia, in the new it was shaved, in the future it would be restored."[11]

As long as the Slavophils were busy with their national costumes, traditions, orthodox theology, and glorification of the Russian past, they might be considered more or less independent, distinguished, and inoffensive satellites or offshoots of the official national ideology—but satellites and offshoots who confined themselves to the worship of what they considered Russian national traditions. But when they extended their love to other people and their hatred embraced not only Peter the Great but the West, they became involved in political problems. And at this point some of them degenerated into Panslavism; besides, some new adherents, acting in the purely political field, joined the Slavophil group. Here again we must take into consideration certain other sources of influence and tradition—this time purely political.

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Some of the political conceptions adopted by the Slavophils appeared earlier—even at the time of Peter the Great and Elizabeth. From time to time conceptions of the liberation of the "Slavic brothers" emerged, but they developed especially strongly,

[11] *Vospominaniya B. N. Chicherina*, Moscow, 1926, p. 236.

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of course, at the time of Catherine II when Russia began the "liberation" of White Ruthenians and Ruthenians from the Poles through the partitions of Poland and finally "liberated" the Poles from themselves. At the time of Alexander I the same conceptions reappeared. V. N. Karazin, a well known liberal of the times of Alexander I, wrote in a memorandum: "Is it possible that the sovereign ruler of free Slavs, the unique protector of the Orthodox Church, can look indifferently upon the sorrow of nations close to them by blood and by religion?" "It is true," says Pypin through whom I quote Karazin, "that Karazin suggested cautious action in order not to offend Austria. But his dreams went very far: he dreamed of the establishment of a 'Slavic Empire' with one of the brothers of Alexander at its head: this empire was, with time, to be extended to the Adriatic Sea in Albania and Macedonia, and on the other side to embrace the southern 'Serbo-Croatian' lands of Austria. . . . This Empire, which would very soon develop and organize, would be bound to the Russian Empire by ties of religion, blood, and thankfulness, and would become Russia's 'storehouse' and natural base for all her activities and relations with Europe and Africa."

The same were the conceptions of other political writers of that time—Bronevsky and General Chichagov. (cf. Pypin, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79). These conceptions were also discussed in Masonic lodges and even in several lodges of Slavic Unity which had been established in Kiev and in Petersburg. The Russo-Turkish War of 1828 again galvanized these feelings of Slavic solidarity, but this was the time when there began in Russia the great discussions between the Slavophils and the Westerners—in other words, the time when the Slavophil doctrine started its period of crystallization.

I should like to stress the fact that we must have in mind several important historical dates around which the Panslavistic discussion became especially animated. These historical events and dates are: first of all, the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31, the Cracow Insurrection of 1846, the Slavic Congress in Prague in

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186* 175 1848, the Crimean War of 1854-56, the Polish Insurrection of 1863, the Slavic Congress in Moscow in 1867, the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the period preceding the World War of 1914-18 with the so-called Neoslavism and finally the recent movements organized by Russia in Moscow and in this country among the American Slavic population and the Congress organized recently, also by Russia, in Belgrade.

2. The Polish Problem

186* 668 649 The first "set" of the Muscovite Slavophils was composed of well-to-do people, people belonging to the Russian landed nobility; they had estates with serfs, they had fine and rich apartments in Moscow. In the beginning they devoted their time either to discussions on historical, theological, and literary problems in Moscow salons or to writings in which they expressed their views. And they also manifested these views in a special national type of domestic life; they wore peculiar hats and *kaftans*, which very often provoked sensations in the streets of Moscow; they ate Russian meals and drank Russian vodka. All these details concerning their private lives and their naïve manifestations of Russianism are very pleasantly related in the memoirs of Herzen and Chicherin. At this stage of their development they were rather innocent and pacific, but they later became strongly intolerant and aggressive. Chicherin gives some episodes characteristic of this intolerance and aggressiveness. This appears particularly in connection with the great Slavic and European problem which the Muscovite Slavophils, by the very fate of their doctrine, were the first to be called upon to solve. This problem was the Polish one. Slavic reciprocity, Slavic sympathy, harmony, regeneration, wars for the liberation of the oppressed Slavic nations—all these slogans, ideas, and initiatives could mean but very little in the face of the still bloody Polish nation under the Russian regime. How could other Slavs who were outside of Russia trust all the great promises given to them by the Russian Slavophils and later Pan-

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slavists if these same Slavophils and Panslavists had no solution for the fate of a Slavic nation which was within Russia? As in our days, Poland was a test case, and without a just solution of the Polish problem there was no possibility of offering any more or less satisfactory solution for the Slavic problem in its entirety. And just here the whole system broke; and sympathy, justice, and harmony were replaced by pure violence. The usurping character of the whole doctrine and its demagogical essence became obvious in the light of precisely this problem. As a matter of fact, the Slavophils had a precursor in this field—and a great one. This man was Pushkin. And unfortunately he may be considered ideologically responsible for the direction taken by Russian political thought toward Russian-Polish relations. The intransigent and even ferocious attitude which Pushkin took at the time of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31 predetermined the attitude of many generations of Russians toward Poland.[12] His anti-Polish and anti-European odes published immediately after the defeat of the Polish Insurrection could not but create an abyss between Russia and Europe. This historical event was especially tragic because of the fact that its creator was the most outstanding and captivating symbol of Russian Europeanism—a Russian who indeed might be considered the Peter the Great of Russia in the field of her spiritual culture. Pushkin refused to see that Russia's annexations in Poland brought her geographically closer to Europe only at the cost of moral separation. In his odes he expressed not only a violent anti-Europeanism and an aggressive imperialism but also traced the lines for broad Panslavistic, Panrussian conceptions. These vociferous odes, belligerent as they were, became a kind of poetical citadel, an arch of triumph under which passed one generation after another of Russian Russificators and persecutors of Poland as well as all Russian Slavophils and Panslavists. These odes became a canon, a national catechism, a kind of lasso thrown by the powerful hand of the great Russian

[12] I cannot enter into details of Pushkin's role in this case. I have devoted a special book to it.—Cf. *Pouchkine et la Pologne*, Paris, 1928.

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186* poet over the heads of Russian politicians, writers, and poets.
●668 From this point of view it would be difficult to evaluate the enor-
648 mity of the moral disaster achieved by Pushkin. And, as I men-
538 tioned before, the fact that it was just the great European Russian who assumed the responsibility for this makes it particularly painful. One has the right to say that had Pushkin taken a different attitude, the fate of Russian-Polish relations and therefore partly of Russian-European relations could have been different. It is possible, however, that my point of view is too idealistic and that I evaluate too highly the importance of poetical texts in the life of nations; nevertheless I am not at all certain that I am wrong. When examining the works of the Russian Slavophils and Panslavists—the Aksakovs, Khomyakov, Samarin, Pogodin, Leont'ev, Katkov, Danilevsky, Dostoevsky, and even Vladimir Solov'ev (whose opinions were in many respects opposite to those of the Slavophils and especially the Panslavists), whose views are so actual for our own day, one sees how completely Pushkin's poems were in accord with the basic tendencies of Russian nationalistic historical and political thought, and particularly with its anti-Polish aspects. As a matter of fact, the sources of the historic, philosophic, and religious inspirations of the Slavophils were quite different; Pushkin had nothing to tell the Slavophils in this sphere. Yet it is sometimes difficult to resist the impression that they had him in mind and that his "anti-Polish trilogy" was a sort of poetical noose cast over Russian political thought, the coils of which bound even the most courageous and the most spirited.[13] It appeared that the Muscovite Slavophil system was unable to find any solution for the Russian-Polish problem which would harmon-
186* ize with the general conception of Slavic unity. The Slavophil
668 systems, both Russian and Polish (to which I shall come later),
648 failed to produce anything positive and creative: the Russo-Polish
829 antagonism in these systems could be dissipated only at the expense of either Russia or Poland; there was no other alternative. This applies especially to the Russian side—to Aksakov, who in

[13] Cf. my article "Poland and the Slavophil Idea," as mentioned above.

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the presence of foreigners preferred not to speak of this "family quarrel," and to Pogodin, who, forgetting the ethnographic frontiers of Great Russia, attempted to enclose Poland within ethnographic and "democratic" lines. In Pogodin's opinion the latter boundaries were soon destined to disappear, since the only obstacle to an alliance with Russia lay in the Polish gentry, of "mixed Celtic and Latin origin," which should be destroyed by the Russian government with all possible speed. Aksakov used similar arguments in regard to the old Polish frontiers, while both Strakhov and Katkov attacked these frontiers even more vehemently.[14] Samarin saw in "Latin and Catholic Poland" "not only a historical contradiction of Russia but of all the Slav world." According to him Poland, "having become a poisoned sword and an instrument of destruction in alien hands, has received the same poison into her own flesh and blood." Her only salvation lay in union with Russia, which should become "the historical representative of the Orthodox and Slavic element." This would, in Samarin's view, be the triumph of the one cultural view over the other, although he admitted the possibility of Poland's separation from Russia. Aksakov admitted this separation in the same way, prophesying that in such case Poland would be eaten by Germany. But even here we see the break of the Slavophil conception: the Slavophils indeed did not know what to do with Poland. However, the most characteristic speculations were connected with the analysis of possibilities as to how a real union between Russia and Poland might be realized. The Slavophils were sure that the only obstacle between Poland and Russia was the Polish Latinism and Catholicism—in other words the Polish Western civilization. They thought that this civilization did not penetrate to the masses and that only the Polish inelligentsia—the gentry—represented that civilization. Consistently enough, they advocated the liquidation of this class—a liquidation which would bring into the Russian pale the amorphous masses of the Polish peasantry. This was

[14] The case of Strakhov, however, was less simple in this circumstance. Cf. my article "Russian Polish Cultural Relations," *New Europe*, New York, 1944.

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186* the liberation and regeneration which the Muscovite Slavophils
●668 were trying to secure to the enslaved Polish nation. The whole
648 armament of their arguments and weapons may be found in the
829 writings of Aksakov, Pogodin, Samarin, Leskov, Danilevsky, and Dostoevsky. In the light of the present Slav movements organized by Soviet Russia and in the light of the present extermination of the Polish intelligentsia under Russia's "liberating protection" one may see that the most audacious dreams of the Slavophils and Panslavists of the nineteenth century are now being realized. The Russian autocracy was not able to use all means of extermination against the Polish spiritual culture because some of the elements of it were attached to a social regime which the Russian autocracy was bound to protect and preserve in Russia itself. From this point of view Stalin's hands are more free, and his policy of Russification might become more efficient in its destructiveness. However, even at the time of Alexander II and Alexander III, in accordance with the plans of the Muscovite Slavophils and Panslavists the Russian government began certain reforms aiming at the gradual liquidation of the Polish landed gentry through the emancipation of the peasants and through measures favoring the latter at the expense of the former. These reforms would have been entirely justifiable if they had not followed the principle *divide et impera*. Russia was usurping the role of a liberator of the peasants, because the Polish revolutionary national government of 1863 proclaimed the emancipation of the peasants and promised them land without any compensation for the landlords. At this time the Slavophil school became indeed a political one.

And here something very important should be stressed: the Russian democratic and radical groupings were sympathetic to the Poles just because of the democratic character of this insurrection. Such was the attitude of the society *Zemlya i Volya* and of Herzen in his *Kolokol*. They were even trying to prevent the Russian soldiers and officers from fighting against Poles. Herzen at that time published eloquent articles in which he attacked the

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"patriotic syphilis" which was raging in Russia. The whole of reactionary and nationalistic Russia launched its offensive precisely at this point—the slogan was that the Polish Insurrection was not a national one and that presumably the Polish masses had nothing in common with it. This point of view became the leitmotif of all Katkov's writings, but very soon Aksakov's *Den'* (the organ of the Slavophils) joined Katkov's *Moskovskiya Vedomosti*. The Slavophil phraseology followed that of the government, and Aksakov as well as Samarin explained the Russian-Polish War of 1863 as a war of Slavs against Latinism, as a war of Russia against the Polish landlords. We may see that history indeed repeats itself. The same slogans were used during this war when it was necessary to abolish the legitimate Polish government in London. Herzen understood this situation very well. On January 1, 1864 he wrote in his *Kolokol* as follows: "Having grasped here and there some vague ideas about the social mission of Russia and about her lack of any solid aristocratic principle, our sweet dreamers preach that Russia represents some sort of democratic empire, some sort of kingdom of *equality* and masses, that *she* fights with Poland in the name of the freedom of the peasants against the landlords, etc. Do not be mistaken. . . ."[15]

186* 668 648 829

Sumner in his excellent book *Russia and the Balkans* (Oxford, 1937) brings very correct comments to this development: "The Polish revolt of 1863 unleashed century-old hatred and fears. In the years which followed, the old 'Congress Poland' was mercilessly dragooned within the framework of the administration common to Russia proper while the 'Western Lands' Lithuania, White Russia, and the Western Ukraine were subjected to every measure of Russianism. Meanwhile a campaign was initiated of the same nature in the Baltic provinces and Bessarabia; and, to show without mistaking that Russian meant Great Russian alone, the Little Russian or Ukrainian cultural revival of that time was successfully attacked by Moscow, above all by the prohibition in 1876 of the use of the Ukrainian 'dialect' for any academic or

186* 175 648

[15] *Istoriya Rossii v xix Veke*, vol. 3, Z. Lensky, "Polskoe Vostanie," p. 322.

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186* 175 648 literary purposes. Symptomatically two of the men most actively associated with this denationalizing, Russianizing policy, were among the most prominent Slavophil or Panslav Muscovites of the day: Prince Cherkassky and Yuri Samarin, a close friend of Aksakov."[16]

186* ●668 Cherkassky, Samarin, and N. A. Milyutin worked at the agrarian reform in Poland, and Cherkassky "distinguished" himself in the campaign for reuniting the Uniates with the Orthodox Church. "Samarin and Cherkassky are significant in the Panslav movement in that, unlike Aksakov or the earlier Slavophils, and unlike the professorial type, represented by Lamansky, Miller, or Grot, they were active in administration and were well-known public figures. . . . Both men are also, above all, significant as representing the transformation of the idea of Panslavism into that of Panrussianism." (*op. cit., p.* 67) Characteristically enough, Samarin was, besides all the traits mentioned by Sumner, a "considerable theologian," the collaborator of Khomyakov in this field.

186* 812 It is not mere chance that I mention this trait of Samarin's personality. The Slavophil doctrine was from its very beginning deeply rooted in religious thought. The father of the Muscovite school, Ivan Kireevsky, was first of all absorbed by problems of religious and moral categories. Parallel to the pre-Romantics, the Romantics, and the German idealistic philosophers, he was primarily interested in the spiritual structure of the human personality and in the problem of perfecting it. He was fighting for the unity and entirety of the human personality and believed that the superior truth cannot be conceived by rationalism but by the entire spiritual personality in which the factors of feeling and belief were more efficient than reason. M. Gershenzon, in his book, *Istoricheskie Zapiski* (Berlin, 1932), sensationally enough stresses that Kireevsky committed a mistake which became the starting point for the whole Slavophil Doctrine. Milyukov pretends that the century-old Russian trends toward Constantinople and world domination also originated from a mistake—from an orthographic

[16] R. H. Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

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ble of historical development and has already risen from infancy. However, not all nations are equally capable of historical development. There are some whose destiny is to serve as ethnographical material to other stronger and more stabilized nations. Those others are God's whips whose mission is to smash from the face of the earth the outlived cultures and nations. Danilevsky gives a series of historical cultural types: Egyptian, Chinese, Assyrian-Babylonian-Phoenician, Indian, Iranian, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, New Semitic, German-Roman or European, and finally Slavic with Russia at its head. Each of these types works out its own culture, and the principles of the civilization of one type are not transferred to another. Various types differ by the degree of versatility of their culture. Danilevsky sees four spheres of cultural-historical activity: the religious, the strictly cultural, the political, and the social-economic. No one of the listed cultural-historical types developed all of these four spheres of activity at once, with the exception of the Slavs and Russians, whose mission will be to accomplish a complete 'four-principled' culture."[25]

The road to that Russian predominance is a purely nationalistic one; and, neglecting any declamation on Russian religiosity and other well known features of the Russian character as presented in the writings of the Slavophils and abandoning all ideas about brotherhood and universal love, he brutally opens the door into the great future of Russia. Russia is destined for that future, but the road to it leads first of all to Constantinople and secondly to the emancipation of the Slavic nations. I shall not bring to the fore all his violent criticism applied to "rotten Europe." The Russian anti-Westernism here reached its climax. The book is supported by quasi-scientific arguments taken from anthropology, zoology, geology, geography, and the social sciences. It might be considered one of the most important scientific manifestos or rationalistic Panslavic theories. However, the most important implications of the book are, of course, the political ones. "Being

[25] Danilevsky, *op cit.*, and article by V. Myakotin on Danilevsky in *the Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'*, T-A Granat, vol. 17, pp. 552-557.

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186* foreign to the European world because of its internal structure,
829 and in addition being too strong and powerful to occupy the place
● 668 of one of the members of the European family, to be one of the great European powers, Russia cannot occupy a place worthy of herself and of Slavdom in history other than by becoming the chief figure of an independent political system of states and by being a counter balance to Europe in its entirety. These are the advantages: the utility and the significance of the Panslavic alliance in its relationship to Russia."[26] And this is another programatic assertion: "Sooner or later, whether we want it or not, the fight with Europe (or at least with the greater part of it) is inevitable, and it will be a fight because of the eastern question, that is, for the freedom and independence of the Slavs, for the possession of Tsargrad—for everything which in the opinion of Europe represents an object of illegitimate Russian ambition and which in the opinion of every Russian worthy of that name represents the inevitable demand of Russia's historical mission."[27]

186* Of course, on his road, Danilevsky fatally met Poland. His
829 fight in this case was very simple. He liquidated Poland with the help of all kinds of historical accusations and political insinuations. In the same way he destroyed every spiritual cultural tie between Russia and Europe. His formula was not at all complicated, and one cannot really deny that this formula is the key to Stalin's present policy. When referring to the theory of political balance he says: "It is not at all difficult to be convinced that between Europe and Russia in this as well as in other respects there exists a direct and complete contradiction. It is precisely the balance of political forces in Europe that is harmful and even fatal for Russia; and the disturbance of this balance, from what ever side it may come, is advantageous and beneficent."[28]

After several historical examples, Danilevsky gives the following formula: "At every disturbance of balance Europe is naturally

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 437.
[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 474.
[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 486.

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186* sels. Lelewel "told him about the primitive democratic Polish
829 municipality, about the agrarian Slavic collectivity, about broth-
648 erly institutions and customs distorted later by the class structure and the enslavement of people which came from the West. At that time he conceived a new goal for himself which was "a Russian revolution and a republican federation of all Slavic lands, and the establishment of one indivisible Slavic republic, federative only as regards administration, and politically centralized."[51] At that time, under the influence of western European populism and socialism on one side and, on the other, of his intimate contacts with the Polish emigration in Paris, Bakunin started to crystallize his own Russian populist and revolutionary ideas. The first manifestation of these crystallized ideas took place in Paris in 1847 when he delivered his famous Polish speech at the commemoration of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31. In this speech he attacked Nicholas I, he asserted that the Russian and Polish nations must be reconciled, that both were paying for the discord introduced by Russian autocracy, and that the Russian revolution would bring freedom to both nations. He said that this task could be realized only through the Russian-Polish alliance: without the liberation of Poland, Russian freedom could not be born. And finally he called for the liberation of all Slavic nations in order to bring about the final collapse of despotism in Europe.

186* A little more complicated was the atmosphere of the Slavic
668 Congress in Prague, in which he took part and delivered several
[575] speeches. At that Congress, as we know, Palacký advocated the idea of a Slavic federation with Austria in which the Czechs would play the dominant role. This idea was not popular among other Slavs, and the atmosphere of the Congress was not at all encouraging.

Bakunin first of all stressed the fact that Russia, by enslaving Poland and especially by giving a part of her to the Germans—the main enemies of the Slavic race—tore herself away from Slav-

[51] J. Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 161-162; cf. also V. Polonsky, *M. A. Bakunin*, vol. I, Gos. Izd., 1925, pp. 155 156.

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dom. She could return to Slavdom only by the liberation of Poland. In this point Bakunin was certainly much more consistent than the Muscovite Slavophils ever were. On the other hand, he tried to warn the Congress against narrow nationalism, against hopes attached to the Austrian dynasty as well as against hopes attached to the Russia of Nicholas I: "Entering the Russia of Nicholas I you would enter a coffin without any national life or any freedom." In several articles such as *The Foundations of a New Slavic Policy, The Foundations of a Slavic Federation, The Interior Organization of Slavic Nations,* and finally in his *Manifesto to the Slavs,* he formulated his view on that future federation. He dreamt about the abolition of tsardom through Russian revolution, which was to be preceded by a Slavic revolution. He thought that the Slavs under the leadership of a free Russia would fight against Austria, Turkey, Germany, Hungary, and even against the whole world if that were demanded by the interests of the Slavic Union. This Slavic Union was to contain not only Slavic peoples but also the Magyars and Greeks. It would be an Eastern world with Constantinople as its capital and it would be opposed to the Western world. The political regime of the Union would be republican but without a parliament, a dictatorship would be established especially because of Russia, which would be unable to reach a higher level of civilization without it.[22]

These articles and his manifesto passed without any great effect. His striking idea of dictatorship representing a kind of anarchical despotism was an idea which obsessed him and which reappeared in different forms on many occasions during his life. He even admitted that a Russian tsar, Nicholas I or Alexander II, or a general, such as Murav'ev-Armursky or Nicholas Ignat'ev, might be a beneficent dictator over the Slavs. The next most important manifestation of Bakunin's Panslavism took place after his Siberian exile, when in 1862 he published his revolutionary *Manifesto to Russian, Polish, and all Slavic friends.* As a matter of fact,

[22] Polonsky, op. cit., pp. 221-227.

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186* ●668 he returned in this manifesto to his former ideas—of an agrarian revolution, of the abolishment of bureaucracy and the privileged classes and a federation of Slavic peoples. Characteristically enough, and this is what Kucharzewski stresses in his studies on Bakunin, Bakunin's relationship to Poland was a very peculiar phenomenon. He was attracted by Poles (in Siberia he married a young girl of Polish origin), he always spoke very warmly in his writings and manifestos to Poles, but on the other hand these contacts with Poles each time, just as during his rencontre with Lelewel, aroused in him Russian national feelings. I may add that in his youth he greatly admired Pushkin's anti-Polish odes. When discussing the social structure of the future Slavic federation, he strongly stressed the fact that that structure "will in no way be different from ours." It is clear enough that his manifesto expressing such views on the future of the "Slavs liberated by a revolutionary Russia" could not awake great enthusiasm among them. Hence Bronislaw Zaleski, a distinguished Polish émigré, wrote a long answer to Bakunin's manifesto in which he said that: "Bakunin wants not only the abolishment of despotism but he also wants the destruction of everything which existed before, in other words he wants a deluge—and into the ark, which would save from this deluge a creative idea for mankind, he puts only the Russian village community with its common landownership as it had been formed in serfdom. Hence any individual property must be abolished forever. . . . How many ruins it will be necessary to make in order to prepare that vast pasturage—is what the new reformer does not take into consideration."[88]

Besides this, Bakunin pushed the Russian frontiers of his federation so far into the West that indeed only a very small part of Poland would remain as a Polish entity in the Union. The Polish periodical *Review of Polish Affairs* ended its analysis of Baku-

[88] Kucharzewski, *op cit.*, vol. II, p. 443.

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nin's manifesto by saying that "Russian revolutionism is, in its consequences for Poland, similar to Russian despotism."[54] 186* 668

I shall not enter the further complication of his relations with the Poles, the details of his self-imposed activities in the Polish Insurrection of 1863, nor the mutual deceptions between himself and Poland.

After the Polish Insurrection the Panslavic conceptions played a less important role in the second part of his life with the exception of his program for the Slavic section of the International in Zürich in 1872.[55]

8. Herzen (1812-1870)

Herzen also has some ties with Dostoevsky and these ties are to be found in his critique of the West and in his enthusiasm for the Russian village community which, as we know, was one of the chief objects of admiration of the Muscovite Slavophils though they first heard of it from the German Haxthausen who in 1845 published his work on his travels in Russia. Herzen's cult of the Russian peasant, his populism, made of him a precursor of *narodnichestvo.* 186* 829

That evolution was not quite simple—Herzen, before his trip to Europe and stay there, was one of the most enthusiastic Russian Westerners, and he very often opposed the Muscovite Slavophils. His stay in Europe changed his opinions, and there he became one of the most violent fighters against *l'esprit bourgeois* of the Western civilization. The conception of the dying Western civilization became a kind of obsession with him and against these constantly drawn pictures of the chaos, agony, and disease of Europe suddenly arose in the mind of this former Westerner his Russian and even Slavophil messianism. To Chaadaev's formula that the past of Russia is empty, the present unbearable, and that she has no future, Herzen replied that the "past of the Russian

[54] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 412.
[55] Cf. Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, and E. H. Carr, *M. Bakunin*, London, 1937.

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was formulated in *The Scientific Dictionary*, a Czech Encyclopedia.[84] The article referring to Panslavism is very reserved. The speculations of the Muscovite Slavophils on the item of Hussism as a purely Slavic movement which presumably had its ties with Slavic Orthodoxy did not appear very convincing to the Czechs. 186* 175

In general, the Prague Congress of 1848 reduced the Panslavic tendencies to a formula of political organization of Austria which would satisfy the national political demands of the Slavs. In this way was developed a special Austrian Panslavism directed against Russia and later called Austroslavism. The same trends might be discovered in the so-called "Slavic Union" in the Vienna Parliament of 1908. However, under the leadership of the Czech Kramař there developed at the same time the so-called neo-Slavism, which stressed the political solidarity of all Slavic nations on the condition of complete cultural equality, but which certainly contained pro-Russian tendencies. The movement was created in 1908 at the Slav Congress in Prague, followed by a Congress in Petersburg in 1909 and one in Sofia in 1910. There took place only vague and very general formulations of Slavic mutual respect, sympathy, and efforts to calm the inter-Slavic antagonisms —Russian-Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Serbo-Bulgarian, and so on. In spite of the participation in this movement of several important political leaders among the Slavs, it did not reach any concrete results. Most Poles and Russians very soon abandoned it. The War of 1914 brought again to the fore ideas of Slavic union, proclaimed this time by representatives of Russian public opinion and by the Russian government. I should also mention the outstanding activity aiming at spiritual and intellectual collaboration among the Slavs of the brilliant Polish scholar, thinker, and writer Marian Zdziechowski, who established his Slavic Club in Cracow with its review *The Slavic World* before the War of 1914 and who entertained close relations with the Russian sympathizers of these trends, about whom I shall speak below. 186* 668 575

[84] Quoted by Pypin, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-153.

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nant admonitions of Ruskin, the anxiety of Renan, not to mention 000
the period of the *fin de siècle* and the modern European pessimism of Spengler's jeremiads?

This does not change the fact, however, that in the light of the events of the 19th century and especially in the light of the present tragedy of Poland, the Polish "message to Europe" becomes particularly poignant. History has repeated itself almost textually with, however, one exception—that the present betrayal of Poland by the Western democracies has followed an even more cynical and indecent road. And has not the same fate overtaken Yugoslavia?

Of course in all Slavophil and Panslavistic texts one may find political hyperbole, exasperation, dreams, vain hopes, idealistic universalistic conceptions of fraternity of nations, beliefs in international justice, aspirations for national independence, imperialistic pretensions, the ideological play with various historical traditions. But as I stressed above, all that Slavic polyphony starts and ends with a dirge for Europe. Indeed we see all of them—those brilliant prophetic writers like Tyutchev, Dostoevsky, Mickiewicz, Krasiński, and so many others, involved in a great ideological battle, in which clashed their most essential thoughts about humanity and civilization, as if petrified by the same vision of Europe which we find in Herzen's terrible suggestions about "*facies hippocratica,* by which the doctors recognize that death has raised its scythe."

14. Post Scriptum

I mentioned on several occasions the fact that we are witnessing a kind of revival of the Panslavistic conceptions under the Soviet sponsorship. Indeed there was created in Moscow in 1941 a new Panslavic committee under the chairmanship of a general, A. Gundorov, and with representatives of different Slavic nations as its members. This committee started to organize first of all Panslavic meetings in Moscow. Then later Panslavic meet- *186 668 575

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186* ings, manifestations, and commemorations in America; in June 1942 such meetings and congresses took place in New York, in ● 668 Pittsburgh, in Detroit, in Kansas, in Cleveland, in San Francisco, 575 in Oakland, and also in Canada, Argentina, etc., organized by local Slavic committees. These organizations in America and in other countries represent ramifications of the Moscow center; and at each meeting they manifested this relationship by sending addresses and telegrams not only to the Panslavic committee in Moscow but to Stalin, Kalinin, Molotov, and so on. Around the Muscovite center were organized during the war all kinds of Slavic national committees and unions of patriots at the head of which one could find the members of the Panslavic committee in Moscow. These committees and unions were nuclei from which originated the "democratic governments" imposed by Russia to the Slavic and non-Slavic countries (similar committees were organized for Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria) which found themselves in the sphere of Russia's influence.

[208] For the task of propaganda of these Panslavic ideas of union and fraternity of the Slavs under the protection of Soviet Russia and under her cultural leadership there has been established a monthly review under the title *The Slavs*, published in Moscow in Russian.

186* It is paradoxical enough that if one takes different Soviet encyc- 829 lopedias one may find a radical refutation of Panslavic con- 651 ceptions; the Panslavism of the 19th century has been always qualified there as a bourgeois imperialistic doctrine. It would be very difficult, however, to find any salient difference between the Panslavistic imperialistic conceptions of Tsarist Russia, as far as their essence is concerned, and the Panslavistic policy of the Soviets, even though their motives and ultimate goals are not identical. In order to save appearances the official Soviet press still stresses that difference; so N. Leonidov in his articles *The New Phase in Slav History* published in *New Times* in Moscow in September, 1946, said: "The Russian people never identified themselves with the imperialistic chauvinistic Panslavism of the

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glorifying the outstanding Soviet generals and, of course, men like Molotov, Lenin, "the great son of Slavdom"; and Stalin, "son of the nations of Russia"—it would be rather difficult to make of him a Slav. There are also articles about different manifestations of old and modern Slavic culture, biographies of great Slavs, predominantly Russian. Copernicus, one of them, had a rather amusing fate under the pen of Soviet clerks writing under the *Politburo's* dictates. The *Small Soviet Encyclopedia* (1926) calls Copernicus the "greatest Polish scholar"; and later, its *Great* brother leaves the reader with the impression that he was a German Scholar. Finally, the review *The Slavs* emphasizes his Polish patriotism and the prestige of the University of Cracow!

The activities concerning the further organization of Panslavic meetings abroad have not been abandoned. On the contrary, recently at the end of 1946 there again took place such meetings in America and in Belgrade with the predominant role played by official and unofficial agents and delegates of Soviet Russia, ending with telegrams and addresses expressing loyalty to Soviet Russia, sent to Stalin, Kalinin, and Molotov. All these facts must lead one to the conclusion that we are witnessing here the organization of a new International, of a Slavic International, parallel to the Comintern, and that the numerous ramifications of this organization outside of Russia represent nuclei of a Slavic fifth column in the countries which are outside of the immediate zone of Soviet influence. Within this zone Russia is much less interested in the development of the Panslavic movement through any special organizations, as she has there at her complete disposal the governments of the countries which are under Russian political domination. I do not have to stress what I mentioned before—that Stalin has in his hands means of Russification about which Goldmann and Katkov could only dream.

Not without interest is the fact that the Inter-Slav Bureau of Foreign Contacts had during the war six sections—for the United States, Canada, Central and South America, Australia and New Zealand, the Near and Middle East, and Great Britain. A seventh

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section dealt with the "occupied countries" and came partly under the jurisdiction of the Bureau and partly under that of the Committee for Active Struggle Against Fascism. In 1942 the All-Slav Committee's budget amounted to 320,000,000 roubles, in 1943 to 400 million, and in 1944, when the financial division had ceased to come under the control of the Secretariate, the Committee's budget had risen to 550 million roubles. The All-Slav Congress which took place recently in Belgrade has afforded some indications of the place which the All-Slav Committee holds in Russia's post-war political propaganda apparatus. The main speech of the Soviet delegate, General Gundorov, was an invitation to the Slav peoples to ignore "the sinister forces of world reaction" and submit to Communist guidance. Two resolutions passed by the Belgrade Congress deserve attention. The first, which makes Belgrade the center of the All-Slav Committee and Maslavitch its chairman, is an indication of the importance attached in Soviet policy to Slav sentiment in the Balkans, where to some extent it is a substitute for nationalist sentiment. The second resolution provides for the participation in the work of the All-Slav Committee of representatives of "the largest progressive Slav organization from non-Slav countries, with the right to an advisory vote."

In order not to be misunderstood I feel it necessary to stress that in spite of some striking parallelisms in the use of Panslavic conceptions by Soviet foreign policy and by the Russian tsarist governement, the differences remain enormous—but not at all in the sense of Mr. Leonidov's views. As I mentioned before, the Russian tsarist government of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was bound by international and public law; and because of this the fate of the Russian subject of those times cannot be compared to the fate of the modern Russian citizen. Russia was not hidden behind an iron curtain from the world, and foreign travellers could visit Russia and freely observe her life. Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Russians were sent to Siberia, but tsarist Russia did not know concentration camps; and the conditions of

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

If the Soviet reaction left any room for doubt, this was entirely removed on the occasion of the drama which was played out in Belgrade in the last week of March, 1941. On the 25th of that month, the Yugoslav Premier, Tsvetkovich, and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tsintsar Markovich, were received by Hitler and signed Yugoslavia's adhesion to the Tripartite Pact in Vienna. Forty-eight hours later a *coup d'état* put General Simovich in power. Rising magnificently, the Serbian people, more clear-sighted than their leaders, and faithful to their tradition of independence, had swept away the pusillanimous ministers who had just put the country at the feet of the oppressor. War was inevitable. At Vichy, when Pourich, the Yugoslav minister, announced his King's decision to Admiral Darlan, the latter said to him quizzingly: 'How many divisions have you, for resisting Germany?' And Pourich replied: 'Sir, that is a question we never ask in my country. We fight first, and count afterwards'.

648 175 [669]

There you have the whole heroic philosophy of the Serbian people. Russia greeted Belgrade's *coup d'état* by signing, on April 5, a pact of friendship and non-aggression with the new Government. She could not do more to indicate where her sympathies lay. *Pravda* recalled the fact that the relations between the two countries had steadily improved since May, 1940, when diplomatic contact had been resumed. But Belgrade learned the news of this pact simultaneously with that of the German attack, which took place a few hours later. To justify this aggression, Hitler enumerated a certain number of complaints, the first of which was a reminder of the Sarajevo outrage. That day, he had no doubt forgotten one of the sentences in *Mein Kampf*: 'It was the hand of the goddess of eternal law and of inexorable punishment that struck down Austrian Germany's most deadly enemy, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand'.[2]

Bulgaria took advantage of the German victory to reoccupy Macedonia, and on May 18[1] the Bulgarian flag was hoisted at Skoplje. She announced that she would limit her occupation to the lands she considered as *irredenta*. Needless to say, the appeal which the Yugoslavs broadcast from London, on the following

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[2] French translation (1934), p. 26.

1 [1941 -- Analyst]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16
Historical Bulgaria EE 2

SP 771 175

describe a number of local or tribal cults; nor is it justifiable to imagine a basis of a uniform primitive Slav system.

In the South, that is to say, in the Lower Danube basin and in Illyria, tradition ascribes the first conversions to Christianity to the time of Heraclius, and there seems not to have been the same fierce and prolonged opposition to the new cult, with which it had to contend in Russia and Northern Europe. In Russia and in Poland, a dual confession, and apparently a heathen priesthood, lasted into the later Middle Ages; in the eleventh to twelfth centuries attempts were made to re-establish the old faith on a national basis. True, the rising in Bulgaria against Boris (eleventh century) was led by an anti-Christian element, but we do not know of an active priesthood in this connection, nor whether it was a revival of Slavonic or Asperuh tendencies. Until the final establishment of a national, autonomous Church in Bulgaria, and in fact, until the turning-point of the Synod of Trnovo (seventeenth century), the indecision as to belief was evident not only in the varying allegiance to pope or patriarch, but in the activities of the numberless heretical sects, not merely tolerated, but at times enjoying considerable privileges and influence.

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The presence of these sects, notably of a gnostic character, pre-dates the Orthodox missions of the tenth century, and caused their retreat from Pannonia. The earliest account of the Slav apostles mentions the 'thrice heathen heretics' who were unacquainted with Slavonic; probably referring to that mixture of Paulician and Eulite doctrine, which, since the fourth century, had spread into the Northern Balkans, and remains to this day among the Nazarenes of the trans-Danube. Syrian and Armenian colonies had been established in Thrace during the seventh century in the time of Constantine, still known to M. Psellos and Cedrenos as Massalians. Armenian Monophysites and Paulicians lived in the neighbourhood of Plovdiv, Sofia, Devol, Rila, Moglena, Kjustendil, etc., from the eleventh to the thirteenth century; the Dragovitci being known in South-east Macedonia as extreme

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4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* was the husband of a Greek princess, and the son of this union
643 eventually became the consort of Gytha, daughter of the Saxon
631 Harold who fell at Hastings in 1066. Kiev was thus united with contemporary European states by a series of dynastic alliances foreshadowing the customs of modern times.

175* Yet for all his power and wealth, Yaroslav governed by the
643 same simple mechanism that had prevailed under Vladimir. The prince won his position by force and maintained it by personal supremacy, supported by Varangian mercenaries recruited from Scandinavia whenever domestic levies proved insufficient or disloyal, and consulting with his chief military aides, with the city elders, or with church dignitaries on matters of general
[671] policy. Yaroslav began the codification of customary civil and
[795] ecclesiastical law, encouraged both translations and original literature, and endeavored without success to emancipate the Russian Church from the Byzantine patriarchate. By his crushing victory over the nomad Pechenegs before the walls of Kiev in 1036, he made the marches of his principality safe for thirty-five years.

175* Beside rebuilding his father's Church of the Tithe after it
643 was damaged by fire in 1017, he carried out a large-scale con-
346 struction program which made Kiev one of the most notable
532 medieval cities. His great cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev, with its five apses and thirteen cupolas, still contains the largest extant yardage of eleventh-century Byzantine frescoes and a series of remarkably preserved mosaics of impressive beauty. This is the one medieval Russian church which has been exhaustively studied by American archaeologists in coöperation with native Russian colleagues.

175* The underlying weakness of the Kievan principality lay in
643 the fact that its stability was assured only by the prestige and
186 ability of the ruling prince. There was as yet no sentiment of
631 solidarity, national unity, and group interest which guaranteed that the whole system would not be overthrown by some ambitious and resolute rival from among the kindred princes in outlying cities loosely subject to the authority of the prince of Kiev and envious of his power and wealth.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

Kiev in 1240. No remnant of it now survives except the ruins of its foundations. 175* 346

In Vladimir's day the clergy rapidly assumed a place among the ruling class. Apart from introducing new notions of judicial procedure derived from the Greek *Nomokanon*, the early clergy also undertook to advise Vladimir on affairs of state and local policy. In 992 the bishops advised the substitution of corporal punishment for fines in order to suppress brigandage and similarly suggested that the proceeds of fines in other cases should be spent on military equipment for defense against the menacing nomads. The ecclesiastical courts also assumed jurisdiction over numerous social problems and offenses which took new significance in the light of the Christian moral code: bigamy, divorce, heresy, sacrilege, witchcraft, and adultery. Vladimir thus tolerated the fusion of church and state on the basis of contemporary Byzantine usage. 175* 793 565 693 [681] [684] [688]

By the process of conversion among the various Slavic groups, the bases of cultural and political differentiation were thus laid before the year 1000. Exposed to Christian influences since the seventh century, the Slovenes were converted by Bavarian clergy, and after their absorption into the Carolingian empire in 788, remained until the first World War in submission to one German state or another. The Croats, though in contact with the mission of Constantine and Methodius, reverted to Rome after the disciples of Methodius were expelled from Moravia, and have come down through the ages as Catholics, whatev[illegible] [illegible]eir political allegiance. The Slavs along the Elbe and the Baltic were subjected to the most violent political and religious pressure from Saxon priests and nobles with the result that, despite heroic revolts, they were slowly pushed back toward the former Polish frontier. The Byzantine influence in Moravia lasted but a quarter of a century before the work of the proto-apostles, Constantine and Methodius collapsed, and the Moravians, like the Czechs, remained under the pastoral care of bishops of the Roman rite. Though the 175* [797] 795

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

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6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

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Congregation of the Holy Office, forbidding the publication and diffusion of Communist doctrine.

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So the *Kulturkampf* was waged, now energetically, now quietly. The Prague Government was accused by the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of violating 'human dignity and civilisation'; once more the conflict passed from the national to the international level, symbolising the ideological antagonism which exists between the Soviet world and the Western democracies. Neither the Government nor the clergy showed any signs of weakening. On November 17 the bishops again asked the civil power to abandon the laws relating to religious teaching, as conceived by the State, and the interference of lay authorities in the nomination of priests and the administration of Church property.

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The end of the year 1949 was marked by waves of purges in Communist circles, and by fresh trials on charges of treason, incriminating, like those of Budapest and Sofia, Tito's 'agents' or 'accomplices'.

* * *

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During this period politics in Poland were somewhat less sensational than in the other Slav countries. There again, however, the régime of 'popular democracy' evolved in the direction of Stalin-Marxism. The struggle against the Church was less open, and did not, as in Czechoslovakia, go to the length of making the clergy civil servants. The Government concentrated its efforts particularly on increasing exports, on economic reconstruction, and on exploiting the German lands brought under its control—and these efforts, it must be admitted, were attended with remarkable results.

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The German Question was its chief external problem; in its view, it was France's policy in respect of the Reich which prevented the renewal of the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance. What Warsaw particularly feared was lest a change of attitude on the part of the Allies towards Germany should reopen the question of the Oder-Neisse frontier, which the Poles considered sacrosanct, but which transferred to them territories whose final allocation was, legally, postponed until the making of the peace treaty for the Reich.

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The most sensational event was the nomination (on November 7)[1] of Rokossovsky, the Soviet Marshal (of Polish

1 [1949 -- Analyst] 2 [1949 -- Analyst]

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

of enabling Poland to be admitted, at least *in extremis*, to the San Francisco Conference. For as the result of London and Washington's refusal, on April 18, to allow an invitation to be sent to the Warsaw Government, it looked as though Poland, the first victim of German aggression, might be absent from the discussion of the statute destined to preserve the world against the recurrence of similar attacks. 648 175 578

The invitation found the London Poles divided. Of the three organisations invited, M. Mikolajczyk, ex-President of the Council, and M. Stanczyk, Vice-President of the Central Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party, accepted; M. Witos declined the invitation on health grounds, and M. Zakowski, the representative of the Socialist Party, reflected the discord which had apparently developed in that party by refusing to join the delegation.

The trial of sixteen Poles who had been detained in Moscow for several weeks, charged with sabotage and anti-Soviet activities, interfered with the negotiations. In vain did the Poles in London try to secure their release, by emphasising the role these men had played in the Resistance; Marshal Stalin declared that the Conference must not prevent the trial from taking place. At the hearing certain of the accused pleaded guilty to acts of terrorism directed against Soviet troops, and attributable to the *Armija krajowa* (Armed Forces of the Interior), which had been recognised on the previous August 30[1] by the English and the Americans, and to a political organisation called *Niepodlegosc* (Independence). The verdict returned on June 21[2] was mitigated; the chief offender, General Okulicki, was condemned to ten years' imprisonment, while the remaining accused were either acquitted or received very light sentences. 687• 661 175

The objects of this trial, synchronised with the Conference from which, on principle, was to come the reconciliation of the Warsaw Poles and the London Poles, seem to have been as follows. Firstly, to discredit the leaders of the Government-in-exile and their staffs; secondly, to give (by the verdict) an example of the Russians' spirit of moderation; and thirdly, to emphasise their unshakeable determination to put an end, once for all, to anti-Soviet propaganda on Polish territory.

So the agreement reached on June 23[2] found the atmosphere 648 175

1 [1944 -- Analyst]
2 [1945 -- Analyst]

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

645 175 Communists, then rejoined the partisans in Bosnia and was elected President of the National Liberation Front.

• 687 175 The chief event of this period was the trial of General Draja Mihaïlovich, who had organised the earliest resistance to the invader, but was subsequently accused of collaboration with the Germans and the Italians. Arrested on the borders of Bosnia and Serbia, he was court-martialled on June 10, 1946, by the Military Tribunal of Belgrade, which condemned him to death on July 15. He was shot. Some American airmen had vainly asked to bear witness in his favour. The Belgrade Government had documents published establishing his 'treason'; they reveal undeniable complicity with the enemy in the lower ranks, and, especially, the implacable intention of eliminating the Communists from the Resistance; the role of Mihaïlovich himself is less clearly shown—which explains the emotion his condemnation aroused in England and in America.

[829] The *Daily Telegraph* thus expressed itself on this condemnation: 'The long perspective of history will enable the truth about the much-discussed figure of Mihaïlovich to be more clearly perceived. His contemporaries can do no more than think that, caught up in the whirlwind of events beyond his control, he was a victim of Fate'.

In the same connection the British statesman, Noel Baker, declared that the decision to suspend aid to Mihaïlovich during the war had been taken as the result of numerous denunciations from various sources, alleging that he was no longer adequately contributing to the war effort. 'Subsequently', he said, 'it became evident that certain of his lieutenants were actively collaborating with the Germans'.

793 687 175 659 No less sensational was the trial of the Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb, Mgr. Aloysius Stepinac. This followed proceedings against numerous members of his clergy, notably that involving some Slovene priests, in December, 1945, at Ljubljana. The bishop of that town, Mgr. Rozman, a refugee in Italy, was condemned to eighteen years' imprisonment.

[208] The action against the Croatian priests accused of collaboration was prepared in January, 1946, by a violent press and radio campaign, denouncing the Archbishop's relations with the *Oustachi* of Pavelich, by whom he had been decorated (in

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

common with the Croatian Orthodox Metropolitan, Hermogene Maximov, and the German Lutheran bishop, Popov). 793 687

Arrested on September 18, 1946, Mgr. Stepinac was tried, on the 30th of the same month, not only on the charge of intelligence with the enemy, but also of having, after the liberation, worked with the opponents of the régime. These charges (as well as that of having forcibly converted Orthodox Christians to Catholicism) were upheld by the judges, who condemned the prelate (on October 11) to sixteen years' hard labour, to the loss of his civic rights for a period of five years, and to the confiscation of all his possessions. In vain had the defence recalled the fact that Mgr. Stepinac had protested against the racial laws and collective reprisals, and that the allied press had, while the war was actually in progress, rendered homage to his courageous stand.[5] 175 659

Pope Pius XII, in a public speech, protested against this verdict, denying the compulsory conversions—which, moreover, are contrary to canon law. And, although Tito had declared that the proceedings were by no means the prelude to a campaign against the Church in Czechoslovakia, Christian circles throughout the world protested against what they called a 'religious trial'. The 115 Catholic archbishops and bishops of the United States, assembled in Washington for their annual Assembly, described the verdict as 'an outrage on justice'. The Archbishop of Westminster declared that, during the war, 'in Croatia the only voice raised against Nazism and its works had been that of Archbishop Stepinac'. [829]

The Vatican, in an unofficial note, recalled the Church's sanctions against members of the laity sitting in judgement on a bishop, or guilty of any act of violence upon his person; it nevertheless continued to maintain its Nuncio in Belgrade—Mgr. Patrick Hurley, a priest of American nationality, who had entered upon his office at the beginning of the year. In October, 1946, it appointed a co-adjutor to the Bishop of Maribor and another to the Bishop of Ljubljana. (In the absence of a 793 794 648

[5] A Catholic Agency announced, at the end of February 1947, that the President of the Croatian Government, Dr. Bakarich, was said to have invited the prelate to sign his appeal, giving him reason to hope that he might be liberated and, with American support, go abroad. Mgr. Stepinac refused, not wishing to leave either his people or his diocese.

6: Monset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 648 829 175 in the fight for liberation, at a time when Russia could not intervene. His dictatorial attitude, his personal prestige, aroused distrust on the part of the Kremlin. On the Yugoslav side, they were shocked by the conceit of the Russians, who lavished instructions and counsel on a nation which considered its own political experience superior to that of the Russians, and who, in the course of history, had won and rewon its independence entirely by its own efforts. Serbian pride, wounded by the demands made by Moscow, precipitated the rupture.

565 423 175 On the other hand, Yugoslavia is peopled by an emancipated peasantry; it has made its own agrarian reforms, and has not had to suffer the yoke of political dynasties (as has been the case with Rumania), nor (like Hungary) that of a landed aristocracy. Communism could not get a footing there, either in the same form or at the same speed, as in the other 'popular democracies'.

Finally, the systematic enslaving of the economy of Yugoslavia to Russian interests was bound, one way or another, to provoke violent reaction in Belgrade.

186* 665 648 175 •687 It was nevertheless a surprise for the world when, on June 28, 1948, the Kominform communiqué pronounced the condemnation of Tito and his collaborators, accused of desiring to establish themselves by a régime of terror, of over-estimating the possibility for their country of safeguarding its independence without the assistance of the other Communist Parties; finally, of seeking the support of the capitalist States.

Dr. Pijade, the theoretician of Tito's régime, felt able to reveal[1] that the Kominform's resolution simply reproduced a text prepared in Moscow: he stated that the hands of waverers had been forced by a lying assurance that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party contained spies on behalf of England and the United States.

175 648 [439] Then began a diplomatic battle between Moscow and Belgrade: at first it took the form of a criss-cross exchange of notes, then that of an economic boycott and, finally, of a vast scheme to detach Yugoslavia from the other popular democracies and reduce her to isolation.

The diplomatic notes at first (July-August, 1948) dealt with the fate of Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia; then (August-

[1] Speech made on July 8, 1949, at Novi Sad.

6: Mousat H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

September) the role played by the Soviet Union in international conferences regarding Yugoslav claims to Southern Carinthia. In one of these notes (August 11) Moscow accused the Belgrade Government of acting 'not as an ally, but as an enemy of the Soviet Union'.

'We can establish Socialism without the U.S.S.R.', Tito had declared.

For a few months the Belgrade press attacked the Kominform, without going so far as to mention its real promoters. On May 30, 1949, for the first time, *Borba*, the organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party, openly attacked the Soviet Union, which it accused of seeking to foment the Yugoslav people against the Government. And Pijade denounced 'Russian nationalism', cloaked under the mantle of Marxist orthodoxy, 'which does not allow any other Communist Party to consider itself the equal of the Bolchevik Party, or any other State to raise itself above the level fixed for it by Moscow'. He accused the Soviet Union of recruiting traitors to form a 'pro-Stalin, anti-Tito front' in Yugoslavia.

The friendship and mutual assistance pacts concluded by the other popular democracies with the Belgrade Government were denounced during the same week: on September 28, 1949, the Kremlin gave the signal for these notices of termination. On October 1 Bulgaria annulled the pact of November 27, 1947, and was followed by Rumania in respect of the pact of December 19, 1947, and by Czechoslovakia (on October 4) in respect of the treaty of friendship of May 9, 1946, and the cultural agreement of April 27, 1947. The Warsaw Government had anticipated matters by declaring, as far back as September 8, 1949, that Tito's Government had 'trampled on and destroyed' the Polish-Yugoslav pact of March 18, 1946.

The heads of the Yugoslav diplomatic mission in Moscow, and of the Soviet mission in Belgrade, were recalled during the autumn of 1949, and the majority of their collaborators declared 'undesirable', on charges of espionage or sabotage. The cases brought, in Hungary and Bulgaria respectively, against Rajk, ex-minister (September) and Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council (December)—cases involving Yugoslavs—were so arranged as to bolster up the Soviet accusations against Tito and his role in the Balkans.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

648 175 • 687 The Yugoslav Government replied by trying, in Sarajevo, some White Russians, naturalised Soviet citizens, who, after having served the occupying authorities during the war, were said to have become agents for anti-Tito propaganda; on December 9 they were condemned to imprisonment for a term of years.

648 175 In the shade of Soviet-Yugoslav antagonism, the old quarrel between Belgrade and Sofia over Macedonia was reawakened.

Early in August, 1947, Tito and Dimitrov met at Bled and signed a protocol providing for closer collaboration between the two Governments: this protocol was to find its application in the 'pact of collaboration and mutual assistance' concluded on November 27 following, at Euxinograd.

648 563 175 [186] Yet, at Bled, there were signs of disagreement. Tito would have liked to see the formation of a Federation of Southern Slavs. But such a federation would imply the inclusion of Bulgarian Macedonia in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—which would have the effect of committing the Macedonians in Bulgaria to a policy for the future, on the lines of the old Serbian aspirations. Dimitrov shelved the solution of the Macedonian problem until the federal pact should be concluded. The Yugoslavs then insisted that psychological conditioning for the union should be ensured by the granting of 'cultural rights' to the Macedonians in Bulgaria. Now the Sofia Government refused to consider the latter as a minority, and therein lay the germ of the new Bulgarian-Yugoslav crisis.

Later, on December 20, 1948, after the Soviet-Yugoslav rupture, Blagoje Neskovitch, Vice-President of the Belgrade Government, was to claim that the quarrel unleashed by the Kominform arose simply out of the pressure brought to bear by the Bulgarian leaders, with a view to securing recognition of their territorial claims on Vardar Macedonia.

Then Belgrade reproached the Bulgarian Popular Republic with having refused a statute of autonomy and the designation of a 'nationality' to the Pirine Macedonians.

648 175 Thereafter the Macedonian Question remained in the forefront of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations: a Macedonian, Poptomov, became Minister of Foreign Affairs in Sofia and, when Bulgaria denounced the pact of November 27, 1947, Yugoslavia accused her of violating the peace treaty by refusing to pay the repara-

Gz Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 R16 Slavic Peoples R16

described it as a 'crime against European civilisation', and on October 1 it was brought up at the Security Council by the French delegate, Parodi, during a discussion on Bulgaria's candidature for the United Nations. 648 696 829 175

In January, 1948, on the occasion of the signing of a treaty of mutual assistance with Rumania, the Bulgarian Premier, Dimitrov, risked an allusion to a project for the federation of the Balkan States, but this was immediately disavowed by the Kremlin. [185]

Dimitrov died on July 1, 1949; he was replaced as leader of the Government by Kolarov, and at the head of the Bulgarian Communist Party by his brother-in-law, Valko Tchervenkov.

The sentencing (March 8, 1949) of four Protestant pastors, accused of espionage, to life imprisonment, and the imprisonment of eleven others for a term of years, called forth vehement protests in the Christian world, and justified the sending of a diplomatic note by Great Britain, on March 12, in which these proceedings were described as a violation of Art. 2 of the peace treaty concerning 'fundamental liberties'.

The year 1949 was marked by progressive tension in the relations between Belgrade and Sofia. In September the Bulgarian Government denounced the treaty of friendship and, on October 6, the frontier agreement with Yugoslavia. This antagonism, which revived the Macedonian Question, reached a crisis at the trial of Traitcho Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council. Accused in March, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of 'flagrant errors' (the most serious accusation being that of having invoked the principle of State secrecy in order to withhold information of a commercial nature from representatives of the Soviet Union), Kostov found the charges gradually extended, until he was involved in a plot against the safety of the State, with the complicity of the Anglo-Americans and the agents of Tito. He was condemned to death, and executed on December 16. The Yugoslav press considered this charge as having been trumped up entirely with a view to compromising and discrediting Tito. 648 687 175 [208]

The municipal elections of May 15, 1949, gave the Communist-controlled Government of the 'Homeland Front' 92.1 per cent of the votes cast (370,000 blank votes); the legislative elections of December 18 raised this percentage to 666 175

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Kiev in 1240. No remnant of it now survives except the ruins of its foundations. 175* 346

In Vladimir's day the clergy rapidly assumed a place among the ruling class. Apart from introducing new notions of judicial procedure derived from the Greek *Nomokanon*, the early clergy also undertook to advise Vladimir on affairs of state and local policy. In 992 the bishops advised the substitution of corporal punishment for fines in order to suppress brigandage and similarly suggested that the proceeds of fines in other cases should be spent on military equipment for defense against the menacing nomads. The ecclesiastical courts also assumed jurisdiction over numerous social problems and offenses which took new significance in the light of the Christian moral code: bigamy, divorce, heresy, sacrilege, witchcraft, and adultery. Vladimir thus tolerated the fusion of church and state on the basis of contemporary Byzantine usage. 175* 793 565 693 [681] [684] [688]

By the process of conversion among the various Slavic groups, the bases of cultural and political differentiation were thus laid before the year 1000. Exposed to Christian influences since the seventh century, the Slovenes were converted by Bavarian clergy, and after their absorption into the Carolingian empire in 788, remained until the first World War in submission to one German state or another. The Croats, though in contact with the mission of Constantine and Methodius, reverted to Rome after the disciples of Methodius were expelled from Moravia, and have come down through the ages as Catholics, whatev[illegible] [illegible]eir political allegiance. The Slavs along the Elbe and the Baltic were subjected to the most violent political and religious pressure from Saxon priests and nobles with the result that, despite heroic revolts, they were slowly pushed back toward the former Polish frontier. The Byzantine influence in Moravia lasted but a quarter of a century before the work of the proto-apostles, Constantine and Methodius collapsed, and the Moravians, like the Czechs, remained under the pastoral care of bishops of the Roman rite. Though the 175* [797] 795

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own Government, which he forced to resign. The Choubachich Cabinet disregarded this and on January 23, 1946 published a communiqué, according to which the sovereign would not return to the country until a Constituent Assembly had pronounced on the question of the régime. In his absence, the royal power would be delegated to a Council of Regency whose members would be chosen from the London Government and from the Tito Government. 643 661 648 175

On January 30 the King finally agreed to this formula, as recommended by Moscow, London, and Washington.

Then Choubachich went to Belgrade to agree with Tito on the names for the new Government. Prolonged and painful haggling resulted in the formation of the Provisional Cabinet on March 7,[1] in which Tito kept the Presidency and the War Ministry, while Choubachich assumed control of Foreign Affairs. A Serbian democrat, Milan Grol, and a Croat Agrarian, Chouteï, entered the new administration. 642 175 [693]

Yugoslavia was to be reconstituted on a federative basis; the State itself officially took the name of 'Democratic and Federal Yugoslavia'. So the constitution of the 'Yugoslav' Government was followed by the formation of 'National' Governments, six in number—Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia. Care had been taken not to give this federal organisation a statute and frontiers, on account of the conflicts these would not have failed to provoke; the National Assembly would, in due course, decide upon the internal structure of the State.

It remained to be seen whether Tito would bring to the management of affairs the eminent qualities of which he had given proof in the Resistance. Would history salute him not only as a detached figure in the epic background against which the tragedy of the Serbian nation is played, but also as a reconstructor of the State? 000

Born in 1893 in the Croat village of Klanyets, Joseph Broz was the son of an artisan. He had known hardship in his youth, and soon exhibited a revolutionary temperament. At seventeen he engineered a strike, and showed himself to be an agitator. It is said that he took his appellation of 'Tito' from the bishop of medieval Crete whose relics rest in the Church of St. Mark in Venice. Taken prisoner by the Russians in 1914, he took part 175 643

[1] [1946 -- Analyst]

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648 457 439 175 in August, 1947, a Yugoslav delegation opened negotiations for a commercial agreement. These negotiations were prolonged, but in September, 1949, the British Cabinet decided to open a credit of £9,000,000 for Yugoslavia.[2]

A parallel change of attitude was shown in the relations between Belgrade and Rome: after rather lively incidents in Julian Venetia, the two Governments drafted, in December, 1948, a reconciliation, which was to be recognised by the commercial agreement of August 4, 1949, in which press commentators saw a political significance. The question of Trieste, which had been settled by the agreement of April 27, 1947, between France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, henceforth became of secondary importance, although Yugoslav claims to the Trieste zone (as to Slovene Carpathia) were never formally renounced.

On October 20, 1949, Yugoslavia was admitted to the Security Council by thirty-nine votes (out of fifty-eight voters) to nineteen for Czechoslovakia.

To sum up: Yugoslavia is seeking to reconcile her fidelity to Marxism with economic collaboration, on a footing of equality, with the Western States. Her attitude is defined in these two declarations made by Tito: 'While remaining solidly in the Socialist camp, Yugoslavia will regard as her enemy any one who interferes with her Socialist construction'. 'With the East we maintain economic relations, without any political set-off. When we sell copper to buy machinery, it is the copper we sell, not our conscience'.

* * *

648 696 829 175 As for Bulgaria, she has maintained with the Soviet Union ties which the Soviet-Yugoslav crisis only served to strengthen. The Government dealt the opposition a mortal blow by condemning to death the Agrarian leader, Nicolas Petkov, who was executed on September 23, 1947. This execution called forth a declaration of disapproval from the American State Department; on September 29 a speaker on behalf of the Foreign Office

[2] On July 2, 1949, General Ivan Gochniak, Vice-Minister for Defence, affirmed that, in 1944, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had agreed upon their respective spheres of influence in the Balkans: the Russians were to have a 75 per cent predominance in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania; in Yugoslavia they were to be on an equal footing with the English, in whose sphere of influence Greece was left.

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described it as a 'crime against European civilisation', and on October 1 it was brought up at the Security Council by the French delegate, Parodi, during a discussion on Bulgaria's candidature for the United Nations. 648 696 829 175

In January, 1948, on the occasion of the signing of a treaty of mutual assistance with Rumania, the Bulgarian Premier, Dimitrov, risked an allusion to a project for the federation of the Balkan States, but this was immediately disavowed by the Kremlin. [185]

Dimitrov died on July 1, 1949; he was replaced as leader of the Government by Kolarov, and at the head of the Bulgarian Communist Party by his brother-in-law, Valko Tchervenkov.

The sentencing (March 8, 1949) of four Protestant pastors, accused of espionage, to life imprisonment, and the imprisonment of eleven others for a term of years, called forth vehement protests in the Christian world, and justified the sending of a diplomatic note by Great Britain, on March 12, in which these proceedings were described as a violation of Art. 2 of the peace treaty concerning 'fundamental liberties'.

The year 1949 was marked by progressive tension in the relations between Belgrade and Sofia. In September the Bulgarian Government denounced the treaty of friendship and, on October 6, the frontier agreement with Yugoslavia. This antagonism, which revived the Macedonian Question, reached a crisis at the trial of Traitcho Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council. Accused in March, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of 'flagrant errors' (the most serious accusation being that of having invoked the principle of State secrecy in order to withhold information of a commercial nature from representatives of the Soviet Union), Kostov found the charges gradually extended, until he was involved in a plot against the safety of the State, with the complicity of the Anglo-Americans and the agents of Tito. He was condemned to death, and executed on December 16. The Yugoslav press considered this charge as having been trumped up entirely with a view to compromising and discrediting Tito. 648 687 175 [208]

The municipal elections of May 15, 1949, gave the Communist-controlled Government of the 'Homeland Front' 92.1 per cent of the votes cast (370,000 blank votes); the legislative elections of December 18 raised this percentage to 666 175

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177 origin), as Minister of Defence in the Warsaw Cabinet; he took
·64 as his deputy General Wladislaw Korczye, Chief of Staff of the
175 Polish Army. This appointment was naturally interpreted as a further step in the subordination of Poland to the Soviet interests.

648 And the Polish-Sovietic *rapprochement* (at governmental
175 level) had an unexpected result: the expulsion or the trial, on the
• 696 ritual charge of spying, of French diplomats and nationals (Wroclaw case), thus creating a state of tension between two countries whose friendship had historic and spiritual roots of such strength that no political vicissitudes had hitherto been able to affect them.

* * *

186* Thus the events of 1948–1949 once more disturbed that
648 'Slav solidarity' which had been revived by the Second World
578 War. It cannot be said that there exist, between the Soviet
175 Union on the one side, and Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, on the other, ties which are stronger than, or of any different nature from, those which unite Moscow to Budapest or to Bucharest. The 'collaboration' operates exclusively on the basis of Stalin-Marxism and obedience to Moscow.

On the contrary, the Soviet Union's Enemy Number One is Tito's Yugoslavia. There is violent and complete rupture between the Southern Slavs for the one part, the Bulgarians, Eastern and Northern Slavs for the other.

The historic current which has, periodically, split up the world of the Slavs, has reasserted its mysterious disintegrating force.

Two small but typical facts may serve as a postscript to this study. On Stalin's seventieth birthday the only country which sent no 'homage' to the master of the Kremlin was Yugoslavia. And the President of the Panslav Congress in the United States, George Pirinsky, was imprisoned in Chicago as belonging to an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the American Government by force.

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175* lish, through Chancellor's expedition to the White Sea in 1553, At the same time the Eng-
721 opened up the northern sea route. Ivan was also conscious of
106 the economic advantages of owning a Baltic port and began
716 operations against the Livonian order of German knights which controlled both the Gulf of Riga and the Gulf of Finland. After capturing Narva, he founded the Russian navy a century and a quarter before Peter the Great by confiscating and arming a number of German merchant vessels, for which he employed German and Swedish officers as commanders. Ivan's early successes proved a boomerang, however, since the Livonian order was dissolved and Esthonia was turned over to Sweden. This event automatically produced a collision with that country, allied with Lithuania, so that war became incessant on the western front until Ivan's death in 1584.

175* By that date the formation and the future policy of modern Russia was clearly defined. It was a foregone conclusion that future Russian sovereigns would extend Russian territory to the Black Sea. It was only a question of time when the weakening of Poland and Lithuania would bring the Dnieper valley and White Russia under Muscovite sway. It had become a cardinal item of Russian policy to control the Finnish Gulf, and maritime commerce with the west would traverse those waters
[177] as soon as ports were either conquered or developed. The long period of Russian isolation from Europe was ended, and the difficult process of acquiring modern European techniques was about to begin. Russia had graduated from oriental domination and was on its way to becoming a major European power, never to approach the East again, save in the hope of conquest.

642 In view of the gradual evolution of Muscovite sovereignty,
132 it is important to understand also the origins of autocracy in Moscow itself. For autocracy was by no means inevitable or universal in medieval Russia, and in the principality of Kiev the early princes had always had to reckon with town assemblies which supervised and even frequently deposed them. The influence of these assemblies was large in any medieval Russian city of which the economic and political status had been deter-

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291 of light material or else of coarse wool, in which case it could be worn over the shirt, and it was usually buckled or pinned at the shoulder or in front of the neck. In cold weather sheepskins or the cheaper pelts (bear, wolf) were worn for warmth. Women of the people were clad in a long shirt of rough linen or hempen fabric, often representing a mere cylinder held up by straps over the shoulders. From the waist down they also wore a double apron attached to a belt, while the upper part of the body might be encased in a coarse woolen jacket, along with a cloak of similar material around the neck and shoulders. Footwear consisted of rough leather slippers held by a thong over the ankle or of slippers made of bast fiber. Men frequently
302 wore wrapped leggings. Married women might wear a kerchief or bonnet on their heads over hair cut short, but maidens habitually went bareheaded, wearing their hair long and braided. Men also wore their hair long in the primitive period.
[177] Close shearing and shaving, where they occur, are due to foreign influences, and in general it may be said that in matters of attire the Slavs were always prompt to adopt foreign usages.

411 Originally a peaceful race, the primitive Slavs were unskilled
● 721 in the use of weapons. When they were first noticed by foreign writers they had no offensive equipment except bows and spears, and were unprotected by even the most elementary shields. It has already been noted that in the Slavic vocabulary the words for helmet and sword were taken over from the Goths. In the succeeding centuries, the constant warfare of the migratory epoch and the necessity of defense against successive nomad incursions produced a marked amplification of Slavic military equipment representing a fusion of borrowed alien techniques so that when the southern Slavs invaded Greece at the end of the sixth century, their soldier was considered to be as good a fighter as the Byzantine regular. The Slavs, however, used no mounted troops until well into the historical period.

439 The Slavs were drawn very early into the orbit of European
443 commerce, which in the peripheral areas of European antiq-

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167 steppes to the Danube, they threatened the Greek peninsula,
174 where their first occupation dates from 581.

721 Contemporary chroniclers report that the Slavs had by that
167 time acquired wealth by pillage and fought even better than the regular Greek troops. On the Adriatic, they occupied the districts of Illyria, Dalmatia, and Istria early in the seventh century. Shortly afterward the Slavs on the western front (the Czechs and those on the Adriatic seaboard) overthrew the Avar hegemony and became independent, but after the Avars were thus weakened, the Slavs never menaced Constantinople again. Yet by the end of the seventh century the whole interior of the Balkan peninsula, especially Macedonia and its neighborhood, was populated by Slavs. They even took to the sea and reached Crete in 623. At the height of the Avar expansion, the Slavs had already passed through Thessaly, Epirus, and Attica, and reached the Peloponnese in 588. Here their occupation was so formidable that, for the next two centuries, a Byzantine Greek scarcely dared set foot in the southern portion of the peninsula, while in the north the Danube was never again fixed as the frontier of the Byzantine Empire after 601. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that the Slavs were ever in the majority in Greece proper. Subject Greeks still formed the mass of the population. Were this not the case, it would be difficult to explain the eventual and rather rapid subsequent disappearance of the Slavic element south of Macedonia.

101 Once the Slavs were firmly established in the Balkans, they
177 immediately became exposed to the older cultures they found there. Those on the Adriatic coast and in the western Danube basin felt the impact of Latin civilization transmitted through romanized native populations, through colonial centers, or through the cities of the seaboard. When they settled within the sphere of Greek influence, the dominant cultural pressure was Byzantine. The results of these accidents of location are still discernible in the intellectual orientation of the Balkan Slavs.

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167 (first the Cimmerians, then the Scythians and the Sarmatians) succumbed to the Gothic hegemony, which was broken by the Hunnish attack of 370 A.D. The Huns were the precursors of a long series of Turko-Tartar invaders who crossed the steppes in historical times and offered a succession of recurrent barriers to any large-scale and enduring East Slavic migration toward the Black Sea. The Huns were followed in the sixth century by the Avars, who did not remain long in the steppes, but pushed on into the Danube basin where we have already met them as allies and later masters of the Danubian Slavs during the migration period.

167 721 While the Avars were sowing destruction along the northern border of the Byzantine empire, a new Turkic power was rising between the Don and the Volga. The immense Turkic agglomeration, which extended in the late sixth century from Mongolia to the Sea of Azov, had divided into two parts, eastern and western. The center of the western section was located on the lower Volga, and its prince or khan was inferior in standing only to the Great Khan of the eastern Turks. To the inhabitants of this western Turkic state, the name Khazars was given by the Armenians, from whom the Byzantines borrowed it.

During the Avar disturbances along the Danube and in the Balkans at the end of the sixth century, the remnants of the Hunnish and Bulgar tribes (both Turko-Tartar) east of the Don had restored some semblance of union and developed for a brief period into an ambitious state. The power of the Avars was concentrated far to the west and exercised only an inefficient control over their eastern marches. One active Bulgarian princeling named Kubrat applied for Byzantine aid in casting off the Avar yoke and apparently received this support at the price of his conversion to Christianity. At his death in 642, Kubrat had come to rule over a broad territory known as Great Old Bulgaria, which extended from the lower Don down to the Kuban district in the northern Caucasus. After the demise of Kubrat, his realm fell a prey to the energetic Turks who were

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destined to develop the Khazar state. The advance of the Khazars inspired a wide dispersion of the Bulgars. One branch recrossed the Don and, continuing northward, eventually settled near the junction of the Volga and the Kama, where they appear in later Russian history. The other section moved westward and, after uniting with their tribal kinsmen who had preceded them into the Balkans, carried their standards to Salonika in 675 before they settled in Moesia and fused with the South Slavs already resident there. But the Khazars remained in the steppe country, and gradually spread out across the prairies until they reached the southern Bug.

From such indications as we have that the Eastern Slavs had penetrated as far east as the Sea of Azov in the sixth century, their contacts with the various waves of mobile Asiatic invaders must have been closer than the scanty data of extant sources record though, in view of the infinitely small number of Turko-Tartar loan words which found their way into the Slavic vocabulary prior to the recorded history of the Slavs, it is evident that this contact was productive of little intellectual influence on the Slavs themselves. In fact, thanks to their association with Iranian and Goth, the Eastern Slavs had attained a degree of civilization at least equal and probably superior to that of the series of Turko-Tartar nomads who traversed southern Russia between the fourth and the seventh centuries.

During this interval, in any case, the steppes between the Don and the Dnieper were the scene of constant shifts of population. Fleeing before the Huns, the Goths had moved back into central Europe. Driven by the Avars, the western Bulgars had pushed forward into the Balkans. The Avars themselves were ultimately demolished by combined Frank, Slav, and Bulgar offensives along the Danube, and the eastern Bulgar units were displaced by the Khazars. The period of Khazar expansion westward was thus an epoch peculiarly favorable for the progress of the Eastern Slavs down the valleys of the Dnieper and the Dniester. Traces of this colonization are preserved in the *Primary Chronicle,* which places the Slavic Uli-

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the expansion of the Eastern Slavs was an accomplished fact, /77
shows them in contact with the Finns on a long line from the Baltic to the upper Don. The chronicler distinguishes three groups of Finns: those on the Baltic, those beyond the upper Volga, and those on the middle Volga itself. The Finnish tribes south of Moscow and between Moscow and the Volga have disappeared, though the other groups are still abundantly represented even today.

Whenever the Eastern Slavs encountered the Finns, the latter either retired or remained passive. Though the Finns may have been bellicose in Tacitus's day, Jordanes knew them only as *mitissimi*—extremely pacific. In these early days the Finns showed no tendency toward urban concentration or to union for defense, while the Slavs, during the period in which [721] their greatest expansion at Finnish expense took place (the ninth and tenth centuries), were already profiting by the military technique and leadership of courageous and enterprising Viking immigrants from Scandinavia.

At this date but one people of Finnish stock undertook an energetic offensive with perceptible historical results. These were the Magyars, who had already been in contact with Turko-Tartar tribes and had thus acquired some warlike talents. The Magyars are related to certain still extant Finnish tribes (the Voguls and the Ostyaks) on the river Ob in Siberia. After splitting off from the ethnic nucleus in about the seventh century, they moved west into southern Russia, where they met the Khazars on the Don. Then, around 860, they pushed on into Moldavia, and finally, after various raids into Pannonia and the Balkans, settled down in the Hungarian plain, where their descendants have lived since about the year 900. Their subsequent contacts were thus largely with the Southern and the Western Slavs.

None of these Finnish tribes have any ethnic or linguistic /77
relationship with the Slavic tribes. But with the Lithuanians the situation is somewhat different. The Lithuanians are an Indo-European people, and their language shows affinity with

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167 vast forests south of the Pripet River, and were, on account of
177 their remote location, culturally backward.

In this respect, they contrast with their eastern neighbors, the Polyane, who lived in the prairie country (their name characterizes them as plain dwellers) on the west bank of the Dnieper north and south of the ancient city of Kiev, which had been a point of settlement since far back into the stone age. It is not unlikely that the metropolis mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy in the second century and the *Danparstathir* of Gothic tradition and the Norse *Hervárarsága* were settlements on the site of modern Kiev. Situated on a strategic trade route, the Polyane were exposed to the stimulating influences of both Scandinavian and Byzantine culture as the power of the Khazars waned. It is thus by no means accidental that their chief center became the nucleus toward which adjacent tribes gravitated and that center from which foreign culture radiated throughout the entire period before it was sacked by the Tartars in 1240.

The Ulichians and the Tivercians, the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Subcarpathian Russia, present a more complicated problem. According to the *Primary Chronicle,* they lived on the southern Bug and the Dniester, extending down to the Black Sea coast and as far as the Danube. They
• [721] are without question the Eastern Slavic tribes which progressed the farthest toward the sea but, because of that same fact, they also occupied a position critically exposed to repeated nomad attacks. They can therefore hardly have moved south until after the departure of the Avars in the sixth century, and they were seriously menaced again by the incursion of the Magyars in the ninth century. We know from Arabic sources that the Magyars even enslaved much of the Slavic population in this area. Then, in the early tenth century, nomad incursions so increased in intensity and frequency that peaceful habitation in the coastal area eventually became impossible. The Ulichians and the Tivercians thus withdrew to the Carpathians and provided an important center of Slavic settlement in Tran-

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early colonizers in territory originally Finnish. The same observation applies to the Slovenes or Novgorod Slavs about Lake Ilmen, who thus approach the region of the great lakes. Just why they alone preserved the ethnic name of the Slavs remains an enigma. At any rate, they were, with the Polyane of Kiev, the most progressive of the Eastern Slavs. Located in an area ill-fitted for agriculture, they lived by hunting and trapping, by which they acquired material for barter with Scandinavian traders. Their pioneering spirit gradually carried them still further north toward Lakes Ladoga and Onega, and since only a short portage separated them from the upper Volga, we eventually find them pushing southeastward to insure a food supply from the grain fields of the Moscow district. They founded the city of Novgorod where the Volkhov flows out of Lake Ilmen, and economic and political collisions between this city and Moscow were a familiar feature of later medieval Russian history until the Muscovites emerged as victors.

Just south of the Slovenes lived the Krivichians, who dominated the headwaters of the Dvina, Dnieper, and Volga rivers and extended northwest until they collided with the Balts and Finns in the neighborhood of modern Pskov. Their chief centers, both of which owed their importance to river traffic, were Polotzk on the Dvina and Smolensk on the upper Dnieper. Since Smolensk is situated at an easy portage point between the Dvina, Lovat, and Dnieper rivers, it was one of the earliest points of Scandinavian settlement in the interior of Russia.

It stands to reason that, at the dawn of Russian history, these tribes must have in many instances progressed far beyond any patriarchal organization on the basis of kinship. Essentially an agricultural people, yet living also by hunting and trapping in newly colonized and sparsely settled areas, the Russian Slavs tended to develop beyond a purely patriarchal society as soon as they came to inhabit small farms grouped about a fortified village which served as a focal point for defense and as a rudimentary market for the exchange of their products. Such of these villages as were located on the chief watercourses developed

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in the service. Hence, though much of early south or east Slavic literature is either translated or imitated, the fact remains that the Slavs under Byzantine intellectual and religious influence developed significant national cultures much more rapidly than those under the domination of Rome. That these cultures, after a brilliant initial spurt, were later retarded and even brought to a halt which lasted several centuries is due, not to the source of conversion itself, but to historical accidents which supervened after conversion took place. Had not the Eastern and the Southern Slavs fallen victims, in one case to Tartar invasion and in the other to Turkish conquest, their intellectual lag in comparison with the rest of Europe would not have been so great. The Russians, for example, were completely deprived of all Western stimulation after the middle of the thirteenth century and nearly three hundred years elapsed before they entered upon the difficult process of assimilating the Western culture which had developed during that long and critical interval. The South Slavs, on the other hand, shook off the Turkish yoke only within the last century and thus were even more handicapped than the Russians in their struggle to catch up with the modern world.

797 795 779 178 [197] 175*

Of all the Slavs, the Slovenes in Carinthia and Carniola were the first to encounter missionary activities. Early in the seventh century, they had been temporarily combined with Czechs and Sorbs north of the Danube in the semilegendary kingdom under Samo, who led them victoriously against the Avars and simultaneously offered a temporary barrier to Frankish expansion southward. During his declining years in Switzerland, Saint Columban, the great Irish missionary, had thought, as early as 612, of setting out from Bregenz on a mission to the nearest Slavs, but, finding the task too difficult for his advanced age (he was already sixty-nine), he retired to Italy and ended his days at Bobbio.

797 721 175*

After Samo disappeared from the scene and his realm was dissolved, the Slovenes were unable to withstand the Avars, who soon held the Danube as far as the Enns. The Slovenes

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797 then applied for aid to the Bavarians. The latter beat off the Avars, but in 750 also seized control of Styria, Carinthia, and
721 Carniola. Then, in 788, when Charlemagne deposed Duke
175* Tassilo of Bavaria, all Bavarian dependencies fell under the sway of the Carolingian realm. Even before this date, some of the local Slovene nobility had been converted to Christianity and consequently intermarried with Bavarian families. A number of churches had thus been founded in this area by missionaries from Salzburg, and a considerable proportion of the local Slovene population had also been Christianized before the epoch of Carolingian sovereignty.

797 When this sovereignty became established, missionary ac-
177 tivities were intensified. During the reign of Charlemagne there were two centers from which missionary activity reached
175* the Slovenes: the archbishopric of Salzburg and the patriarchate of Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic. The former soon took the lead, and after Charlemagne defeated and dispersed the Avars in 796, the area between the Danube and the Theiss which they evacuated was added to the diocese of Salzburg. Bavarian missionaries accompanied German colonists into this district, where the new Slavic occupants were rapidly converted and Germanized, especially as the Slavic landlords were rapidly eliminated. The first bishop regularly assigned to the Slovenes was Deodoricus, ordained at Salzburg in 799. His diocese extended to the river Drave, which was the dividing line between the sees of Salzburg and Aquileia.

Similar missionary activity was also set in motion among the neighboring Croats south and east of the Slovenes. As the power of the Byzantine empire declined, the Frankish power gradually extended to the Slavs of the Adriatic coastline, so that the Dalmatian Croats were subject to the Franks from 803, and Frankish authority was but little impaired by the revolt of the Croat prince Lyudevit against Louis the Pious from 819 to 822. A few years later, for political reasons, an inland Croat district headed by Margrave Pribina, a Frankish feudatory with his headquarters in Pannonia near Lake Bala-

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ton, experienced a period of intense missionary activity stimulated by its chief. Pribina thus entered into the good graces of King Louis the German, and in 850 the archbishop of Salzburg consecrated the first Christian church in Pribina's dominions at Mosaburg, on Lake Balaton. Since fully half the notables present on this occasion bore German names, it is clear how intense German immigration had been and how far the policy of Germanization pursued by the Bavarian missionaries had proceeded. Within fifteen years Pribina's territory contained more than thirty-two churches and many monasteries. On the other hand, conversion and colonization also contributed to diminishing the area occupied by pure Slavic populations, and the rapid contraction of Slovene and Croat territory southward from the Danube is due primarily to this process.

After the dissolution of Samo's kingdom about 650, the Western Slavs in modern Czechoslovak territory played no role in history until Charlemagne's campaigns against the Avars one hundred forty years later. On these campaigns the emperor's troops passed through Bohemia, and since the pagan Slavs of this area threatened the flank of the empire, they were subjected to Frankish attacks after the year 800. Louis the Pious already possessed numerous Bohemian vassals, and in 845 fourteen Czech chieftains appeared in Regensburg at the court of Louis the German to request baptism. Somewhat further eastward, the kindred Moravians were united under one prince, Mojmir, who, though still a pagan, was also a vassal of Louis the German and thus did not oppose the operations of missionaries from Regensburg and Passau.

When Mojmir died in 845, Louis chose as the prince's successor the latter's nephew Rostislav, whom he regarded as stupid and who, he hoped, would be grateful for this elevation. Rostislav proved to be neither. Not only did he pursue Mojmir's consolidation tactics, but, while letting his allies, the disunited Czech tribes, fight against the Franks, he still maintained outward loyalty to Louis and actively promoted a policy

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797 721 175+ of Christianization, hoping that a common faith would eventually combine all neighboring Slavic tribes under his sway. This ingenious policy soon worried Louis to the point where he sent a Bavarian force against Rostislav in 855, at the same time detailing another detachment to prevent the Czechs from helping him. This punitive expedition was a failure. Rostislav chased the Bavarians out of his territory and became virtually independent. The next few years were too full of complications in the west to allow Louis the luxury of reprisals against Rostislav, who extended his sway along the Danube at the expense of the disorganized Avars, and finally, in 860, deposed the Croat Prince Pribina in favor of the latter's son Kotzel. Since Pribina was loyal to Louis the German, this exploit was carried out under the pretext of making common cause with Louis' rebellious son Carloman, margrave of the Ostmark, who hoped to gain the empire with Slavic support.

797 643 175+ In any case, Rostislav was at this juncture the independent chief of a large group of Slavic tribes, not only in Moravia but also south of the Danube. He could not be certain that Carloman, if successful, would deal any more gently with him than did Louis the German. Rostislav's expansion along the Danube had brought him into direct touch with the Bulgarians who, under the Khagan Krum before 814 and his successor Omurtag thereafter, had become a pagan state important enough to maintain diplomatic relations with both Franks and Byzantines. The Bulgarians supported Louis the German against Carloman, and Boris, their prince since 852, was now toying with the possibility of accepting conversion from Byzantium. Rostislav himself had succeeded reasonably well with the political emancipation of his countrymen. What more natural than that he should also seek their religious autonomy by creating a clergy who could use the vernacular, and would perhaps wield the book more efficiently than the sword? For the priests and monks from Salzburg and Passau were at least as good soldiers as they were clerics—the church militant in person.

Rostislav thus seems to have thought of Slavic-speaking mis-

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earlier, and is reflected in the increased importance of the more remote northeastern domains of Rostov, Suzdal, and Murom, between the Oka and the Volga where the nomad menace did not reach.

While the inarticulate masses bore the brunt of the crisis, the wealth of the ruling class was for the moment not impaired, but rather enhanced. As long as the princes and their retainers were prosperous, the wealth of the Church also increased by grants and gifts. Monasteries multiplied and new churches were erected. Contact with Byzantium was still preserved. Through the expansion of the hierarchy under Greek guidance and example, the intellectual progress initiated by Yaroslav was intensified. To be sure, this culture remained aristocratic and ecclesiastical, but in this respect it hardly differed from the contemporary civilization of Western Europe, even though deprived of the continuity of classical tradition which lay at the root of the culture developed under the aegis of Rome. Marital alliances with German, Hungarian, and Polish princely families show at the same time that the Russian princes attached but slight importance to differences between the Eastern and Western Churches even after the schism of 1054.

No sooner had Vladimir Monomach died in 1125 when strife among the princes became rife once more. Competition for the control of Novgorod developed between the prince of Kiev and Monomach's son George whose domain lay at Suzdal in the northeast. Rival princes sacked and plundered one another's domains. One unpopular prince was even lynched by the angry Kievan populace. In 1149, Prince George captured Kiev himself, thus proving the vitality and resources of the northeastern area, but was unable to hold the metropolis permanently before 1155. When George died in 1160, however, the city had been fought over so constantly in the previous thirty years that practically all its dependent territory had been nipped off by neighboring principalities and it had been stripped of every element of its political prestige. Hence the possession of Kiev no longer conferred upon the ruling prince

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the slightest claim of primacy. Indeed, George's able son Andrew entertained no respect for Kiev at all and concentrated his efforts on enriching and adorning his own northeastern domain, which he ruled so autocratically that he was assassinated in 1174. Andrew's son Vsevolod who possessed equal capacity and better judgment, was recognized as a leader by all adjacent local princes, though he interfered but little in Kievan affairs and on the western Russian frontier the prestige of Vsevolod's domain was balanced by the rise of a powerful Galician principality. Kiev itself was disastrously sacked by the Polovtsi in 1203, and of this event a chronicler wrote, "No such woe had ever befallen Kiev during the whole time since conversion."

Amid the uncertainties of Russian political life at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the shadows of future events were already gathering. The German knights were moving up the Baltic coast, where Riga was founded in 1201. Their intrusion impelled the threatened Lithuanian tribes to unity, with the result that a Lithuanian state arose which began to absorb the northwestern Russian cities, though Russian culture in turn absorbed the conquerors. The Russians were not friendly to the Latin Empire of Byzantium after 1204, and it was in 1206 that the Mongols under Temuchin (better known as Genghis Khan) began their military expansion. But the Russian princes continued their petty quarrels, not suspecting the catastrophe that was impending.

The Mongols or Tartars first reconnoitered the country west of the Caspian in 1220, and the next year they menaced the Crimea and the steppe country, thus forcing the Polovtsi to apply for support to the Russian princes against whom they had so often fought. Since 1212, Kiev had been in the possession of Prince Mstislav, a member of the ruling family of Smolensk, able, courageous, and erratic; his wife was the daughter of a Polovtsian khan. The princes of Kiev, Chernigov, and Volhynia thus united with the Polovtsi against the Tartars, whom they met on the river Kalka, in the steppes near the

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Sea of Azov, in May 1224. Though the Russians were defeated 175*
and Mstislav of Kiev with other princes was slain, the Mongols 631
contented themselves with pursuing the fleeing remnants of 721
the Russian force to the Dnieper and then retired to Asia. Since the casualties at the Kalka entailed several dynastic changes, the domains of Chernigov, Kiev, and Galicia were now drawn into a loose confederation, while Suzdal controlled Novgorod, which opposed the Teutonic order and subjected the Finns of Esthonia and Karelia.

Meanwhile Genghis Khan had died in 1227, and eight years later his son and successor decided to renew the campaign into Europe under the command of Genghis Khan's grandson Batu. In 1237, after subjugating the Volga Bulgars near Kazan, Batu crossed the Volga to capture and sack the city of Ryazan, about one hundred miles southeast of Moscow. During the winter of 1237-38, the Mongols turned northward and burned the city of Vladimir, east of Moscow, after a successful siege. When Prince George II of Suzdal, whose family had perished, attacked the Tartars, he was defeated and killed. The invaders next started for Novgorod, but suspended the campaign because of the spring thaw, and went into summer quarters in the south near the mouth of the Don. Chernigov fell in 1239. The following autumn the Mongols appeared before Kiev and, as the *Chronicle* says,

> *The Tartars took Kiev, and sacked St. Sophia and all the monasteries. And they took the icons, the holy crosses, and all church ornaments. But all the people, from small to large, they slew by the sword. This woe occurred before Christmas, on St. Nicholas' day.*

By the fall of 1241, the Tartars had defeated the Poles at 175*
Liegnitz, crushed the Hungarians, and appeared before Vienna. But the fortunes of Europe changed, for Ugedei, the Great Khan, died, and Batu retired east to await the election of his successor. Yet he maintained his hegemony over Russia and

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from the Tartars if a prince lost or surrendered his previous holdings. Hence the princes came to set more store by personal estates, and since the Tartars in their own interest were unlikely to tolerate any large principalities, the resulting dismemberment of the major units produced a large number of smaller domains, or appanages, which passed on by inheritance, whether or not the holder might become prince of some other area by the tender mercies of the Tartars. At the same time, the Tartar invasions greatly increased the number of landless peasants—dispossessed or impoverished small farmers—who became tenant farmers for large landlords on a quitrent basis. 175* 421

Under Tartar hegemony the princes of Vladimir maintained at least a nominal control over the neighboring principalities and were the spokesmen of the Russian princes before the Tartar khans. These functions were, at any rate, sufficiently important and lucrative to inspire some rivalry for the possession of the title. In 1367 Prince Dmitri Donskoi erected a stone kremlin, or citadel, at Moscow and endeavored to subject the neighboring princes to his will. He met with some resistance from Prince Michael of Tver, who tried to purchase Tartar approval for himself, but was later forced to become Dmitri's vassal. The conditions of vassalage were such that dependent princes were obliged to supply Dmitri, as their overlord, with military aid, and when Dmitri won his famous victory over the Tartars in 1380 (the first case of successful Russian resistance), they supported him in this way. 175* 631

The decline of the Tartars, manifested by conflicts of authority in the khanate itself, had begun almost a century before, and even prior to the year 1300 there were moments when the existence of two competing khans placed the Russian princes in a quandary. The struggle for supremacy between the princes of Tver and Moscow (which first became critical shortly before the year 1300) for supremacy as holders of the title Prince of Vladimir was also fought out in this interval. The dominance of Moscow was recognized in 1327 when Prince Ivan I secured authority to farm the Tartar taxes and began to in- 175* 721

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175 721 crease his patrimony toward the north and east. The leadership of Moscow was further enhanced by the fact that the metropolitan of the Russian church moved over from Vladimir and took up his residence there. The rivalry of Tver was diminished and the chief competing power on Russian territory was Lithuania, which controlled most of White Russia and the northwest corner of the Ukraine.

Both the rise of Moscow and the further expansion of Lithuania were encouraged by dissensions which broke out among the Tartars in 1359 and considerably accelerated their decline. Olgerd, the reigning prince of Lithuania, captured Kiev in 1363 and advanced to the Black Sea. He then supported Tver against Moscow and in 1368 was barely prevented from taking the latter city by the new stone battlements which had just been constructed. He was then diverted from his central Russian operations by a war with Poland which cost him western Volhynia; his death in 1377 relieved Moscow for the moment of any Western threat. The Muscovites had no intention of handing back to the Tartars any privileges they had won while the latter were weak, and they were ready to fight for their retention. Such was the motive behind the provocative tactics by which Dmitri Donskoi jockeyed the Tartar Khan Mamai into a punitive expedition which the Russian prince defeated at great cost at Kulikovo Polye (Snipe Field) on the upper Don in 1380. However excessive the loss of life in this operation, the prince of Moscow became through this spectacular exploit the recognized national leader and his city the nucleus of patriotic sentiment. Unfortunately, the effort was so great that two years later the Tartars had no difficulty in entering and sacking the city of Moscow while Dmitri was absent. These events aroused once more the ambitious princes of Tver, whose influence Dmitri was able to cancel only by resuming a loyal feudatory relationship with the Tartars. It is significant nevertheless that Dmitri, on his death in 1389, bequeathed Vladimir to his son Basil I, though Basil was still

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obliged to secure Tartar ratification of his succession. 175*

Events on the western front had meanwhile not stood still. 721
Upon the death of King Kazimir the Great of Poland in 1370, his throne passed to his nephew, King Louis of Hungary. Louis in turn died in 1382 without male issue, so that the Polish crown devolved upon his thirteen-year-old daughter Yadwiga. Plans were then made to marry her to Prince Yagailo of Lithuania who had succeeded his father Olgerd in 1377. Upon becoming king of Poland in 1386, Yagailo made his cousin Vitovt prince of Lithuania. In this capacity Vitovt maintained friendly relations with the Tartar Khan Tokhtamysh, and he also married his daughter to Prince Basil I of Moscow. But when Tokhtamysh was deposed and fled to Vitovt's court, the latter's refusal to extradite him to his successor resulted in a collision with the Tartars in which Vitovt was soundly beaten. This defeat very largely eliminated the Lithuanian menace, and the consolidation policy of Moscow thus gained greater chances of success. It was momentarily checked in 1408, however, by a Tartar raid to the very gates of the city.

After the famous battle of Grünwald-Tannenberg in 1410, when the Polish-Lithuanian forces defeated the Teutonic knights, Vitovt's stock rose once more to the point where he was practically autonomous as the ruler of a principate which stretched from Memel and Smolensk to the Black Sea. Until his death in 1430 he never abandoned the hope of mastering Moscow, which at this period controlled an area barely one-third as large as his own. But his successor Svidrigailo became involved in a quarrel with Poland which prevented him from exerting any serious pressure on Moscow during the minority of Prince Basil II from 1425 on. Basil was also favored by the fact that many Tartar princes quit the disintegrating khanate and took service with Moscow, while others merely made themselves independent and under the name of Kazaks settled various localities in the Russian steppes. These independent Tartars are, then, the first Cossacks.

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175* 721 Basil II was to encounter, however, not only defeat and imprisonment at the hands of the Tartars but also the cruelty of a usurper who had him blinded. Luckily, however, the usurper's support was weak, and with aid from Tver Basil was restored. In 1452 he founded the Tartar principality of Kasimov under a friendly Tartar prince on the upper Oka east of Ryazan as a buffer against the hostile Tartars of Kazan, but now that not only Kazan but also the Crimea had split off from the old khanate, the latter was no longer a political threat of any consequence, and Basil II thus became the first prince of Moscow to emancipate himself completely from Tartar vassalage. Almost at the moment that Moscow became free Constantinople fell before the Turks, and the prince of Moscow became at one stroke the chief defender of the Orthodox faith and residuary legatee of the Byzantine tradition. Basil II was also successful in strengthening Muscovite influence in Novgorod, which had hitherto been prone to intrigue with Lithuania.

175* 648 The expansion of Muscovite prestige undertaken amid such great difficulties by Basil II gathered new impetus during the reign of his son, Ivan III, who inherited the principality of Moscow in 1462. After first checkmating the Tartars by diplomatic agreements with adjacent oriental states, he attached himself to the Byzantine dynastic tradition by choosing, as his second wife, Zoe (Sophia) Palaeologa who, though stout and unattractive, was the niece of the last emperor of Byzantium. The Pope hoped this marriage might advance the union of the Eastern and the Western Churches, since Zoe had been raised a Catholic as his ward, and when she went to Moscow to be married in 1472, a papal legate accompanied her. He made no progress in his attempts to initiate negotiations, and Zoe's arrival was far more fruitful through the activities of the Italian architects and artisans whom she brought with her and who were soon adorning the Kremlin with Italianate churches and palaces. Ivan's designs against the Tartar khanate in the south were crossed by the Turks, who in 1475 subjugated both the khanate and the Crimea, and remained in southern Russia

175* 721

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until the reign of Catherine II. At Novgorod, the pro-Lithuanian faction was still active despite the pledges exacted by Basil II. In 1475 Ivan personally visited the northern republic and three years thereafter the great commercial metropolis, long the only stronghold of democracy in Russia, was incorporated into the principality of Moscow. Thirteen years later the Tartar khanate of Kazan as a result of local dynastic rivalries also became a vassal, and an expedition in 1481 broke up the last vestiges of Tartar power on the Volga, where only Astrakhan remained in Tartar hands. 175* 721

Ivan's reputation soon spread to western Europe, with the result that Emperor Maximilian I in 1488 sent an envoy to Moscow offering the prince a royal crown. Ivan was not unwilling to make a treaty with Maximilian covering mutual aid in case of a war with Poland, but remarked he did not need German confirmation of his royal status. On the Lithuanian side Ivan was equally fortunate since he forced the Lithuanians to abandon all claims on eastern Russian cities and to recognize him as "sovereign of all Russia" (*gosudar vseya Rusi*), while his daughter became the wife of the Prince of Lithuania. Under Ivan's son Basil III, who came to the throne in 1505, Pskov and Ryazan were added to the Muscovite domain, but relations with the Tartars both at Kazan and in the south were so far impaired that constant defensive measures were necessary on the southern frontier along the Oka. 175* 648

When Basil died in 1533, his son Ivan IV (later known as the Terrible) was but three years old. The regency thus devolved till 1538 on the lad's mother, and from that date to 1547, when Ivan was crowned as tsar, upon a council of nobles in which factional politics were rife. It was from his experiences during this period that Ivan derived his intense hatred of the older feudal nobility as a class. Ivan finally conquered Kazan and annexed Astrakhan, thus placing the whole course of the Volga under Muscovite control. From that moment begins the Russian expansion into Siberia and the initiation of diplomatic relations with Khiva and Bokhara. At the same time the Eng- 175*

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175* lish, through Chancellor's expedition to the White Sea in 1553, At the same time the Eng-
721 opened up the northern sea route. Ivan was also conscious of
706 the economic advantages of owning a Baltic port and began
716 operations against the Livonian order of German knights which controlled both the Gulf of Riga and the Gulf of Finland. After capturing Narva, he founded the Russian navy a century and a quarter before Peter the Great by confiscating and arming a number of German merchant vessels, for which he employed German and Swedish officers as commanders. Ivan's early successes proved a boomerang, however, since the Livonian order was dissolved and Esthonia was turned over to Sweden. This event automatically produced a collision with that country, allied with Lithuania, so that war became incessant on the western front until Ivan's death in 1584.

175* By that date the formation and the future policy of modern Russia was clearly defined. It was a foregone conclusion that future Russian sovereigns would extend Russian territory to the Black Sea. It was only a question of time when the weakening of Poland and Lithuania would bring the Dnieper valley and White Russia under Muscovite sway. It had become a cardinal item of Russian policy to control the Finnish Gulf, and maritime commerce with the west would traverse those waters
[177] as soon as ports were either conquered or developed. The long period of Russian isolation from Europe was ended, and the difficult process of acquiring modern European techniques was about to begin. Russia had graduated from oriental domination and was on its way to becoming a major European power, never to approach the East again, save in the hope of conquest.

642 In view of the gradual evolution of Muscovite sovereignty,
632 it is important to understand also the origins of autocracy in Moscow itself. For autocracy was by no means inevitable or universal in medieval Russia, and in the principality of Kiev the early princes had always had to reckon with town assemblies which supervised and even frequently deposed them. The influence of these assemblies was large in any medieval Russian city of which the economic and political status had been deter-

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just as much to the building up of Bohemia as did the Czechs. 175*
Apart from the early conflicts by which Bohemia became a 177
German vassal, the colonists were brought into the country voluntarily by Bohemian princes and barons, and they could therefore hardly be regarded in our own time as an inferior element with restricted rights in an area to whose economic and cultural development they had been generously contributing for seven hundred years.

It is fair to observe, however, that internal conflict between 175*
Czech and German broke out at the time of the Hussite Wars 721
of the fifteenth century. The radical Hussites bitterly attacked 186
the German population, which was in the main composed of faithful Catholics, and even wiped out the entire German citizenry of numerous cities and towns, while such German residents who compounded with the Hussite extremists were subjected to a violent campaign of Czechization. The results of this epoch of conflict were catastrophic. Most of what the German element jointly with the Bohemian had built up in three centuries of faithful effort was destroyed in less than half a century during which the Czechs split with the Germans on account of their loyal Catholicism. The weakness of the Hussite movement was that, while doubtless promoting a healthy national spirit, it broke down the traditional contacts which in previous centuries had contributed appreciably to the advance of culture and to the international prestige of the nation. The succession to the Bohemian crown first passed to the house of Austria in 1437, and Bohemia subsequently remained under the sovereignty of the Hapsburgs uninterruptedly from 1526 to 1918. During this period of nearly three hundred years there was obviously little doubt of the dominance of German influence.

Before turning to early German relations with the rising 175*
Polish state, let us follow the fortunes of the Slavs who emi- 167
grated westward to the basin of the Elbe. While the burden of German colonization on the Danube front was carried by the Bavarians with some aid from the Franconians, the same

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175* function was performed in north central Germany by the
167 Saxons. The first thrust of Slavic westward pressure had been felt in the fifth century by the Thuringians, whom the Slavs drove westward into the Thuringian forest and the Harz
167 Mountains. As soon as the Thuringians were subjected by the
721 Franks, the age of Slavo-German conflict set in, and hostilities
175* were intermittent in eastern Franconia during the seventh century. Then, in the eighth century, the establishment of numerous monastery-fortresses on the frontier between the Danube and the Weser heralded an aggressive German offensive which developed as soon as the Franks in 804 had conquered the great tribal duchy of Saxony in lower Germany between the Elbe and the Rhine. The German *Drang nach Osten* which resulted in the dispossession and practical extermination of the Slavs on north-German soil thus began in Charlemagne's day, and continued for nearly four hundred years. Charlemagne opened the contest in 789 by attacking the Wilzi, a federation of Slavic tribes residing east of the Elbe in the vicinity of modern Berlin, and their spirited resistance induced him to give his eastern frontier a solid military organization. New fortresses were built on the lower Elbe to protect Saxony from Slavic invasion. Under Louis the Pious, Hamburg and Würzburg became advance posts of German missionary activity, but the last half of the ninth century witnessed almost constant warfare along the Slavo-German frontier from Hamburg to Bohemia, and these border clashes were a fruitful source of slave labor for the vast properties of the new German monasteries of the eastern front.

In 919, with the election of Duke Henry of Saxony as King of the Germans and successor to Conrad I, the last of the Carolingians, the period of large-scale Saxon aggression against the north German Slavs began. The first Saxon conquest recovered the area between the Saale and the upper Elbe, roughly between modern Halle and Meissen. Then, in the winter of 928-929, Henry pushed across the Elbe and captured Branibor, the stronghold of the Slavs on the Havel west of

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Berlin, transforming it into a fortress which is the ancestor /175* of modern Brandenburg. A Slavic coalition inspired by this 721 offensive was defeated in 929 near Wittenberg, and the Saxon 167 sphere of influence was thus extended to the Oder river. While Henry I showed little interest in colonizing the area he had won, and was solely concerned with collecting tribute, a movement of colonization was first reflected by a large number of fortified German settlements established east of the lower Elbe under Henry's successor Otto I, and a similar practice prevailed further south in the reconquered territory between the Saale and the upper Elbe. The German treatment of their [727] Slavic subjects was far from gentle: captives taken in war were ruthlessly butchered, and chieftains invited as guests were treacherously slain. As a result, a Slavic revolt of 983 threw the Saxons out of Brandenburg. For a hundred and fifty years the Slavic coastal area from Lübeck to the Oder was thus free of Saxon encroachment, and it was not until after 1125 that the linguistic frontier in this region advanced beyond where it had stood in Charlemagne's day.

With the election of Duke Lothar of Saxony as King of the Germans in 1125, the situation altered. Even before his accession to the throne, Lothar had been known to the Slavs as a dangerous adversary, and no such drastically anti-Slavic policy as his had been seen since Henry the Fowler two hundred years before. His collaboration with the Danes broke up the Slavic principalities on the Baltic shore east of Holstein, and after Lothar's death in 1137 the coastline between Kiel and Rostock was soon in German hands. Wholesale colonization by Westphalian and other Low-German settlers immediately ensued under reasonably peaceful conditions, which unfortunately were interrupted by a fanatical crusade against the Slavs in 1147, in the vicissitudes of which most of the newly won territory was cruelly devastated. The result was thirty years of conflict in which the last independent group of Baltic Slavs was obliterated. Meanwhile Brandenburg had come back under German control when its Slavic chief died intestate

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175* in 1150 and willed his holdings to the neighboring German
721 margrave. German influence was thus restored in this area to
167 the Oder frontier which it had temporarily reached two hundred years before.

000 Albert von Ballenstedt, called "the Bear," Margrave of the Nordmark, into whose hands Brandenburg fell by legacy, is the most sympathetic figure of the German colonization period. He refused to participate in the Wendish crusade of 1147, and thus won the confidence of his Slavic subjects. Brandenburg was free from the trivial and exasperating obligations that weighed upon the peasantry of the older settled regions. There were no traditional rights and no antiquated feudal interests, with the result that as population increased in the west, pioneer colonization toward the east was intensified. The analogy is frequently drawn between this medieval German colonization of the eastern marches and the American migration west of the Alleghenies at the beginning of the nineteenth century. As one French historian wrote in 1875, "the German emigrant in the Middle Ages went beyond the Elbe in order to find free land as today he is crossing the Atlantic." Albert himself died in 1170, but well into the thirteenth century, under his successors, this colonization moved on toward the Polish borderland, and Frankfurt on the Oder was founded in 1253.

175* As a matter of fact, German contacts with Poland date back to the latter part of the reign of Otto I, who occupied the German throne from 936 to 973. Under Otto I the German margrave subjugated the Slavs of Lusatia, and extended his sway into Lower Silesia as far as the Bober river, but when one of his successors somewhat later endeavored to extend German influence east of the Oder into Polish territory, he was thrown back in 979. As it was mentioned in dealing with the conversions of the various Slavic nations, Prince Mieszko I of Poland had abandoned paganism in 966 upon his marriage to Dubravka, sister of the Bohemian prince Boleslav I, and three years later founded the bishopric of Posen, which

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175* 793 423 The monasteries were, on the whole, the only large private landowners, and supplied an example by their organization of large manors worked by half-free peasants.

175* With the throne weakened by the pretensions of the Polish nobility, an aggressive foreign policy was unthinkable. After Vladislav Hermann accepted the status of a German vassal in 1080, no Polish prince dared assume the title of king for two centuries. The Elbe valley and Silesia were definitely lost, together with the Pomeranian seaboard west of the Vistula. Then, early in the thirteenth century, when the still pagan Prussians menaced Duke Conrad of Mazovia (along the Vistula northwest of Warsaw) he turned for aid to the knights of the Teutonic Order, who entered Mazovia and occupied the districts ceded to them in 1229. They immediately founded strong points at Thorn, Kulm, Elbing and elsewhere, and by placing themselves under papal protection obviated any chance of Polish sovereignty. The next fifty years were occupied by the struggle of the Teutonic Order, supported by the margraves of Brandenburg and Meissen, against the Prussians. Königsberg was founded in 1255, when the Slavic Duke of Pomerelia, on the lower Vistula north of Thorn, became a vassal of the Margrave of Brandenburg, and Danzig fell into German hands for the first time. The Brandenburgers, however, were unable to hold it, and it was not until 1343 that Polish claims to the so-called Pomorze were given up.

175* 721 Apart from domestic disorders, Poland was also shaken during this period by a disastrous invasion of the Tartars, who in 1241 burned Cracow, invaded Silesia, and sacked Breslau. The depopulation caused both by civil war and this invasion impoverished the Polish princes and induced them to encourage German immigration. The movement had started even before the onslaught of the Tartars, for German villages began to appear in Silesia as early as 1140. But after the Tartar incursion, German settlements spread to every part of Poland. The belt laid waste by the Tartars had been thickly settled since the principal commercial highways between the west and the

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Levant passed through Breslau and Cracow. The German /175* settlers therefore followed the line of least resistance and were /721 spared the usual hard pioneer work because the soil they occupied had already been under cultivation for long periods. The colonists received exemption from taxes over a certain fixed term, and could build their towns as they desired, living under their native customs and enjoying absolute home rule.

By the middle of the fourteenth century there were some /175* 150 German village settlements in the modern province of Posen alone, and at the same time cities destroyed by the Tartars were resettled by German colonists, who also founded new towns in Polish territory. Among the rebuilt cities largely populated by Germans in the fourteenth century we may note Sandomierz, Cracow, and Breslau, and among major German settlements at previous Polish centers, Gnesen, Posen, Kalish, Lublin, and even Warsaw itself. As late as 1480, three quarters of the burghers of Warsaw had German names. By the metropolitan cities of Germany these settlements were rightly regarded as outposts of German trade and civilization. The pro- [563] portion of German population in Poland at the middle of the fourteenth century is estimated at 25 per cent, though many of the German colonists were polonized by the sixteenth. The wave of German settlement extended even beyond Cracow into Eastern Galicia toward Przemysl and Lemberg (Lvóv). Until 1470, indeed, no one but Germans sat on the Lemberg city council.

Simultaneously with the conflict between the Teutonic Order and the Prussians, German conquest and colonization pursued its way up the Baltic seaboard toward the Gulf of Finland. Settlers from Lübeck established themselves for trading purposes at the mouth of the Dvina as early as 1150, but the conquest of Livonia did not begin until the year 1200. Riga was founded as a city and as a missionary bishopric in 1201. The militant Order of the Sword Bearers was then organized to combat the Finnish tribes of the seacoast and the Letts of the interior. They were subject to the Bishop of Riga, and

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175* were granted one-third of the land they thus captured. In 1236, however, after a defeat by the Lithuanians, the Sword Bearers combined with the Teutonic Order, and their joint ambitions would have made them masters of the north Russian city-states of Pskov and Novgorod if they had not been defeated by Prince Alexander Nevski on the ice of Lake Peipus in the winter of 1242.

We have dwelt in some detail on these developments to show how remote are all the origins of the political quarrels which have been resumed before our own eyes during the course of the second World War. Yet this extraordinary process was not without its halts and interruptions. Poland recovered much of its driving power under the administration of Kazimir the Great from 1333 to 1370. Meanwhile, the pressure of the Teutonic Order had contributed to unifying Lithuanian resistance, and a strong Lithuania had now developed with a culture predominantly Russian. By 1363, indeed, as we have seen, the Lithuanians had captured Kiev and were advancing toward the Black Sea. The union of Poland and Lithuania, consecrated by the marriage of the Lithuanian Prince Jagailo with Queen Yadwiga of Poland in 1386, was a severe blow to the Teutonic Order, since the conversion of the Lithuanians to Christianity largely deprived the Order of its missionary pretext for existence. The Polish victory at Grünwald-Tannenberg on July 15, 1410 broke its power, and after some further military exchanges a peace of 1422 limited German holdings in East Prussia to frontiers which lasted generally until the Treaty of Versailles.

175* The activities of the Order in the eastern Baltic continued
721 until the sixteenth century. In Livonia and Esthonia there had been no colonization by German peasants, and the country was thus held only by the nobility, the church, and the citizens. The Muscovite thrust toward the Baltic affected not only the city-states of Pskov and Novgorod, but also the coastal possessions of the Order. The knights successfully resisted Ivan III, but Ivan the Terrible, as we know, took up the task which his

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grandfather had begun, and as a result of his victories in 1559 the Order was dissolved. Esthonia became Swedish, Livonia fell into Polish hands, and Courland became a hereditary duchy and a fief of the kingdom of Poland. Esthonia and Livonia did not definitely become Russian until the Peace of Nystadt in 1721, and Courland fell into Russian possession only by the third partition of Poland in 1795. Early in the second World War we witnessed the final German surrender of all vested rights in this area acquired since the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Though Poland of the sixteenth century was by no means a peaceful state, it felt the influence of the Protestant reformation and, at least until a Catholic reaction set in under Jesuit direction about 1564 after the Council of Trent, had a reputation for religious tolerance. As a result, the religious wars in Germany started a new current of emigration into Polish territory, especially into the Posen area. At the same time, Low-German Protestants (Mennonites and other reformists) moved into the Pomorze around Danzig, where the local population had been decimated by the thirteen-years' war waged by Kazimir Jagiellonczyk against the weakened Teutonic Order from 1453 to 1466. This Low-German immigration took on greater proportions after Stephen Batory's siege and capture of Danzig in 1577, extending particularly to the courses of the Warthe and Netze rivers. Though the counter-reformation was by this time in full swing throughout Poland, these Protestant settlers, because of their industry and skill in agriculture, were guaranteed religious freedom, and remained free peasants even in an age when serfdom was the native Polish farmer's universal lot. At the same time, however, other settlers came into the lower Vistula valley from Brandenburg and Pomerania under much more onerous conditions, since they were without capital and completely subject to the caprice of their landlords.

This migratory movement was resumed in the seventeenth century during the Thirty Years' War, though many of the refugees from Brandenburg returned from Poland to their

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be sought in the most remote centuries, in the contact of the Slavs 829
with the Turanian peoples of the Steppes, who were the founda- 167
tion of the so-called 'Scythic' Iranian population. From time 181
immemorial, the Turko-tartar peoples, by their pillaging raids, have borne heavily on the Iranians, their immediate neighbours, and, through them, on the Slavonic peoples. The Iranians have been the victims of the Turkomans of the salt Steppes—and the Slavs, by repercussion, have shared their fate. Having thus exhausted their political and social strength, they have become the chronic prey of the conquerors.

This thesis of an original curse, whatever its scientific value, should be borne in mind, for it justifies a conviction that is widespread among the Germans, *viz.*, the inferiority of the Slavonic race, and its presumed incapacity to develop from the notion of a clan to that of a State. There have been published anthologies of German thinkers and propagandists on this theme, which is summed up in the well-known witticism *Gute Nacht, Russen, nach Asien!*—which the Germans have invoked, even down to our own times, to justify considering Eastern Europe merely as a contemptible suburb of Teutonism.

Such is the background of history on which was projected 829
the 'reckoning' on which Bethmann-Hollweg and von Moltke 721 •
had banked. Must we, however, go so far as to say that the War 178
of 1914 was a Teuto-Slavonic war? M. Benes considers this thesis as attractive as it is untenable. He regards this war as a struggle between two political and philosophical conceptions, the logical development of the European evolution which, beginning at the Renaissance, culminated in the triumph of political individualism, of parliamentary and constitutional law. The war, he says, was not Teuto-Slavonic in character, nor in aims, nor in results.

Limited to the strict sequence of facts, this judgement is admissible. While Austria-Hungary threw herself into the war to prevent a rupture of her interior balance to the advantage of the Slavs, deeper and more decisive causes armed the Great Powers one against the other.

If, however, we consider the atmosphere that reigned in 186*
Europe in 1914, when the war found so many inflammable 721
substances in a state of suspense, M. Benes's point of view seems more contestable. The interests of the Slavs were neither

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186* coherent nor systematised; no one was pursuing a policy of
• 721 defending or destroying them as a whole. But the Slavonic world had let loose outbursts of passion which, for some years, had been fanning all the centres of trouble into flame. These had greatly helped to create the psychological atmosphere which had rendered the clash inevitable. So we may say that, if Slavism as such had indeed nothing to do with the development of the drama, it had at least written the prologue to it.

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186* Such being the case, it is scarcely necessary to remind the
668 reader that, during the 1914–1918 War, the Slavs had no general
648 political policy. They evolved within the framework of their historical antecedents, as long as the conflict offered no other prospect than that of a German victory. On several occasions Russian officialdom even adopted an anti-Slav position. They agreed to the cession of Dalmatia to Italy, opposed the union of the Slovenes and the Croats with the Serbians, resisted the concessions which Russia's allies asked her to grant to Poland, and showed obvious lack of goodwill at the Czech suggestions for the creation of an independent army.

The Czechoslovaks had a more coherent policy, and gave ample proof of loyalism. From the very beginning of the operations, whole units deserted under fire and went over to the Russians. They have been reproached with having first declared themselves in favour of the autonomy of Poland within the framework of Russia, rather than of her full independence. At the time when they adopted it, that attitude was a realistic, rather than a sentimental one.

The Poles were, above all, anti-German; for a long time they humoured Austria-Hungary, and several of them served her brilliantly. It must not be forgotten that the Dual Monarchy's anti-Slav policy was often the work of Slavs: Coluchowski (Minister of Foreign Affairs), Bilinski (Joint Minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina), Dumba (ambassador), Tarnowski, etc. In any case, a Slavonic policy would have meant a mortal struggle with Vienna and Budapest; the Poles could not resign themselves to that. Besides, would the Russians have given them sufficient understanding, if not support, to make up for the goodwill they could rely on finding among the Magyars and the Austrians?

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In 1915 she declared war on Tsarist Russia, but refused to do so in 1940 on Soviet Russia, although she owed much to the former and nothing to the latter. Even then, in 1915, she was obliged to intern a good many politicians and generals before embarking on her campaign, a campaign which, in actual fact, both sides conducted in 'slow motion'. The Russian Black Sea Fleet fired fifty-nine shells on Varna; in the Dobrudja, the Bulgarians were opposed to the Rumanians and to the Serbian Corps, while the Germans were engaged with the Russians of Chtcherbatchev. This realist nation, little given to passionate or ideological enthusiasms, nevertheless showed a curious obstinacy in 'backing the wrong horse'. In 1913, 1915, and 1942, they entered the war with the winners, and came out of it with the vanquished. The 'Macedonian psychosis' periodically pushed them into the arms of 'liberators', only to end by sharing their defeat.

186* 648 [721]

After the Treaty of Neuilly, the Bulgarian propagandists realised the error made by their leaders. They returned to the theme of Slavonic affinities, to the pro-Russian tradition. 'We Bulgarians', said the *Narodna Otbrana*,[13] 'have been the pioneers of a foreigners' policy, and have pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for others'. 'The future of Bulgaria is closely bound up with that of Russia', proclaimed the Minister, Bakalov.[14] And Stamboliiski entered into a mortal struggle with the Macedonian organisation, to clear the way for an entente with Belgrade. He succumbed in this struggle; his successors realised, after much shilly-shallying, that this policy was a reasonable one, but could not be imposed until the psychological atmosphere it had always lacked had been prepared for it.

And yet, paradoxical as it may seem, in the thick of the fratricidal struggles in which she has engaged, Bulgaria has never stifled her inner feeling of community of destiny with Serbia. When the Bulgarian resistance collapsed in 1918, a Deputy-Prefect of the occupying authorities took leave of the inhabitants of his administrative district in these terms: 'We shall perhaps

[13] Of June 30, 1920.

[14] The Bulgarian Church, like the Serbian-Orthodox Church, refused to make the religious calendar coincide with the civil calendar when the State adopted the Gregorian reckoning. The two Churches gave, as the reason for this refusal, the fact that it was impossible to come to an agreement with the Russian Church, which then had no competent representative.

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Chapter Four

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE SLAV LIBERATION FRONT

THE historians of the future will be struck by one fact which seems to escape those of our own day, and which we consider below. 721 648 175

Whereas the wars of the nineteenth century originated in, or had as pretexts, disputes localised in different parts of the globe—Spanish Succession (1823 and 1870), the affair of the Duchies, Italian unity, German unity, the protection of the Holy Places, etc.—the thunder-clouds which foreshadowed the wars of the twentieth century all burst in a Slavonic sky.

The annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908 created the atmosphere which favoured the germination of the Italo-Turkish War and of the Balkan Wars. The Sarajevo outrage in June, 1914, was the pretext for the First World War. The Sudetenland crisis in 1938, which led to the Runciman mission, was the prologue to the Munich bargaining. The whole of the preliminary phase of the Second World War was enacted on Slav territory.

Contrary to all international engagements, the Munich Conference on September 29, 1938, sanctioned the mutilation of Czechoslovakia, in whose history this Conference will remain as a 'second White Hill'.

Then occurred various 'Slavonic episodes', as preludes to the general conflagration. Poland occupied Teschen on October 2, 1938. A few days later Slovakia proclaimed her autonomy. On November 2, the Ribbentrop-Ciano arbitration award, pronounced in Vienna, transferred the eastern part of Czechoslovakia (Sub-Carpathia) to Magyar rule.

On March 15, 1939, 'President' Hacha handed over to the Führer the fate of Bohemia; Hitler entered Prague—Czechoslovakia was wiped off the map.

On August 23, 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed a ten-year pact of non-aggression. Reassured on the Russian side, Germany turned against Poland. Incidents were multiplied

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721 648 175 in Danzig; German criminals, dressed in Polish uniforms, attacked German villages in Upper Silesia to provide Hitler with the pretext for an invasion. This was launched on September 1, at 5.45 a.m. The curtain was raised for the greatest drama in history.

186* 578 648 But, beyond this, the historian who, with these facts as his starting-point, sought to establish synchronism between the feeling of a common destiny among the Slavs and the great wars of the twentieth century would very soon conclude that no such feeling existed. At all times of threatened crisis, there have appeared more or less general impulses towards *rapprochement*; the first result of all actual crises has been to set the Slavs one against the other. In this Second World War, as in that of 1914–1918, we were again to find the Bulgars, the Croats, and the Slovaks ranged with Germany, Bohemia trampled upon, Poland quartered, Serbia crucified, Russia at grips with the Teutonic colossus.

Much more: the Slavs participated in the spoils. Poland rewarded herself at Czechoslovakia's expense, Russia at Poland's, and Bulgaria at Serbia's.

175 648 721 Just as the 1914–1918 war had started with the crushing of Serbia, so that of 1939 had as its prologue the carving-up of Czechoslovakia. The latter succumbed to the fate which had forced her to look for support to the Western Democracies, with whom she had no territorial connection, and whose diplomacy, wavering or swept along by the back-wash of internal policy, had been able neither to ensure peace nor to provide for war. The inconsequentiality of France, signing a pact with Moscow, then hastening to evade its consequences, encouraging Yugoslavia to be on her guard against Fascist megalomania, then signing the Four-Power Pact and observing it no more than she had done the previous pacts; all this culminated in the Munich Pact, which—whether justified or not by our military unpreparedness—completed the state of confusion among the nations for whom France was the greatest asset in peace as in war.

It was not only by its inaugural phase—the dismembering of Czechoslovakia and the aggression against Poland—that the war once again seemed destined to become a reckoning between Slavs and Teutons. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler had reproached

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William II for never having acquired new lands in the east. 175
It was not, at that time, a question of fighting Communism, but 648
of 'living space'—a theory which, in Nazi ideology, was directed 721
at the States bordering Eastern Germany and, beyond them, the 'fabulous resources' (*unerhörte Möglichkeiten*) of the Ukraine. Once more the Teuton resumed his age-long vocation of 'consumer of Slavs'.

But, looking closer into the matter, this was not, any more 186*
than in 1914, the essential cause of the Pan-Germanic explosion. 829
Hitler's Germany was aiming higher, and farther. Actuated by 721
what she considered to be a prime necessity of her geographical situation and of her 'racial pre-eminence', she regarded herself as the providential elaborator of new syntheses calculated to regenerate the world—but which were, in reality, simply the oldest of hegemonic appetites. It was not upon the Slavs that she declared war; it was upon a form of civilisation made up of Humanism and Christianity which the centuries had identified with the habitable world. The Slavs were the first victims of the *Wehrmacht,* simply because they were considered to be the easiest obstacle to overcome, owing to the inferiority complex which, from time immemorial, the German school had attributed to them. Their geographical position condemned them to be the target for the first onslaught. But the Slavonic world was subjected to unprecedented trials in all the different phases of the war—Czech, Polish, Balkan, Russian. Therein lay the real, the only 'Slavonic' aspect of this war—the recurrence of the periodic catastrophe which crushes these nations as soon as Europe is unleashed against herself.

So March 15, 1939—the date of the occupation of Prague 186*
by Hitler's troops—aroused deep emotion among the Southern Slavs, who realised that the dyke which had hitherto held back the German drive on Eastern Europe had collapsed. There were manifestations of sympathy in Belgrade and in Sofia, especially among the students; messages flowed into Prague from all the Slavonic regions in the Balkans.

Germany herself seems to have had some obscure realisation of 186*
her crime. A curious article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 829
April 23, 1939—an article whose author foresaw the opprobrium that this 'operation' was to cast upon his country—endeavoured to reconcile the policy of the 'Protectorate' of Bohemia with the

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seeking to encourage the Church in her traditional opposition to the Soviets. But the *Post Dispatch* regretted that the Kremlin should have chosen such an unimportant person as Orlemanski for such a demonstration. The *Louisville Courier* deplored the censure passed on this priest by his bishop; no doubt the latter tolerated disparagement of the Soviet Union, but not efforts to understand it. 648 793 159 208

The truth seems to be that Father Orlemanski's initiative, whether concerted with Moscow or not, aroused in Slavonic circles reactions calculated to handicap the Government and prejudice Roosevelt's electoral campaign. While the Slavonic Committee of America approved this initiative, the *émigré* Poles threatened to launch a campaign which would have brought Washington and Moscow into opposition. It happened that Orlemanski's superiors were of Irish origin—which, obviously, did not predispose them to regard his journey with a favourable eye. In any case, the episcopal decision and the priest's submission cut short any attempts at propaganda, thus rendering a very opportune service to the Government, but postponing or compromising the perspective of a possible easing of the situation, if not of a *rapprochement* between Poland and the Soviets, and between the Soviets and the Vatican.

In Latin America the headquarters of the permanent Slav Committee were at Montevideo, where, in April, 1943, three hundred and ninety-four Slav delegates assembled at a Congress which established the Union of Slav Nationals (they were estimated at two millions), to organise the struggle against pro-Hitlerian activities. 186* 668

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This sketch of the recovery of the Slavs in the Old World and the New brings out two features: the gravitation of all the Slavonic nations round the Muscovite colossus, and the repugnance of a sector of Polish opinion to this method of regrouping. 186*

As was to be anticipated, German propaganda affected to see in this the execution of a plan tending to 'Bolshevise' Europe, and even America. Germany again launched her old commonplaces about the inferiority of the Slavs. A Radio-Paris broadcast (February 21, 1943) assured listeners 'that about one-quarter of the American population is composed of Slavonic elements, of 186* 648 723

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186* Negroids, and of Jews, and that this degeneracy warrants our
648 suspecting American morals'. Remarks which were not very
723 flattering for the Slovaks, the Croats, and the Bulgars, whose Governments were still allies of the Axis. 'Naturally', Radoslavov, a Bulgarian minister was to say, 'we belong to the Slavonic race. But we are, first and foremost, Bulgars. We act in accordance with our own interests and not with the interests of the Slavonic peoples in general'. And the *Zora*, of Sofia, went one farther, reproaching Stalin, a Georgian, who had always rejected racial concepts, for posing as the head of the Slavs, and for rallying to racial theories. 'With God's help', this paper concluded, 'the Soviets will never be able to overthrow the Eastern front'.

Other objections kept polemical discussions alive. M. Benes one day expressed to the Czechoslovak Council his desire to see Poland 'independent, democratic, and friendly', joining the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement. 'This', he said, 'would mean the definite settlement of all the differences outstanding between our three countries and would assure their future by guaranteeing peace in this part of the globe; Germany would never again dare to start a world war'.

186* This declaration aroused unfriendly or sceptical comments
829 in part of the Turkish press. For a long time that press had been
204 watching the development of the Slavonic orientation in Soviet policy. 'The new Panslav movement', the officially-inspired *Ulus* had said, 'will be followed with the greatest attention, especially by those non-Slavonic nations which were formerly the object of that policy'.[9]

This time it was the *Tanin* which asked why, since the expression 'Pangermanic Imperialism' applied to the union of Germans, that of 'Panslavonic Imperialism' should not describe the union of Slavs? An article in *Pravda*,[10] an obvious reflection of Moscow's ideas on Slav solidarity, refuted this assertion at great length. The Soviet leader-writer recalled that, for a thousand years, the history of Eastern Europe had been that of the defence of the Slavonic peoples against the German invader. 'The historical atmosphere has changed', he said, 'but the object of the German conquerors is unchangeable—to separate the Slavs by force'. There were, he added (for the benefit of the

[9] August 13, 1941.
[10] February 13, 1944.

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mediatisation. In the past, Slavism had mobilised more feeling than will-power, animated more Congresses than Crusades. It now reassumed the academic, 'poet and professor' form it had exhibited a hundred years earlier. 186* 668

So that Russia's first acts as a liberating power were not particularly Slavonic. In virtue of the ethnical principle, exercised in her own favour, she annexed to the Ukraine Carpatho-Ruthenia, which had been a Civilisation Front for another Slavonic power—Czechoslovakia. As far as Poland was concerned Russia drew the logical advantages of her victory. Poland's annexation of Prussia's Eastern Marches was simply compensation for the amputations she suffered in favour of the Ukraine and of White Russia. The support discreetly given by Moscow to the Bulgaro-Yugoslav claims on Aegean Macedonia reflected less concern for Slav solidarity than the desire to liberate the outlet from the Straits. 186* 668 723

The award of the Teschen Basin, once more disputed between Poland and Czechoslovakia, provided Russia with a very delicate arbitration task, in which the necessity for compensating the sacrifices demanded of the Poles weighed more heavily than the memory of Czech fidelity; had not Czechoslovakia, for ten years, been considered as the 'aircraft-carrier' of Soviet military power?

In reality—and a large dose of ingenuousness was required in order to believe that it could ever be otherwise—the territorial changes over which the Russians presided were all inspired by Russian interests, in the historical and traditional sense of the word.

* * *

Let us briefly recall the evolution of the Slavonic peoples immediately after their liberation. 648 175

Poland was, during the war, represented by a Government-in-exile in London, which negotiated with the Allies, to whom they gave valuable military assistance. In Moscow this Government was regarded as 'reactionary' and incompatible with a policy of good Polish-Sovietic relations. So it was constantly attacked by the Russian leaders and the Russian press. [829]

As long as the war was conducted outside Polish territory, London and Washington classed this dispute with those that are

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in Yugoslavia, where it has two aspects: one external—that concerned with relations between Moscow and Belgrade, the other internal—the *entente* between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. 186*

The personality of Marshal Tito, who had the confidence of the Russians and was the animator, first of resistance to the Germans, then of the liberation movement, considerably simplified the question of relations between Yugoslavs and Sovietics. 648 175 578

Before the soil of Yugoslavia had been liberated, a Government-in-exile (presided over, at the end, by Dr. Ivan Choubachich) continued to function in London, whilst in Yugoslavia Marshal Tito directed the war of liberation. During the winter of 1944–1945, King Peter II tried to bring about an agreement between Tito and the exiled Government. Various obstacles retarded the conclusion of the agreement, and they were later on to paralyse its enforcement.

These obstacles included the conduct of the King during the war. He was reproached with having lived far removed from his people and with not having imitated the example of his grandfather, King Peter I of Serbia, who in 1876 under the name of 'Peter Mrkognich', led a detachment of rebels in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or his father, the Regent Alexander, who had fought in 1917–1918 on the Salonica front. 643 175

He was further reproached with his inopportune marriage, contracted far away from the country, and against the advice of his friends and counsellors. On March 21,° 1944, at the Yugoslav Embassy in London, he had married Princess Alexandra of Greece, who, on July 17 of the following year, gave birth to a son.

Now, in Serbia, dynastic loyalty is not (as in Croatia, for example) founded on any fundamental attachment to the monarchical idea. It exists simply in respect of the monarch's patriotic function—what the Serbs call *narodni rad* ('national work')—a name which takes on its full significance only in a country which is periodically reduced to slavery.

The authority of King Peter II was also weakened by the support he had given to General Draja Mihaïlovich. The latter had been the first to rise against the occupation, and his heroic resistance had rallied the best elements of the old army in Southern Bosnia and in Montenegro. But he was reproached 725• 648 175

° March 20, according to Keesing (trans.).

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•725 648 175 with 'Great Serbian' and 'reactionary' tendencies. Subsequently a much more serious charge was made against him; carried away by his struggle against the Communist elements, he was said to have parlied with the Occupying Authorites and with the agents of Nedich, the Serbian 'Quisling'. General Mihaïlovich was nevertheless the War Minister *in partibus* to the London Cabinet, where the accusations brought against him were never seriously considered until Churchill[1] echoed them. They were the basis of the case brought against his partisans in July, 1945, and the severe sentence passed against them.

[829] Then there was, between the London Government and the 'Tito Movement', the psychological opposition between the exiled politicians (except those of Czechoslovakia) and the insurgents, who, remaining within the country, risked their lives day in and day out. The latter were inclined to see the 'London people' as theorists, if not profiteers of the Resistance, who, in assured comfort and relative security, carried out a paid task with the pen or by radio.

[668] Finally, Tito's partisans merged, in many cases, with the Communist or extremist elements, for whom the old Yugoslav political formations and their staffs embodied a régime of despotism, patronage, and reaction, whose return to power would have constituted an historical retrogression.

643 661 648 175 However, the break did not come immediately. Although King Peter agreed, under pressure from the Allies and especially from Russia, to disown Mihaïlovich, he showed greater hesitation in negotiating with Tito, whose republican trend and attachment to the Soviet régime were well known.

On June 16, 1944, he resigned himself, rather against his convictions, to authorising Choubachich to sign an agreement with Tito, which provisionally safeguarded the rights of the Crown. On the following November 1 he agreed to the formation of a National Union Government in liberated Yugoslavia. But he reserved his approval as to the nomination of a Regency and the exercise of political power by one single party, the National Liberation Front, until a Constituent Assembly should have met. On this point he even entered into conflict with his

[1] 'General Mihaïlovich, I regret to say, has gradually adopted a changed attitude, and certain of his leaders have parlied with Italian or German troops'. (Speech in the House of Commons on February 22, 1944.)

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Berlin, transforming it into a fortress which is the ancestor of modern Brandenburg. A Slavic coalition inspired by this offensive was defeated in 929 near Wittenberg, and the Saxon sphere of influence was thus extended to the Oder river. While Henry I showed little interest in colonizing the area he had won, and was solely concerned with collecting tribute, a movement of colonization was first reflected by a large number of fortified German settlements established east of the lower Elbe under Henry's successor Otto I, and a similar practice prevailed further south in the reconquered territory between the Saale and the upper Elbe. The German treatment of their Slavic subjects was far from gentle: captives taken in war were ruthlessly butchered, and chieftains invited as guests were treacherously slain. As a result, a Slavic revolt of 983 threw the Saxons out of Brandenburg. For a hundred and fifty years the Slavic coastal area from Lübeck to the Oder was thus free of Saxon encroachment, and it was not until after 1125 that the linguistic frontier in this region advanced beyond where it had stood in Charlemagne's day.

With the election of Duke Lothar of Saxony as King of the Germans in 1125, the situation altered. Even before his accession to the throne, Lothar had been known to the Slavs as a dangerous adversary, and no such drastically anti-Slavic policy as his had been seen since Henry the Fowler two hundred years before. His collaboration with the Danes broke up the Slavic principalities on the Baltic shore east of Holstein, and after Lothar's death in 1137 the coastline between Kiel and Rostock was soon in German hands. Wholesale colonization by Westphalian and other Low-German settlers immediately ensued under reasonably peaceful conditions, which unfortunately were interrupted by a fanatical crusade against the Slavs in 1147, in the vicissitudes of which most of the newly won territory was cruelly devastated. The result was thirty years of conflict in which the last independent group of Baltic Slavs was obliterated. Meanwhile Brandenburg had come back under German control when its Slavic chief died intestate

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648 793 795 to do with the protesting prelates,[11] or openly dissociated themselves from their attitude.

771 626 795 By way of retort, the first number of the *Moscow Patriarchy* published a message from the Council of Russian Bishops, assembled for the election, inviting Christians to pray for the victory of the Red Army and the fulfilment of the scriptural text invoked by Alexander Nevsky: 'He who strikes with the sword shall perish by the sword'. On September 8, this same Council had excommunicated 'as adversaries of the Cross of the Lord, all who have been guilty of treason to the common cause of the Church and gone over to Fascism'; the bishops and clergy guilty on this head were removed from their sacred office.

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186* 563 To conclude, the only obstacles to a general reconciliation of the Slavonic peoples came from the Poles. To summarise here the vicissitudes of Soviet-Polish relations since the pact of December, 1941, would mean not only relating the most stormy chapter in the Allies' war diplomacy, but also recalling the relations of the various groups among the Polish exiles, the antagonism between the London Committee and that of Lublin, the frontier problem, and also the perhaps more tragic problem of the political, religious, and social concepts on the basis of which the Polish State was to be re-born. Once again it was made very clear that Poland occupied a place apart on the map of the Slavonic world, and formed an obstacle to the realisation of full Slav solidarity.

• 727 177 Like the other Slavonic States, however, she had been caught up in the advance of the Russian armies sweeping across Eastern Europe—an onrush which settled the fate of the Slav nations, with or without their consent, as a consequence of their liberation. For three or four years Germany had been the second Slavonic power in the world. She had imposed on her Serbian, Croatian, Slovak, and Bulgarian satellites not only the horrors of the occupation, but also ideologies strongly opposed to their temperaments and their history; an impersonal and tyrannical idea of the State, a 'New Order' which was nothing but a hypocritical subjection, anti-Semitism which—with the exceptions of Poland and Imperial Russia—the Slavonic nations had always regarded 600 with horror. When the collapse came, all these nations turned

[11] Among these, however, we must include the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Argentine.

[J. Poland - Analyst]

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When the collapse came, all these nations turned against an aggressor who had not only trodden their sovereign rights under foot, but even violated their consciences. The Governments which had been at his beck and call were either handed over to popular justice, or taken along with the baggage of the defeated army. On September 7, 1944 Bulgaria broke with the Reich; a few days later the Pavelich Government was dispersed; Slovakia gradually passed under the control of the partisans; Belgrade was occupied by the Tolbukhin army on the following October 20, the day that Tito liberated Ragusa. In the last few weeks of 1944 the map of war operations reflected the real political positions of the Slavonic world, based on Soviet victory. 'Fraternal union with Russia is one of the most deeply-rooted sentiments of the Slavonic peoples', declared King Peter of Yugoslavia in a communiqué dated from London on January 11, 1945.

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Within this Slavonic world, relations were entering upon a new phase. They were ceasing to be a speculation of the learned world, a poet's dream, a field for sentimental outpourings. They had become a reality of international life. The resisting elements in the Slavonic community had at first represented a complete range of specimens of the struggle against oppression—the Czech's masked militancy, the Poles' street-fighting, Serbian guerrilla warfare, Bulgarian terrorism. They had made contact, concerted their action. Early in 1945 it was possible to speak of a 'Slavonic Front', a thing unknown to history. Something had changed in the destiny of the Slavs. The representative of Pavelich's Croatia accredited to the Vichy Government was one day lunching with some French ministers. He went so far as to say, in an expansive moment: 'All the same, the time has come to give the Slavs their place in the sun!'

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A very unexpected remark in the mouth of the envoy of an Axis Government, and, moreover, an envoy who had officially repudiated his ethnical ties.[12] It passed unnoticed by the guests, who were not very well acquainted with the historical laws of European evolution; but it revealed the depth and unanimity of the Slavs' faith in a revival of their fortunes as the result of the Second World War.

[12] It should be noted that the visit to France of Croatia's 'diplomatic' representatives seems to have inspired them with a clearer feeling of realities. The first of them, Kokotovich, went to Switzerland, whence he sent a letter to the French Foreign Minister, begging him not to pay any attention to what his successor did. Moreover, the latter, Krenik, joined Kokotovich in Switzerland a few months later.

[i. Slavonic nations - Analyst]

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1. Quite a long time ago I indicated the importance of this chronicler. See my Boheme pittoresque et historique (Paris, 1867).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century matters had gone so far that at the coronation of King John in 1311 the larger part of the people sang in German and the minority in Czech.

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Under Charles IV and his son Vaclav a reaction took place to the benefit of the Slavic element.[1] The nobility and the clergy took an interest in this. This evolution was crowned by the wars of the Hussites, who fought at the same time for Czech faith and Czech nationality. The Germans lost their influence in the towns or were completely driven out; the Czech language reassumed its place. Among the towns which became Slavic may be cited Zatec (Saaz), Litomerice (Leitmeritz), Usti nad Labem (Aussig), Dvur Kralove, Jaromer, Hradec Kralove, Nemecky Brod, Caslav, Kutna Hora, Pelhrimov, Susice, Budejovice, Kaplice, Stribro and Plzen, all of which were already Czech at the end of the fourteenth century.

/108/ At this time, in Bohemia, in Moravia, in Siberia, Czech became an official language. It was proclaimed to be the sole administrative language at Opava (Troppau) in 1431, at Tesin (Teschen) in 1434, in Moravia in 1480, in Bohemia in 1495. In short, in the course of the fifteenth century Bohemia and Moravia rapidly became Czech, the national consciousness grew stronger, all the more because germanization became weaker within the country and in the frontier districts. Nevertheless, this very brilliant period had no enduring results. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a portion of Czech territory was again germanized as a result of the introduction of Protestantism and through the efforts of the new dynasty. Then came a long period of wars and persecutions which desolated entire regions and was followed by the new influx of German colonists from Misnie*, Voigtland*, from Franconia and from the Palatinate. Thus, at the very moment when the Czech language became official within the kingdom, when the Czech literature was flourishing, a great section of Czech soil was lost.

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Then came the defeat of Bila Hora (1620) and the unhappy events which placed the Czech nation in the hands of a dynasty which was German and absolutist. In 1627 a new organization was imposed

1 [Against the influence of the German element upon the country - Analyst]

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But a new Slavonic problem was brought to the forefront—the problem of the Ukraine. A Ukrainian National Committee was formed, and began to negotiate with the Allies. Its action divided the Slavs; Poles and Russians greeted it with equal hostility; the Yugoslavs displayed disapproval or indifference; the Czechs adopted a half-and-half attitude, advocating the administrative and cultural autonomy of the Ukraine within the framework of the reviving Slav solidarity. 186* 648 578

Moreover, it was quite natural that, once in possession of their ethno-linguistic frontiers, the Slavonic peoples should cease to have any other horizons than these frontiers, within which they still had to build up a political, economic, and social organisation. They sought their vocation in their own history. We are continually forced back to this fundamental fact—Slavism has been, in its essence and from the force of circumstances, a revolt of the nation against the State, whether the latter was called Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Turkey. In Russia itself, the Slavophile school maintained the rights of the country (*zemlia*) against the encroachments of the State. With this tendency is connected the tinge of anarchy which the West is apt to associate with the word 'Slav'. The nation, in the spirit of the 1919–1920 treaties, being identified with the State, the Slavonic idea was doomed to lose the centrifugal opposition, the dissolving power which had long characterised it, and under whose action the Habsburg Empire had collapsed. 186* 668

And in fact, the triumph of the nationalities, ratified by the treaties of Saint-Germain and of Trianon, restored Slavism to its academic origins. Reminders of racial fraternity now seemed to serve no other purpose than to warm up the atmosphere for after-dinner speeches, or for inaugural meetings of congresses. The Slavonic nations lacked that basis of common culture which gives to Hispanism, for instance, the only positive value to which it can lay claim.

In the political order the counter-indications showed up all the more clearly, inasmuch as the territorial settlements were no longer made in virtue of force, but on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination. Now there were some populations which were caught between two opposing Slavonic currents; the Teschen district of Silesia, Macedonia, the Ukraine. A cynic has remarked that, the farther the distance between Slavonic 186* 728

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186* nations, the better they understand each other; witness the Poles
•728 and the Bulgarians, the Czechs and the Yugoslavs. But to say that living side by side no more ensures agreement among nations than it does among individuals is to state a commonplace.

[578] Yet the reshuffling of the map did, nevertheless, satisfy the essential aspirations of the Slavs. It gave Yugoslavia her unity, Czechoslovakia her independence, Poland her liberty. But some irredentism still remained. Bulgaria claimed Macedonia (although she had lost it before the war). The Yugoslavs regretted that the Slovenes of Istria and Carinthia had remained outside the frontiers of their State, Poland remained in dispute with Russia on her Eastern Marches, and with Czechoslovakia in the Teschen Basin. The Ukraine question was assuming a fresh form and acuteness. Even after the recasting of Eastern Europe, there still remained seeds of discord between the Slavonic nations.

131 Much more; looked at as a whole, the new map seemed to
175 be based on an age-long law which shuts the Slavs off from the sea. It was because it was cut off from all the seas that the original Slavia remained as unknown to the Ancients as Central Africa was to the Europeans of fifty years ago. One after the other the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Goths, the Huns, the Avars, the Khazars, the Tartars, all barred them from the Black Sea. It was not until the eighteenth century that the Russians became effective masters of the northern shore of this sea. Similarly with the Baltic, where Scandinavian, Finnish, and Baltic peoples settled; until the Second World War, Leningrad was a Slavonic breach in Finnish territory. As for the White Sea, it was inaccessible to the Russians before the sixteenth century. The Finns, and perhaps the Lapps, had got in before them.

728 Now the 1919–1920 treaties took the Baltic territories and
131 Finland from Russia. They refused Danzig to Poland, Fiume
175 and Trieste to Yugoslavia. Following the coasts of the Baltic, from the borders of Esthonia to the Free Port of Danzig there was no real Slavonic port, even though the hinterland might be entirely populated with Slavs. On the Adriatic, the Dalmatian coast offered nothing but indifferent outlets, backed by steep slopes—and yet the hinterland was wholly Slavonic. The Aegean had no Slavonic outlet. The Slavs were allowed no possibility of becoming maritime powers, capable of rivalling the Germanic,

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Anglo-Saxon, or Latin nations. The treaties of the earlier war had thus sanctioned a traditional exclusiveness in this respect. 728 131 175

On the other hand, Slavism scored a point—the only one—in an acquisition of territory. This was achieved by the clauses which allocated to the Czechs Sub-Carpathian Russia—an ethnical mosaic, with predominant Russian or Ukrainian elements, which was to form an autonomous unit within the framework of the Czechoslovak Republic. This allocation, demanded by the Ruthenians of America, was decided upon chiefly because the signatories to the treaties considered the Prague government as the best mentor they could give to a dangerously backward Slavonic population. Indeed, Czechoslovakia was, within a few years, to improve Sub-Carpathia, that Cinderella of the Slavonic world; at the cost of heavy budgetary sacrifices, she turned this territory entrusted to her into a real 'Civilisation Front'. [186]

As is well known, at the Peace Conference the Czechoslovaks intervened—another gesture of pure Slavonic inspiration—to try to secure for the Serbs of Lusatia the benefit of the protection accorded to minorities. These Lusatians are the remnant of a powerful tribe who people a corner of Saxony and Brandenburg, with its centre at Bautzen. Theirs was for long the *terra incognita* of the Slavonic world; they were discovered by the learned circles of Czechoslovakia and Poland in the nineteenth century. [563]

The return of Poland to an independent life, and the Sovietisation of the Russian State, modified the nature of the relations between the two peoples. Immediately after the earlier war and the Treaty of Riga, one could not say that these relations had been clarified. It is certain that the Government of Moscow was then pursuing a Eurasiatic policy, which drew it away from European affairs. But no one could imagine that this disinterestedness would last very long. In Moscow they still, as under the Tsars, spoke of the 'Jesuitism' and the 'Jagellonism' of the Poles; in Warsaw, they talked about the hegemonic appetite of Russia, and her propaganda. 'Atheism' and 'Marxism' had replaced 'Orthodoxy' and 'Panslavism' as passwords. 648 829

The Polish-Sovietic War of 1920 complicated inter-Slav relations. The Poles bitterly reproached the Czechs with having refused 648 578

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Chapter Six

THE SLAVONIC WORLD AND THE PEACE TREATIES

186* 668 THE negotiation of the peace treaties, which occupied the whole of 1946, was both a testing-time for the solidarity of the Slavonic States, faced with international problems, and the period of their internal consolidation.

In an article published on February 3, 1947, by *Pravda*, the Russian Professor Voznesensky, Vice-President of the Panslav Committee, defined these two aspects of the post-war period for Slavs.

'The present Slav movement has no precedent in history. Our peoples have undertaken two main tasks. The first is the struggle against the traces of Fascism and the struggle for peace against political reaction. The second consists in a fraternal collaboration in the political, economic, and cultural domains, the bases of development and progress for any country'.

During this 'second phase' of the post-war period, demonstrations of Slav solidarity were to be based on two watchwords:—

(1) An almost ritual affirmation of gratitude and attachment to Soviet Russia.

(2) The external 'democratic' and 'pacific' aim of this solidarity—hence the strict avoidance of the words 'race' and 'bloc'.

In the diplomatic field the unity of view of the Slavonic peoples followed from an elementary postulate—the collapse of Teutonic power, a collapse with which their common security was bound up.

186* 648 728 That is why, on April 25, 1946, the eve of the opening of peace negotiations by the meeting in Paris of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the four Great Powers, the Diplomatic Editor for the Moscow Radio, Yermachov, thought it well to recall that the struggle against Teutonism was the common denominator of the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. and of the other Slav peoples:—

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'In liberating the Slavonic peoples, the Red Army has accomplished a mission of great historic import, for if they were not freed from the German yoke there could be no question of lasting peace in Europe. The relations between the U.S.S.R. and the Slavonic countries are based on common interests of defence against the revival of the German forces of aggression which have caused such prejudice to these peoples. And it is beyond doubt that their development on truly democratic bases constitutes the best pledge for peace in Europe'. 186* 648 728

On various occasions moreover, Russia, unwilling to place her cards on the table before her great Allies did so, was known to have her views on the German problem put forward by the Poles or the Czechs, while Yugoslavia, more combative or less wary, launched, now against the English now against the Americans, offensives calculated to put them on a false scent, diverting attention from the real objectives of the diplomatic moves.

In all the discussions raised by the peace treaties, at all the meetings of the United Nations and their Commissions, the Slav delegates voted with the Soviet Union or with its Republics, whether in matters concerning general problems (such as the right of veto or disarmament) or in national 'cases', such as the ban on Franco or the Greek question; so much so that it was always possible to forecast, as soon as a debate opened, which way these delegates would vote.

Conversely, where Russia did not herself inspire the claims put forward by the small Slav States, she supported them. She backed the Yugoslavs in the dispute between Rome and Belgrade regarding the fate of Trieste and Julian Venetia, the maintenance of the Polish-Germanic frontiers on the Oder and the Neisse, and the Bulgarian-Yugoslav offensive against the Athens Government.

Ideologically, the joint attitude of the Slav Governments rested on the theory that they alone were imbued with the real democratic spirit and that the Western Powers represented a survival of reaction and of *bourgeois* Liberalism. 186* 829

This naïve attitude is evident in the speeches of nearly all the Slav diplomats during this period of European reconstruction.

A Polish newspaper, *Robotnik* (of April 14, 1946), took a census of Slavonic strength on the continent of Europe:— 186* 162

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648 175 ference, which, while treating her as a conquered country, nevertheless left her Southern Dobrudja which she had obtained from Rumania under a friendly agreement concluded under the auspices of the Axis.

•728 175 By her memoranda addressed to the Four Powers on May 7 and June 20, she had asked to be designated in the peace treaties, not as an Axis 'Satellite State' but as a 'Co-belligerent Ally'. Her delegate to the Paris Conference maintained that the moral responsibility of the Bulgarian people had not been involved in the policy of collaboration with Germany,[11] that, moreover, no Bulgarian soldier had borne arms against the Red Army, and that the country's heroic resistance, at the critical moment of the war, entitled her to the Allies' sympathetic consideration.

This request was rejected, however, as well as that which aimed at securing access to the Aegean Sea (the famous 'outlet' of Article 48 of the Treaty of Neuilly) or, more clearly, that part of Western Thrace which had been under Bulgarian sovereignty between 1913 (Treaty of Bucharest) and 1919 (Treaty of Neuilly) and which, at the time of which we are speaking, formed part of Greece. This request, as well as the claim for indemnity for 'investments and improvements' effected by the Bulgarian troops on Greek soil during the occupation, at the Luxembourg Conference provoked vigorous reaction on the part of the Greek Premier, M. Tsaldaris, who reproached the Bulgarians with having attacked his country three times in the space of a single generation.

[648] Much more: Messrs. Byrnes and Bevin took the opportunity of M. Kolarov's visit to Paris to intimate to him the dissatisfaction their Governments felt at the way in which the [563] Opposition was treated in Sofia. Moreover, the British delegate demanded the insertion of a special clause intended to protect Jewish minorities, although it was well known that—except in the last war, and even then, not without the exercise of great restraint[12]—the Jews had never been the object of discriminating measures.

[11] Almost word for word, this was the thesis maintained at the end of the previous war by M. Mollov, the Bulgarian delegate to the League of Nations: 'Bulgaria . . . was drawn into the war by events contrary to the manifest will of the majority of the people, and of the political parties'.

[12] The opposition of the Bulgarian people to racial laws spared the Jews the atrocities to which they were subjected in other Eastern European countries.

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So the signature, on February 10, of the peace treaty which (except in Dobrudja) maintained the territorial *status quo* of 1919, was made under protest—on the part of the Government, which, in an official note, expressed its hope of a revision of the 'unjust clauses' of the treaty; on the part of the Homeland Front, which invited the population to 'roll up its sleeves' and work to surmount the difficulties inherent in the application of the treaty; on the part of the Opposition parties, which, while they considered the treaty contrary to the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and to the terms of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, yet blamed the Government for not having been willing to apply sincerely the Moscow agreements, nor to follow the advice of the 'democratic Great Powers'.

* * *

Poland's fundamental problem in 1946 was the reorganisation and repopulation of the western territories taken from Germany and incorporated by Poland in conformity with the decision of the Potsdam Conference of August 2, 1945, and with the Polish-Sovietic treaty of the following August 17. 'Our western frontiers', said Wladislaw Gomulka, Vice-President of the Council, 'are essential to the maintenance of peace in Europe. Any one who opposes us in this respect threatens our most vital interests, and must be considered as our enemy'.

Three million Poles repatriated from Russia were to be settled in the western territories, where they would be joined by a million and a half Poles from the interior, taken from the overpopulated districts, and a million and a half repatriated exiles. Out of four million Germans liable to deportation, 2,400,000 had already been settled in the Russian-occupied zone of Germany, and one million and a quarter in the British zone. So that the total movements of population affected more than seven million individuals.

Within her new frontiers Poland included 195,000 sq. miles instead of 242,875 sq. miles that she covered before the war; her population had fallen from 35,000,000 inhabitants to 23,620,000. She no longer had on her soil any national minorities; Germans, Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians and Lithuanians were to be repatriated, where this had not already been done. As for the Jews, their number dropped from three and a half million to 86,000. Poland, which had six neighbours before the

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certain items which had appeared in the News Bulletin published by the British Embassy in Poland, and judged by official circles to be tendentious. At the beginning of September the Foreign Office announced that the Bulletin would publish no more reports concerning Poland's internal affairs. But semi-official commentators felt obliged to emphasise that this assurance, at variance with British practice, had not been given without hesitation; it had been largely prompted by fear that the Bulletin's collaborators would be arrested by the Polish authorities. So that the settlement of the dispute, by its very nature, contained the germ of future unpleasantness.

Moreover, Warsaw cherished many other bones of contention as far as the English were concerned. The latter were first accused of wanting to keep the gold belonging to the National Bank, and then reproached with supporting the Polish 'reactionaries', with refusing to repatriate General Anders' army *en bloc,* and with lending too sympathetic an ear to the complaints and recriminations of the Peasant Party. Although it was for Poland that England had entered the war, it may be said that it was against the British cabinet that the most bitter criticisms were directed by the Polish Government and press.

The attacks reached their culminating point in the autumn, after Mr. Byrnes's speech at Stuttgart on September 6, and Mr. Bevin's declaration in the House of Commons on October 22.

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Mr. Byrnes had said: 'As regards Silesia and the other Eastern German territories, their allocation to Poland by Russia, for administrative purposes, had taken place before the Potsdam meeting. . . . As the minutes of the Conference plainly show, the heads of the Governments did not undertake to support, on the establishment of peace, the cession of any particular territory. . . . The extent of the region to be ceded to Poland must be determined at the time when the final settlement is made'.[14]

Taken in conjunction with Mr. Bevin's speech, these words could bear the interpretation that Great Britain and America would, at the time of the final Peace Conference, make the

[14] The relevant paragraph of the Potsdam agreement is worded as follows: 'The heads of the three Governments reaffirm the opinion that the final delimitation of Poland's western frontiers must be made at the time of the peace settlement'.

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question of the Oder-Neisse frontiers dependent on that of free elections. M. Molotov at once challenged Mr. Byrnes's declaration, affirming that Russia considered the Polish-German frontiers as definitive. If, on the one hand, this intervention alienated the German Communists from him, and contributed to their defeat at the municipal elections, on the other hand, it secured for him enthusiastic approbation in Polish circles. In most of the large towns popular meetings were held, and the crowds booed the name of Mr. Byrnes, and even of America.

The tension lasted right up to the elections. The arrest of members of the Polish Peasant Party had its echo in the House of Commons, where, on October 22, Mr. Churchill drew a 'sad picture' of the situation in Poland. 'We must', he said, 'take great care to distinguish in our minds between the present Polish Government and the feelings of the Polish nation, whose affliction and sufferings seem to be never-ending'. The Minister of State, Mr. McNeil, emphasised once more the fact that England was a joint signatory to the undertakings given by the Warsaw Government, and thereby bound to see that they were carried out.

So, when the legislative elections had been fixed for January 19, the Governments of London and Washington considered the time had come to repeat their representations on behalf of a free poll. On November 22, they handed over, through their representatives in Warsaw, two simultaneous notes (identical, as regards contents, with those which had been handed to Rumania and Bulgaria on previous occasions). These two documents referred to the previous warnings, and concluded by mentioning that it would be impossible for the Anglo-American democracies to recognise any Government which might be based on elections carried out with violence, or whose results had been falsified.

No reply was made to the American Department of State. That destined for the Foreign Office was delayed for a month. It answered Great Britain's arguments by setting out a complete accusation, intended to show that that Power had herself deliberately violated the Yalta and Potsdam agreements in seven respects, as under:—

1. Role of 'advisers to the British Government' played by Polish exiles in London.

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for Foreign Affairs spoke in similar vein in the House of Commons. And the final result of all this fuss was simply that England and the United States were not represented at the inaugural session of the Third Polish Republic, held on February 4. Moreover, that did not prevent those two countries from offering their congratulations, the next day, to M. Boleslaw Bierut, President of the Republic. London and Washington had never had any other concern than that of 'saving appearances'. They knew quite well that these platonic manifestations of displeasure would have no other effect than to consolidate Muscovite influence in Warsaw. 648 175

The Presidency of the new Government was entrusted to a young member of the Cracow bar—M. Joseph Cyrankiewicz, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, and a survivor of the Auschwitz Camp. In May, political life was gradually becoming normal. The President of the Republic compared it to a river 'which, after having been diverted from its bed by a cataclysm, was finding its true course again'. 643 175

To the new Cabinet was to fall the mission of getting the Oder-Neisse frontier sanctioned by the Peace Conference. In its own view, as well as that of the whole of Poland, the question was settled by the fact that transfers of population had already taken place, without any protests from London or Washington. It was difficult to conceive that millions of Displaced Persons would be compelled to undergo a fresh exodus. The Anglo-Americans would therefore be obliged, in Mr. Churchill's phrase, 'to write off Eastern Europe on the Profit and Loss account'. Moreover, France supported the Polish viewpoint; on February 19, 1947, she signed a cultural agreement with Warsaw—the preface to a new political pact, it being understood that Poland would support her claims on the Saar, as she would back up those of Poland to the maintenance of her western frontier. The question of the frontiers gave rise, in April, 1947, to a bitter and sterile passage-of-arms between Americans and Russians at the Moscow Conference. 648 728 175

Another and no less redoubtable motive of discord between 000

dates which fell to the Socialo-Communist bloc which backs the regime of Bierut and Osubka-Morawski. So the Moscow-controlled parties get 400 out of the 444 seats in the Polish Diet. . . . The last vestiges of Polish liberty, for which General Sikorski is still fighting, will tend to disappear'.

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the agreement, and should furnish the United States with full details of treaties concluded with other Powers. 648 175

Since these conditions had not been fulfilled, America announced, in the month of May, that she was reconsidering the matter. Warsaw then communicated the text of the commercial treaties concluded with the neighbouring countries. The fact that, after this, the United States restored the credit of ninety million dollars shows that they did not consider these treaties as incompatible with their collaboration in Polish economic recovery. In January, 1947, Polish assets in America —including gold—were 'de-blocked', in consideration of an agreement fixing the indemnification of American nationals who owned nationalised Polish concerns. 457

But the question of the elections remained as a background to the feeling of strain which hung over the relations between Washington and Warsaw. In March, 1947, it came to the fore again, when the United States ambassador, Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane, resigned as an expression of the disapproval he had never ceased to exhibit towards a régime resulting from an electoral consultation which he had designated 'a farce'. Far from disowning him, Mr. Truman, in accepting his resignation, declared his regret that 'his skilful representation of the American Government's views had not attained its object'.

The financial negotiations with England experienced similar vicissitudes. The agreement of June 24, 1946, for the grant of a loan, subject to the repayment of the debts of the former London Government, was at first postponed; official Polish circles accused Great Britain of retaining the greater part of their compatriots' assets as security for her claims, and especially the 4,800,000,000 francs (gold) belonging to the Bank of Poland. On December 19, the English Embassy in Warsaw was obliged to protest against the manner in which these questions were presented by the Polish press, who took pleasure in contrasting the British claims with Russia's gesture in wiping out Poland's war debts.

We have recalled that one of the sore points in Slav solidarity was the question of the allocation of the Teschen Basin, occupied by the Poles since October 2, 1938. The question had already, between the two wars, caused a lot of ink to flow. It had grafted itself on to attacks made by the Polish press against 648 728 175

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Prague's policy with regard to the Slovaks, and by the Czech press against Warsaw's treatment of the Ukrainian minorities.

At the end of 1945 the Polish Government had proposed a general settlement of matters outstanding. Prague had agreed in principle, but excluding territorial questions. Poland rejected this reservation. Negotiations opened in Prague on February 7, 1946. The Czechs again refused to have the question of Teschen reopened; they were anxious not to jeopardise the promise made by the Allies to restore their frontiers as they were before Munich.

So the matter was adjourned. But neither of the two Governments neglected any occasion of reaffirming their country's rights to Teschen.

'The Government of Poland' (said M. Rzymowski, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on March 8) 'most emphatically condemns the violence of Munich exercised by Hitler in common with Beck, Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1938–1939, towards Czechoslovakia, a friendly country. I cannot, however, forbear to mention the fact that Silesian Teschen is peopled by a mass of 100,000 Poles who, for some decades, and especially during the six years of the German occupation, by their attitude affirmed their desire to be reincorporated in the mother country'.

To which the President of the Czech Council, M. Fierlinger, replied, recalling that this territory contained the richest coal-mines of Czechoslovakia, that the country's industry had been particularly developed there, large capital sums having been invested, and that along the Polish-Czech frontier passed the most important of the railways joining Bohemia and Moravia to Slovakia. 'So', he concluded, 'any cession of the territory of Teschen to the Poles would prejudice the most vital interests of our country. For these motives, as well as for ethnical reasons, we cannot discuss with the Polish Government the cession of any of these territories. Naturally, we are ready to come to an agreement with the Poles on the most friendly basis, regarding any other arrangement which would suit them, particularly for a reciprocal exchange of population which might finally settle this very complicated problem, to the interest of both countries'.

The most curious part was that the two Governments, equally intractable on this point, showed themselves none the less disposed to conclude an alliance, even a federal pact. Poland would have seen in this a way of submerging the importance of

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the Teschen affair. But Czechoslovakia kept the two matters distinct, and was not prepared to raise the question of the pact until the frontier dispute had been settled.

Marshal Tito was either asked, or was tempted, to offer his mediation. He met with no better success than M. Benes had encountered when, immediately after the previous war, he had tried to intervene between Belgrade and Sofia to appease the Macedonian quarrel. It was obvious, moreover, that the real arbitrator of the dispute could be none other than Stalin. And so the question of Teschen headed the agenda of the conversations that took place in Moscow, in June, 1946, between M. Fierlinger and the Russian and Polish chiefs. The last-named maintained that the territorial sacrifices they had made to Russia should be compensated with the territories partly populated by Poles. The Czechs showed themselves adamant. Had not they, too, ceded Sub-Carpathia to the Russians, and without any compensation? They formulated, or allowed to be formulated, other demands—a frontier-rectification, to do away with the two salients of Glatz and Ratibor, the incorporation of Lusatia with Bautzen, Loebau and Cottbus, and the incorporation of the Austrian town of Gmünd (already occupied).

The Soviet representatives dismissed both parties non-suited. Probably they were not sorry to preserve a possible means of bringing pressure to bear on both sides. They did, however, assure the Czechs that the question would not be settled by Moscow without their consent. As for the Poles, they saw in the Czech claims to Glatz a move to give them a possible basis for bargaining.

The Western Allies prudently refrained from intervening in this dispute, although it affected both the political and the economic balance of the Continent.

Eventually on March 10, 1947, Poles and Czechs concluded a treaty of alliance that stabilised their relations, but, trusting to the effects of time, left them until 1949 to settle the matter of Teschen—the very one whose settlement was of paramount importance for those relations!

The Polish delegation to the Peace Conference expressed very precise views on the fate of Austria and Germany. They demanded guarantees against a fresh Anschluss, the unity of the Reich to be subject to effective demilitarisation and denazifica-

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648 tion, and the reconstruction of German economic life subordinated
728 to the reconstruction of the devastated countries.
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648 On the United Nations' Security Council the Polish delegation
175 fastened on the Spanish problem, displaying all the more energy, inasmuch as none of their positive interests was at stake. They backed the views supported by France and the Soviet Union on rupture with Franco, and decided, on April 5, 1946, to recognise the Giral Government--an eminently platonic gesture, for Franco's Spain and Poland had no diplomatic relations.

*186 The religious question, too, was a serious preoccupation of the
659 Government, which refuted the widespread accusation of wishing to
[798] persecute the Catholic Church. It had, moreover, always included 'practising' Catholics among its members, for Poland is certainly one of the few countries where 'Leftists' are just as good Catholics as 'Rightists'. Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland and Archbishop of Warsaw, himself declared that, in spite of the denunciation of the Concordat of 1925, and the absence of relations between Chruch and State, there was no question of a Kulturkampf in Poland.

[586] There is no doubt; however, that the law (which came into force on January 1, 1946) rendering civil marriage compulsory and authorising divorce conflicted with the consciences of a large section of the population. The education reforms had dealt a death-blow to the religious schools. In the face of these measures, the Church adopted an attitude of restrained disapproval, in order not to make the situation worse; moreover, she had her 'Red Bishops', such as Mgr. Adamski, Bishop Katowice, whose sympathies were known to lie with the Soviet Union.

One of the reasons why the hierarchy avoided clashes was the fear of reviving accusations brought against certain of their members as the result of their attitude during the occupation; this in spite of the courageous conduct of the enormous majority of the prelates, and the murder by the Germans of four bishops and two thousand priests.

*186 It was, moreover, evident that the Warsaw Government's
659 hostility was directed less against the Polish Church than against the
798 Vatican, which they reproached with its policy during the war and its attitude in certain actions brought against agents of the occupying authorities. Yet M. Osubka-Morawski likewise

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sent as Papal Nuncio. In November, Mgr. Joseph Beran, a Dachau deportee, was appointed Archbishop of Prague. Czechoslovakia was then the only Slav State having accredited diplomatic representation with the Holy See. 648

In Slovakia the clergy had to suffer from the fact that a priest, Joseph Tiso,[21] who succeeded Father Hlinka as Leader of a Peoples' Party, had controlled the so-called 'Independent' State under the Nazi occupation. In some cases, proceedings against 'collaborators' took on the aspect of an anti-Catholic drive; some Associations, and even some religious communities, were dissolved. 798

As regards foreign policy during this period, it was dominated by two questions, the claim on Teschen and the 'liquidation' of the Hungarian minorities. The Teschen problem has been dealt with above, in connection with Poland; we will simply remind the reader that the Prague Government was adamant in its claim. 'Czechoslovakia will not give up one scrap of Teschen', declared President Benes on July 18, 1946. The treaty of alliance of March 10 left the matter in suspense until 1949. 648 563 728 175

The evacuation of the Hungarian populations raised a bitter and prolonged dispute between Prague and Budapest.

An agreement concluded on February 27, 1946 provided for an exchange between Hungarians in Slovakia and Slovaks in Hungary, on a parity basis, to the number of 150,000 persons. The Government of Budapest was to make this agreement widely known amongst the Slovaks placed under its jurisdiction.

But the intention of the Czechs was to expel from their territory the whole of the Hungarian minority, which was far more numerous than the Slovak minority in Hungary.[22] And so they asked that country to take over 200,000 other members of the Magyar minority, and a further 60,000 Hungarian minority subjects, expelled as war criminals or political offenders. The Hungarians in Czechoslovakia who might escape these various transfers would be 're-Slovacised', and would cease to enjoy any minority privileges. Prague emphatically insisted that

[21] His trial opened on December 2, 194(5?) before the High Court of Bratislava.

[22] Out of the 645,000 Magyars who lived in Czechoslovakia in 1939, 110,000 were in Carpathian Ruthenia, ceded to the Russians. There remained 435,000, more than half of whom were considered to be 'inassimilable'. [728]

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the minorities had been the instrument which had upset and dismembered Czechoslovakia, and that their complete elimination was an essential condition for the security of the new State.

Hungary resisted this claim. Apart from general humanitarian considerations, she maintained that it was economically impossible for her to meet the needs of such an increased population. First she asked for a frontier revision, which was categorically refused by Prague. Later on, the two Governments accused each other of sabotaging the February agreements. A joint commission was set up, to accelerate the exchange. Its work was interrupted in September, when the Czechs presented a demand for the expulsion of a further 70,000 persons. In that same month the matter was taken before the Political and Territorial Commission, charged by the Peace Conference with the preparation of the treaty with Hungary; it was connected with a Czech request for frontier rectification (extension of Bratislava on the right bank of the Danube)—a request which was naturally resisted by the Hungarians. The Commission, setting aside forcible solutions, urged the two countries to come to a direct understanding on the problems of the minorities; should such an agreement not be reached within six months, Czechoslovakia would be authorised to lay the matter before the Council of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.[23]

The dispute broke out again in November, when the Hungarians remaining in Czechoslovakia were requisitioned and transferred, for the most part, to the Sudetenland, in virtue of the law for the mobilisation of man-power. A demand from Budapest for an explanation, dated March 23, was left unanswered by Prague, where it was considered that a general measure needed no justification. On November 21 the Hungarian National Assembly registered a solemn protest against these forcible displacements. This protest was echoed abroad, particularly in London, in the House of Lords, and in a section of the English and American press, which felt obliged to remind

[23] The *Magyar Hirlap*, the organ of the Prime Minister, Nagy, published an article on the Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations containing the following remarks: 'Between the two World Wars, the Government of Hungary considered that it ought to be the ally of the power which was the enemy of Czechoslovakia; but later on, it was realised that this power was the common enemy, and had enslaved Hungary as well as Czechoslovakia'.

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the Prague Government that the sufferings inflicted on the Hungarians did not compensate for those the Slovaks had endured; they simply increased the total amount of suffering. 648 563 728 175

Negotiations between the two Governments were resumed in January, 1947, following the visit of the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Gyöngyösy, to Bratislava, where he met the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, M. Clementis, and had with him a preliminary discussion in view of a general settlement of the problem. At that time a total of 11,655 Slovaks (as against the agreed figure of 40,000) had returned to Slovakia from Hungary; of these 3,535 had not been officially transferred, but had simply fled.

Exchanges of population were resumed from April 11 to 18, but on a very small scale, while settlement was taking place, in Bratislava, of the financial problems raised by these operations.

In the whole matter, Czechoslovakia had had Russia behind her. 'We have the support of the Soviet Union in the question of the minorities', said M. Gottwald. But we should fall short of the truth were we to omit to mention that Czechoslovakia's conduct was rather severely judged in the Anglo-American countries, where people were not very familiar with minority disputes, and attached too much importance to respect for the individual, to approve of these mass exoduses—at least in Europe. [829]

The case of the German minority had been the object of Czechoslovak declarations, even before the end of the war, and on this point the Potsdam agreements had merely had to sanction the decision taken by M. Benes and his Ministers to create a homogeneous national State. Consequently, the expulsion of the Germans from the Sudetenland did not give rise to any disputes —eliciting, at the most, humanitarian recommendations on the part of the Western Allies. The 'ceiling' for the expulsions had been fixed at 2,500,000 by the Potsdam agreements; in October, 1946, 750,000 had been sent into the Russian zone, 1,415,135 into the American zone, and 310,000 were authorised to remain on Czech territory; these were skilled workmen, miners, anti-Fascists, relatives of Czechs, old or sick people.[24] There is no

[24] It should be noted that Czechoslovakia adopted a special treatment for Germans of Austrian nationality residing or temporarily domiciled in her territory. She did not class them with the Sudeten Germans as necessarily to be expulsed, unless they had been members of the Nazi Party.

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648 563 728 170 doubt that, although their departure corresponded to a legitimate policy of internal peace and security, yet it created in Czech economic life a void that was difficult to fill.

648 457 175 The Americans' remarks on the subject of the deportations were not the only cause (and, in any case, they were passing ones) of the frigid relations between themselves and the Prague Government. The latter had negotiated and obtained a loan of fifty million dollars from the Export-Import Bank—a loan which was to help to finance the 'two-year plan' for Czechoslovakia's economic reconstruction. On October 16 the State Department notified that they had blocked this credit for an indefinite period, because the borrowing country had not provided any compensation for American nationals dispossessed by nationalisation. Another argument advanced was the cutting and, at the very least, injudicious tone adopted by certain Czech newspapers which, at the very moment when their Government was seeking financial aid, accused the United States of using credits as an instrument of economic imperialism. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs blamed the Russians for the latter accusation and expressed regret at Washington's decision.

On the other hand, in November, 1946, England granted a loan of two and a half million sterling, spread over four years, to enable Czechoslovakia to buy surplus British materials. So that Prague's fears of a synchronised Anglo-American policy in the matter of loans were allayed.

[186] Like those of Poland, Czechoslovakia's aims in the discussion on the German treaty were chiefly directed towards disarmament and denazification of the Reich. For the Czechs, the problem of their security was partly settled by the presence of Soviet Russia in the Danube Basin. The dream of one of their thinkers had come true: 'The lime, our Slavonic emblem,[23] is supported by the powerful Russian oak'. And, celebrating the anniversary of the pact of December 12, 1943, between Stalin and Benes, the *Nurodni Ozvobozeni* declared: 'Treaties are usually entered into for a fixed period. Afterwards, they are extended, or they lapse. This one must stand for eternity'.

[23] The lime was the emblem of the Slavs. At the time of the riots which took place in Ljubljana at the beginning of this century between German and Slovene students, the former sported a cornflower and the latter a lime-leaf.

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Relations between the two countries, intimate in the political domain, developed mainly in the direction of a closer economic collaboration. To this end, commercial agreements were signed at Moscow in April, and especially in July, 1946, between Gottwald, the Prime Minister, and Marshal Stalin. It was during this interview that the Czech statesmen communicated the text of their proposals for the Peace Conference.

These proposals included demands for frontier rectifications, already formulated on May 31, 1945, and reproduced in a memorandum of January 20, 1947, especially as regards the German districts of Glatz and Ratibor, occupied by the Poles. It was an attempt to do away with the two 'notches' formed in the frontier by the upper valley of the Oder (Moravian Gate) and that of the Neisse (Nahod Gap) which had been used in 1866 by von Moltke's army. Thus the roads of approach from Prussian Silesia towards Moravia would be closed. As seen above, these claims had aroused unfavourable reaction in Warsaw.

A few words on the relations between Prague and Paris. As early as October 7, the Czech Government had been in touch with General de Gaulle, who declared the Munich agreements void . . . on the following September 29. On August 22, 1944, the French and the Czech Governments agreed that, when the time was ripe, they would adapt their former pact of alliance to the needs of the existing situation. A 'joint declaration', communicated to the press on February 14, 1947, announced the early conclusion of the new pact.

The peace treaties signed in Paris on February 10, 1947, established a fresh balance of forces on the Continent.

If, treating the territorial alterations occurring between 1938 and 1944 as accidents, we superimpose the 1947 map on that of 1938 (which resulted from the treaties that settled the First World War), we find that this new balance results much less from territorial changes than from a reconstitution of influence.

The territorial changes are indeed unimportant, in comparison with the transformations which the treaties of 1919–1920 made in the map, when the dislocation of Austria-Hungary resuscitated two historic States in the heart of Europe. It is not impossible that, in times to come, the short period between the

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two wars may be regarded as the golden age of the nationalities —the brief realisation of an age-long dream.

If we take the Continent as a whole, although one independent State (Montenegro) then disappeared, eight new nationalities acquired their sovereignty—Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary. And Yugoslavia formed a unitary monarchy around Serbia.

In 1947 the Baltics disappeared from the map as independent States. No fresh creation arose from the treaties, which were limited, as far as Austria and Hungary were concerned, to restoring the *status quo*.

So we might perceive, cast over the new state of affairs, the shadow of Munich and of the decisions taken at the time when the Axis was all-powerful; the amputation of Poland was provided for by the Moscow Treaty of August 21, 1939, that of Rumania stipulated in the ultimatum of June 26, 1940, and in the Treaty of Craïova of September 7, 1940; Poland had been established in the Teschen Basin since October, 1938.

The only countries to come out of these treaties with enlarged territory were Yugoslavia, who advanced in Istria and in Julian Venetia, and Bulgaria, who, getting out of an unlucky adventure very well for once, annexed Southern Dobrudja.

The other nationalities of Central and Eastern Europe were seriously amputated. Rumania lost, with the Dobrudja, Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, and the Moldavian district of Herzea—at least one-fifth of her territory. She could, it is true, console herself with the thought that Poland—for whom the Allies went to war—lost just as much (her area was reduced from 242,875 sq. miles to 195,000 sq. miles) and that Czechoslovakia, the victim of Munich, found herself, by the loss of Carpatho-Ruthenia, reduced by one-tenth of her pre-war surface.

So that, out of five Slavonic States, three (counting Russia) were enlarged, two others amputated.

In flagrant violation of Article 2 of the Atlantic Charter, no referendum preceded these transfers of sovereignty. In cases where the new state of affairs created or maintained, ethnical pockets, this was remedied by transfers of population. So, hundreds of thousands of persons were 'displaced', in order to achieve a racial unity within the framework of the new frontiers.

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Human exoduses afforded the solution of the minority problems, which the 1919–1920 treaties had endeavoured to settle by the establishment of *ad hoc* international law. In short, it was a return to the policy of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. In this conception of European statics lay the sole innovation brought about by the latest peace treaties. Is it progress or the reverse? Whatever we may think, from the humane point of view, of this over-simplified settlement of a complex problem, we are obliged to admit that, as time goes on, it will consolidate the physical bases of the new order and ensure its duration. 648 728• 175 [563]

Let us hasten to add, however, that scarcely were the treaties signed, when a campaign for their revision was launched. For perhaps the first time in history, this campaign included victors and vanquished, victims and beneficiaries of the new state of affairs. The Yugoslavs maintained their claim to Julian Venetia, Carinthia, and, more discreetly (at least before the international forum), to Aegean or Greek Macedonia. The Bulgarians returned to the attack, with a view to obtaining a territorial outlet on the Aegean—a claim they had relentlessly pressed between the two wars. Hungary, who again saw Eastern Transylvania eluding her grasp, maintained her traditional attitude on revision. It was difficult for Rumania to forget that, after Germany, she was the chief victim of the war. If Polish official circles, for reasons easily understood, did not raise their voices, it was not because that country willingly accepted the loss of her Eastern Marches, whose inhabitants had been 'invited' to settle on the evacuated borders of Prussia and Silesia. 648 175

The 1947 treaties settled the two problems on which formerly depended the peace of Europe—the relative strengths of the Germany-Poland-Russia trinomial, and Balkan equilibrium.

Both these problems were settled, without right of appeal, by Russia, the victorious liberator. The axiom formulated by M. Gyöngösy, a Hungarian Minister, applies here: 'In crucial periods of her history, a small nation has no liberty of choice'.

The first of these problems was solved in such a way as to ensure security for Poland, at the price of her diplomatic liberty. It used to be maintained in Warsaw that the Poles could be fully masters of their fate only on condition that Germany and Russia should be neither allies nor enemies—a formula which was as

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Chapter Eight

SLAV SOLIDARITY BREAKS UP

186* WE have already spoken of the resurrection of the Slavonic idea during the Second World War—the only European conflict in history which found all the Slavs on the same side of the fence. We reviewed the congresses of 1942–1945 which restated the old themes of Slav solidarity, based on the liberating role of Soviet Russia. Never had such unanimity been shown within the Slav community. For the first time 'Panslavism' could be spoken of as a reality in international life.

186 This 'Panslavism', uniting the oppressed, occupied peoples
•728 against Hitler's Reich, was not to last long. It made itself felt
175 again in 1946 and 1947, but in a purely oratorical form, and exclusively in justification of Russian ascendancy over the countries of Eastern Europe. In reality, it was again the Slavs who benefited least from the victory. While it is true that Bulgaria came out of the war with enlarged territory, this was due to an agreement concluded under the auspices of the Axis Powers. Czechoslovakia and Poland suffered the loss of a large part of their eastern territories. Yugoslavia recovered part of Istria, but her claims to Trieste and Southern Carinthia met with opposition from the Western powers, and were backed by the Russians only within the limits of their own interests. The state of affairs created by the Soviet Union within the area subject to its influence failed to reflect any Slavonic trend, or any preferential treatment for the 'sister nations'.

177 The Kremlin is aware that the Slavonic world is an object of
·18 aversion to the Rumanians and the Hungarians. It can retain
186 these in its orbit (into which it will try to attract Greece) only
648 by lulling to sleep the old Slavophile ideology, or by relegating it
175 to the rank of 'romantic values'. It is to the collaboration of Slavs and non-Slavs on the basis of Lenin-Stalinist Marxism that the Kremlin looks, for the creation of an eastern community modelled on its own institutions and obedient to its watchwords. From 1946 onwards its whole policy, in this part of Europe, aimed at directing the guidance of the satellite States more and more into the hands of the Communists. This policy was to be

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Congregation of the Holy Office, forbidding the publication and diffusion of Communist doctrine.

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So the *Kulturkampf* was waged, now energetically, now quietly. The Prague Government was accused by the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of violating 'human dignity and civilisation'; once more the conflict passed from the national to the international level, symbolising the ideological antagonism which exists between the Soviet world and the Western democracies. Neither the Government nor the clergy showed any signs of weakening. On November 17[1] the bishops again asked the civil power to abandon the laws relating to religious teaching, as conceived by the State, and the interference of lay authorities in the nomination of priests and the administration of Church property.

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The end of the year 1949 was marked by waves of purges in Communist circles, and by fresh trials on charges of treason, incriminating, like those of Budapest and Sofia, Tito's 'agents' or 'accomplices'.

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During this period politics in Poland were somewhat less sensational than in the other Slav countries. There again, however, the régime of 'popular democracy' evolved in the direction of Stalin-Marxism. The struggle against the Church was less open, and did not, as in Czechoslovakia, go to the length of making the clergy civil servants. The Government concentrated its efforts particularly on increasing exports, on economic reconstruction, and on exploiting the German lands brought under its control—and these efforts, it must be admitted, were attended with remarkable results.

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The German Question was its chief external problem; in its view, it was France's policy in respect of the Reich which prevented the renewal of the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance. What Warsaw particularly feared was lest a change of attitude on the part of the Allies towards Germany should reopen the question of the Oder-Neisse frontier, which the Poles considered sacrosanct, but which transferred to them territories whose final allocation was, legally, postponed until the making of the peace treaty for the Reich.

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The most sensational event was the nomination (on November 7)[2] of Rokossovsky, the Soviet Marshal (of Polish

1 [1949 -- Analyst] 2 [1949 -- Analyst]

and Moravia including the Czech part of old Silesia). Adjacent 198
to this compact area, there are small Czech communities in Kladsko 162
and Upper Silesia (both belonging to present-day Poland). (9) SLOVAK is the predominant native language of Slovakia (an autonomous part of Czechoslovakia). In Europe Czech is spoken by over 8½ million and Slovak about 3 million people.

Southern Slavs. (10) SLOVENIAN is spoken in the Slovenian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslovia) and in small adjacent areas of Austria and Italy. (11) SERBO-CROATIAN covers the greatest part of Yugoslavia: Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia. In the Europe of 1940 Slovenian was spoken by almost 1¾ million and Serbocroatian by some 11 million people. The standard language of the Greek [212 Orthodox Serbs and the Catholic Croats is the same, except for a few lexical variations and the adaptation of the Russian alphabet by the former and of the Latin by the latter. (12) MACEDONIAN is the prevailing language of the Macedonian People's Republic (an autonomous unit within Yugoslavia). The central dialect, belonging to the Western Macedonian group, has recently been elevated to the status of a standard language. There are about a million native Macedonians including those in the adjacent areas of Bulgaria and Greece. (13) BULGARIAN is the dominant language in Bulgaria. At the end of 1940 it was spoken by about 6 million people in Europe including Bulgarian colonies in the USSR and Bulgars in the part of Dobrudja that remained under Rumania.

Incomplete data on the extent of some of the Slavic languages in the United States are given in the 1940 census: 585,080 people with Russian as their mother-tongue; 83,000 (?) with Ukrainian; 2,416,320 with Polish; 520,440 with Czech; 484,360 with Slovak; 178,640 with Slovenian; 153,080 with Serbocroatian. From the Canadian census of 1951 we may cite the following figures indicating the mother tongue: Ukrainian, 352,323; Polish, 129,238; Slovak, 45,516; Russian, 39,223; Serbocroatian, 11,031.

As a consequence of World War II, western Byelo-Russia was 728
detached from Poland, and the western Ukrainian areas from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania and were incorporated into

728 the USSR; the Polish and Kashubian sections of Germany passed to Poland; some Slovenian and Croatian dominions of Italy to Yugoslavia; and a part of Dobrudja was returned from Rumania
162 to Bulgaria. The total number of Slavs in the world is now over
198 200 million. Except for a few border minorities and Americans with Slavic mother-tongues, all Slavic peoples, save the Sorbs, live in states with a Slavic majority and state language—USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria.

197 Between the three Eastern Slavic languages there are intermediate dialectal areas. Russian is divided into Northern, Southern and transitional (Middle Russian) dialects, each of them with archaic islets presenting salient common features. Ukrainian dialects are classified into Northern, Southeastern, Southwestern, and Carpathian groups; the marginal dialects (called Rusnak) of the latter group are Slovak-influenced. Byelo-Russian is divided into two dialects—the Northeastern and the Southwestern, disclosing a stronger Polish impact. Polish contains, besides various border dialects, two fundamental groups: Great and Little Polish in the Northwest and Southeast respectively. Kashubian comprehends two types of dialects: the Southern, and the Northern, which includes Slovincian. In Czech there are Bohemian, Central Moravian, and Silesian groups, with transitional dialects from group to group and from Czech to Slovak and to Polish. Slovak consists of three dialectal types: Central; Western, closely linked with Czech; and Eastern, connected with Polish and Ukrainian. Slovenian exhibits great dialectal variety. Serbocroatian from East to West presents three basic groups: Štokavian, Čakavian, and Kajkavian which is transitional to Slovenian. Bulgarian is divided into three basic dialects: Western, Northeastern, and Southeastern. Macedonian sets up a scale of intermediary dialectal zones between West Bulgarian and Štokavian.

PROTOSLAVIC; EXPANSION

PROTOSLAVIC (Primitive Slavic), which substituted (1) *s*, *z* for advanced *k*, *g*, and (2) *x* for the old *s* preceded by *i*, *u*, *r*, *k*, was a Western offshoot of the satem-group of Indo-European languages

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who, in their turn, will subsequently become your strength and your buckler'.

The Pravoslav *mystique* of the Slavophiles and the revolutionary thesis of Bakunin coincided on two points—faith in the future of the Slavonic peoples, and the expectation of a European order in which no nation should feel humiliated or injured. Transplanted to the domain of international life, this was that 'eternal search for integral justice' in which M. Raoul Labry so pertinently saw the dominating feature of the Russian spirit, with its belief in miracles and 'the totalitarian exigencies which it owes to its long religious education and to the régime under which it has developed'.

The immediate aim of the theoreticians of the Slavophile school was to apply Russian solutions to the problems of their national life. That is why the question of the emancipation of the serfs was studied by Youri Samarin, one of the leaders of this school.

[668] In 1867, in the midst of the enthusiasm aroused by this reform, the Congress of Moscow, which marked the climax of Russian Slavophilia, took place. In actual fact, it was less a Congress than a friendly gathering, sponsored by the Moscow Society for Natural Sciences. Eighty delegates of the Slavonic peoples accepted the organisers' invitation: there were Czechs, Serbs, Croats, Bulgars, Slovaks, and Russo-Galicians. The Poles, still suffering from the 1863 repression, had stayed away. The delegates were received at Tsarskoy Selo. The Russian historian, Pogodin, made a speech in which he expressed the hope that the meeting might be the starting-point of an era of regular contacts between all the Slavs. It was decided to hold a biennial Congress, in a town to be selected in advance, with a view to discussing the various problems of mutual interest to Slavs; to found a publishing company, to knit closer the intellectual bonds between the Slavonic peoples; and to set up in Moscow a permanent committee to act as a link between Slavonic organisations.

[741] This programme remained a dead letter, except for a few philanthropic institutions, which contributed to give to Russian Slavophilia the character of 'help' rather than of real mutual aid. At the Congress, one speaker had proposed the adoption of Russian as the inter-Slav language. He was snubbed. The

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Albania E6 1
Slavic Peoples E 16

'in order to draw out the fever'. This prescription has been used amongst others in close contact with Islamic culture, and, by analogy, powdered quinine is substituted for henna.

On the other hand, some plants have a semi-religious significance, without representing any economic value whatever; and only some of these again are used in medicine in a mystical sense. Others have a mystical value, where and when the medical use is lacking or lost. Thus *Sempervivum tect.* in Šumadija has no meaning attached other than it is 'lucky'; its medicinal use is practically restricted to Dalmatia. The iris was a sacred plant before its chemical properties were known, and its rare use is traceable to literary sources.

It is not always clear, either, that the veneration of a plant depends upon any marked obvious property, inherent in substance or form.

The origin of the now very extensive use of various minerals and pigments is indeterminable. Again we incline to point to oriental commerce, partly on account of the numbers of them which appear regularly under Turkish names, and their late entry into written prescriptions.

The use of cosmetics has been established for the ancient Slavs. At present the application of pigments to the skin is confined to urbanised areas and Mohammedanised centres, where the blackened teeth and sore lips which are seen there are due to the use of mercury and antimony in the preparation of face creams, and not, as travellers sometimes suggest, to the presence of syphilis. But tonic lotions are regularly used for beautifying skin and hair; and in South Serbia and the Lim district and other parts, and particularly amongst the Albanian population, the hair is bleached or dyed with henna or gall nuts, and that mostly in childhood. The oil or fat used by the ancient Slavs on their bodies, perhaps as a protection against cold or against stings of insects, may have had a ritual use, and witch ointments actually exist. I have not been able to discover the exact ingredients of such an oil but, on not wholly reliable evidence, I have heard of hemp oil in this connection, which fits in very well with an

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16
Croats EF4
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Balkan Peoples E13

older tradition. Marking the face with charcoal against the evil eye, disguising the face by certain marks to delude a sickness or a misfortune, the blackening and rending of the face in mourning and so on, fall within the same department. In sickness a healthy sign or amulet mark may be traced upon the skin, e.g. the 'seal of Solomon'. This may be the meaning of certain tracings and pointings with the healing finger or healing medium, without leaving a mark. The ancient Slavs also coated their bodies with fetid plant juices, and with offal; and it may be that similar curative methods originate from ceremonial, involving the expulsion of, or protection from, bad influences.

S SP 302 751 SP [755]

Amongst the Catholics of Bosnia, tattoo ornaments, which have a vague prophylactic aim, are made in a variety of geometric patterns, sometimes from the back of the hand to the shoulder and covering the chest. Personal ornament may still be found to have a mystical significance; and possibly a study of design would reveal an older direct connection. Naturally, the amulet tends to serve an ornamental end—corals for health, crosses of sacred woods, coins and medals, coloured beads, small charms set in silver, flowers worn in the hair, the mercury bracelets of the Mohammedans of Bosnia, and finally the fine and rich amulet cases of late oriental workmanship. Meanwhile, each part of dress has its symbolical value, making it suitable for this or that occasion, and hence afterwards useful for suggestive magic. The belt of bride or mother has the virtues of fertility. In Eastern Macedonia it is woven to represent the fertile rainbow. But the bride's garments are always propitious, and their touch can cure a number of skin diseases. Certain observances hold amongst women to the effect that such and such embroidery designs should not be worked at certain times and seasons.

C 304 531 751 S [563] CM S 585 292 777 755

Finally, there grew up a body of Balkan-oriental medicine which shows the influence of learned medicine as practised by the *iatroi* and *hekim*, with little variation throughout the territory; which, in turn, provides the latest semi-literary source of South Slav popular medicine; and which gives it

BP 757

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

851 so he may be considered able to receive the divine gifts in Communion. His dawning consciousness is trained to accept the privilege of meeting the other world as it there breaks through into this. When he is seven years old he is expected to make his first Confession, as he learns another side to the matter—his own unworthiness and responsibilities.

755 Nor does the care of the Church for the individual cease with his physical death, though it is much concentrated upon that moment. In cases of grave sickness (though not only *in articulo mortis*) or in view of some special risk of death, the devout Orthodox may be the recipient of the Sacrament of Holy Unction, and be anointed, with prayers for his recovery or safety. The long service is abbreviated in practice.

764 When a death occurs the house will be visited, even on three successive days by the priest and the prescribed service said in the presence of the body. The actual funeral service in Church is penetrated by the sense of the pathos of this life and of hope in the life to come. It contains passages of incomparable beauty, such as the first of the *ideomela* of St. John Damascene:

> "What delight of life continueth unmixed with sorrow? What glory on earth remaineth unalterable? All things are more fleeting than a shadow, all things are more illusive than dreams; one moment, and all these things are succeeded by Death. But in the light of Thy countenance, and in the sweetness of Thy beauty, do Thou, O Christ, in mercy, give rest to *him* whom Thou hast chosen, forasmuch as Thou art the lover of mankind.[1]

765 And the Church's pastoral care for the devout believer reaches out to him beyond the grave. There are ceremonies 775 prescribed for the eighth and the fortieth day after death as well as for the anniversary. For according to popular belief the soul does not bid a final farewell to this world until forty days after death, the interval having been spent in visiting the scenes of its earthly life, and even Mt. Athos and Jerusalem.

[1] See a translation of the Burial Service published by Douglas Pepler, Ditchling, 1922, and with the above quotation *cf.* No. 360 in *The English Hymnal*.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Balkan Peoples E13
Slavic Peoples E16

appear that, for longer prayers, the priests and others who recited them relied on their books. The early recording of these forms partly accounts for their universal similarity. Doubtless, the sporadic work of copying began in the Balkans. The majority of early Russian and South Slav material of this order has a uniform character, not to be found in other departments of either folk-lore or popular literature. Still more significant is the fact that exorcismal forms and the magical prescriptions which are first found associated with Orthodoxy, are not unknown in Catholic countries. As regards magical spells, these are remarkably uniform. In the Balkans, the oriental origins of the well-known legend formulae are re-emphasised by direct contact at a later date with Mohammedan culture. The gap between the Byzantine or Christianised prototype of the charm and the popular version might be explicable on these grounds.

S 183 782 755 789 B 755 789 174

III

The Orthodoxy of the Slavs gave early signs of extreme asceticism. In any case Christian culture, as such, offered no new material basis of healing, but would have provided only approved forms of the visitation of the sick, the consolation of prayer and sacrament.[1] Whatever the pre-Christian system was, it was officially classed as heathen survival, and it never dissociated itself entirely from its primitive conceptions.

SP 771 755

To summarise the results of research, the seers and priests of antiquity used strong-smelling herbs for internal and external use; the bodies and products of animals, birds, reptiles and fishes; drugs and concoctions to induce sleep, intoxication or abortion, stimulants and poisons. The uses of certain minerals, and particularly of certain magical stones and a few pigments, were certainly known. To these were added

SP 755 278 778

[1] The functions of the Orthodox priest as healer and exorciser, the use of holy water and oil, the laying-on of crosses, relics and books, etc., are epitomised in a note in Goar's *Euchologion*, p. 750.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slovic Peoples E16

the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

The veneration of the oak tree does not save it from fire; that of the cherry tree makes it a sin to burn its wood or even to cut its branches: the yew is powerful, and may not be burned, but it can be hewn and carved and made into useful objects, dishes, handles, ploughs, boxes, spindles, trays, as well as crosses and amulets, which are then particularly safe or lucky. The blackthorn is used for magical purposes, such as impaling a vampire; it is recommended to use it in making wooden implements for the sake of its magical properties, but the tree itself can be regarded almost with dread, and may not be injured or cut down or uprooted. Nearly everywhere the grafting of fruit-tree slips on wild trees, particularly on wild pears and cherries, is thought to be a virtuous act, amounting to a form of charity. I have heard of a peasant doing so as an act of expiation, a desire to obtain merit (*zadužbina*), in a district which knows little nowadays of particular tree cults. Where a ritual-agricultural calendar is followed in the traditional manner, all grafting is reserved for special days, sometimes with a special local etiology. Individuals sometimes mark the birth of a child or an animal by fertilising a tree in this way.[1] Further, I have seen over and over again in remote and isolated places, that a wild tree has been ennobled, apparently for no sound economic purpose. While I know that almost a sentimental element is

[1] At Rakljanako Polje a pine tree was said to have sprung from a branch stuck in the ground by the Empress Milica when Car Lazar was born. Cf. J. Pančić, *Iz Prirode*, p. 52. Similar acts of commemoration are, of course, well known in other parts of the world.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16
Albania E61

SP 515 [177] Roman bath entirely disappears from the North Balkans, although public baths were known to the Avars also. At the present time, the Turkish bath is restricted to a specific cultural region, where a recent Asiatic influence has been concentrated. As it now retreats this excellent institution also falls into decay. But the bath and the use of steam for S [515] sweating, now universal amongst the South Slavs, rubbing [752] and massage, more or less symbolical washing and bathing, and the manipulation of broken limbs and the dressing of wounds, are to be reckoned amongst the oldest of their practices. Archaeological finds witness to healed wounds and S A [752] fractures, but we know nothing of prehistoric trepanation amongst the South Slavs—the only European race, with the Albanians and some Caucasians, which continued the practice almost within living memory.

SP 755 782 Offerings and vows, ritual performances and acts connected with fertility cults, were the basis of mystical healing. Hydrotherapy includes also the worship of water spirits, and, amongst Lithuanians, of a personified watery element. Niederle adds to this list of reconstructed primitive medicine the use of oils or unguents which preserved strength and health,[1] and a number of Eastern aromatics, known in primitive times.

S SP 177 773 789 [372] Plants introduced in historical times have added to the botanical mythology, and enjoy a symbolism of their own; just as field-glasses, pipe-lighters, petroleum, trains, firearms and other more recent gifts of material civilisation, receive their part in contemporary folk-lore, whose incorporating activity is only now beginning to decline, and in some cases, a magico-religious part. Firearms have developed a complete legend of their own; pipe-lighters are sometimes used for producing ritual fire, though matches are universally disqualified; and so on.

S 241 824 778 Wheat, which in the Middle Ages was cultivated only in a very limited area, and, in the early nineteenth century, was still little used in the interior of Serbia, has a universal ritual

[1] Cf. L. Niederle, *Slovenské Starožitnosti*, I, p. 127.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935

EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16
Coasts EF4
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Balkan Peoples E13

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Great Russians RF2
Slavic Peoples E 16

B Y SP 795 793 756 [887]

There is little trace of shamanism in the Balkans, and few instances of the combining of the functions of priest and doctor and magician except by accident. In peasant cults these offices are adopted to meet a special occasion, unless they are the speciality of a local wise woman. Women who have ceased to menstruate or widows may have to be chosen for certain rites, but this is only a temporary priesthood. The seeress mediates between ordinary people and spirits only when she is required to do so. Young men without physical defect only may be allowed to take part in certain ritual dances, etc. Almost each cult has its own 'priest'. The fulfilment of the village 'vows' and the sacrifice at the sacred village tree is performed by householders, and the high priest of the occasion is the host for that year. The mother of twins is, it is said, considered to be specially pure, and twins themselves have special occasional functions. I hazard that this arrangement is characteristic of peasant cults; and that the institution of a monopoly of priestcraft, whether on the part of the Christian church or by the priests of organised pagan cults, meant a profound social change, to uphold which popular custom had to be discredited.

B Y SP [845]

R SP 771 171

In Russia itself, so many parallels are found that a close

SP 795 174 771 793

feature of the religious life of South Slav Orthodox communities and has died hard among the non-Orthodox. It represents an elaboration under peculiar circumstances of a strictly domestic cult with occasional ministrants, whose sporadic priestly duties are determined by their normal social function and status. A similar Lithuanian rite was also traditionally a strictly domestic affair. The *slava* embraces ideas and ceremonial found in the earliest accounts of Slav custom and which belonged to pre-Christian ideas, but other features, and the general form as we now know it, so closely resemble the celebration of the liturgy that the institution may well have arisen from an early practice of private celebrations, or imitations of the liturgy, perhaps at a time of a Christian minority, or further encouraged by the conditions of Turkish occupation. There is still a tendency to think that anything that is not traceable to the Churches' institutions is necessarily pre-Christian in origin. The cycle of Christmas rites also shows a mixture of sources and evidence of late formation, and considerable local variety when the cycle of the whole season, which may include rites transferred from other seasons, is considered. In any case, the past is not always 'fossilised'. While a

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

178 contemporary material and intellectual culture which culmi-
439 nates in their conversion to Christianity under Roman or Byzantine auspices. It[2] likewise witnessed an expansion of trade both in Central Europe and in the Orient, and in this commercial expansion the Slavs in general had a definite stake.

764 Though a combined evaluation of linguistic, source, and archaeological data permits a tolerably accurate and convincing appraisal of the material culture of the Slavs during the pagan period, there is no such coherent mass of evidence upon which any wholly satisfactory statement of their religious beliefs, demonology, and eschatology may be predicted. The early Slavs cremated their dead, sharing this custom with their other Indo-European neighbors (Lithuanians, Germans, Celts). Burial was adopted through foreign influence, and before the
774 various conversions both customs existed side by side. The
776 primitive pagan Slavs were animists and attributed a soul to
775 the natural elements in which they lived. They honored a supreme deity and also believed in the existence of wood, water,
[782] and household spirits to which they offered sacrifices. Beside these nature spirits, they also honored the spirits of their ancestors and thus believed in a future life. They deified the
821 heavenly bodies and the great phenomena of nature (thunder, lightning, wind, rain, fire).

776 Beside these animistic and manistic beliefs, the pagan Slavs also venerated a limited number of gods, some of which were of alien origin. The organization of a veritable pantheon was carried farthest by the Western Slavs who lived along the Baltic coast, a phenomenon perhaps not unconnected with Germanic influences of early date. It is reasonably clear that all the primitive Slavs possessed a god of the thunder and lightning, though this deity, Perun, took on special importance among the Russian Slavs because of special Scandinavian influences and the importance of Thor in the Scandinavian pantheon. Among the Western Slavs, however, Perun was less dominant than the god of the shining sun, Svarog, a name apparently connected with the indo-European base **svar*, signifying "heat,

[2] [THE PERIOD FROM 700 to 1000 A.D. -- ANALYST]

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

851 so he may be considered able to receive the divine gifts in Communion. His dawning consciousness is trained to accept the privilege of meeting the other world as it there breaks through into this. When he is seven years old he is expected to make his first Confession, as he learns another side to the matter—his own unworthiness and responsibilities.

755 Nor does the care of the Church for the individual cease with his physical death, though it is much concentrated upon that moment. In cases of grave sickness (though not only *in articulo mortis*) or in view of some special risk of death, the devout Orthodox may be the recipient of the Sacrament of Holy Unction, and be anointed, with prayers for his recovery or safety. The long service is abbreviated in practice.

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765 And the Church's pastoral care for the devout believer reaches out to him beyond the grave. There are ceremonies 775 prescribed for the eighth and the fortieth day after death as well as for the anniversary. For according to popular belief the soul does not bid a final farewell to this world until forty days after death, the interval having been spent in visiting the scenes of its earthly life, and even Mt. Athos and Jerusalem.

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10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

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10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Food and drink for the departed play their part in the rites for the dead, especially the grains of wheat which are now taken to symbolize the resurrection. But in the religious life of the people, Christianity has often had to come to terms with tough survivals among old pagan customs which it more or less disguises, particularly in the picturesque domestic ceremonies which often follow the more orthodox proceedings in Church. This is true not only of the rites which accompany death, but of many other observances also in the course of the year. They may not stand the test of rigid Orthodox belief, and the parish priest, who is perhaps better educated than the members of his flock, may frown upon them, but at least they have a humble part to play in reminding the peasant of the reality of the unseen world and that he is but a pilgrim in this.

Pilgrimage too in the literal sense figures prominently in the religion of the people. The desire to go on pilgrimage is felt by every faithful Orthodox believer. It may be only to the neighbouring monastery or the shrine of a local saint. It may be much further afield, and happy is he who realizes the ideal of every devout pilgrim, and journeys to the Holy Land. But whether the goal be near or far, the pilgrim goes to confess his sins, to say his prayers and to eat, drink and be merry at some place where the unseen world has markedly broken through and made it holy.

L

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

forced. So while his troops were still assisting the Byzantines during the summer of 989, he besieged and captured the Greek city of Chersonesus on the western Crimean coast about three miles south of modern Sevastopol, after which he sent envoys to Constantinople with the warning that if the princess were not sent to meet him he would attack the capital. Basil and Constantine were thus induced to carry out their share of the contract, and Anna departed tearfully with a numerous suite for Chersonesus, where Vladimir's baptism and his marriage were duly solemnized.

After restoring Chersonesus to the Greeks, Vladimir returned to Kiev accompanied by the priests in Anna's entourage, and there proceeded to convert his subjects with the same forthright energy he showed in other crises. He caused the local idols to be overthrown, and the local population was subjected to wholesale baptism in the Dnieper river which flows past the city. As conversion progressed, the principate was divided into eight eparchies, each under a bishop. During the next century, however, Christianity spread rather slowly, as is indicated by outbreaks of paganism fifty and even eighty years later under the leadership of local shamans.

The conversion of the masses was to some extent accelerated by a facile syncretism which assimilated the figures of Christian belief to the chief dieties of the rudimentary pagan Slavic cult. Perun the thunderer was identified with the prophet Elijah in his chariot of fire, and it was also an easy step from belief in Svarog, the god of fire, and in his son Dazhbog, the life-giving solar orb, to an elementary conception of Almighty God the Father and the Son, the light of the world and of truth. The pagan Slavs' conceptions of an omnipotent multitude of benign or hostile supernatural beings were satisfied by the Christian notions of the Virgin, of saints, and of devils. Conversion also provided the upper classes with a general basic philosophy or *Weltanschaung* and with abundant ritual answers to their common human speculations. It likewise endowed them with an ideal of conduct which, though hardly

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* attained by every individual, nevertheless produced some ad-
797 mirable characters among early medieval churchmen and lay-
771 men.

175* The sources from which Vladimir drew his clergy present a
problem of some importance and complexity. Adequate evi-
793 dence exists that Greek priests were sent to Russia both in the
state of the Princess Anna and after her marriage to Vladimir.
Since there were isolated Christians and at least one church at Kiev prior to Vladimir's conversion, there must have been a small nucleus of Russian-speaking clergy in the city itself before 989, though these clerics were probably of Greek nationality. Vladimir's well-attested activity in wholesale conversion even among the masses at widely separated points makes it likely, however, that some provision was made for evangelizing the people in a language comprehensible to them. Priests with the appropriate linguistic qualifications could be found at this period only among members of the Byzantine clergy who had been active in Bulgaria or among the Bulgarian clergy themselves, since the differentiation between the spoken languages of Bulgaria and south Russia in the late tenth century was so slight as to constitute no barrier to common understanding.

175* The tradition of vernacular religious culture under Greek
779 intellectual auspices had been established in Bulgaria during the reigns of Boris (852-889) and Simeon (894-927). In the light of the eventual transmission to Kiev of a large body of ecclesiastical literature in Old Bulgarian translations, it is an accepted and doubtless correct convention of Russian literary history in the pre-Tartar period to assume that these works were first transmitted to Kievan Russia through the medium of Byzantium as priests were sent out into the Russian field. But, curiously enough, there are no historical data behind this respectable hypothesis, nor does any explicit evidence point to the slightest direct contact between the charges of Bulgaria and Russia during the principates of Vladimir and of his son through 1045.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

181 Russia knew nothing of Feudalism. She remained aloof from
829 the intellectual current which began with Scholasticism and
177 ended with scientific investigation. She was untouched by the Reformation. Whenever she entered into conflict with the Holy See, it was simply as a foreign power.

In short, Russia did not belong to the European family. If she was connected with it, said Danilevsky, it was by adoption, in the manner of a wild stock, on which an exotic branch has been grafted.

181 But had not religion, at least, engendered a spiritual solidarity
829 between her and the West? Was not Orthodoxy a disruption of
• 771 the Christian community and had not six centuries of Œcumenism forged indissoluble bonds between the Germano-Roman and the Slavo-Greek worlds?

No, replied Danilevsky. The Western Church was the triumph of Rationalism, differentiated by a positive sign among the Catholics, a negative one among the Protestants. Rome sacrificed internal to external unity, the Reformation sacrificed true liberty to the idea of external liberty. The Eastern Church was neither a system nor a hardened doctrine; it was all love and renunciation. Much more than dogmatic opposition was involved—these were two concepts of the spiritual life which were poles apart. That explained why the Orthodox Christians had come to regard Islam as the involuntary and unwitting saviour of Slavism. By tolerating independent churches under her sway, Islam protected them against the assimilating or unifying ascendency of Latin Catholicism. A Patriarch of Constantinople had said that *Providence had chosen the Osmanlis to defend Orthodoxy against the Western heresy.*

186* So that Russia, according to Danilevsky, saw in Europe
829 nothing to give her a feeling of historical or spiritual solidarity. Such was, moreover, the point of view of the great Russian novelist, Dostoievsky; to show oneself a true Russian was, for him, *to place oneself on the battleground of all European hostilities.* It was to constitute a unity, not *in* Europe, but opposed to it.

The thesis of the biologist met that of the novelist. A harmful policy (said Danilevsky in his turn), during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, associated Russia with the European balance of power. Now this balance of power affected only the

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 563 648 getting them to attend the Slavonic Press Congress which was held during the summer in Belgrade. A characteristic incident spoiled the atmosphere of this gathering. The Poles agreed to attend the banquet offered to the members of the Congress only on condition that the Imperial hymn, *Boje Tsaria Khranyi,* should not be played. In an attempt to conciliate all parties. it was agreed not to play either the Russian or the Polish hymn, but to replace them with the Panslav hymn, *Ei Sloveni.* But no one had thought of the fact that this is sung to the same tune as that of Dabrowsky's hymn, *Jeszcze Polska nie zginela* ('Poland is not lost'). Hence an altercation between Poles and Russians, with the result that the latter refused to take part in the proposed outing to the Iron Gates.

It was jokingly said in Belgrade that the Poles were first and foremost Poles, then Catholics, and Slavs when they had time. Yet Bethmann-Hollweg, as President of the Prussian Council in 1912, had, by his famous Expropriation Law, reawakened among the Poles the feeling of a community of destiny with the Slavs. In the Prussian Landtag Korfanty exclaimed, 'At a time when, in the Balkans, the cannon is thundering for the liberation of the Slavs, we Poles, Slavs in Prussia, are the victims of a fresh act of vile oppression and persecution'.

But the Russians did not wish, or did not know how to profit by these divisions. The idea of easing the situation came to them too late, at the time of the First World War, after Pilsudski had organised the 'legions' in Krakow, and the P.O.W. (*Polska organizacya wojskowa*), the Polish secret organisation in Russia; it was only then that Grand-Duke Nicholas proclaimed the hypothetical independence of Poland.

186* 771 The first Russian Slavophiles' die-hard attitude in matters of religion greatly contributed to disturbing the currents of sympathy between Muscovites and the Slavs of Central Europe. Yet denominational differences were not calculated to alarm the Czechs. In 1848, the populace of Prague crammed Wenceslas Square to hear the Serbian Archpriest, Stamatovich, sing the office of the Orthodox rite; a wave of emotion passed through them when the celebrant intoned the *Gospodi pomiluj* for the repose of the soul of John Hus and of Zizka, the hero of the Hussite Tabor. The fact was that the Serbs, not very much given to mysticism, saw the faith chiefly as a counterpart of

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

national sentiment. It is not irrelevant to mention that the Orthodox Slavs of the Balkans are the least practising of Orthodox Christians, among whom it is the Serbs who have the largest number of unbelievers. It is said that, for a given number of inhabitants, there would be six times as many churches in Greece as in Serbia, four times as many in Rumania, and twice as many in Bulgaria. 186* 771

Muscovite Slavism differed from Czech Slavism not only in its internal tendencies but in its psychological structure. The patient mysticism of the Russians aimed at achievements on the basis of a millenary evolution. The Czechs, of less nebulous mentality and of intense volitional power, sought immediate results. In Moscow they talked of the divine mission of Eastern Christianity; in Prague, of the boycotting of German goods and the disposal of the products of Czech industry. Between two nations with such a differing mental outlook, it was difficult to maintain concomitant moral action for very long. 186* 563 185

The breach became apparent when the Czech, Karel Kramár, created the 'Neo-Slavism' which held its first Assembly in Prague in May, 1908. A Pole, Roman Dnowski, and a Bulgarian, Stevan Bobtchev, were in agreement with him to rejuvenate the old Slavonic ideal under a new climate. It was a doctrine tending towards cultural unity and the spiritual and economic collaboration of all Slavs, without distinction of religion, and on a footing of perfect equality. An anti-hegemonic conception of Slav solidarity thus replaced 'Russo-Orthodox-Panslavism', relegated to the order of romantic myths. It seemed to provide the positive basis and the practical aims which agreement among Slavs had always lacked. 186* 668

But, among the other Slav peoples, this movement did not meet with the success its founder anticipated. Too many of these peoples still had to contend with foreign domination. Kramár more or less approved the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the Dual Monarchy. He saw in it the legalisation of a state of things which implied an increase in the number, and therefore in the influence, of the Slavs within Austria-Hungary; it was for the inverse reason that the German Liberals in Austria had, thirty years earlier (1878), unleashed furious opposition to the occupation of these same provinces. But bound up with this question were the security and the independence of the Serbian 186* 668 648

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950]E16 Slavic Peoples E16

648 793 795 to do with the protesting prelates,[11] or openly dissociated themselves from their attitude.

• 771 626 795 By way of retort, the first number of the *Moscow Patriarchy* published a message from the Council of Russian Bishops, assembled for the election, inviting Christians to pray for the victory of the Red Army and the fulfilment of the scriptural text invoked by Alexander Nevsky: 'He who strikes with the sword shall perish by the sword'. On September 8, this same Council had excommunicated 'as adversaries of the Cross of the Lord, all who have been guilty of treason to the common cause of the Church and gone over to Fascism'; the bishops and clergy guilty on this head were removed from their sacred office.

* * *

186* 563 To conclude, the only obstacles to a general reconciliation of the Slavonic peoples came from the Poles. To summarise here the vicissitudes of Soviet-Polish relations since the pact of December, 1941, would mean not only relating the most stormy chapter in the Allies' war diplomacy, but also recalling the relations of the various groups among the Polish exiles, the antagonism between the London Committee and that of Lublin, the frontier problem, and also the perhaps more tragic problem of the political, religious, and social concepts on the basis of which the Polish State was to be re-born. Once again it was made very clear that Poland occupied a place apart on the map of the Slavonic world, and formed an obstacle to the realisation of full Slav solidarity.

727 177 Like the other Slavonic States, however, she had been caught up in the advance of the Russian armies sweeping across Eastern Europe—an onrush which settled the fate of the Slav nations, with or without their consent, as a consequence of their liberation. For three or four years Germany had been the second Slavonic power in the world. She had imposed on her Serbian, Croatian, Slovak, and Bulgarian satellites not only the horrors of the occupation, but also ideologies strongly opposed to their temperaments and their history; an impersonal and tyrannical idea of the State, a 'New Order' which was nothing but a hypocritical subjection, anti-Semitism which—with the exceptions of Poland and Imperial Russia—the Slavonic nations had always regarded
000 with horror. When the collapse came, all these nations turned

[11] Among these, however, we must include the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Argentine.

[J. Poland - Analyst]

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CHAPTER XI

ORTHODOXY AND THE PEOPLE

THERE is evidence that in Russia the year 1948 was marked by widespread religious revival. It is striking and even startling. It tells of the people flocking back to their Church; of very great numbers crowding the churches of Moscow to make their communions during Lent; of physically exhausted priests snatching a few hours' sleep without leaving church, so many were the people who came to seek their ministrations.

Even if such reports exaggerated the facts and were only partly true, they draw attention once more to the ineradicably religious nature of the Russians. They suggest that it is to the temper of the Russian folk as a whole that the West must look for the prospect of peace and mutual understanding, and inspire the hope that in the long run the character of the Russian people will make itself felt and say its say.

In dealing with Orthodoxy we are dealing with a different civilization from our own. It is, if we adopt Toynbee's classification, Byzantine whilst ours is Western, and although both are derived from the Greco-Roman civilization which preceded them, the two have their own characteristic and sometimes divergent views of life. It behoves us then to try to understand the Orthodox view of life, and what especially concerns us here is the mainspring of that view of life—for its mainspring is religion, even if that should manifest itself in negative form, as recently in Russia.

Leaving on one side then the official body of doctrine and the questions which confront the hierarchy in their relations with the State and with those who lie outside the confines of Orthodoxy, what does religion mean when it means anything, to the people of the Orthodox Church, to the man behind

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781 kneels in front of him, removes his foot-gear first from one foot, then from the other, and washes and dries his feet. He 796 replaces the socks and shoes and passes on to the next. When he comes to the one who represents St. Peter, the latter makes the protest recorded in St. John's Gospel and his reluctance has to be overborne before his feet are washed. Finally the officiant resumes his vestments and the main service continues its course. How long does all this take? It does not matter, no one minds or even notices how long. It is all done in absolute silence. All that is audible is the breathing of one's immediate neighbours among the tense crowd of worshippers.

781 Here too is something particularly real to the Orthodox spirit which is an echo of individual experience, or at least of individual aspiration constantly known. Humiliation may even be sought after from religious motives, and exceptionally this may take oddly extreme forms. The bizarre and well-nigh incredible figure whom the Russians call "Yurodivi", which may be translated the "Fool for Christ's sake"[1] could only be found within the Eastern Orthodox world. He may be really deficient mentally, and as such, in the Russian view, under the special protection of God. He may also be the man who in pursuit of humility and in praise of it deliberately assumed a character of foolishness, and courted the jeers of those he met, inviting their mockery as he roamed from village to village—a fantastic figure, but one who has his meed of reverence too, for the grace that he seeks is loved.

771 The Orthodox has more to remind him of the unseen world than those who dwell in lands in which religion assumes forms that are more austere. Though for centuries under Turkish rule he was deprived of such outward signs of religion, so that at times he was wont to build his church half buried in the ground to aid concealment, yet with the return of freedom he set up his shrines at street corners and along the wayside. Icons are not confined to the churches, they are to be found in the houses, in every room of a devout household. The living-room will have an icon in a position stereotyped by custom, and a visitor will salute it on entering as he greets his host. Especially in Russia of pre-revolution days, icons were

[1] See 1 Corinthians iv, 10.

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to be seen everywhere, at the railway stations, in the shops, in prisons and barracks and all sorts of public buildings. 771

A further reminder is provided by events in the yearly round marked by the Church Kalendar. This has perhaps a more intimate touch upon the lives of Orthodox people, so many of whom are peasants for whom the festivals of the Church are closely associated with the recurrent seasons in Nature and with agricultural work. 771 796

The Orthodox Kalendar is in its framework the same as the Western. That is to say it is built up around the Great Festivals which are common to the whole of Christendom, Easter being the chief of all. But there is no Trinity Sunday, the first Sunday after Whitsuntide is used by the Orthodox for the commemoration of All Saints. Thereafter the Sundays are counted after Whit Sunday. In the course of the year many of the Sundays are given names, e.g., the first Sunday after Easter is known as the Sunday of St. Thomas, and in general the names are derived from the Gospel appointed for the day. The first Sunday in Lent is Orthodox Sunday (see p. 54) when blessings are invoked upon the champions of Orthodoxy and anathemas upon its foes. There is no season of Advent. 796

Every day is marked as the commemoration of a saint, and sometimes of more than one. Here differences will be found in various parts of the Orthodox world owing to the introduction of the names of local saints, and the differences from the West are remarkable. The Orthodox Kalendar contains the names of most of the Old Testament Prophets and Patriarchs and almost none of the Western saints find a place in it. If it is compared with the English Kalendar it will be found that practically none of the minor saints belong to both Kalendars. An outstanding exception is St. George on April 23, who is highly venerated in the East as the Great Martyr.

The times of fasting prescribed by the Orthodox Church are more frequent than in any part of the West. In addition to Lent, which begins in the East on the Monday after Quinquagesima, and is known as the Great Lent, another fasting period is the first fortnight of August, another is the six weeks before Christmas, and there is still another of varying length 785 796

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793 is as it should be. If you have a bad one, that is much to be deplored. But a priest of some sort you must have, for otherwise there are no worship and no sacraments, and these are just where, most conspicuously, the other world breaks through.

• 771 As the Church, with its succession of festivals and fasts keeps touch with the yearly cycle of Nature, so it shepherds the individual human life from the cradle to the grave. The rites that attend his birth and his death stress the link between the two worlds, and the fact that man lives in both at the same 851 time. Even his baptism is not the first occasion on which a child of Orthodox parents will be brought into contact with the Church of which he is to become a member. On the day following the birth the priest comes to say prayers over the mother and child, and again a week later when the child is given his name. On the fortieth day from its birth the mother brings the child to Church, when prayers are said for the child, and if baptism has meanwhile been administered the priest carries the child through the church and (in the case of a male child) into the Sanctuary, reciting the *Nunc Dimittis*. But unless the child has been baptized at home, which is not infrequently the case, the latter ceremony will follow baptism. And the prayers of the eighth day are now combined with those of the first day. The rite of baptism is preceded by exorcism and a short catechism of renunciation of Satan and acceptance of Christ, which concludes with the recitation of the Nicene Creed.

The administration of the Sacrament itself begins with a Litany said by the deacon while the priest prays secretly for himself and for the one about to be baptized. This is followed by a long prayer said aloud, in the course of which the water is blessed in words which at times recall the phraseology of the Anglican rite; e.g.,

> "Grant that the person to be baptized therein may be thoroughly renewed, that he may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of him that made him; that being planted in the likeness of his death by baptism, he may be partaker of his resurrection."

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Food and drink for the departed play their part in the rites for the dead, especially the grains of wheat which are now taken to symbolize the resurrection. But in the religious life of the people, Christianity has often had to come to terms with tough survivals among old pagan customs which it more or less disguises, particularly in the picturesque domestic ceremonies which often follow the more orthodox proceedings in Church. This is true not only of the rites which accompany death, but of many other observances also in the course of the year. They may not stand the test of rigid Orthodox belief, and the parish priest, who is perhaps better educated than the members of his flock, may frown upon them, but at least they have a humble part to play in reminding the peasant of the reality of the unseen world and that he is but a pilgrim in this.

Pilgrimage too in the literal sense figures prominently in the religion of the people. The desire to go on pilgrimage is felt by every faithful Orthodox believer. It may be only to the neighbouring monastery or the shrine of a local saint. It may be much further afield, and happy is he who realizes the ideal of every devout pilgrim, and journeys to the Holy Land. But whether the goal be near or far, the pilgrim goes to confess his sins, to say his prayers and to eat, drink and be merry at some place where the unseen world has markedly broken through and made it holy.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16

III

ELEMENTS OF A FOLK-CHRISTIANITY AND ITS RELATION TO MAGIC

Procopius in describing the manners of the Slavs has a 771
remark to this effect; that while they believed in a supreme God and in many spirits and demons and lesser gods, they neither believed in any fate, nor in any direct influences over human life of a supernatural nature. What the writer meant to convey by this extraordinary statement is not known, unless that at that time the ideas of predestination, the cult of fates, who regularly preside over births, and that of the ancestors, for whose service the most characteristic ceremonies of the peasant are designed, were not in evidence; or that in general the religious attitude of these barbarians differed essentially from that of the Greeks. Procopius goes on to say that, when a man felt himself to 174
be in particular danger, through sickness or through war, he [782]
promised gifts to the gods, and, if the situation were grave he made these in fact, hoping therewith to redeem his life. This is still a fundamental element of popular prophylaxis. Apart from such literary curiosities, the early religion of the South Slavs can only be reconstructed from later evidence, from recent folk-lore, and, in this case, not very helpful archaeological study.

For the more northern branches of the Slavic race, there 771
is ample evidence of a pagan priesthood, of a shamanistic 175
type, and of an organised cult, with a foundation of animistic magic, an established ritual, calendar and shrines. There is no conclusive record of anything approaching such a highly organised system amongst the South Slavs, and the traces of idol worship have received no concrete archaeological confirmation up to date. The fuller accounts of Helmoldus amongst the West Slavs, and of Nestor amongst the Russians,

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16
Historical Bulgaria EE 2

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describe a number of local or tribal cults; nor is it justifiable to imagine a basis of a uniform primitive Slav system.

In the South, that is to say, in the Lower Danube basin and in Illyria, tradition ascribes the first conversions to Christianity to the time of Heraclius, and there seems not to have been the same fierce and prolonged opposition to the new cult, with which it had to contend in Russia and Northern Europe. In Russia and in Poland, a dual confession, and apparently a heathen priesthood, lasted into the later Middle Ages; in the eleventh to twelfth centuries attempts were made to re-establish the old faith on a national basis. True, the rising in Bulgaria against Boris (eleventh century) was led by an anti-Christian element, but we do not know of an active priesthood in this connection, nor whether it was a revival of Slavonic or Asperuh tendencies. Until the final establishment of a national, autonomous Church in Bulgaria, and in fact, until the turning-point of the Synod of Trnovo (seventeenth century), the indecision as to belief was evident not only in the varying allegiance to pope or patriarch, but in the activities of the numberless heretical sects, not merely tolerated, but at times enjoying considerable privileges and influence.

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The presence of these sects, notably of a gnostic character, pre-dates the Orthodox missions of the tenth century, and caused their retreat from Pannonia. The earliest account of the Slav apostles mentions the 'thrice heathen heretics' who were unacquainted with Slavonic; probably referring to that mixture of Paulician and Eulite doctrine, which, since the fourth century, had spread into the Northern Balkans, and remains to this day among the Nazarenes of the trans-Danube. Syrian and Armenian colonies had been established in Thrace during the seventh century in the time of Constantine, still known to M. Psellos and Cedrenos as Massalians. Armenian Monophysites and Paulicians lived in the neighbourhood of Plovdiv, Sofia, Devol, Rila, Moglena, Kjustendil, etc., from the eleventh to the thirteenth century; the Dragovičci being known in South-east Macedonia as extreme

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

IV

SOURCES OF ANCIENT MAGIC AND MEDICINE

I

During the pagan and semi-pagan period the Slavs lived in small, independent tribes, later forming loose federations within territorial limits. For long the Greeks were unable to negotiate with them, because they did not agree among themselves and had no central authority. The organisation of a united state in Rascia coincided with the establishment of state Christianity, and the pagan empire of Bulgaria was comparatively short-lived.

The tribal religious cult was likely to have been an extension of a domestic cult, probably rarely accompanied by the specialised functions of an official priesthood. The domestic cult lasts to the present day. The head of the household officiates in ceremonial, and the assistance of an outsider is not essential. In ceremonial which involves the whole tribe or village, the heads of households—the tribal elders—are again responsible; but that they have not an entire monopoly of ritual is evident in ceremonies which are performed by a group without a specially chosen leader, particularly those which belong to the younger people, or ceremonies conducted by old women doctors, etc.[1]

[1] The rites of the peasants hint also at an independent development. It is not true only that the non-Christian element enjoyed a revival, tended to revert to type, after the fall of the mediaeval empire. A direction was taken at that time, perhaps, in which the popular religion continued a course of development and adaptation. The popular religion, or sometimes a popular aversion to religion as well as to social forms that flourished under a feudal church, must have sought new outlets much earlier. Local forms of peasant cults must be of comparatively recent growth, and contain more than the survivals of an ancient paganism. The *slava*, for instance, is a typical example of a domestic rite which does not require a special priesthood. It has become perhaps the central

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Great Russians RF2
Slavic Peoples E 16

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There is little trace of shamanism in the Balkans, and few instances of the combining of the functions of priest and doctor and magician except by accident. In peasant cults these offices are adopted to meet a special occasion, unless they are the speciality of a local wise woman. Women who have ceased to menstruate or widows may have to be chosen for certain rites, but this is only a temporary priesthood. The seeress mediates between ordinary people and spirits only when she is required to do so. Young men without physical defect only may be allowed to take part in certain ritual dances, etc. Almost each cult has its own 'priest'. The fulfilment of the village 'vows' and the sacrifice at the sacred village tree is performed by householders, and the high priest of the occasion is the host for that year. The mother of twins is, it is said, considered to be specially pure, and twins themselves have special occasional functions. I hazard that this arrangement is characteristic of peasant cults; and that the institution of a monopoly of priestcraft, whether on the part of the Christian church or by the priests of organised pagan cults, meant a profound social change, to uphold which popular custom had to be discredited.

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In Russia itself, so many parallels are found that a close

feature of the religious life of South Slav Orthodox communities and has died hard among the non-Orthodox. It represents an elaboration under peculiar circumstances of a strictly domestic cult with occasional ministrants, whose sporadic priestly duties are determined by their normal social function and status. A similar Lithuanian rite was also traditionally a strictly domestic affair. The *slava* embraces ideas and ceremonial found in the earliest accounts of Slav custom and which belonged to pre-Christian ideas, but other features, and the general form as we now know it, so closely resemble the celebration of the liturgy that the institution may well have arisen from an early practice of private celebrations, or imitations of the liturgy, perhaps at a time of a Christian minority, or further encouraged by the conditions of Turkish occupation. There is still a tendency to think that anything that is not traceable to the Churches' institutions is necessarily pre-Christian in origin. The cycle of Christmas rites also shows a mixture of sources and evidence of late formation, and considerable local variety when the cycle of the whole season, which may include rites transferred from other seasons, is considered. In any case, the past is not always 'fossilised'. While a

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Great Russians RF2
Slavic Peoples E16

connection with Asiatic shamanism was suggested many years ago. On the whole, the characteristics of magical practice are better mapped regionally than ethnologically; the Russian and West Slavs falling beside the Baltic and Finnish races of the north; while Balkan Slav folk-lore more closely resembles that of the neighbouring southern races.

In the process of time a religious sentiment has grown up about the ritual inherited from ancient semi-magical rites; and direct magic, conceived as such, figures principally as a part of a medical system, in which, however, empiricism now predominates, and magic is applied rationalistically. This division between applied magic and religion, between charm worker and the priest, seems to have existed since early times.

The pagan cult, as far as can be judged, recognised innumerable local and tribal gods, associated with the various activities of the people, such as war, agriculture, etc., or representing personifications; and an equally important cult of trees, stones and waters, in which, according to some, gods or spirits were supposed to reign. The Slavs of the East could not swear by trees, fountains or stones (but the priests gave accused persons the choice of trial by ploughshare, iron or

custom can in any sense be said to live, though it come out of the past it is also a part of actuality and a factor of present-day life and psychology. The popular religion is more sophisticated, and probably greatly more varied than any reconstruction of primitive cults that could be made. It depends on the vigour of the church organisation locally how far a distinction is made between standard Christian practice and the rest, and how far the non-Christian part of tradition is looked upon as not wholly in conformity with the nominal faith. Left to itself the folk-mind blends diverse elements into a single law. Certainly custom, particularly religious custom, is not in origin a direct response to the physical environment. Adjustment to the demands of a ruling class, for instance, is not expressed only on the economic plane. But there is a tendency to try to adapt institutions—even those forced upon a community—to material circumstances. Hence the permeation of all peasant cults by the dominant interest in provision for life and the staying of disaster. The Church would have had little chance of survival here had its rites not received an economic and apotropaeic interpretation, far removed from the spiritual benefits of its written doctrine.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Great Russians RF2
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Slavic Peoples E6

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lot). The sacred oak tree is mentioned by several early chroniclers. Now while the cult of vegetation, water spirits, and to some lesser extent of stones, in the Balkans at any rate, retains most of its primal character and importance, so that the sacrificing to trees, or on trees, for instance, can be found almost exactly as described by Herbord among the West Slavs and by Ibn Rosteh in Russia, that of patron deities, of an ancient Slavonic pantheon, does not remain at all. Not a single name of a Slavonic god has been recorded here beyond doubt; not a single image recovered.

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Taking all the evidence together, it is not impossible to conclude that the complex pantheism of the other Slavs which required an established priesthood, was not typical of the religion of the Southern Slavs; whereas in the north and west the priestly cult overshadowed older popular forms. Even there the cult of the sacred tree is spoken of as an ancient custom of the people, not one of the ministrations of the priests. The priests themselves delivered oracles as well as read omens; and besides carrying out performances within the shrine to which the populace was not admitted, or at which it assisted only as an audience, they took upon themselves to impersonate gods in order to mislead the ignorant. Literary sources in the Balkans have plentiful references to 'magicians', etc., but those to priests occur mainly in conventional accounts of paganism, except in the accounts of the Bulgars during the Asperuh period.

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The two chief offices of priesthood were sacrifice and divining, which could, in the north, elevate the priest to the position of tribal leader. For the Balkans we are told that the reading of omens accompanied blood sacrifice.

The priests of the East and West Slavs were a caste apart, specially endowed and specially venerated. In the long list of terms connected with priestcraft and sorcery in early monuments, and in the vocabularies of modern languages, the titles of various kinds of priest and magician and

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Balkan Peoples E13
Slavic Peoples E16

appear that, for longer prayers, the priests and others who recited them relied on their books. The early recording of these forms partly accounts for their universal similarity. Doubtless, the sporadic work of copying began in the Balkans. The majority of early Russian and South Slav material of this order has a uniform character, not to be found in other departments of either folk-lore or popular literature. Still more significant is the fact that exorcismal forms and the magical prescriptions which are first found associated with Orthodoxy, are not unknown in Catholic countries. As regards magical spells, these are remarkably uniform. In the Balkans, the oriental origins of the well-known legend formulae are re-emphasised by direct contact at a later date with Mohammedan culture. The gap between the Byzantine or Christianised prototype of the charm and the popular version might be explicable on these grounds.

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III

The Orthodoxy of the Slavs gave early signs of extreme asceticism. In any case Christian culture, as such, offered no new material basis of healing, but would have provided only approved forms of the visitation of the sick, the consolation of prayer and sacrament.[1] Whatever the pre-Christian system was, it was officially classed as heathen survival, and it never dissociated itself entirely from its primitive conceptions.

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To summarise the results of research, the seers and priests of antiquity used strong-smelling herbs for internal and external use; the bodies and products of animals, birds, reptiles and fishes; drugs and concoctions to induce sleep, intoxication or abortion, stimulants and poisons. The uses of certain minerals, and particularly of certain magical stones and a few pigments, were certainly known. To these were added

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[1] The functions of the Orthodox priest as healer and exorciser, the use of holy water and oil, the laying-on of crosses, relics and books, etc., are epitomised in a note in Goar's *Euchologion*, p. 750.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Slavic Peoples E16

present in these practices, I would also ask whether there were not some more tangible cult significance underlying this giving of new vitality to trees. But this possibility and, for the matter of that, this aspect of agricultural activity as a whole, does not seem to have found a commentator, and I myself have not yet sufficient instances to formulate a theory.

The respect for things in general is innate in the peasant, as countless small observances in everyday life show. So long as this recognition persists, any object, however mean and common, can on occasion serve in magic, without being sacred; while if on the basis of special 'taboos' a list of sacred plants and animals were made, it would be far too large to allow of so many special cults or cult usages. Much less extensive would be a corresponding list of cursed things, which cannot under any circumstances be touched.

It must be remembered that the inventory of a peasant household (of the kind still out of touch with urbanism) is not large, while in the mountains or in the hinterland of Dalmatia it may not include all the primary necessities even of a very simple life. In this simpler scheme domestic artifacts and utensils retain something of their primitive significance. In extreme cases domestic tidiness is a minor ritual; every object has its proper place when not in use, and is carefully handled, and put away in a special position, which must not be reversed. The broom, the sieve, the kneading trough, the scoop, the chains of the hearth pot, the gourd, etc., have had their ritual associations amongst every people.

It is not possible to disentangle knowledge of the physical properties of substances from their significance in legend or worship; and it would be equally impossible to trace whether an object, used in divination, or a household utensil, which seems to enjoy special respect, such as a sieve or a wood-block or an axe, has a certain power ascribed to it directly, or through an analogous association with some other category of ideas.

The steam bath is noticed early for East and Northern Slavs, but it is curious that after the Slav invasion, the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Slavic People E16

had been stoned to death "many, many years ago." He never failed to add at least half a dozen stones and a multitude of curses to any heap we passed by the way. M 754

Vuk Vrchevitch, in his book on old customs at minor religious festivals, collected in the Bocche di Cattaro, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina, mentions in a footnote that it was customary in the middle of the nineteenth century in Montenegro, when "a man made a statement and at once recognized he had made a mistake, to strike it on a stone (u kamen udariti). He scratched a stone with the nails of his right hand to transfer the error to the stone." As the author thought it necessary to explain this custom to Serbian readers, it is clear that the custom was a local one. M 789 Sb 626

It is noteworthy that I can find no reference to swearing upon stones in old Serbian ballads, though swearing enough takes place in them. 783

That it is a custom of extreme antiquity there can be no doubt.

Lavrov (*v.* Jirecek) states that the Macedonian Slavs of old worshipped trees and stones. But tree- and pillar-worship is common to very many lands and existed in the Balkans long before the advent of the Slavs. Sir Arthur Evans describes the cult at Mycenæ and Dodona (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi). The oath on the stone may, therefore, belong to all and any of the Balkan people. SP 771 783 627

The Northern Slavs appear to have had some such oath. Helmoldus, in his *Chronica Slavorum* (*c.* 1160), tells that they "showed great reverence to their holy places, which were frequently sacred groves or springs, and would not lightly take an oath there, lest they should be overtaken by the wrath of the avenging god." When the church at Oldenburg was built and dedicated to St. John the Baptist in 1066 by the Saxons, "the Count bade the Slavs gather in the church to hear the Word of God . . . and the Slavs were restrained in future from *swearing by trees, fountains, and stones*; they were to bring those accused of crimes to the priest to be examined by the iron or the ploughshare" (*c.* 83). The steps taken by various races to "civilize" others are very interesting. Here the Saxons evidently consider the practice of ordeal by hot iron a more Christian method than that of swearing innocence upon an object believed to be sacred by the swearer.

Helmoldus's statement shows that this ordeal was not Slavonic. We must, therefore, suppose that the hot-iron ordeal, recommended in Stefan Dushan's Code (1349) as a means of testing serfs accused of crime, was borrowed from a neighbour land. Be this as it may, the ordeal was in use in South Slav districts till well into the nineteenth century.

Swearing on a stone has survived only in Albania as a means of self-justification; and it is not impossible that it has existed from A 783 627

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16
Great Russians RF 2

SP 538 795 171

early Russian chronicle attributes a very similar cosmogony to Volhs (*magi*) at Kiev, long before the first traces of Bogomil apocryphal literature in Russia.

The fact of the matter is, that most of the apocryphal literature, important for creating a new source of popular legend in the Balkans—e.g. the Apocalypsis of Baruch, Gospel of St Thomas, the Palaia, Vision of Isaiah, etc.—appeared in Slav versions, often markedly differing from any known Greek originals, as early as the eleventh century, and possibly before Bogomilism as such had established a popular hold or, at any rate, a literature of its own. To Jeremije, the Bogomil, is generally attributed the Slavonic version of the Elucidarium. Here, again, no exact Greek prototype can be discovered. Neither the devil's contract motif, nor that of his appearance over the primeval waters in the form of a diving bird, and other significant details, can be traced with any certainty beyond the Slavonic versions.

R SP 773 779

Only on going westwards into Bosnia, it seems certain that the literary form preceded the popularised story. Otherwise, it is clear that the Slav writers of the Middle Ages made considerable use of popular sources, unaware of any inconsistency of doctrine, and tempering their material to taste. In the beginning, according to a Russian monastic writer of the seventeenth century, Almighty God resided in the three chambers of the upper heaven. 'The three chambers of the cross,' he says, in iconographical symbolism. 'The Emperor without beginning, uncreated, unspeakable, not born, not conceived, universal, invisible and unseeable, immortal and immaterial' was there before time. By his thought he gave birth to his Son. 'For the Father is neither created nor begotten, and the Son is begotten and not created. The Holy

substantial history, but there is documentation in his *Jazykovo i drevnaja Rus'* (1914), and in more recent articles in *Slavia* and *Revue des Études Slaves* (VIII). More relevant theories are put forward by M. Arnaudov in Sb.N.U. IV. Older works include Spicyn, *Šamanizm v otnošenii k russkoj arheologii*, Zapiski Arheolog. XI; V. Bogoraz, *K psihologii šamanstva* (Etnograf. Obozrenie, XXII, I), where traditions of the type given above will be found.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E16
Great Russians RF2
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

Spirit is not created and not begotten, but proceeds from the Father. The Son of God created by his Word and the command of his heavenly Father all the creatures of heaven, visible and invisible. As he spoke, so it was created and made by the Holy Spirit proceeding from his wise lips....' This is the irreproachably Orthodox preface to a story of God and devil creation.[1]

SP R 773 779

A Bulgarian monk of the eleventh century (as Jireczek identifies him) wrote a world chronicle, which is preserved in a Serbian manuscript. It is an early naturalisation and adaptation of heterogeneous themes. Into the mouth of the prophet Isaiah is put a vision of the whole world, on an angel-borne journey to the seventh sphere of heaven. On the command of God, Isaiah gathered together the chosen people of the Bulgars on the north shore of the Black Sea and led them into the country now known as Dobrudja, where they settled and flourished and expanded their empire.[2] It appears that this is a Bogomil work, and thus bears out the theory that the sect tended to become a nationalist party in mediaeval Bulgaria.

B Y 795 773

Selective tendencies are not unimportant criteria at the time of contact with a different culture. The remarkable profusion of apocryphal books translated into Slavo-Serb and Bulgarian was not the work of a sect only. On the other hand, very little is known of Byzantine science or even history, which found its way into these languages. The most that remains is a few works on astrology and magic, and treatises on minerals and animals. There was a distinct taste for the fantastic and the magical, to judge from the literary remains of the earlier periods. 'I have travelled in many lands, but I have nowhere seen so many sorcerers as in our land of Bulgaria; nor so many witches and spell-workers, to whom people go to obtain cures from them,' says a writer of the seventeenth century. And in another place: 'There are men

B [754] [756] B 754

[1] V. Močulskii, *Russkii Filolog. Vestnik*, XVII (1887).
[2] Cf. L. Stojanović, *Spomenik*, III (1890), pp. 160–93; K. Jireczek, *Sitzberichte d. kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, CXXXVI.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933) 1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E160
Albania E61

SP 515 [177] Roman bath entirely disappears from the North Balkans, although public baths were known to the Avars also. At the present time, the Turkish bath is restricted to a specific cultural region, where a recent Asiatic influence has been concentrated. As it now retreats this excellent institution also falls into decay. But the bath and the use of steam for S [515] [752] sweating, now universal amongst the South Slavs, rubbing and massage, more or less symbolical washing and bathing, and the manipulation of broken limbs and the dressing of wounds, are to be reckoned amongst the oldest of their practices. Archaeological finds witness to healed wounds and S A [752] fractures, but we know nothing of prehistoric trepanation amongst the South Slavs—the only European race, with the Albanians and some Caucasians, which continued the practice almost within living memory.

SP 755 782 Offerings and vows, ritual performances and acts connected with fertility cults, were the basis of mystical healing. Hydrotherapy includes also the worship of water spirits, and, amongst Lithuanians, of a personified watery element. Niederle adds to this list of reconstructed primitive medicine the use of oils or unguents which preserved strength and health,[1] and a number of Eastern aromatics, known in primitive times.

S SP 177 ●779 789 [372] Plants introduced in historical times have added to the botanical mythology, and enjoy a symbolism of their own; just as field-glasses, pipe-lighters, petroleum, trains, firearms and other more recent gifts of material civilisation, receive their part in contemporary folk-lore, whose incorporating activity is only now beginning to decline, and in some cases, a magico-religious part. Firearms have developed a complete legend of their own; pipe-lighters are sometimes used for producing ritual fire, though matches are universally disqualified; and so on.

S 241 824 778 Wheat, which in the Middle Ages was cultivated only in a very limited area, and, in the early nineteenth century, was still little used in the interior of Serbia, has a universal ritual

[1] Cf. L. Niederle, *Slovanské Starožitnosti*, i, p. 127.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

178 contemporary material and intellectual culture which culmi-
439 nates in their conversion to Christianity under Roman or Byzantine auspices. It likewise witnessed an expansion of trade both in Central Europe and in the Orient, and in this commercial expansion the Slavs in general had a definite stake.

764 Though a combined evaluation of linguistic, source, and archaeological data permits a tolerably accurate and convincing appraisal of the material culture of the Slavs during the pagan period, there is no such coherent mass of evidence upon which any wholly satisfactory statement of their religious beliefs, demonology, and eschatology may be predicted. The early Slavs cremated their dead, sharing this custom with their other Indo-European neighbors (Lithuanians, Germans, Celts). Burial was adopted through foreign influence, and before the
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776 Beside these animistic and manistic beliefs, the pagan Slavs also venerated a limited number of gods, some of which were of alien origin. The organization of a veritable pantheon was carried farthest by the Western Slavs who lived along the Baltic coast, a phenomenon perhaps not unconnected with Germanic influences of early date. It is reasonably clear that all the primitive Slavs possessed a god of the thunder and lightning, though this deity, Perun, took on special importance among the Russian Slavs because of special Scandinavian influences and the importance of Thor in the Scandinavian pantheon. Among the Western Slavs, however, Perun was less dominant than the god of the shining sun, Svarog, a name apparently connected with the indo-European base **svar*, signifying "heat,

[THE PERIOD FROM 700 to 1000 A.D. -- ANALYST]

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10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

851 so he may be considered able to receive the divine gifts in Communion. His dawning consciousness is trained to accept the privilege of meeting the other world as it there breaks through into this. When he is seven years old he is expected to make his first Confession, as he learns another side to the matter—his own unworthiness and responsibilities.

755 Nor does the care of the Church for the individual cease with his physical death, though it is much concentrated upon that moment. In cases of grave sickness (though not only *in articulo mortis*) or in view of some special risk of death, the devout Orthodox may be the recipient of the Sacrament of Holy Unction, and be anointed, with prayers for his recovery or safety. The long service is abbreviated in practice.

764 When a death occurs the house will be visited, even on three successive days by the priest and the prescribed service said in the presence of the body. The actual funeral service in Church is penetrated by the sense of the pathos of this life and of hope in the life to come. It contains passages of incomparable beauty, such as the first of the *ideomela* of St. John Damascene:

> "What delight of life continueth unmixed with sorrow? What glory on earth remaineth unalterable? All things are more fleeting than a shadow, all things are more illusive than dreams; one moment, and all these things are succeeded by Death. But in the light of Thy countenance, and in the sweetness of Thy beauty, do Thou, O Christ, in mercy, give rest to *him* whom Thou hast chosen, forasmuch as Thou art the lover of mankind.[1]

765 And the Church's pastoral care for the devout believer reaches out to him beyond the grave. There are ceremonies 775 prescribed for the eighth and the fortieth day after death as well as for the anniversary. For according to popular belief the soul does not bid a final farewell to this world until forty days after death, the interval having been spent in visiting the scenes of its earthly life, and even Mt. Athos and Jerusalem.

[1] See a translation of the Burial Service published by Douglas Pepler, Ditchling, 1922, and with the above quotation *cf.* No. 360 in *The English Hymnal.*

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Food and drink for the departed play their part in the rites for the dead, especially the grains of wheat which are now taken to symbolize the resurrection. But in the religious life of the people, Christianity has often had to come to terms with tough survivals among old pagan customs which it more or less disguises, particularly in the picturesque domestic ceremonies which often follow the more orthodox proceedings in Church. This is true not only of the rites which accompany death, but of many other observances also in the course of the year. They may not stand the test of rigid Orthodox belief, and the parish priest, who is perhaps better educated than the members of his flock, may frown upon them, but at least they have a humble part to play in reminding the peasant of the reality of the unseen world and that he is but a pilgrim in this.

Pilgrimage too in the literal sense figures prominently in the religion of the people. The desire to go on pilgrimage is felt by every faithful Orthodox believer. It may be only to the neighbouring monastery or the shrine of a local saint. It may be much further afield, and happy is he who realizes the ideal of every devout pilgrim, and journeys to the Holy Land. But whether the goal be near or far, the pilgrim goes to confess his sins, to say his prayers and to eat, drink and be merry at some place where the unseen world has markedly broken through and made it holy.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16

the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

The veneration of the oak tree does not save it from fire; that of the cherry tree makes it a sin to burn its wood or even to cut its branches: the yew is powerful, and may not be burned, but it can be hewn and carved and made into useful objects, dishes, handles, ploughs, boxes, spindles, trays, as well as crosses and amulets, which are then particularly safe or lucky. The blackthorn is used for magical purposes, such as impaling a vampire; it is recommended to use it in making wooden implements for the sake of its magical properties, but the tree itself can be regarded almost with dread, and may not be injured or cut down or uprooted. Nearly everywhere the grafting of fruit-tree slips on wild trees, particularly on wild pears and cherries, is thought to be a virtuous act, amounting to a form of charity. I have heard of a peasant doing so as an act of expiation, a desire to obtain merit (*zadužbina*), in a district which knows little nowadays of particular tree cults. Where a ritual-agricultural calendar is followed in the traditional manner, all grafting is reserved for special days, sometimes with a special local etiology. Individuals sometimes mark the birth of a child or an animal by fertilising a tree in this way.[1] Further, I have seen over and over again in remote and isolated places, that a wild tree has been ennobled, apparently for no sound economic purpose. While I know that almost a sentimental element is

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A more general Slavic deity was Veles or Volos. In the Russian *Primary Chronicle* he is characterized as "the god of cattle," but this qualification has no relation to the original attributes of Veles. It results rather from the monkish chronicler's identification of the specifically Russian form of his name (Volos) with that of Saint Blasius, a Cappadocian bishop who died a martyr's death about 315 A.D., and was extensively revered thereafter as a patron of flocks and herds. In the *Primary Chronicle,* where Perun and Veles are mentioned together as gods by whom the Scandinavian Varangians and the Slavs of Kiev swore, the implication is that the Varangians swore by Perun (here the equivalent of Thor) and the Slavs by Veles, who thus may be viewed as the guardian of oaths, a sort of *Zeus epiorkios.* The name Veles itself is cognate with various Lithuanian words meaning "corpse," "ghost," and "devil," so that Veles is rather to be considered as a god of the dead, a conclusion justified by his frequent invocation in various late Bohemian curses.

Idols were used by the Eastern Slavs, and the medieval Ger- 778
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A final and equally interesting problem connected with the 000

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16

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10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

to attention. If he is well brought up in this respect the Orthodox worshipper will stand erect with his feet together, his hands by his side, with head up and eyes looking straight before him to the east end of the church. His bodily posture expresses, and perhaps contributes to, the active share he is taking in what is going on. Ideally he is rendering praise and glory to God for all that He is and does, and at the same time he is presenting himself before God and submitting himself to the divine scrutiny. 796

At the time of Communion, the celebrant and other officiating clergy make their communion in both kinds, separately, as in the West. The priest and deacon then come out through the Royal doors and stand just outside them. The priest holds the chalice, into which the consecrated breads have been put. Lay communicants then approach and are given their communion standing, in both kinds, but administered together by means of a spoon placed between the communicant's lips. He then wipes his lips on a silk napkin which hangs over the deacon's arm, takes a sip of water and a small piece of bread (not, of course, consecrated) from a table standing near and returns to the body of the church. 796 778

The words of administration are "The servant of God, N——, receives the precious and holy Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, unto remission of sins and unto everlasting life", (to children "unto everlasting life" only).

At the end of the service all present go up to the Royal gates and in turn kiss a cross held out to them by the priest: and small pieces of bread which have been blessed are distributed and eaten.

The Orthodox rite is, generally speaking, a good deal longer than the Western, though not so much so as appears from the printed page. For at certain times the priest's part and the deacon's are going on simultaneously—the deacon being outside the iconostas and leading the devotions of the people in a Litany, while the priest is saying the prayers allotted to him within the Sanctuary. Still, Orthodox services are sometimes of great length, the Russians in particular having long been notorious in this respect, though modern times have brought some concessions to human frailty. "God grant us His special 796

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

CHAPTER IX

THE ICONS

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ALLUSION has been made more than once in this book to the icons; but such is their importance in Orthodox piety that it may be well to devote a short chapter to them.

An icon is a picture of a sacred subject painted upon a panel of wood of varying size. The surface is prepared with a mixture of powdered alabaster and glue beneath which linen is sometimes stretched, and the colours laid on with the yolk of egg as a medium.[1] The finished panel was in many cases furnished later on with a covering of metal, precious or base, which completely hides the painting, except the flesh parts, to reveal which holes were cut in the metal. The rest of the picture, or at least its main lines, are reproduced in the metal cover by *répoussée*. Further embellishment may be added, in the form of haloes and different kinds of pendants. The icon may be adorned with precious stones, some famous examples being encrusted with a wealth of them.

It has been generally accepted that the icon is derived from the funerary portraits of the dead which were placed upon mummies in Egypt.[2] Perhaps by way of usage in connection with the martyrs, and devotion to their shrines, the use of icons spread in time throughout the Orthodox world and became a characteristic feature of Orthodox piety.

The painting of icons was a work of religion as well as a work of art, the painter preparing himself for his task by prayer and other spiritual exercises. In modern times the provision of vast numbers of cheap icons may have degener-

[1] For details in the technique of icon-painting see Minns-Kondakov: *The Russian Icon*, Oxford, 1927.

[2] See, however, A. Frolow: *Revue des Études Byzantines*, Tome VI, 1948, p. 125.

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ated into a mere trade, but ideally, and to a large extent in actual fact, the production of them has been and still is the pious activity of monks. The monasteries were the great workshops in which icons were produced, and although icons are nearly always anonymous, the known painters of these highly venerated objects were themselves greatly revered.

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The subjects depicted on the icon are many and various. It may be a single figure; of Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist (winged, as the Precursor), or some other saint. It may be a group of figures, a picture of a scriptural or ecclesiastical incident, or the representation of an abstruse theological idea. Miracles, Martyrdoms, Councils of the Church, are drawn by the icon-painter's brush. An icon may even represent the veneration of another icon by some eminent prelate.

The icon-painter did not profess, with possibly some very rare exceptions, to be making a portrait, though the general aspect of a saint will be the same on every icon of him. Nor, in the great days of icon-painting, was realistic truth to nature conceived as an aim. The painter did not produce the illusion of depth, perspective was often reversed, and the niceties of anatomical knowledge ignored. Realism came in with the decadence of the art of icon-painting.

The men who made the icons in the great days of Byzantium and at the zenith of Russian icon-painting in fifteenth-century Novgorod were doing two things. They were decorating a flat surface and they were seeking to convey in line and colour an aspect of divine truth. At their best they achieved both those purposes supremely well.

They painted within the framework of rules about the way that this or that person should be represented, which belonged to the very core of the tradition of icon-painting. Such rules, often concerned with a surprising degree of detail, were embodied in manuals of instruction which circulated among the workshops.

Hence the immediate impression that the numberless icons of any particular subject are "all alike". But it is possible to exaggerate this similarity and to over-rate the influence of the manuals. The great examples of icon-painting reveal

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778 the fact that the rules left room for the expression of individual inspiration and the exercise of creative power, as the painter 532 set about his task of adorning a given surface with a vision of divine truth.

As the icons vary in their subject matter, so they vary also in their artistic merit. Some are supreme works of art, many are of great beauty, superb in their composition, rhythm of line and glowing colour. Many others have little aesthetic value, and the icon may even degenerate into a cheap oleograph stuck on a piece of wood.

But the veneration in which they are held is independent 778 of these considerations. Some measure of it may be found in 782 the ubiquity of icons in an Orthodox country. They are not only in churches, but also in public buildings of all kinds, in private houses and shops. There is a recognized position for the icon in a room, and the visitor will salute it on entering, just as he greets his host. Schools, regiments, clubs and the like will adopt their own icons. The devout will carry an icon with them when they travel, and have it before them when they say their prayers. Well-to-do people may accumulate their family icons from generation to generation. The first thing the Orthodox worshipper does on entering his church is to salute the icons, or, at least, such of them as may claim his particular devotion. He bows before them, crosses himself, says a prayer, kisses the icon, and perhaps sets a lighted candle before it in the stand provided for the purpose. He then moves away to wherever he wishes to stand for the service if there is one, or to leave the church and go about his business.

000 Plainly we are here in a realm which readily lends itself to capture by popular religion. Popular religion, whatever the field in which it expresses itself, the use of the Bible, the singing of subjective and emotional hymns, the veneration of icons, or anything else, may easily use the thing it has captured, in a way which others call superstition, and which may indeed be such.

But before the Westerner draws hasty general conclusions about the Orthodox practice before the icons, he should reflect that the Orthodox approaches the icon with premises in his mind which he himself probably does not share.

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It is not a simple matter for a Westerner to grasp what the icon means to the Orthodox and the part it plays in his religious life. Perhaps it can be fully understood only from within Orthodoxy as part of Orthodox experience. But certain distinctions can be drawn. All Christians presumably agree that a picture of a sacred person or event has value and legitimate use as a means of teaching. But the icon is more than that. It is more also than a picture of a loved person, by looking upon which memory is refreshed and devotion stimulated. Neither of these parallels would account for the degree of veneration which is paid to the icons. It is the same veneration as the Orthodox pay to the Book of the Gospels and the Cross. On the other hand it is a lower degree of veneration than that which is given to the consecrated elements of the Eucharist. In the latter case worship is rendered to Christ Himself actually present. In an icon of Christ, He is not conceived as present in the same way as that. Yet there is a link between the actual material icon, and the person it represents. In the devout contemplation of an icon one is brought in some sense into the presence of the original of which it is a painting. The link is in the Orthodox view analogous to the connection between a sacred relic and the saint from which the relic is derived. With this difference, that the connection between the relic and the saint, assuming it to exist in fact, might be called a natural link, whereas the connection between the icon and its original is created by the Church. It is established by the action of blessing the icon. An icon is not, so to speak, fully an icon until it has been blessed. Then it becomes a link between the human and the divine, through it the other world comes into touch with the worshipper.

Standing before it with the right disposition of heart and mind, one is really in touch with, in the presence of, the subject which the icon represents. "According to Orthodox belief an icon is a place of the Gracious Presence. It is the place of an *appearance* of Christ, of the Virgin, of the saints, of all those represented by the icon, and hence it serves as a place for prayer to them." "By the blessing of the icon of Christ, a mystical meeting of the faithful and Christ is made possible."[1]

[1] S. Bulgakov: *The Orthodox Church*, p. 162 f., London, 1935.

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778 781 No wonder then that the icons are so highly revered, that famous icons are carried in procession through the streets, or brought by the clergy to the bedside of the sick.

778 789 So potent is the link between the icon and its prototype that many icons are regarded as "wonder-working icons" In fact the wonder-working icon is the icon *par excellence*. The belief that such icons are endowed with miraculous power has given rise to numberless legends.[1] They may tell of an icon's being the means of curing sickness and other ills which flesh is heir to, of bringing material good fortune to the devout believer, of securing the icon's own safety when menaced by danger, of rewarding its veneration and even resenting and punishing insult, physical injury and neglect, but mercifully restoring the sinner after his repentance. Not all of this is official Orthodox teaching: much of it belongs to the sphere of popular religion, where it may go to fantastic lengths.[2]

Presumably the orthodox interpretation of such happenings is that at the intercession of the saint depicted on the icon, God grants the request of the petitioner who prayed before it. In the popular mind such an explanation may readily slide into the conception that the saint is the benefactor because this particular picture of him was venerated, and that again may easily slip into the feeling that it is the actual icon itself which has worked the miracle or conferred the blessing.

There exist a relatively large number of pictures of the Blessed Virgin which tradition attributes to St. Luke, and these are treated with deep reverence. But a place of their own in the heart of the Orthodox believer belongs to the "Icons not made with Hands". These are icons the originals of which are believed to have come into existence without human agency. Such are the Vernicle, the legend of which is well known in the West also; and an image of Christ imprinted upon a cloth sent to Abgar, King of Edessa, by Christ himself and subsequently brought to Constantinople. This is the most ancient of the "Icons not made with Hands". But there are others, and they, and the copies made of them (though some are said

[1] See R. M. Dawkins for many such connected with the icons of Athos, in *The Monks of Athos*, London, 1936.
[2] Charles Diehl in *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. IV, p. 6.

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to be impossible to copy, or even to photograph) are regarded with the deepest veneration.[1] 778 789

The canonical authority upon which the veneration of icons rests is the decree of the second council of Nicaea which is the seventh Ecumenical Council (see p. 54). The doctrinal basis is found in the fact of the Incarnation. God cannot be represented in His eternal being.[2] But God became man and took a body of material flesh. Because of this a picture may lawfully be made of Him. Further, in assuming a human body He used matter as the vehicle of spirit, rescued it from corruption and consecrated it to a share in His redemptive purpose. What is true of Christ's material body, is true of other forms of matter such as the material elements in the sacraments, and, in some measure, of the icons. The icons are, therefore, worthy of veneration, though in theory the degree of veneration is strictly limited.

[1] R. M. Dawkins has a chapter on "Icons not made with Hands"—in his *Monks of Athos*, Chapter 18.

[2] Yet icons exist which depict the Holy Trinity as two throned Figures side by side, with the Dove above them.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Balkan Peoples E13
Slavic Peoples E16

appear that, for longer prayers, the priests and others who recited them relied on their books. The early recording of these forms partly accounts for their universal similarity. Doubtless, the sporadic work of copying began in the Balkans. The majority of early Russian and South Slav material of this order has a uniform character, not to be found in other departments of either folk-lore or popular literature. Still more significant is the fact that exorcismal forms and the magical prescriptions which are first found associated with Orthodoxy, are not unknown in Catholic countries. As regards magical spells, these are remarkably uniform. In the Balkans, the oriental origins of the well-known legend formulae are re-emphasised by direct contact at a later date with Mohammedan culture. The gap between the Byzantine or Christianised prototype of the charm and the popular version might be explicable on these grounds.

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III

The Orthodoxy of the Slavs gave early signs of extreme asceticism. In any case Christian culture, as such, offered no new material basis of healing, but would have provided only approved forms of the visitation of the sick, the consolation of prayer and sacrament.[1] Whatever the pre-Christian system was, it was officially classed as heathen survival, and it never dissociated itself entirely from its primitive conceptions.

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To summarise the results of research, the seers and priests of antiquity used strong-smelling herbs for internal and external use; the bodies and products of animals, birds, reptiles and fishes; drugs and concoctions to induce sleep, intoxication or abortion, stimulants and poisons. The uses of certain minerals, and particularly of certain magical stones and a few pigments, were certainly known. To these were added

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[1] The functions of the Orthodox priest as healer and exorciser, the use of holy water and oil, the laying-on of crosses, relics and books, etc., are epitomised in a note in Goar's *Euchologion*, p. 750.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

The veneration of the oak tree does not save it from fire; that of the cherry tree makes it a sin to burn its wood or even to cut its branches: the yew is powerful, and may not be burned, but it can be hewn and carved and made into useful objects, dishes, handles, ploughs, boxes, spindles, trays, as well as crosses and amulets, which are then particularly safe or lucky. The blackthorn is used for magical purposes, such as impaling a vampire; it is recommended to use it in making wooden implements for the sake of its magical properties, but the tree itself can be regarded almost with dread, and may not be injured or cut down or uprooted. Nearly everywhere the grafting of fruit-tree slips on wild trees, particularly on wild pears and cherries, is thought to be a virtuous act, amounting to a form of charity. I have heard of a peasant doing so as an act of expiation, a desire to obtain merit (*zadužbina*), in a district which knows little nowadays of particular tree cults. Where a ritual-agricultural calendar is followed in the traditional manner, all grafting is reserved for special days, sometimes with a special local etiology. Individuals sometimes mark the birth of a child or an animal by fertilising a tree in this way.[1] Further, I have seen over and over again in remote and isolated places, that a wild tree has been ennobled, apparently for no sound economic purpose. While I know that almost a sentimental element is

[1] At Rakljansko Polje a pine tree was said to have sprung from a branch stuck in the ground by the Empress Milica when Car Lazar was born. Cf. J. Pančić, *Iz Prirode*, p. 52. Similar acts of commemoration are, of course, well known in other parts of the world.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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Slavic Peoples E16

present in these practices, I would also ask whether there were not some more tangible cult significance underlying this giving of new vitality to trees. But this possibility and, for the matter of that, this aspect of agricultural activity as a whole, does not seem to have found a commentator, and I myself have not yet sufficient instances to formulate a theory.

The respect for things in general is innate in the peasant, as countless small observances in everyday life show. So long as this recognition persists, any object, however mean and common, can on occasion serve in magic, without being sacred; while if on the basis of special 'taboos' a list of sacred plants and animals were made, it would be far too large to allow of so many special cults or cult usages. Much less extensive would be a corresponding list of cursed things, which cannot under any circumstances be touched.

It must be remembered that the inventory of a peasant household (of the kind still out of touch with urbanism) is not large, while in the mountains or in the hinterland of Dalmatia it may not include all the primary necessities even of a very simple life. In this simpler scheme domestic artifacts and utensils retain something of their primitive significance. In extreme cases domestic tidiness is a minor ritual; every object has its proper place when not in use, and is carefully handled, and put away in a special position, which must not be reversed. The broom, the sieve, the kneading trough, the scoop, the chains of the hearth pot, the gourd, etc., have had their ritual associations amongst every people.

It is not possible to disentangle knowledge of the physical properties of substances from their significance in legend or worship; and it would be equally impossible to trace whether an object, used in divination, or a household utensil, which seems to enjoy special respect, such as a sieve or a wood-block or an axe, has a certain power ascribed to it directly, or through an analogous association with some other category of ideas.

The steam bath is noticed early for East and Northern Slavs, but it is curious that after the Slav invasion, the

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

III

Conversion and Religious Divisions

175* 186 797 While conversion to Christianity was an inevitable phase of the process by which the Slavs were drawn into the general movement of European civilization, it was by no means an unmixed blessing. When Slavic tribes had evolved to some semblance of national consciousness and even statehood, or were sufficiently remote from the center where religious influence was exempt from political pressure, they were able to retain their independence and to follow a characteristic course of development. But if they lived on the periphery of a powerful and aggressive Christian state, their political independence was frequently threatened, and if this state cherished colonial aims, the convert Slavs were very likely to face the choice between assimilation and enslavement, or, at the very worst, complete extermination.

797 795 178 779 197 175* The section of the medieval church which brought about the conversion was also a factor of durable historical weight. The Western Church was devoted to the tradition of Latin culture. It insisted on the celebration of the Mass in the hallowed language of the Church. Hence it evinced little concern for the creation of any vernacular culture. Though not possessed of the same vitality, the Eastern Church soon found that it could evangelize the various pagans on the long Byzantine frontier more effectively if it allowed them to use their native languages

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in the service. Hence, though much of early south or east Slavic literature is either translated or imitated, the fact remains that the Slavs under Byzantine intellectual and religious influence developed significant national cultures much more rapidly than those under the domination of Rome. That these cultures, after a brilliant initial spurt, were later retarded and even brought to a halt which lasted several centuries is due, not to the source of conversion itself, but to historical accidents which supervened after conversion took place. Had not the Eastern and the Southern Slavs fallen victims, in one case to Tartar invasion and in the other to Turkish conquest, their intellectual lag in comparison with the rest of Europe would not have been so great. The Russians, for example, were completely deprived of all Western stimulation after the middle of the thirteenth century and nearly three hundred years elapsed before they entered upon the difficult process of assimilating the Western culture which had developed during that long and critical interval. The South Slavs, on the other hand, shook off the Turkish yoke only within the last century and thus were even more handicapped than the Russians in their struggle to catch up with the modern world.

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Of all the Slavs, the Slovenes in Carinthia and Carniola were the first to encounter missionary activities. Early in the seventh century, they had been temporarily combined with Czechs and Sorbs north of the Danube in the semilegendary kingdom under Samo, who led them victoriously against the Avars and simultaneously offered a temporary barrier to Frankish expansion southward. During his declining years in Switzerland, Saint Columban, the great Irish missionary, had thought, as early as 612, of setting out from Bregenz on a mission to the nearest Slavs, but, finding the task too difficult for his advanced age (he was already sixty-nine), he retired to Italy and ended his days at Bobbio.

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After Samo disappeared from the scene and his realm was dissolved, the Slovenes were unable to withstand the Avars, who soon held the Danube as far as the Enns. The Slovenes

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175* thodius became abbot of the monastery of Polychron, in the vicinity of Mount Olympus.

175* 212 The two brothers were recalled from their retirement by Michael III when Rostislav's mission asked for Slavic-speaking priests. Constantine in particular had demonstrated considerable linguistic talent on his mission to Khazaria, where he had learned Hebrew, and it is certain that both brothers spoke the Bulgarian dialect which prevailed in the environs of their native city. Upon accepting the mission, and before proceeding to Moravia, Constantine invented a Slavic alphabet, and translated into the Slavic dialect he knew a selection of passages from the Gospels. [779]

[538] This translation is the beginning of all Slavic literature, but the nature of the alphabet invented by Constantine is questionable. We have, as it happens, two early Slavic alphabets, the so-called Glagolitic, somewhat enigmatic in origin, and the Cyrillic, which is a combination of the Greek and Latin alphabets with some additions for specifically Slavic sounds. This latter is the ancestor of the modern Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian scripts. On account of the difficulty of the Glagolitic, it was later supplanted in Bulgaria by the Cyrillic, which is relatively close to the Greek. On purely psychological grounds, but in utter disagreement with many much more authoritative teachers and colleagues, I believe that the priority belongs to Cyrillic, since Constantine would (I assume), if only for reasons of convenience, have used an alphabet as close as possible to the one with which he was most familiar. Then later in Moravia, when he found that the German clergy viewed with suspicion and hostility everything Greek, I believe that he devised the tricky and crabbed Glagolitic, which does not resemble Greek script at all, to disarm his opponents.

175* 797 796 795 Accompanied by a few Greek priests who also knew Slavic, Constantine and Methodius arrived in Moravia during the spring of 863. They were well received by Prince Rostislav,

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175* 795 fortunes, not only threw off even the vestiges of a Byzantine protectorate but also extended its domain far into Serbia. During this interval Clement's activity greatly expanded. He founded the great monastery of Saint Panteleimon at Okhrida, and on Simeon's accession he was consecrated a bishop. The legacy of Constantine and Methodius was thus preserved in all its wealth, to the great advantage of Bulgaria, which thus became a purely Slavic country with an autonomous church. Simeon was accordingly able to realize his father's ambition of proclaiming a Bulgarian patriarchate.

175* 795 538 779 Obviously the roots of the culture disseminated by the Bulgarian church, however nationalistic, were essentially Byzantine. Though a Slav by birth, Clement himself had been trained by Greek masters, and Simeon too was culturally so Hellenized as to be nicknamed the "half-Greek." Hence the literary productions of the Macedonian schools founded by Clement and his associates were, if not mere translations, usually slavish imitations of Greek texts. Simeon himself composed an anthology of texts compiled from Greek theologians. Though the influence of Byzantine letters during this epoch was limited to the theological and the liturgical sphere, it is of relatively enormous significance that at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth the Old Bulgarian language was being adopted for literary purposes under Greek influence, and that a large body of Slavic-speaking priests was being created who were capable of transmitting at least the ecclesiastical [197] aspects of Greek culture in their own tongue. The mission of Constantine and Methodius thus bore fruit, not on the ground they themselves sowed, but on territory closer to Byzantium, so that the results of what their disciples accomplished in Bulgaria could be easily drawn upon seventy-five years later when a much more extensive field was opened with the conversion of the south Russian principality of Kiev.

175* 795 797 At the same time, the Slavic liturgy which had been proscribed in Moravia was also transmitted through Pannonia into Croatia, but in general the popes saw no reason to use it

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175* 797 771 attained by every individual, nevertheless produced some admirable characters among early medieval churchmen and laymen.

175* 793 797 The sources from which Vladimir drew his clergy present a problem of some importance and complexity. Adequate evidence exists that Greek priests were sent to Russia both in the suite of the Princess Anna and after her marriage to Vladimir. Since there were isolated Christians and at least one church at Kiev prior to Vladimir's conversion, there must have been a small nucleus of Russian-speaking clergy in the city itself before 989, though these clerics were probably of Greek nationality. Vladimir's well-attested activity in wholesale conversion even among the masses at widely separated points makes it likely, however, that some provision was made for evangelizing the people in a language comprehensible to them. Priests with the appropriate linguistic qualifications could be found at this period only among members of the Byzantine clergy who had been active in Bulgaria or among the Bulgarian clergy themselves, since the differentiation between the spoken languages of Bulgaria and south Russia in the late tenth century was so slight as to constitute no barrier to common understanding.

175* 779 The tradition of vernacular religious culture under Greek intellectual auspices had been established in Bulgaria during the reigns of Boris (852-889) and Simeon (894-927). In the light of the eventual transmission to Kiev of a large body of ecclesiastical literature in Old Bulgarian translations, it is an accepted and doubtless correct convention of Russian literary history in the pre-Tartar period to assume that these works were first transmitted to Kievan Russia through the medium of Byzantium as priests were sent out into the Russian field. But, curiously enough, there are no historical data behind this respectable hypothesis, nor does any explicit evidence point to the slightest direct contact between the charges of Bulgaria and Russia during the principates of Vladimir and of his son through 1045.

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While some ingenious theories to the contrary have been expounded, the fact remains that Byzantine relations with Bulgaria were constantly hostile from Vladimir's conversion to his death in 1015. Basil II would thus hardly have attached to an enemy state the young church founded by his brother-in-law. There is therefore no motive for believing that the Russian church at its foundation was other than an eparchy of the Byzantine patriarchate, even if we admit the contention that there was no metropolitanate in Russia during Vladimir's lifetime. In the transmission of Slavic liturgical and theological texts at this period the mediation of Constantinople was inevitable, and the priests at Vladimir's disposal must have likewise been chiefly Greeks, some of whom possessed a smattering of Bulgarian from work in Bulgaria itself or, like the proto-apostles Constantine and Methodius, from their contacts in the northern and western marches of the Byzantine Empire. 175* 779 795

That Vladimir assimilated certain intellectual interests along with the faith is indicated by his insistence upon some degree of education among the children of his followers. The *Primary Chronicle* reports: 871 175*

He took the children of the best families and sent them for instruction in book learning. The mothers of these children wept bitterly over them, for they were not yet strong in faith, but mourned as for the dead.

It is not clear whether Vladimir intended that these youths should be trained as priests or as civil servants, but from the facts that within the next fifty years educated Russian priests come to the fore and that extensive reference is made in the sources to the culture of Vladimir's son and successor Yaroslav the Wise, it is fair to suppose that Vladimir had his eye on both professions. In Constantinople at the close of the tenth century interest in higher education was restricted by the general attention to military problems and conquest, so that book learning was primarily a matter of personal and private [593]

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871 study. It is therefore unlikely that Vladimir had before him
175* any models calculated to inspire the establishment of schools in the modern or even the medieval sense of the word, but rather that he employed the priests sent from Byzantium as private teachers for the younger members of prominent families connected with his court.

871 At any rate, extant literary monuments dating from the last half of the eleventh century give evidence of an expanding
538 nucleus of culture in Kiev itself which is the direct result of
175* Vladimir's concern for education. It was hardly to be expected
• 779 that a tremendous outburst of literary energy would ensue as soon as the seeds of learning were sown among a younger generation sprung from illiterate Varangian and Slavic sires, but the readiness with which Byzantine hagiographical and annalistic models were assimilated and imitated even before 1100 indicates an extensive interest in reading among circles brought up in a tradition of culture to the founding of which Vladimir contributed. That the basis of this culture was mere literacy—the ability to read the Psalms, the Gospels, and such Byzantine religious or historical compilations as had been translated into old Bulgarian in the days of Boris and Simeon—by no means lessens the importance of Vladimir's zeal for intellectual progress.

175* To Vladimir also belongs the credit for initiating the con-
346 struction program which within the next century transformed
[361] Kiev into one of the most impressive medieval cities. The crowning structural exploit of Vladimir's reign was thus a stone church of the Virgin, begun in 989, for the erection and decoration of which he imported artisans from Greece. It was completed and consecrated in 996. At its dedication Vladimir endowed it with a tithe of his property and income, from which donation is derived its customary name, The Church of the Tithe, or *Desiatinnaia*. Originally a basilica, it was reconstructed with five cupolas after a fire in 1017, and collapsed under the weight of a crowd of refugees when the Tartars took

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lar forms in vernacular letters, Russia was just recovering from the economically destructive and intellectually paralyzing effects of the Tartar conquest which had weighed the nation down since 1240. Medieval Moscow had nothing of the thirst for knowledge and the ambition for culture that inspired the foundation of German universities during the last half of the fourteenth century. It lacked the close contacts with Italy of the sixteenth which meant for Western Europe the infusion of art into literature and bore fruit in France in the works of Ronsard and the Pléiade or in England in the brilliance of Spenser and Sidney. This heritage was transmitted to Russia only in the eighteenth century as an element in the literary models and traditions then taken over bodily from the West.

Apart from the classical tradition of the Middle Ages and the revival of intellectual and artistic creative fervor during the Renaissance, there was a third important element in Western culture to which Russia was not directly exposed: the spirit of the Protestant Reformation. Russia had received the Christian faith from Byzantium. But the Eastern Orthodox and the Western Roman Catholic Churches were split by the schism of 1054, sixty-five years after the conversion of Kiev. The Eastern Church intensified its emphasis on mysticism and asceticism without the balance of social and cultural interests which fertilized the labors of the Roman Church in Western Europe. Then, after the contacts between the Russian Church and Constantinople became difficult because of precarious communication, and still more after the fall of the Byzantine Empire fifty years before Columbus discovered America, the church in Russia became petrified in dogma and sunk in debased formalism. It maintained no such tradition of learning, no such cult of scholastic philosophy as made the Roman Church a nucleus of productive thought even in those periods of European political history in which popular culture was at its lowest ebb. It was incapable of producing such bold and independent thinkers as a Wyclif, a Hus, a Luther, or a Calvin. Indeed, had such thinkers arisen, it is doubtful whether, even in the church or

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among the limited section of the upper class which was literate, there could have been found a receptive public in whom their ideas could have taken root.

Thus, when the Byzantine intellectual influence (such as it was) died away, the Russian Church lost its function as a repository of culture, and never regained it before it was reduced to social impotence in our own day by revolutionaries angered at its pernicious coöperation with the autocracy. Nor had there ever arisen in Russia any fruitful movement of inspired protest on theological grounds which opposed the spirit of individual critical intelligence to the inertia of a dogma-ridden hierachy. All three of these crucial factors in the formation of the Western European outlook (the perpetuation of classical culture in the Middle Ages; humanism and the Renaissance; the Protestant Reformation) fall quite outside the purview of Russian intellectual life until introduced as contributing elements of the Western culture imposed upon Russia by Peter and his successors in the course of the eighteenth century.

When the Swedish warrior-merchants moved down the Russian watercourses, they established themselves as the economic and military ruling class in the small towns which the Eastern Slavs themselves had founded at strategic points for trade and defense. The impulse which first unified the Eastern Slavs into what eventually became the principality of Kiev resulted from the Varangian immigration, and though the immigrants were rapidly Russified by intermarriage with the native Slavs, the princes of Kiev still maintained intimate contact with Scandinavia. At the same time, their economic needs kept them in close relations with the Byzantine Empire for a century before the conversion of Kiev and for two centuries and a half thereafter.

Although Byzantine culture had its weaker aspects, we are too prone to underestimate its level and its service to the world, since nearly five centuries separate us from its collapse before the onslaught of the Turks. For while Western Europe was going through the painful process of civilizing the Germanic

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

younger state in a volume which might have served as a firm basis for the development of a characteristic native culture. The Russians before the Tartar invasion were always pupils; they originated very little that was independent of Byzantine models either in literature or in art.

In art, however, this imitation was productive and created an architectural and a decorative tradition which lasted down into modern times. By the date of Vladimir's conversion, the basilica as a type of church architecture in Byzantium had been largely replaced by the cruciform church with one or with five cupolas. This was the type transmitted to Russia and still worthily represented by the great medieval churches of Kiev, Novgorod, Vladimir and even Moscow, though in the metropolis the more exotic forms and the onion-shaped dome derived from wooden architecture prevail. The highly conventionalized art of the icon dominated Russian painting until Western influences began to seep in during the seventeenth century, but this tradition was still vital enough before the first World War to influence the art of nineteenth-century religious and historical painters. For where the Byzantine tradition had taken firm root, the aesthetic appeal was long-lived and enduring.

In literature, along with lapidary works of religious implication, the Russian national spirit began to manifest itself in historical compilations during the eleventh century, and literary reflexes of folk poetry had already appeared before the Tartar conquest. But a truly national literature stems from a long educative process, and this process was interrupted in medieval Russia both by domestic politics and by nomadic inroads.

Where domestic disorders merely retarded the intellectual advance of medieval Russia, the Tartar incursion brought it to a full stop. It has already been noticed what material impoverishment it had caused. But the Tartar domination was a far more serious factor in the deterioration of cultural and spiritual values. The church, to be sure, was treated with tolerance by the Tartars because it preached submission to

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

of one day seeing Slavonic Christianity return to Catholic unity, and the immense flock of all the Russians come back to the Roman fold. As is well known, the critical point in dogma is the divergence between the two Churches regarding the procession of the Holy Ghost. It is the famous 'Filioque' quarrel. Now, in the Liturgy published by the Holy See in June, 1943, for the use of the Russians and Ruthenians, the *Credo* is given according to the version of the early centuries, without reference to the 'Filioque'—in other words, ignoring the chief dispute which separated the Orthodox from the 'Romans'.

In spite of these concessions, Orthodoxy has never given up. In Carpatho-Ruthenia the number of its followers doubled from 1921 to 1930. Moscow had nothing to do with this; at that time it was the Serbian Patriarchate which presided over the destinies of the Russo-Carpathian Orthodox Church.[1]

And, after the incorporation of the Eastern Marches of Poland and of Carpatho-Ruthenia in the Soviet Union, a counter-offensive for the return of the Uniats to Orthodoxy was organised, using the customary resources of Russian political power. On June 18, 1945, a Committee of Initiative was formed, with a view to winning over these Catholics to Pravoslav unity. A 'Council' of the Uniat Church of the Western Ukraine was held in Lwow on March 8, 1946; it proclaimed the dissolution of ties which, for 350 years, had bound that Church to the Vatican,[2] and its submission to the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the name of the delegates of the three Uniat Eparchies which were represented at the Council, a message was sent to Stalin announcing this decision, and the breaking of the spiritual bond between the Eastern Catholics and Rome.

The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate[3] commented on this event as follows: 'So, gradually, day by day, in union and in united prayer, will the breach opened by Rome within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy be closed; the time is not far distant

[1] In 1921 the figures for Ruthenia were: Catholics 55,000; Uniats 332,500, and Orthodox 60,997.

[2] The anniversary of the connection was commemorated by the encyclical letter *Orientales omnes ecclesias*, published on January 19, 1946, in which the Pope accused the Russians of treating the Catholic Ruthenians as enemies of the State and encouraged the latter to persevere in their traditional faith.

[3] February 6, 1947.

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beyond the territories placed within its traditional sphere of influence, and especially in Czechoslovakia.

It is true that the saints given to the Church by the Czech nation in the tenth century appear both in the Orthodox and in the Roman calendars, but Orthodoxy disappeared as an official religion in the twelfth century. However, its influence did not completely disappear; it still had a latent existence in the time of John Huss and his disciples, who established relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1451—which relations were interrupted by the capture of the city by the Turks two years later.

With Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance in 1781, Orthodoxy, previously eliminated by the religious reaction known as the Counter-Reformation, re-established itself in Bohemia. We have related above (p. 24) the enthusiasm with which the people of Prague heard a Serbian prelate conduct an Orthodox service and pray for the soul of John Huss on the Wenceslas Square, on the occasion of the 1848 Slav Congress. In 1874 the use of the Catholic Church of Saint Nicholas was granted to the Orthodox cult, which thereafter worshipped in it concurrently with the National Church. After the Vatican Council, and in spite of the hostility of the Austrian authorities, conversions which created a great stir took place. But it was only after the First World War that the Orthodox Church was organised in Bohemia. Not being able, at that time, to attach itself to Moscow, it placed itself under obedience to the Serbian Patriarchate of Karlovtsi, which, in September, 1921, consecrated the first bishop. This Czech Orthodox Church was itself torn by the current of dissidence created by the 'Czechoslovak National Church', which claimed to be based on the ideas of John Huss, but was in reality far from being so. In 1929 the Patriarchate of Belgrade approved the constitution of an Orthodox Eparchy (Bohemia-Moravia-Silesia) in which divine worship was offered in liturgical Slavon and in Czech.

When the two Resistance heroes who were parachuted to deliver Bohemia from her torturer, the 'Protector', Reinhard Heydrich, had executed the latter,[6] they hid in the crypt of the

[6] The execution took place on May 27, 1942, on the outskirts of Prague, in a street which bore the symbolical name of Strossmayer. The practical details of the murder curiously resembled those connected with the

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

175 •779 795 Church of St. Charles Borromeo, assigned to the Orthodox cult. They were discovered, and, after a regular siege, killed themselves rather than fall into the enemy's hands. The Orthodox Bishop Gorazd and his assistants, who had hidden them, were executed. And their church, which had just given marytrs to the national cause, was dissolved, and the cathedral turned into a shop.

After the liberation this church was restored to its rights and transferred (in April, 1946) from the jurisdiction of the Serbian Patriarchate to that of the Moscow Patriarchate, which raised Prague to the rank of an Archbishopric. On the following May 19 there arrived in the capital Mgr. Jelevferij, Exarch of the Patriarch of Moscow and Archbishop of Prague, who was received by the members of the Government and the Russian Orthodox Archbishop, Mgr. Sergej. The first service celebrated by the prelate was offered in memory of Bishop Gorazd.

[659] In the following June Karpov, President of the Soviet's Council of State for Orthodox Affairs, gave a talk on 'Religion in Russia' to officers of the Czechoslovak Army, to emphasise the liberty of divine worship permitted under the Soviet régime, and the clergy's loyalty to the State.[7]

* * *

186* 779 659 As in the time of the Tsars, Catholicism has again become the 'sore point' of the Slavonic community. Soviet Russia, which had so ostentatiously dissociated itself from the religious tradition of the Slavophiles, has rediscovered the latter on its line of expansion. The Kremlin has, by the force of circumstances, been obliged to play the Orthodox card in the regions placed within its sphere of influence. But action is followed by reaction. If Uniatism is retreating before Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism represents, in Poland, in Slovakia, in Croatia, in Slovenia, a basis of resistance to Russian penetration in its twofold aspect of Marxism and schism. With the result that one would need the gift of prophecy to be able to say, today,

assassination of Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914. Bishop Gorazd, Cikli, a parish priest, and Petzek, a curate, who sheltered the two heroes, were discovered on June 18.

[7] The reconstituted Hussite Church aspired to the role of an official Church; it held a Congress at the beginning of January 1946, and its Primate, M. Kovar, presented the new bishops to M. Benes on the 23rd of that month. The President advised him to co-operate with the other Churches of the West and the East, taking care, however, not to mix politics and religion. The Church numbers 850,000 members.

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whether the gains which Orthodoxy confers on Soviet influence will or will not be offset by the opposition it revives or awakens. 186* 779 • 659

The mind is struck by an anomaly—the cheerful alacrity with which the Orthodox hierarchy condemned régimes whose merits it had so often praised, and under which it had lived for so long. It is quite remarkable that, despite their national character, the Balkan Churches did not change their spiritual leaders at a time when the State was undergoing a political, social, and moral revolution. It would be possible to compile an 'Anthology of Repudiation' by publishing the speeches of the Patriarchs who have remained in office. To condemn the régime under which they were appointed, they have found as many arguments as they formerly invoked to justify it. It is true that the Orthodox Church is essentially more 'democratic' than the Roman Church. But this inconsequentiality on the part of its leaders has not increased its authority, any more than that of the Catholic hierarchy has been strengthened by the time-serving attitude of certain prelates towards the Hitlerian order.

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

fifth century manuscript of the Bible, known as Codex Alexandrinus which is one of the most precious treasures of the British Museum, was presented by Lucar to Charles I from the Library of Alexandria. 795 793

This strange figure of a Protestant Patriarch encountered violent opposition. Not only had he to face the solid uncompromising body of traditional Orthodoxy, he was met also by the bitter hostility of the Jesuits and of a Latinizing party within his own Church which had been formed by the proselytizing efforts of Roman Catholic missions. These were very active at the time, and enjoyed the support of France and Venice.

In 1629, Lucar published his celebrated *Confession*, a document which contained much Calvinist doctrine and inaugurated a controversy which was not settled until the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672. Lucar himself was strangled by order of the Sultan on a trumped-up charge which his enemies brought against him. Just how far Cyril Lucar himself was a "heretic" has been disputed. It has been maintained that he did not hold the doctrines attributed to him, and the assertion of the Synod of Jerusalem that he did not write the *Confession* has been repeated by modern writers.[1] A synod held at Constantinople the year after his death condemned both Lucar and the *Confession*; the following Synods of Jassy and Jerusalem the *Confession* only. What is certain is that the Orthodox Church rose in a body to repudiate Lutheran, Calvinist or any other sort of "Protestant innovations"—whether Lucar held them or not.

The Synod of Jerusalem (sometimes called the Synod of Bethlehem, because it was convoked from that place) is of very great importance. It was convened with the express purpose of condemning the *Confession* attributed to Lucar but in doing so it promulgated a positive affirmation of the faith of the Orthodox Church.[2] Its acts include a Confession of Faith which "is a closely knit, carefully worked out summary of theological doctrine, in its phraseology very strongly 779

[1] E.g., Mesolora, and others. See Gavin: *Greek Orthodox Thought*, footnote on pp. 214 ff.

[2] The Acts of the Synod of Justin, and Cyril's *Confession* may be found in English in J. N. W. B. Robertson: *The Synod of Jerusalem*, 1899.

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impregnated with scholastic terminology and in the exactness of its language and dialectical distinction refreshingly clear and lucid."[1] It is known as the *Confession of Dositheus* and is one of the "Symbolic Books" of Orthodoxy.

There are important doctrines of the Church, such as the theology of Grace, the Church, the Sacraments, and Justification, which were not dealt with in the seven Ecumenical Councils and upon which Orthodoxy made its pronouncements after the Schism, and mainly in the synods of the seventeenth century when the need arose for the Orthodox Church to define its position in relation to the teaching of the West, both Roman Catholic and Protestant.

The Symbolic Books of Orthodoxy are expositions of the belief of the Orthodox Church written by various authors on various occasions which called for them, and subsequently recognized by ecclesiastical authority.

The teaching of these books, though not on the level of the decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, are received throughout Orthodoxy as of very great authority, particularly because they are held to express nothing which is not consonant with the Ecumenical Councils and the writings of the Fathers. There are five Symbolical Books, and with the exception of the first they all came into being as a result of the Reformation. They are:

1. *The Confession of Gennadius Scholarius.* This was written by the Gennadius who became Patriarch of Constantinople in 1454. He wrote it as an exposition of the Christian Faith for the use of Moslems.

2. *The Three Answers of the Patriarch Jeremiah II* (1576, 1579, 1581). These are the Orthodox side of a correspondence between Jeremiah, Patriarch of Constantinople, and certain Lutheran theologians of Tübingen who brought him a Greek translation of the *Confession of Augsburg* and suggested negotiations with a view to reunion.

3. *The Confession of Metrophanes Kritopoulos.* Before Kritopoulos became Patriarch of Alexandria in 1630, he travelled in Germany and England (see page 86). While in Helmstadt in 1625 he wrote this *Confession*, setting forth the

[1] Gavin, p. 216.

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tenets of the Orthodox Church as compared with both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, for the benefit of his Lutheran friends who had asked him to do so. 779

4. *The Orthodox Confession of Mogila.* Peter Mogila was Metropolitan of Kiev, 1632–46. His *Confession* is written in catechetical form, and received the approval of more than one synod. It was revised and in its final form has the signatures of the Four Patriarchs and many other hierarchs.

5. *The Acts of the Synod of Jerusalem* (1672) and *the Confession of Dositheus* which was promulgated with them. Dositheus was the Patriarch of Jerusalem at the time and he presided at the Council. This Synod of Jerusalem (or Bethlehem) was the most important of the group of synods which were convened as a result of the alleged *Confession* of Cyril Lucar (see page 87). There were three others beside Jerusalem, i.e., Constantinople (1638) Jassy (1641) and Constantinople (1672).

The Synod of Jerusalem is of great significance for the modern exposition of the faith of the Orthodox Church, and it will be of interest to look at its proceedings more closely. The Synod was concerned in the first place to assert that Cyril Lucar did not write the *Confession* attributed to him, and to support this contention by citations of other utterances which were undoubtedly his and were, in the view of the Synod, inconsistent with passages in his alleged *Confession*.

Nevertheless, so eager was the Synod to repudiate the teaching of this document and to deny that it expressed the teaching of the Orthodox Church, that it incorporated in its own Acts those of the Synod of Constantinople in 1638, which had anathematized Cyril by name. This was done on the ground that Cyril had survived the publication of the *Confession* for six years, and yet had not written against it, although he had often been begged to do so. His verbal repudiation of certain passages in the *Confession* were held to be insufficient, and the Synod of Jerusalem confirmed his condemnation "if he was, indeed, a heretic and did not repent."

The Synod refers all who wish to know what the Orthodox Church teaches to the Answers of Jeremiah and the *Confession* of Mogila, and then adds its own exposition of the faith. This

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is the *Confession* of Dositheus, which takes the form of 18 decrees and 4 questions dealing one by one with the 18 chapters and 4 questions of Cyril's *Confession*, in conjunction with which therefore they should be read to be fully understood. The *Confession* of Dositheus bears seventy signatures beside his own.

The first of the Decrees is a brief statement of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. "Cyril" had said that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son.[1] The second deals with the Holy Scriptures, which ought to be believed "without doubting yet not otherwise than the Catholic Church hath interpreted and delivered the same."[2] Then follow Decrees which state the Orthodox doctrine as opposed to Lutheranism and Calvinism on such matters as Predestination, Original Sin, and Free Will. "We believe the most good God to have from eternity predestinated unto glory those whom He hath chosen, and to have consigned unto condemnation those whom He hath rejected; but not so that He would justify the one, and consign and condemn the other without cause. For that were contrary to the nature of God who is the common Father of all, and no respecter of persons, and would have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth; but since He foreknew the one would make a right use of their free-will, and the other a wrong, He predestinated the one, or condemned the other." Decree 13 states very clearly the necessity of both Faith and Works: "We believe a man to be not simply justified through faith alone, but through faith which worketh through love, that is to say, through faith and works. But (the notion) that faith fulfilling the function of a hand layeth hold on the righteousness which is Christ, and applieth it unto us for salvation, we know to be far from all Orthodoxy." The Church is taught and illuminated by the Holy Spirit, not, however, immediately "but through the Holy Fathers and Leaders of the Catholic Church." (Decree 12.) Indeed "the dignity of the Bishop is so necessary in the Church, that without him, neither Church nor Christian could either be or be spoken of.

[1] The Synod of Jassy which also dealt with "Cyril's" chapters seriatim apparently takes this as equivalent to the *filioque*. Unlike Jerusalem, Jassy did not condemn Cyril personally, but only the alleged *Confession*.

[2] The quotations are from Robertson: *Synod of Jerusalem*, 1899.

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For he, as a successor of the Apostles, having received in continued succession by the imposition of hands and the invocation of the All-holy Spirit the grace that is given him of the Lord of binding and loosing, is a living image of God upon the earth." (Decree 10.)

Decree 15 is concerned with the Sacraments and 16 and 17 with Baptism and the Eucharist in particular. The Sacraments, called "Mysteries" by the Orthodox, are seven in number, to accept any other number of sacraments is "heretical madness". They are: Baptism; Confirmation or Holy Chrism, which was instituted by the words "Tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye be endowed with power from on high"; Holy Orders, which was instituted by the words "This do ye for my memorial" and the words "Whatsoever ye shall bind or loose upon the earth shall be bound or loosed in the heavens"; the Eucharist; Marriage; Penance; and Unction—"the Holy Oil or Prayer Oil is spoken of in Mark and is expressly witnessed to by the Lord's brother."[1] In general, the Sacraments have "something natural" and "something supernatural". They are not "bare signs of the promises of God", but "efficient means of grace to the receivers", and "we reject as something abominable and pernicious the notion that when faith is weak the integrity of the Mystery is impaired."

It is to be observed that the Decrees of the Synod of Jerusalem, and particularly the 17th and 18th, carry what Neale called "a clear taint of Latinism". They belong to a period when the influence of Rome was strong in the Orthodox Church, and of all the authoritative formulae of Orthodoxy they reveal that influence at the highest. For instance, the 17th Article on the subject of the Eucharist uses the word transubstantiation and employs the terminology of substance and accidents. "We believe," it says, "the Lord Jesus Christ to be present, not typically, nor figuratively . . . but truly and really, so that after the consecration of the bread and the wine the bread is transmuted, transubstantiated, converted and transformed into the True Body Itself of the Lord which was born in Bethlehem of the ever-Virgin." "Further, we believe that after the consecration of the bread and wine there no

[1] St. Mark vi, 13. St. James v, 14.

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longer remaineth the substance of the bread and the wine, but the Body Itself and the Blood of the Lord under the species and form of bread and wine; that is to say under the accidents of the bread." "Further, that the Body Itself of the Lord and the Blood That are in the Mystery of the Eucharist ought to be honoured in the highest manner, and adored with *latria*. For one is the adoration of the Holy Trinity, and of the Body and Blood of the Lord. Further, that it is true and propitiatory Sacrifice offered for all Orthodox, living and dead; and for the benefit of all, as is set forth expressly in the prayers of the Mystery delivered to the Church by the Apostles, in accordance with the command they received of the Lord. Further, that before Its use, immediately after the consecration, and after Its use, What is reserved in the Sacred Pyxes for the communion of those that are about to depart (i.e., the dying) is the true Body of the Lord, and not in the least different therefrom; so that before Its use after the consecration, in Its use, and after Its use, It is in all respects the true Body of the Lord." "Further, that this Mystery of the Sacred Eucharist can be performed by none other, except only by an Orthodox Priest who hath received his priesthood from an Orthodox and Canonical Bishop in accordance with the teaching of the Eastern Church."

The sacramental doctrine of the Orthodox Church is, therefore, the same as that of the Catholic West. But there is this important fact to be noted. This same 17th Decree expressly states that the word transubstantiation is used not to explain the manner of the change but to express and emphasize the reality of the fact of it. Gavin[1] quotes Chrysostom Papadopoulos as saying "the influence of Latin theology was entirely external and ought not to be over-emphasized. This superficial similarity of expression in its teaching ought not to be regarded as identity in thought." That is to say that the Orthodox use of the word transubstantiation to express the fact of the change need not be held to commit the Easterns to acceptance of the scholastic philosophy to explain the manner of the change.

It is significant that when the Acts of the Synod of Jerusalem were translated into Russian and published in 1838,

[1] p. 217, footnote.

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considerable alterations in phraseology were made: the more obvious Latinisms and in particular the reference to substance and accidents were excised.[1]

The 18th Decree of the Synod of Jerusalem is concerned with the state of the departed and with prayers on their behalf. After death, souls enter into joy or misery according to their actions in this life. But neither the joy nor the misery is complete until after the General Resurrection. The souls of those who have sinned mortally but have repented before death, "though without bringing forth any fruits of repentance" descend into Hades and there endure punishment. "But they are aware of their future release from thence and are delivered by the Supreme Goodness through the prayers of the Priests and the good works which the relatives of each do for their Departed; especially the unbloody Sacrifice." The word Purgatory is not mentioned. The wording of this Decree is also slightly modified in the Russian version. And, indeed, the general conception which seems to control the Orthodox mind on this matter, is of the Church as the body of the faithful whose life is upheld by mutual prayer and intercession. The death of the body is irrelevant. All the departed, from the Blessed Virgin Mary to one's own parents may be prayed for, and prayed to. If a man can ask for the prayers of someone he knows on earth, there is no reason why he should cease to do so after that person has died, nor is his physical death any reason why he should cease to be prayed for.[2]

The Questions appended to the Decrees are the same as those attached to "Cyril's" *Confession*. 1. Ought the Divine Scriptures to be read in the vulgar tongue by all Christians? 2. Are the Scriptures plain to all Christians that read them? 3. What books do you call Sacred Scripture? 4. How ought we to think of the Holy Icons and of the Adoration of the Saints?

[1] See a translation of the Russian text with comparison with the Greek of Decree 17 in Neale: *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, London, 1850, Vol. II, p. 1173. And an interesting report of a conversation with Philaret of Moscow on the Russian use of the word transubstantiation in Headlam: *History, Authority and Archeology*, p. 199, note 2. London, 1909.

[2] See Khomyakov's well-known poem printed in Birkbeck: *Russia and the English Church*, Vol. I, p. 2. London, 1895.

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The Synod's Answer to the first three is that the Scriptures "should not be read by all but only by those who with fitting research have inquired into the deep things of the Spirit," and who understand how they should be read. The New Testament itself is quoted to shew that the Scriptures "are very profound and their sense lofty; and that they need learned and divine men to search out their true meaning." It is asserted that the Books of the Apocrypha are genuine parts of Scripture.[1]

In answer to Question 4, "Cyril" had said, ". . . We permit those that so desire to have icons of Christ and the Saints; but the worship and service of them . . . we reject." The Synod, however, gives an answer of some length and reasserts the doctrine of Icons affirmed by the Seventh Ecumenical Council (see p. 54) and refers to that Council by name. It draws a clear distinction between worship as *latria* which may be offered to God alone, and the *dulia* with which the Saints and their icons are adored, or rather, honoured. There is further a higher degree of *dulia*, called *hyperdulia* which is paid to the Blessed Virgin Mary, "the Mother of God the Word. For though, indeed, the Theotókos be servant of the Only God, yet it is also His Mother as having borne in the flesh one of the Trinity; wherefore also she is hymned as being beyond compare, above as well all Angels as as Saints; wherefore also we pay her the adoration of *hyperdulia*."

Finally the *Confession of Dositheus* appeals by name to a number of writers who have written expositions of the Orthodox Faith, to the Fathers, to the Ecumenical Councils, as expressing the same teaching as the Confession. And even the heretics, it says, Nestorians, Armenians, Copts and the Ethiopians, apart "from their own particular heresies" believe the same thing.

A few years before this Council of Jerusalem assembled, Macarius, the 147th Patriarch of Antioch, had returned from a journey to Moscow. It was his second visit to that city. He had been there before in 1655, when his son Paul, Archdeacon of Aleppo, had accompanied him, and kept a diary which is full of interest and at times diverting.[2] He made his journeys

[1] The Russian version omits this: and tones down somewhat the refusal of permission to all to read the Scriptures.

[2] Ridding: *The Travels of Macarius*. London, 1936.

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describe a number of local or tribal cults; nor is it justifiable to imagine a basis of a uniform primitive Slav system.

In the South, that is to say, in the Lower Danube basin and in Illyria, tradition ascribes the first conversions to Christianity to the time of Heraclius, and there seems not to have been the same fierce and prolonged opposition to the new cult, with which it had to contend in Russia and Northern Europe. In Russia and in Poland, a dual confession, and apparently a heathen priesthood, lasted into the later Middle Ages; in the eleventh to twelfth centuries attempts were made to re-establish the old faith on a national basis. True, the rising in Bulgaria against Boris (eleventh century) was led by an anti-Christian element, but we do not know of an active priesthood in this connection, nor whether it was a revival of Slavonic or Asperuh tendencies. Until the final establishment of a national, autonomous Church in Bulgaria, and in fact, until the turning-point of the Synod of Trnovo (seventeenth century), the indecision as to belief was evident not only in the varying allegiance to pope or patriarch, but in the activities of the numberless heretical sects, not merely tolerated, but at times enjoying considerable privileges and influence.

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The presence of these sects, notably of a gnostic character, pre-dates the Orthodox missions of the tenth century, and caused their retreat from Pannonia. The earliest account of the Slav apostles mentions the 'thrice heathen heretics' who were unacquainted with Slavonic; probably referring to that mixture of Paulician and Eulite doctrine, which, since the fourth century, had spread into the Northern Balkans, and remains to this day among the Nazarenes of the trans-Danube. Syrian and Armenian colonies had been established in Thrace during the seventh century in the time of Constantine, still known to M. Psellos and Cedrenos as Massalians. Armenian Monophysites and Paulicians lived in the neighbourhood of Plovdiv, Sofia, Devol, Rila, Moglena, Kjustendil, etc., from the eleventh to the thirteenth century; the Dragovičci being known in South-east Macedonia as extreme

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early Russian chronicle attributes a very similar cosmogony to Volhs (*magi*) at Kiev, long before the first traces of Bogomil apocryphal literature in Russia.

The fact of the matter is, that most of the apocryphal literature, important for creating a new source of popular legend in the Balkans—e.g. the Apocalypsis of Baruch, Gospel of St Thomas, the Palaia, Vision of Isaiah, etc.—appeared in Slav versions, often markedly differing from any known Greek originals, as early as the eleventh century, and possibly before Bogomilism as such had established a popular hold or, at any rate, a literature of its own. To Jeremije, the Bogomil, is generally attributed the Slavonic version of the Elucidarium. Here, again, no exact Greek prototype can be discovered. Neither the devil's contract motif, nor that of his appearance over the primeval waters in the form of a diving bird, and other significant details, can be traced with any certainty beyond the Slavonic versions.

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Only on going westwards into Bosnia, it seems certain that the literary form preceded the popularised story. Otherwise, it is clear that the Slav writers of the Middle Ages made considerable use of popular sources, unaware of any inconsistency of doctrine, and tempering their material to taste. In the beginning, according to a Russian monastic writer of the seventeenth century, Almighty God resided in the three chambers of the upper heaven. 'The three chambers of the cross,' he says, in iconographical symbolism. 'The Emperor without beginning, uncreated, unspeakable, not born, not conceived, universal, invisible and unseeable, immortal and immaterial' was there before time. By his thought he gave birth to his Son. 'For the Father is neither created nor begotten, and the Son is begotten and not created. The Holy

substantial history, but there is documentation in his *Jazyčestvo i drevnaja Rus'* (1914), and in more recent articles in *Slavia* and *Revue des Études Slaves* (VIII). More relevant theories are put forward by M. Arnaudov in Sb.N.U. IV. Older works include Spicyn, *Šamanizm v otnošenii k russkoj arheologii*, Zapiski Arheolog. XI; V. Bogoraz, *K psihologii šamanstva* (Etnograf. Obozrenie, XXII, i), where traditions of the type given above will be found.

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Spirit is not created and not begotten, but proceeds from the Father. The Son of God created by his Word and the command of his heavenly Father all the creatures of heaven, visible and invisible. As he spoke, so it was created and made by the Holy Spirit proceeding from his wise lips....' This is the irreproachably Orthodox preface to a story of God and devil creation.[1]

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A Bulgarian monk of the eleventh century (as Jireczek identifies him) wrote a world chronicle, which is preserved in a Serbian manuscript. It is an early naturalisation and adaptation of heterogeneous themes. Into the mouth of the prophet Isaiah is put a vision of the whole world, on an angel-borne journey to the seventh sphere of heaven. On the command of God, Isaiah gathered together the chosen people of the Bulgars on the north shore of the Black Sea and led them into the country now known as Dobrudja, where they settled and flourished and expanded their empire.[2] It appears that this is a Bogomil work, and thus bears out the theory that the sect tended to become a nationalist party in mediaeval Bulgaria.

Selective tendencies are not unimportant criteria at the time of contact with a different culture. The remarkable profusion of apocryphal books translated into Slavo-Serb and Bulgarian was not the work of a sect only. On the other hand, very little is known of Byzantine science or even history, which found its way into these languages. The most that remains is a few works on astrology and magic, and treatises on minerals and animals. There was a distinct taste for the fantastic and the magical, to judge from the literary remains of the earlier periods. 'I have travelled in many lands, but I have nowhere seen so many sorcerers as in our land of Bulgaria; nor so many witches and spell-workers, to whom people go to obtain cures from them,' says a writer of the seventeenth century. And in another place: 'There are men

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[1] V. Močulskii, *Russkii Filolog. Vestnik*, XVII (1887).

[2] Cf. L. Stojanović, *Spomenik*, III (1890), pp. 160–93; K. Jireczek, *Sitzberichte d. kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, CXXXVI.

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181 Russia knew nothing of Feudalism. She remained aloof from
829 the intellectual current which began with Scholasticism and
177 ended with scientific investigation. She was untouched by the Reformation. Whenever she entered into conflict with the Holy See, it was simply as a foreign power.

In short, Russia did not belong to the European family. If she was connected with it, said Danilevsky, it was by adoption, in the manner of a wild stock, on which an exotic branch has been grafted.

• 781 But had not religion, at least, engendered a spiritual solidarity
829 between her and the West? Was not Orthodoxy a disruption of
771 the Christian community and had not six centuries of Œcumenism forged indissoluble bonds between the Germano-Roman and the Slavo-Greek worlds?

No, replied Danilevsky. The Western Church was the triumph of Rationalism, differentiated by a positive sign among the Catholics, a negative one among the Protestants. Rome sacrificed internal to external unity, the Reformation sacrificed true liberty to the idea of external liberty. The Eastern Church was neither a system nor a hardened doctrine; it was all love and renunciation. Much more than dogmatic opposition was involved—these were two concepts of the spiritual life which were poles apart. That explained why the Orthodox Christians had come to regard Islam as the involuntary and unwitting saviour of Slavism. By tolerating independent churches under her sway, Islam protected them against the assimilating or unifying ascendency of Latin Catholicism. A Patriarch of Constantinople had said that *Providence had chosen the Osmanlis to defend Orthodoxy against the Western heresy.*

186* So that Russia, according to Danilevsky, saw in Europe
829 nothing to give her a feeling of historical or spiritual solidarity. Such was, moreover, the point of view of the great Russian novelist, Dostoievsky; to show oneself a true Russian was, for him, *to place oneself on the battleground of all European hostilities.* It was to constitute a unity, not *in* Europe, but opposed to it.

The thesis of the biologist met that of the novelist. A harmful policy (said Danilevsky in his turn), during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, associated Russia with the European balance of power. Now this balance of power affected only the

A mere glance at such a history helps the understanding of
●781 much that is characteristic of Orthodoxy. It is small matter for wonder if the Orthodox are in some ways rigid, if they are conservative and inspired by the conviction that the Faith is above all something to be guarded, if their attitude is defensive with perhaps at times a nuance of what some would call an inferiority complex. History has sentenced them to cherish their faith in the face of opposition, not even Russia has been immune in modern times, and to learn to resist the lure of a material well-being to be gained by abandoning it. As a reward they have their profound sense of the reality of the unseen spiritual world, and their developed genius for corporate worship. Their experience of this world has confirmed their belief that the choice of the monk and hermit who renounce it is the highest expression of the Christian life. They look less for justice in this life than for fortitude to bear injustice and for reverence towards those who suffer, and this blends well with the temperamental melancholy of the Slav. In the beauty and truth of the unseen world they find their consolation, and also their strength, for in the resurrection of Christ they see the guarantee that in the end that world of the Spirit will redeem and transfigure not only human life but the whole cosmos.

1 [See p. 17 of text in cat. 116--A]

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icons of Feasts of the Church, often of the Twelve Great Festivals of Orthodoxy.[1] In the fourth tier are Old Testament Prophets including King David and King Solomon. Above this may be another row depicting the Patriarchs and perhaps still another filled with Cherubim and Seraphim. The scheme is not rigidly adhered to in detail, but the whole represents all creation, representatives of the Old and the New Covenants grouped in praise and intercession around the Deesis. 346

To the Orthodox worshipper the iconostas symbolizes the meeting place of heaven and earth: it marks the distinction and at the same time the union, of the world of divine truth and beauty represented by the sanctuary, and this imperfect world of human life symbolized by the rest of the church. As he stands in worship he contemplates this representation of all creation united in a symphony of praise and adoration. And the great doors in the centre of the iconostas mark the place where his worship reaches its climax in the solemn act of Communion. But the whole interior of the church is adorned with images in fresco or mosaic of saints and heroes of the Orthodox Faith. The triumph over iconoclasm was to lead in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to an outburst of elaborate iconography which characterized what used to be known as the "*Second Golden Age*" of Byzantine art and which made the walls of their churches a picture book in which the Orthodox found a perpetual reminder of their creed. On the walls of the narthex and the nave are depicted the great festivals of the Church, and series of ascetics, confessors, martyrs, doctors and prelates. In the half dome over the apse of the sanctuary is the Theotókos—the God-bearer seated with her Child in her arms, while high up in the great dome this whole iconographic proclamation of belief is crowned by the image of Christ, the rainbow-throned Almighty surrounded by cherubim and seraphim. [781]

Within this building the principal act of worship is the Liturgy, the name which the Orthodox give to the service 79b

[1] These are (not counting Easter, which is in a class by itself): Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, Transfiguration, Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and the following feasts of Our Lady: Nativity, Purification, the Annunciation, Presentation in the Temple, and the Falling Asleep.

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It is not a simple matter for a Westerner to grasp what the icon means to the Orthodox and the part it plays in his religious life. Perhaps it can be fully understood only from within Orthodoxy as part of Orthodox experience. But certain distinctions can be drawn. All Christians presumably agree that a picture of a sacred person or event has value and legitimate use as a means of teaching. But the icon is more than that. It is more also than a picture of a loved person, by looking upon which memory is refreshed and devotion stimulated. Neither of these parallels would account for the degree of veneration which is paid to the icons. It is the same veneration as the Orthodox pay to the Book of the Gospels and the Cross. On the other hand it is a lower degree of veneration than that which is given to the consecrated elements of the Eucharist. In the latter case worship is rendered to Christ Himself actually present. In an icon of Christ, He is not conceived as present in the same way as that. Yet there is a link between the actual material icon, and the person it represents. In the devout contemplation of an icon one is brought in some sense into the presence of the original of which it is a painting. The link is in the Orthodox view analogous to the connection between a sacred relic and the saint from which the relic is derived. With this difference, that the connection between the relic and the saint, assuming it to exist in fact, might be called a natural link, whereas the connection between the icon and its original is created by the Church. It is established by the action of blessing the icon. An icon is not, so to speak, fully an icon until it has been blessed. Then it becomes a link between the human and the divine, through it the other world comes into touch with the worshipper. 778 781

Standing before it with the right disposition of heart and mind, one is really in touch with, in the presence of, the subject which the icon represents. "According to Orthodox belief an icon is a place of the Gracious Presence. It is the place of an *appearance* of Christ, of the Virgin, of the saints, of all those represented by the icon, and hence it serves as a place for prayer to them." "By the blessing of the icon of Christ, a mystical meeting of the faithful and Christ is made possible."[1]

[1] S. Bulgakov: *The Orthodox Church*, p. 162 f., London, 1935.

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778 No wonder then that the icons are so highly revered, that
781 famous icons are carried in procession through the streets, or brought by the clergy to the bedside of the sick.

778 So potent is the link between the icon and its prototype
789 that many icons are regarded as "wonder-working icons" In fact the wonder-working icon is the icon *par excellence*. The belief that such icons are endowed with miraculous power has given rise to numberless legends.[1] They may tell of an icon's being the means of curing sickness and other ills which flesh is heir to, of bringing material good fortune to the devout believer, of securing the icon's own safety when menaced by danger, of rewarding its veneration and even resenting and punishing insult, physical injury and neglect, but mercifully restoring the sinner after his repentance. Not all of this is official Orthodox teaching: much of it belongs to the sphere of popular religion, where it may go to fantastic lengths.[2]

Presumably the orthodox interpretation of such happenings is that at the intercession of the saint depicted on the icon, God grants the request of the petitioner who prayed before it. In the popular mind such an explanation may readily slide into the conception that the saint is the benefactor because this particular picture of him was venerated, and that again may easily slip into the feeling that it is the actual icon itself which has worked the miracle or conferred the blessing.

There exist a relatively large number of pictures of the Blessed Virgin which tradition attributes to St. Luke, and these are treated with deep reverence. But a place of their own in the heart of the Orthodox believer belongs to the "Icons not made with Hands". These are icons the originals of which are believed to have come into existence without human agency. Such are the Vernicle, the legend of which is well known in the West also; and an image of Christ imprinted upon a cloth sent to Abgar, King of Edessa, by Christ himself and subsequently brought to Constantinople. This is the most ancient of the "Icons not made with Hands". But there are others, and they, and the copies made of them (though some are said

[1] See R. M. Dawkins for many such connected with the icons of Athos, in *The Monks of Athos*, London, 1936.
[2] Charles Diehl in *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, Vol. IV, p. 6.

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CHAPTER XI

ORTHODOXY AND THE PEOPLE

THERE is evidence that in Russia the year 1948 was marked by widespread religious revival. It is striking and even startling. It tells of the people flocking back to their Church; of very great numbers crowding the churches of Moscow to make their communions during Lent; of physically exhausted priests snatching a few hours' sleep without leaving church, so many were the people who came to seek their ministrations.

Even if such reports exaggerated the facts and were only partly true, they draw attention once more to the ineradicably religious nature of the Russians. They suggest that it is to the temper of the Russian folk as a whole that the West must look for the prospect of peace and mutual understanding, and inspire the hope that in the long run the character of the Russian people will make itself felt and say its say.

In dealing with Orthodoxy we are dealing with a different civilization from our own. It is, if we adopt Toynbee's classification, Byzantine whilst ours is Western, and although both are derived from the Greco-Roman civilization which preceded them, the two have their own characteristic and sometimes divergent views of life. It behoves us then to try to understand the Orthodox view of life, and what especially concerns us here is the mainspring of that view of life—for its mainspring is religion, even if that should manifest itself in negative form, as recently in Russia.

Leaving on one side then the official body of doctrine and the questions which confront the hierarchy in their relations with the State and with those who lie outside the confines of Orthodoxy, what does religion mean when it means anything, to the people of the Orthodox Church, to the man behind

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781 the machine, to the worker in the fields, to the housewife and the mother who teaches her children the Orthodox faith?

All generalizations are perilous and break down somewhere. There are marked differences between Greek and Slav, and again within the Slavs themselves. For instance, the Southern Slavs have perhaps never been the enthusiastic churchgoers that their cousins the Russians have been.

If we ask in what manner a man is conscious of his religion we shall get different answers. In some religions he is conscious of it in terms of fear. The Western man or woman is probably aware of it primarily in terms of duty, of the claims it makes upon him in respect of conduct. I am talking about its primary impact and his immediate response, if he makes any. Doubtless many other things follow.

But one might perhaps risk the assertion that the Orthodox are conscious of their religion primarily in terms of the reality of the unseen world and the permeation of this world by the other. Orthodoxy is meeting, the meeting of two worlds, the contact of the material and the spiritual and even the penetration of the material by the spiritual.

When the Greek stands in Church, this is what he is aware of and here he finds it symbolized. The space where he stands, before the Iconostas, is this world, behind the Iconostas, is the other world. There they meet and there, as he makes his communion, they meet again not in symbol but in fact, in his own person. The icon which he salutes in reverence, he looks not at, but through, for it is (among other things) a window opening upon the spiritual world.

All this is because God Himself came from the heavenly world and entered the earthly, and what is more, stayed in it. The faith, the doctrinal statements to which all alike, both clergy and laity, adhere so passionately, are but the safeguarding shrine of this commanding truth and all that it implies.

781 This explains the central position which Easter occupies in the spiritual life of Orthodoxy. The Great Service takes
796 place at midnight and it has been frequently described. It is preceded by a procession outside the Church, which represents a fruitless search for the body of Christ. Then follow the joyful announcement "Christ is Risen", and the Easter Liturgy

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to which succeed domestic rejoicings which may last most of the night. For Christ has plunged into the abysses of this world and deeper still, to return with the new life of restorative power which shall claim not only the hearts of men but the whole cosmos for light and truth. Fedotov[1] draws attention to the figure of Cosmos in Greek icons which represent the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The Apostles are grouped around Our Lady in the upper room and the flickering tongues of fire play upon the head of each, and there is another figure in the picture who also shares in the out-pouring of the Spirit. It is "King Cosmos", a crowned and bearded man who is apparently coming up from below, out of the earth.

But it is expressed and preserved in other more homely and intimate ways, and the Church's touch upon Nature is repeated as the year unfolds. New mown hay, just as it is with the flowers that fell with it, is brought in armfuls and strewn on the floor of the church at Whitsuntide, for Pentecost was one of the first of Harvest Festivals. On the Feast of the Transfiguration which means much for Orthodoxy, grapes are blessed and distributed. "As the water is changed by Nature into the blood of the grape," a Serb said to me, "so by a higher power the blood of the grape is changed into the Blood of Christ." Once more that world penetrates this to transfigure and enrich it.

A ceremony to which enthusiastic crowds always flock, and which may be seen in any Orthodox land from the Jordan to the Neva, is the Blessing of the Waters at the Epiphany. It commemorates the Baptism of Christ, but as it has spread from Palestine into the rest of the Orthodox world, so it has widened its significance to include the touch of the other world upon the waters which give life and fruitfulness to the earth. And a charming ceremony it is, best seen perhaps in the cold countries where at that season of the year the rivers are frozen. There great blocks of ice are cut out of the surface, and from them an altar is built, the cross upon which is also fashioned from ice. The vested clergy and their attendants are grouped around and with them the crowds of worshippers and sightseers.

[1] Fedotov: *The Russian Religious Mind*, Harvard, 1946, p. 369.

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781 The waters are blessed by dipping the cross into them with the
796 appropriate prayers. At the Jordan, multitudes of the excited people plunge into the newly blessed river, and even in cold climates there are hardy enthusiasts who will leap through the hole in the ice.[1]

781 All this and much more is the happy side of the realization that the unseen world of light and life enters into this other dark gross world of sin and suffering. But there is another aspect of it which finds expression in what is a characteristic cry of Orthodoxy—"*Lord have mercy.*"

Toynbee has written[2] that one element in Russia's inheritance from Byzantium is the conviction that Byzantium, and then Russia is always right. In matters of State policy, both secular and ecclesiastical, this may well be so. But there is a sense in which the Orthodox has the conviction that he is always wrong. Not only is he aware of his failures and shortcomings in his relations with his fellows, but he expresses it. A Russian in saying "good-bye" to a friend may use a word which equally well means "forgive". If he is a devout person, he may seek his acquaintances and ask their forgiveness, not necessarily with any specific wrongdoing in his mind, on solemn occasions, as, for instance, when he intends to make his communion. A vivid sense of man's need of the divine compassion of forgiveness is woven into the very fabric of Orthodox religion. The words "Lord have mercy" are constantly on the lips of the Orthodox and they are repeated, over and over again in the course of worship.

781 The scene may be in a cathedral church on September 14,
796 the Festival of the Exaltation of the Cross. A platform has been erected in the centre of the church, and upon this a group of men stand. They hold in their hands a huge and resplendent cross. Very slowly, by almost imperceptible degrees they raise it, holding it in a vertical position, and lifting it higher and higher, until they can reach no further. The cross remains for a moment, poised at its highest elevation, above the heads of the bearers, above the watching eyes of the

[1] In Greece a cross is thrown into the sea with a ribbon attached by which it is retrieved. In town churches the ceremony of blessing the water may take place at the font.

[2] *Civilization on Trial*, p. 164 ff., Oxford, 1948.

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vast multitude of worshippers who throng the church on all sides. Then with the same slow deliberation it is gradually lowered again to the ground. During this action a choir is singing, and many of the congregation whispering—"Lord have mercy"—just that one phrase over and over again, beginning softly on a very low note and rising in pitch and increasing in volume until the cross is at its maximum height, when the whole building reverberates with the reiterated appeal which slowly dies away again as the cross descends. Then the whole action is repeated to the same accompaniment, and more than once. The number of repetitions must run into hundreds. To many Western minds they will doubtless appear "vain repetitions". But the look on the faces of the worshippers will perhaps give pause to the expression of any such sentiment. The dramatic action expresses something very deeply implanted in the religious consciousness of the Orthodox, the feeling of human unworthiness and its need of the divine compassion, the sense of being imprisoned in the dark and crude elements of this world and the appeal for light and liberation.

Closely allied to it is the awareness of a positive value in suffering and humility, even of humiliation. One meets many members of the Orthodox Church whom political events and recent decades have reduced from riches to poverty or from a reasonable degree of material comfort to almost none at all. But very rarely indeed is there any sign of bitterness and resentment in their reaction. The vivid awareness of the other world does much to soften the asperities of this, and that unseen world is peopled by those who have suffered, it is ruled by the Christ Who humbled Himself.

Another scene may illustrate this, the ceremony of the Feet-washing on Maundy Thursday—which again will pack the church to the doors and beyond. A large dais has been erected in the centre and on it are twelve seats in two rows facing each other. Upon each seat is a bishop fully vested. At a certain point in the service, the chief bishop present, who has been conducting it, lays aside his episcopal vestments, girds himself with a towel and takes a basin and water. He ascends the dais and goes to each of the seated bishops in turn,

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kneels in front of him, removes his foot-gear first from one foot, then from the other, and washes and dries his feet. He replaces the socks and shoes and passes on to the next. When he comes to the one who represents St. Peter, the latter makes the protest recorded in St. John's Gospel and his reluctance has to be overborne before his feet are washed. Finally the officiant resumes his vestments and the main service continues its course. How long does all this take? It does not matter, no one minds or even notices how long. It is all done in absolute silence. All that is audible is the breathing of one's immediate neighbours among the tense crowd of worshippers.

Here too is something particularly real to the Orthodox spirit which is an echo of individual experience, or at least of individual aspiration constantly known. Humiliation may even be sought after from religious motives, and exceptionally this may take oddly extreme forms. The bizarre and well-nigh incredible figure whom the Russians call "Yurodivi", which may be translated the "Fool for Christ's sake"[1] could only be found within the Eastern Orthodox world. He may be really deficient mentally, and as such, in the Russian view, under the special protection of God. He may also be the man who in pursuit of humility and in praise of it deliberately assumed a character of foolishness, and courted the jeers of those he met, inviting their mockery as he roamed from village to village—a fantastic figure, but one who has his meed of reverence too, for the grace that he seeks is loved.

The Orthodox has more to remind him of the unseen world than those who dwell in lands in which religion assumes forms that are more austere. Though for centuries under Turkish rule he was deprived of such outward signs of religion, so that at times he was wont to build his church half buried in the ground to aid concealment, yet with the return of freedom he set up his shrines at street corners and along the wayside. Icons are not confined to the churches, they are to be found in the houses, in every room of a devout household. The living-room will have an icon in a position stereotyped by custom, and a visitor will salute it on entering as he greets his host. Especially in Russia of pre-revolution days, icons were

[1] See 1 Corinthians iv, 10.

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The collapse of humanism and the breakdown of liberalism under the impact of the great wars which have characterized the twentieth century have left a frightening blank in men's minds, and in this state of affairs Orthodoxy has its word to say. 795

The Greek's own name for their Church is "Orthodox"—they claim to hold unaltered and unimpaired the true doctrine taught and handed on by the Apostles. No less significant is the name by which the Slav members of the same Communion designate it. They call it "Pravoslavny"—the "right-praising" or "right-worshipping" Church. To the Orthodox religion is primarily—though not, of course, solely—belief expressed in worship. Their worship is dogmatic, the truths of their Faith are repeated in it again and again, it re-echoes with glad assertion of what God has done and revealed of Himself in the Christian Gospel, in the experience of the Church, in the livesof the saints. 795 781

At the same time it is all couched in the language of poetry and the Service is always sung. The "aesthetic approach" to religion is often spoken of as characteristic of Orthodoxy. There is a legend which was held to explain how Russia came to adopt the religion of Constantinople. Envoys were sent in various directions to investigate different forms of Christianity. Those who had been sent to Constantinople came back and reported on the worship they had witnessed in Justinian's superb Church of the Holy Wisdom. Never had they seen anything like the beauty of it. "We felt we were in heaven rather than on earth," they said. Their description of all this beauty carried the day. "That is the religion for us," cried the Russians.

The truth of this story is in its symbolism. There is in Orthodoxy a real recognition that beauty is one of the links which bind the earth to its Creator. There is much beauty in Orthodox worship, in its buildings, its vestments, its appointments, its music and the quiet unhurried dignity of its movement. Time is of no account in its symbolic representation of the drama of the Life and Death of Christ, and of little account in the actual passing of the moments as anthem and repeated litany unroll themselves. All this is not to say that the outward expressions of Orthodox worship are always more beautiful than those to be found in the West. That would be to reduce the matter largely to a question of individual taste. And,

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indeed, ugliness is to be found in Orthodox churches, as it is elsewhere, though perhaps not quite so often; ugliness as blatant as that polished alabaster and those brazen whatnots which make us wince in many a Victorian church.

But the phrase "aesthetic approach" must not be taken in too narrow a sense. The "aesthetic approach" of Orthodoxy is not only *through* beauty but also *in* beauty, and it involves the reception *of* beauty. It is the sense of the beauty of the unseen world, which is reflected in this world, which dominates it. The Orthodox feeling for religion is a vital awareness of the Resurrection of Christ as a source of salving, reinvigorating power which is to rescue and transform the whole Cosmos. Its goal is the rescue of all creation from corruption, the transfiguration of the Cosmos, the restoration of its original beauty, as well as of its pristine goodness. Thus the icon, for instance, is not only a human attempt to achieve beauty and offer it in the service of God. It is much more a scrap of the material world which has been rescued from corruption and made a vehicle by which the unseen world comes into touch with men and in which the divine beauty dwells.

Thus in the flux and confusion of the modern world where men are groping for new certainties amid the ruins of bygone stabilities, Orthodoxy proclaims a definite body of beliefs anchored in historical facts, and expresses that belief in worship. It is, therefore, conscious of a mission to the world. It is aware of its Orthodox life as a cleansing, restoring and transfiguring agency in a world which "lies in evil".

It may with justice be said that for long periods that sense of mission has lain dormant. Or at least that owing largely to the political environment in which the Orthodox Church was set and to which its hierarchy has too often been submissive, the sense of mission has failed to find active expression. But it was never dead, and from time to time it awakes and demands new outlets and new methods of presenting Orthodoxy to the world as new circumstances arise and the conscience of the Church is quickened to meet them.

A notable example is the Zoe Movement in Greece which was founded in 1907 and came into public notice with the appearance of its periodical *Zoe* a few years later. The move-

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ment originated in a brotherhood, the members of which took no permanent vows and had no rigid rule. But they lived in common; the majority of them were laymen, and they were trained theologians. They were an unofficial independent body and as such had to meet some opposition at first. Their purpose was first to live the Orthodox life themselves, and then to bring it home to the masses of the people in Greece. The members of the Zoe Brotherhood were teachers, they fostered the revival of preaching and set up a press for the printing of cheap books of religious instruction and devotion. (Not so very long before this, according to the former Archbishop of Corinth, nine-tenths of the Greek parochial clergy were incapable of writing their own names.)[1] They laid great stress upon Confession, and they organized Sunday schools. Their efforts met with much success and the response of the people was visible and striking.

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A rather different illustration of the recuperative strength of Orthodoxy is afforded by the action of the Russian Church in the period between the two revolutions of 1917. In August and September of that year, in spite of the condition of civil disorder, the Council of the Russian Church met in Moscow and set itself vigorously to the task of reform. The former Holy Synod abolished itself, and the Patriarchate was restored. The Church turned to the reorganization of its own government in view of the changes which had taken place in civic life. An extensive programme of work was undertaken by the Council in its 170 sittings, and the fact that much of it was rendered ineffective by subsequent developments in the relations of Church and State should not be allowed to disguise the inherent vigour and the faith in Orthodoxy which the Council revealed.[1]

The remarkable cohesive strength in the Orthodox Communion is a fact to be noted. Since the time of the breakaway of the Monophysites described in Chapter II, the Orthodox world has remained one united family of Churches, in spite of temporary estrangements and quarrels. They are held together by no monarchical system of government, but,

[1] See *The Christian East*, July, 1937, and December, 1937.

[1] See an account of this period by a Russian writer in the Sixth Report of *The Anglican and Eastern Churches Association*, 1921.

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

795 781

according to their own account, by community of faith and love. In this respect their life is in striking contrast with the fissiparous tendencies displayed by the West. The Orthodox Church includes men of different races and languages, they are frankly national in outlook, they worship in the language of the people, not in a common and liturgical tongue. There are marked divergencies of temperament, especially between Greek and Slav which run like an undercurrent beneath the surface of their history and threaten disruption, as much now as ever. Yet in spite of all this the Orthodox Communion holds together and retains its identity. The case of Bulgaria serves but to underline the fact. For the schism which occurred in 1871 between Constantinople and the Bulgarian Church, precisely on the grounds of what the former regarded as the excessive nationalism of the latter, has now at length been healed, and Bulgaria is once more restored to the full communion of Orthodoxy. This unity in diversity which maintains itself in the face of so many factors which might make for disintegration, and which owes its existence to no coercive principle but to bonds which are intangible and belong to the moral and spiritual sphere, is an impressive fact of which a disordered world may well take note.

795 659

If the life of the Orthodox Church in past centuries has been conspicuously defensive, a rôle of guardianship of its faith and a willingness to suffer in its defence, the twentieth century has revealed the fact that such a life has not ceased to be the vocation of Orthodoxy. The geographical situation of the Orthodox peoples in Eastern Europe places them in a peculiarly exposed position in the conflict which atheistic Communism wages with all forms of religion. This conflict is something new in the modern world. The Christian creed and way of life have been rejected before by individual people or small groups. Alternative creeds have been proposed and accepted, more or less in the seclusion of the study. But the twentieth century has seen the proclamation of rival creeds to the Christian in the market place, publicly, with explicit claims to be superior, supported by argument and backed perhaps by force. Communism, with its definite philosophy of history and its altruistic appeal on behalf of the downtrodden

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

178 contemporary material and intellectual culture which culmi-
439 nates in their conversion to Christianity under Roman or Byzantine auspices. It[2] likewise witnessed an expansion of trade both in Central Europe and in the Orient, and in this commercial expansion the Slavs in general had a definite stake.

764 Though a combined evaluation of linguistic, source, and archaeological data permits a tolerably accurate and convincing appraisal of the material culture of the Slavs during the pagan period, there is no such coherent mass of evidence upon which any wholly satisfactory statement of their religious beliefs, demonology, and eschatology may be predicted. The early Slavs cremated their dead, sharing this custom with their other Indo-European neighbors (Lithuanians, Germans, Celts). Burial was adopted through foreign influence, and before the
774 various conversions both customs existed side by side. The
776 primitive pagan Slavs were animists and attributed a soul to
775 the natural elements in which they lived. They honored a supreme deity and also believed in the existence of wood, water,
[782] and household spirits to which they offered sacrifices. Beside these nature spirits, they also honored the spirits of their an-
821 cestors and thus believed in a future life. They deified the heavenly bodies and the great phenomena of nature (thunder, lightning, wind, rain, fire).

776 Beside these animistic and manistic beliefs, the pagan Slavs also venerated a limited number of gods, some of which were of alien origin. The organization of a veritable pantheon was carried farthest by the Western Slavs who lived along the Baltic coast, a phenomenon perhaps not unconnected with Germanic influences of early date. It is reasonably clear that all the primitive Slavs possessed a god of the thunder and lightning, though this deity, Perun, took on special importance among the Russian Slavs because of special Scandinavian influences and the importance of Thor in the Scandinavian pantheon. Among the Western Slavs, however, Perun was less dominant than the god of the shining sun, Svarog, a name apparently connected with the indo-European base **svar,* signifying "heat,

[2] [THE PERIOD FROM 700 to 1000 A.D. -- ANALYST]

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

796 emphasis, in dramatic stress. Thus in the West everything plainly leads up to the Consecration as the climax of the rite not only in its inner meaning but in its outward aspect. In the Orthodox Liturgy, however, the Consecration might even escape the notice of one who was not accustomed to follow the rite or attentive to note it. The Consecration is, of course, actually its climax in East and West alike, but in the East no special outward signs of it are visible to the congregation, the Royal doors which shut off the Sanctuary being closed.

On the other hand the Great Entrance is easily the most conspicuous part of the whole service. It corresponds to the offertory in the West, i.e., the bringing of the bread and wine to be offered at the altar. In the West this is the simplest of actions[1] and involves no more than moving the bread and wine a few feet from a small table called the Credence, to the Altar. In the East it is the occasion of a solemn procession in which all the clergy present and their attendants pass out through the northern door of the iconostas, along the front of it, and after a pause for biddings to prayer, in again through the Royal doors. All this is done with pomp and circumstance, the choir meanwhile singing the Cherubic hymn.

The deportment of the worshippers is to be noted. They take little audible part in the service—there are no hymns in the Western sense—but they often join in the Lord's Prayer aloud and sometimes in the Creed. They cross themselves [782] frequently (making the sign from right to left) and kneel or even prostrate themselves as devotion moves them. There is much freedom and spontaneity of action. Men, women and children are all gathered together in the nave, occupying any particular part in it which takes their fancy. They move about from one place to another if they are so disposed and go up to salute an icon or place a lighted candle whenever they are moved to do so. It is quite unlike an English congregation, in which all do the same thing at the same time. The Orthodox habit is more free and easy. But at the same time it is less so, for the Orthodox stands to worship, and this not simply in the sense of not sitting or not kneeling. It is more like standing

[1] But compare the Offertory as performed in Westminster Abbey and some other Anglican churches.

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

the fact that the rules left room for the expression of individual inspiration and the exercise of creative power, as the painter set about his task of adorning a given surface with a vision of divine truth.

As the icons vary in their subject matter, so they vary also in their artistic merit. Some are supreme works of art, many are of great beauty, superb in their composition, rhythm of line and glowing colour. Many others have little aesthetic value, and the icon may even degenerate into a cheap oleograph stuck on a piece of wood.

But the veneration in which they are held is independent of these considerations. Some measure of it may be found in the ubiquity of icons in an Orthodox country. They are not only in churches, but also in public buildings of all kinds, in private houses and shops. There is a recognized position for the icon in a room, and the visitor will salute it on entering, just as he greets his host. Schools, regiments, clubs and the like will adopt their own icons. The devout will carry an icon with them when they travel, and have it before them when they say their prayers. Well-to-do people may accumulate their family icons from generation to generation. The first thing the Orthodox worshipper does on entering his church is to salute the icons, or, at least, such of them as may claim his particular devotion. He bows before them, crosses himself, says a prayer, kisses the icon, and perhaps sets a lighted candle before it in the stand provided for the purpose. He then moves away to wherever he wishes to stand for the service if there is one, or to leave the church and go about his business.

Plainly we are here in a realm which readily lends itself to capture by popular religion. Popular religion, whatever the field in which it expresses itself, the use of the Bible, the singing of subjective and emotional hymns, the veneration of icons, or anything else, may easily use the thing it has captured, in a way which others call superstition, and which may indeed be such.

But before the Westerner draws hasty general conclusions about the Orthodox practice before the icons, he should reflect that the Orthodox approaches the icon with premises in his mind which he himself probably does not share.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16

III

ELEMENTS OF A FOLK-CHRISTIANITY AND ITS RELATION TO MAGIC

Procopius in describing the manners of the Slavs has a 771
remark to this effect; that while they believed in a supreme God and in many spirits and demons and lesser gods, they neither believed in any fate, nor in any direct influences over human life of a supernatural nature. What the writer meant to convey by this extraordinary statement is not known, unless that at that time the ideas of predestination, the cult of fates, who regularly preside over births, and that of the ancestors, for whose service the most characteristic ceremonies of the peasant are designed, were not in evidence; or that in general the religious attitude of these barbarians differed essentially from that of the Greeks. Procopius goes on to say that, when a man felt himself to 174
be in particular danger, through sickness or through war, he [782]
promised gifts to the gods, and, if the situation were grave he made these in fact, hoping therewith to redeem his life. This is still a fundamental element of popular prophylaxis. Apart from such literary curiosities, the early religion of the South Slavs can only be reconstructed from later evidence, from recent folk-lore, and, in this case, not very helpful archaeological study.

For the more northern branches of the Slavic race, there 771
is ample evidence of a pagan priesthood, of a shamanistic type, and of an organised cult, with a foundation of animistic 175
magic, an established ritual, calendar and shrines. There is no conclusive record of anything approaching such a highly organised system amongst the South Slavs, and the traces of idol worship have received no concrete archaeological confirmation up to date. The fuller accounts of Helmoldus amongst the West Slavs, and of Nestor amongst the Russians,

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Great Russians RF2
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Slavic Peoples E6

R SP 771

lot). The sacred oak tree is mentioned by several early chroniclers. Now while the cult of vegetation, water spirits, and to some lesser extent of stones, in the Balkans at any rate, retains most of its primal character and importance, so that the sacrificing to trees, or on trees, for instance, can be found almost exactly as described by Herbord among the West Slavs and by Ibn Rosteh in Russia, that of patron deities, of an ancient Slavonic pantheon, does not remain at all. Not a single name of a Slavonic god has been recorded here beyond doubt; not a single image recovered.

B Y SP 771 793

Taking all the evidence together, it is not impossible to conclude that the complex pantheism of the other Slavs which required an established priesthood, was not typical of the religion of the Southern Slavs; whereas in the north and west the priestly cult overshadowed older popular forms. Even there the cult of the sacred tree is spoken of as an ancient custom of the people, not one of the ministrations of the priests. The priests themselves delivered oracles as well as read omens; and besides carrying out performances within the shrine to which the populace was not admitted, or at which it assisted only as an audience, they took upon themselves to impersonate gods in order to mislead the ignorant. Literary sources in the Balkans have plentiful references to 'magicians', etc., but those to priests occur mainly in conventional accounts of paganism, except in the accounts of the Bulgars during the Asperuh period.

B Y SP 793 787

The two chief offices of priesthood were sacrifice and divining, which could, in the north, elevate the priest to the position of tribal leader. For the Balkans we are told that the reading of omens accompanied blood sacrifice.

782 SP 793 791

The priests of the East and West Slavs were a caste apart, specially endowed and specially venerated. In the long list of terms connected with priestcraft and sorcery in early monuments, and in the vocabularies of modern languages, the titles of various kinds of priest and magician and

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slovic Peoples E16

the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

The veneration of the oak tree does not save it from fire; that of the cherry tree makes it a sin to burn its wood or even to cut its branches: the yew is powerful, and may not be burned, but it can be hewn and carved and made into useful objects, dishes, handles, ploughs, boxes, spindles, trays, as well as crosses and amulets, which are then particularly safe or lucky. The blackthorn is used for magical purposes, such as impaling a vampire; it is recommended to use it in making wooden implements for the sake of its magical properties, but the tree itself can be regarded almost with dread, and may not be injured or cut down or uprooted. Nearly everywhere the grafting of fruit-tree slips on wild trees, particularly on wild pears and cherries, is thought to be a virtuous act, amounting to a form of charity. I have heard of a peasant doing so as an act of expiation, a desire to obtain merit (*zadužbina*), in a district which knows little nowadays of particular tree cults. Where a ritual-agricultural calendar is followed in the traditional manner, all grafting is reserved for special days, sometimes with a special local etiology. Individuals sometimes mark the birth of a child or an animal by fertilising a tree in this way.[1] Further, I have seen over and over again in remote and isolated places, that a wild tree has been ennobled, apparently for no sound economic purpose. While I know that almost a sentimental element is

[1] At Rakljansko Polje a pine tree was said to have sprung from a branch stuck in the ground by the Empress Milica when Car Lazar was born. Cf. J. Pančić, *Iz Prirode*, p. 52. Similar acts of commemoration are, of course, well known in other parts of the world.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16
Albania E61

SP 515 [177] Roman bath entirely disappears from the North Balkans, although public baths were known to the Avars also. At the present time, the Turkish bath is restricted to a specific cultural region, where a recent Asiatic influence has been concentrated. As it now retreats this excellent institution also falls into decay. But the bath and the use of steam for S [515] [752] sweating, now universal amongst the South Slavs, rubbing and massage, more or less symbolical washing and bathing, and the manipulation of broken limbs and the dressing of wounds, are to be reckoned amongst the oldest of their practices. Archaeological finds witness to healed wounds and S A [752] fractures, but we know nothing of prehistoric trepanation amongst the South Slavs—the only European race, with the Albanians and some Caucasians, which continued the practice almost within living memory.

SP 755 782 Offerings and vows, ritual performances and acts connected with fertility cults, were the basis of mystical healing. Hydrotherapy includes also the worship of water spirits, and, amongst Lithuanians, of a personified watery element. Niederle adds to this list of reconstructed primitive medicine the use of oils or unguents which preserved strength and health,[1] and a number of Eastern aromatics, known in primitive times.

S SP 177 773 789 [372] Plants introduced in historical times have added to the botanical mythology, and enjoy a symbolism of their own; just as field-glasses, pipe-lighters, petroleum, trains, firearms and other more recent gifts of material civilisation, receive their part in contemporary folk-lore, whose incorporating activity is only now beginning to decline, and in some cases, a magico-religious part. Firearms have developed a complete legend of their own; pipe-lighters are sometimes used for producing ritual fire, though matches are universally disqualified; and so on.

S 241 824 778 Wheat, which in the Middle Ages was cultivated only in a very limited area, and, in the early nineteenth century, was still little used in the interior of Serbia, has a universal ritual

[1] Cf. L. Niederle, *Slovenské Starožitnosti*, I, p. 127.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Slavic People E26

had been stoned to death "many, many years ago." He never failed to add at least half a dozen stones and a multitude of curses to any heap we passed by the way. M 754

Vuk Vrchevitch, in his book on old customs at minor religious festivals, collected in the Bocche di Cattaro, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina, mentions in a footnote that it was customary in the middle of the nineteenth century in Montenegro, when "a man made a statement and at once recognized he had made a mistake, to strike it on a stone (u kamen udariti). He scratched a stone with the nails of his right hand to transfer the error to the stone." As the author thought it necessary to explain this custom to Serbian readers, it is clear that the custom was a local one. M 789 Sb 626

It is noteworthy that I can find no reference to swearing upon stones in old Serbian ballads, though swearing enough takes place in them. 783

That it is a custom of extreme antiquity there can be no doubt.

Lavrov (*v.* Jirecek) states that the Macedonian Slavs of old worshipped trees and stones. But tree- and pillar-worship is common to very many lands and existed in the Balkans long before the advent of the Slavs. Sir Arthur Evans describes the cult at Mycenæ and Dodona (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi). The oath on the stone may, therefore, belong to all and any of the Balkan people. SP 771 783 627

The Northern Slavs appear to have had some such oath. Helmoldus, in his *Chronica Slavorum* (*c.* 1160), tells that they "showed great reverence to their holy places, which were frequently sacred groves or springs, and would not lightly take an oath there, lest they should be overtaken by the wrath of the avenging god." When the church at Oldenburg was built and dedicated to St. John the Baptist in 1066 by the Saxons, "the Count bade the Slavs gather in the church to hear the Word of God . . . and the Slavs were restrained in future from *swearing by trees, fountains, and stones*; they were to bring those accused of crimes to the priest to be examined by the iron or the ploughshare" (*c.* 83). The steps taken by various races to "civilize" others are very interesting. Here the Saxons evidently consider the practice of ordeal by hot iron a more Christian method than that of swearing innocence upon an object believed to be sacred by the swearer.

Helmoldus's statement shows that this ordeal was not Slavonic. We must, therefore, suppose that the hot-iron ordeal, recommended in Stefan Dushan's Code (1349) as a means of testing serfs accused of crime, was borrowed from a neighbour land. Be this as it may, the ordeal was in use in South Slav districts till well into the nineteenth century.

Swearing on a stone has survived only in Albania as a means of self-justification; and it is not impossible that it has existed from A 783 627

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Slavic Peoples E16

present in these practices, I would also ask whether there were not some more tangible cult significance underlying this giving of new vitality to trees. But this possibility and, for the matter of that, this aspect of agricultural activity as a whole, does not seem to have found a commentator, and I myself have not yet sufficient instances to formulate a theory.

The respect for things in general is innate in the peasant, as countless small observances in everyday life show. So long as this recognition persists, any object, however mean and common, can on occasion serve in magic, without being sacred; while if on the basis of special 'taboos' a list of sacred plants and animals were made, it would be far too large to allow of so many special cults or cult usages. Much less extensive would be a corresponding list of cursed things, which cannot under any circumstances be touched.

It must be remembered that the inventory of a peasant household (of the kind still out of touch with urbanism) is not large, while in the mountains or in the hinterland of Dalmatia it may not include all the primary necessities even of a very simple life. In this simpler scheme domestic artifacts and utensils retain something of their primitive significance. In extreme cases domestic tidiness is a minor ritual; every object has its proper place when not in use, and is carefully handled, and put away in a special position, which must not be reversed. The broom, the sieve, the kneading trough, the scoop, the chains of the hearth pot, the gourd, etc., have had their ritual associations amongst every people.

It is not possible to disentangle knowledge of the physical properties of substances from their significance in legend or worship; and it would be equally impossible to trace whether an object, used in divination, or a household utensil, which seems to enjoy special respect, such as a sieve or a wood-block or an axe, has a certain power ascribed to it directly, or through an analogous association with some other category of ideas.

The steam bath is noticed early for East and Northern Slavs, but it is curious that after the Slav invasion, the

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

to be seen everywhere, at the railway stations, in the shops, in prisons and barracks and all sorts of public buildings. 771

A further reminder is provided by events in the yearly round marked by the Church Kalendar. This has perhaps a more intimate touch upon the lives of Orthodox people, so many of whom are peasants for whom the festivals of the Church are closely associated with the recurrent seasons in Nature and with agricultural work. 771 796

The Orthodox Kalendar is in its framework the same as the Western. That is to say it is built up around the Great Festivals which are common to the whole of Christendom, Easter being the chief of all. But there is no Trinity Sunday, the first Sunday after Whitsuntide is used by the Orthodox for the commemoration of All Saints. Thereafter the Sundays are counted after Whit Sunday. In the course of the year many of the Sundays are given names, e.g., the first Sunday after Easter is known as the Sunday of St. Thomas, and in general the names are derived from the Gospel appointed for the day. The first Sunday in Lent is Orthodox Sunday (see p. 54) when blessings are invoked upon the champions of Orthodoxy and anathemas upon its foes. There is no season of Advent. 796

Every day is marked as the commemoration of a saint, and sometimes of more than one. Here differences will be found in various parts of the Orthodox world owing to the introduction of the names of local saints, and the differences from the West are remarkable. The Orthodox Kalendar contains the names of most of the Old Testament Prophets and Patriarchs and almost none of the Western saints find a place in it. If it is compared with the English Kalendar it will be found that practically none of the minor saints belong to both Kalendars. An outstanding exception is St. George on April 23, who is highly venerated in the East as the Great Martyr.

The times of fasting prescribed by the Orthodox Church are more frequent than in any part of the West. In addition to Lent, which begins in the East on the Monday after Quinquagesima, and is known as the Great Lent, another fasting period is the first fortnight of August, another is the six weeks before Christmas, and there is still another of varying length 785 796

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

785 between the octave of Whit Sunday and June 29, the festival of St. Peter and Paul.

796 Even outside these periods there are many days upon which the Orthodox faithful are expected to use only abstinence food, including, with a few exceptions, all Wednesdays and Fridays.

786 Furthermore, fasting itself is a much more rigorous affair among the Orthodox than it is in the West. It involves abstinence from any food of animal origin including fish, milk, eggs and butter. Indeed, the strict observer is left with little but bread, fruit and vegetables.

The extent to which this formidable programme is actually carried out is difficult to estimate. Doubtless like other observances of religion it has less hold upon people than it had, and town dwellers sit more lightly to it than the peasantry. Nevertheless, the Orthodox probably fulfil their obligation in this respect to an extent which would surprise the easy-going Westerner. Many of the devout are strict about it, and those who practise their religion at all will observe at least the first and last few days of the prescribed periods of fasting.

To the Orthodox, religion is very much concerned with this world as well as with the next, and fasting is of importance not only as a discipline of the human will. It expresses also the impact of the spiritual upon the material, the control of the world which is seen, by the power of the unseen world. It plays its part in causing the material to serve spiritual ends, and thus the human will shares in the process of rescuing and restoring the fallen world of Nature.

793 The clergy are a visible link between the two worlds. The parish priest with his flowing cassock and unshorn hair stands apart. He is and is seen to be distinct from other men. He is a reminder of the unseen spiritual world in which both he and his flock are living even while they live in the day-to-day world of material things, and his ministrations apply the power of the spirit to daily life.

Yet if he stands apart, he does not stand aloof. The parochial clergy throughout the Orthodox East are required to be married men. But they must marry before they are ordained. Once they are ordained marriage is forbidden them.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

helplessness; Benes capitulated before Gottwald's ultimatum. It was the end of the Putsch which Hubert Ripka later described as a 'prefabricated revolution'. On March 9[1] Jean Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote a personal letter to Stalin, in which he denounced the intervention of Zorine, the Soviet Ambassador, in the events of February: 'When a time of mortal danger for the country, and for all Slavs, comes, you will have in Prague nothing but a Government hated by the country, despised by the *élite*, and relying entirely on the bayonets of its police organisations'. The next day Masaryk committed suicide: contradictory versions of his death were circulated, although the above-mentioned letter had made clear his intention of ending his life.

Thus the inspirer of two Czech liberations, heir to the thought of Thomas Masaryk, disappeared in shameful oblivion; the commentaries in the Communist press, in which he was later accused of having betrayed the interests of the country, lead us to wonder whether his inglorious end did not save him from an even more tragic fate. Posterity will pronounce a mixed judgment on his political achievement. His tomb might fittingly have been engraved with this epitaph, taken from one of his books (*Whither the Slavs?*): 'The existence and the prosperity of all the Slav States is inseparably bound up with a régime of true democracy, that is to say, a régime in which the elementary principles of individual liberty, liberty of conviction, liberty of religion, liberty of political expression and liberty of public opinion, are guaranteed and fully respected'.

As for Benes, whose authority was henceforth without scope, on June 7, 'for health reasons', he resigned his presidential office, which he had held since June 19, 1946, in a message by which he invited his fellow-citizens 'to encourage liberty and consciously enjoy it'. He died a few months later, on September 3, 1948.

The events of February were to be mentioned at the United Nations Security Council, with a view to appointing a commission of inquiry—which was opposed by a Soviet veto (May 24).

On March 9, 1948, was voted the Constitution which made Czechoslovakia a 'democratic peoples' republic'. It instituted a Single House system, and proclaimed the equality of Czechs and Slovaks: the republic was to be a bi-national State. Unlike

1 [1948 - Analyst]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Great Russions RF2
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Slavic Peoples E6

R SP 771

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Taking all the evidence together, it is not impossible to conclude that the complex pantheism of the other Slavs which required an established priesthood, was not typical of the religion of the Southern Slavs; whereas in the north and west the priestly cult overshadowed older popular forms. Even there the cult of the sacred tree is spoken of as an ancient custom of the people, not one of the ministrations of the priests. The priests themselves delivered oracles as well as read omens; and besides carrying out performances within the shrine to which the populace was not admitted, or at which it assisted only as an audience, they took upon themselves to impersonate gods in order to mislead the ignorant. Literary sources in the Balkans have plentiful references to 'magicians', etc., but those to priests occur mainly in conventional accounts of paganism, except in the accounts of the Bulgars during the Asperuh period.

B Y SP 793 787 782 SP 793 791

The two chief offices of priesthood were sacrifice and divining, which could, in the north, elevate the priest to the position of tribal leader. For the Balkans we are told that the reading of omens accompanied blood sacrifice.

The priests of the East and West Slavs were a caste apart, specially endowed and specially venerated. In the long list of terms connected with priestcraft and sorcery in early monuments, and in the vocabularies of modern languages, the titles of various kinds of priest and magician and

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Food and drink for the departed play their part in the rites for the dead, especially the grains of wheat which are now taken to symbolize the resurrection. But in the religious life of the people, Christianity has often had to come to terms with tough survivals among old pagan customs which it more or less disguises, particularly in the picturesque domestic ceremonies which often follow the more orthodox proceedings in Church. This is true not only of the rites which accompany death, but of many other observances also in the course of the year. They may not stand the test of rigid Orthodox belief, and the parish priest, who is perhaps better educated than the members of his flock, may frown upon them, but at least they have a humble part to play in reminding the peasant of the reality of the unseen world and that he is but a pilgrim in this.

Pilgrimage too in the literal sense figures prominently in the religion of the people. The desire to go on pilgrimage is felt by every faithful Orthodox believer. It may be only to the neighbouring monastery or the shrine of a local saint. It may be much further afield, and happy is he who realizes the ideal of every devout pilgrim, and journeys to the Holy Land. But whether the goal be near or far, the pilgrim goes to confess his sins, to say his prayers and to eat, drink and be merry at some place where the unseen world has markedly broken through and made it holy.

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

778 781 No wonder then that the icons are so highly revered, that famous icons are carried in procession through the streets, or brought by the clergy to the bedside of the sick.

778 So potent is the link between the icon and its prototype that many icons are regarded as "wonder-working icons" 789 In fact the wonder-working icon is the icon *par excellence*. The belief that such icons are endowed with miraculous power has given rise to numberless legends.[1] They may tell of an icon's being the means of curing sickness and other ills which flesh is heir to, of bringing material good fortune to the devout believer, of securing the icon's own safety when menaced by danger, of rewarding its veneration and even resenting and punishing insult, physical injury and neglect, but mercifully restoring the sinner after his repentance. Not all of this is official Orthodox teaching: much of it belongs to the sphere of popular religion, where it may go to fantastic lengths.[2]

Presumably the orthodox interpretation of such happenings is that at the intercession of the saint depicted on the icon, God grants the request of the petitioner who prayed before it. In the popular mind such an explanation may readily slide into the conception that the saint is the benefactor because this particular picture of him was venerated, and that again may easily slip into the feeling that it is the actual icon itself which has worked the miracle or conferred the blessing.

There exist a relatively large number of pictures of the Blessed Virgin which tradition attributes to St. Luke, and these are treated with deep reverence. But a place of their own in the heart of the Orthodox believer belongs to the "Icons not made with Hands". These are icons the originals of which are believed to have come into existence without human agency. Such are the Vernicle, the legend of which is well known in the West also; and an image of Christ imprinted upon a cloth sent to Abgar, King of Edessa, by Christ himself and subsequently brought to Constantinople. This is the most ancient of the "Icons not made with Hands". But there are others, and they, and the copies made of them (though some are said

[1] See R. M. Dawkins for many such connected with the icons of Athos, in *The Monks of Athos*, London, 1936.

[2] Charles Diehl in *Cambridge Mediæval History*, Vol. IV, p. 6.

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to be impossible to copy, or even to photograph) are regarded with the deepest veneration.[1] 778

The canonical authority upon which the veneration of icons rests is the decree of the second council of Nicaea which is the seventh Ecumenical Council (see p. 54). The doctrinal basis is found in the fact of the Incarnation. God cannot be represented in His eternal being.[2] But God became man and took a body of material flesh. Because of this a picture may lawfully be made of Him. Further, in assuming a human body He used matter as the vehicle of spirit, rescued it from corruption and consecrated it to a share in His redemptive purpose. What is true of Christ's material body, is true of other forms of matter such as the material elements in the sacraments, and, in some measure, of the icons. The icons are, therefore, worthy of veneration, though in theory the degree of veneration is strictly limited. 789

[1] R. M. Dawkins has a chapter on "Icons not made with Hands"—in his *Monks of Athos*, Chapter 18.

[2] Yet icons exist which depict the Holy Trinity as two throned Figures side by side, with the Dove above them.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slovic Peoples E16

the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

The veneration of the oak tree does not save it from fire; that of the cherry tree makes it a sin to burn its wood or even to cut its branches: the yew is powerful, and may not be burned, but it can be hewn and carved and made into useful objects, dishes, handles, ploughs, boxes, spindles, trays, as well as crosses and amulets, which are then particularly safe or lucky. The blackthorn is used for magical purposes, such as impaling a vampire; it is recommended to use it in making wooden implements for the sake of its magical properties, but the tree itself can be regarded almost with dread, and may not be injured or cut down or uprooted. Nearly everywhere the grafting of fruit-tree slips on wild trees, particularly on wild pears and cherries, is thought to be a virtuous act, amounting to a form of charity. I have heard of a peasant doing so as an act of expiation, a desire to obtain merit (*zadužbina*), in a district which knows little nowadays of particular tree cults. Where a ritual-agricultural calendar is followed in the traditional manner, all grafting is reserved for special days, sometimes with a special local etiology. Individuals sometimes mark the birth of a child or an animal by fertilising a tree in this way.[1] Further, I have seen over and over again in remote and isolated places, that a wild tree has been ennobled, apparently for no sound economic purpose. While I know that almost a sentimental element is

[1] At Rakljansko Polje a pine tree was said to have sprung from a branch stuck in the ground by the Empress Milica when Car Lazar was born. Cf. J. Pančić, *Iz Prirode*, p. 52. Similar acts of commemoration are, of course, well known in other parts of the world.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
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SP 515 [177] Roman bath entirely disappears from the North Balkans, although public baths were known to the Avars also. At the present time, the Turkish bath is restricted to a specific cultural region, where a recent Asiatic influence has been concentrated. As it now retreats this excellent institution also falls into decay. But the bath and the use of steam for S [515] [752] sweating, now universal amongst the South Slavs, rubbing and massage, more or less symbolical washing and bathing, and the manipulation of broken limbs and the dressing of wounds, are to be reckoned amongst the oldest of their practices. Archaeological finds witness to healed wounds and S A [752] fractures, but we know nothing of prehistoric trepanation amongst the South Slavs—the only European race, with the Albanians and some Caucasians, which continued the practice almost within living memory.

SP 755 782 Offerings and vows, ritual performances and acts connected with fertility cults, were the basis of mystical healing. Hydrotherapy includes also the worship of water spirits, and, amongst Lithuanians, of a personified watery element. Niederle adds to this list of reconstructed primitive medicine the use of oils or unguents which preserved strength and health,[1] and a number of Eastern aromatics, known in primitive times.

S SP 177 779 789 [372] Plants introduced in historical times have added to the botanical mythology, and enjoy a symbolism of their own; just as field-glasses, pipe-lighters, petroleum, trains, firearms and other more recent gifts of material civilisation, receive their part in contemporary folk-lore, whose incorporating activity is only now beginning to decline, and in some cases, a magico-religious part. Firearms have developed a complete legend of their own; pipe-lighters are sometimes used for producing ritual fire, though matches are universally disqualified; and so on.

S 241 924 778 Wheat, which in the Middle Ages was cultivated only in a very limited area, and, in the early nineteenth century, was still little used in the interior of Serbia, has a universal ritual

[1] Cf. L. Niederle, *Slovanské Starožitnosti*, I, p. 127.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Great Russians RF2
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Slavic Peoples EV6

R SP 771

lot). The sacred oak tree is mentioned by several early chroniclers. Now while the cult of vegetation, water spirits, and to some lesser extent of stones, in the Balkans at any rate, retains most of its primal character and importance, so that the sacrificing to trees, or on trees, for instance, can be found almost exactly as described by Herbord among the West Slavs and by Ibn Rosteh in Russia, that of patron deities, of an ancient Slavonic pantheon, does not remain at all. Not a single name of a Slavonic god has been recorded here beyond doubt; not a single image recovered.

B Y SP 771 793

Taking all the evidence together, it is not impossible to conclude that the complex pantheism of the other Slavs which required an established priesthood, was not typical of the religion of the Southern Slavs; whereas in the north and west the priestly cult overshadowed older popular forms. Even there the cult of the sacred tree is spoken of as an ancient custom of the people, not one of the ministrations of the priests. The priests themselves delivered oracles as well as read omens; and besides carrying out performances within the shrine to which the populace was not admitted, or at which it assisted only as an audience, they took upon themselves to impersonate gods in order to mislead the ignorant. Literary sources in the Balkans have plentiful references to 'magicians', etc., but those to priests occur mainly in conventional accounts of paganism, except in the accounts of the Bulgars during the Asperuh period.

B Y SP 793 787

The two chief offices of priesthood were sacrifice and divining, which could, in the north, elevate the priest to the position of tribal leader. For the Balkans we are told that the reading of omens accompanied blood sacrifice.

782 SP 793 791

The priests of the East and West Slavs were a caste apart, specially endowed and specially venerated. In the long list of terms connected with priestcraft and sorcery in early monuments, and in the vocabularies of modern languages, the titles of various kinds of priest and magician and

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E16
Historical Bulgaria EE 2

doctor indicate a difference of method and function rather than a distinct rank or profession. Long after the priest ceased to be recognised these different functions were regularly given their proper Slavonic names in the South Slav area also. In documents these are found mixed with names coined from Greek. In the *Syntagma*, for instance: '*O vlhvahь, oučitelnyhь, bajalničěhь, ište že zvezdoslovčěhь, obavničěhь, nь oubo i čarodejehь, otrovnicehь, i navezatelhь.*' In another South Slav monument, the *Ivaničev Zbornik* (cf. *Starine*, XXIII, 56): '*ki věruje vešte nego ima vervati tako, kako su vražiteli i vražitelьnice i bahornice....*' In the Code of Dušan: '*volhь, resnikь, madjinikь, otrovnikь.*' Further we have: '*maglinik, glědačь, kobnikь, vračь, bajalnikь, obavьnikь, oblakogonci, sanovnici.*' A gloss in the *Ilovačka Kormčaja* reads: '*...i o vlьsvěhь i o obavnicehь i o zvezdocьtьcihь i provědьcihь i o čarodějenihь i o otrovleniihь i o naouzehь rekše ouzlehь*' (cf. *Starine*, VI, p. 81). In a seventeenth-century manuscript: '*radi magesnicy i samovili i basnarki i zalaganie i brodnicy i baenie...samovili, basnarky, brodnicy, baene... i koito nositь bourǫn na sebi*' (cf. Kačanovski, *Pamjatniki*, 32, etc.).

Magic was probably not simply a vocation but a gift, as it is reckoned to be to-day. Among the Old Bulgars, for instance, the second son of the emperor Simeon was given to magic and could turn himself into any kind of wild beast.[1]

Procopius refers to divining carried out by the priests at a blood sacrifice. Helmoldus relates that the people depended upon such prophecies in every emergency. On festivals they gathered to hear oracles, and to sacrifice. 'After the sacrifice the libation blood was poured over the priests that their oracles might be more propitious....For it is the opinion of many that the demon is freed the easier by means of blood.' Ditmar gives an account of divination by blood and ashes, and so on, and if historical evidence were lacking for the practices of the South Slavs, the blood sacrifice among

[1] Luitprandus Episc. Cremonensis, *Opera*, III, 29.

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purchased it from the Russian Government for £100,000. In early days the Monastery of Mount Sinai was under the jurisdiction sometimes of Jerusalem and sometimes of Alexandria. A synod of 1782, however, formally recognized its complete independence, although the Archbishop is always consecrated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. He lives in Cairo. The monastery has a number of daughter-houses here and there in the world of Orthodoxy. One of them flourished for two hundred years in the Island of Crete and produced some famous men, among them Cyril Lucar. The Archbishop of Sinai has no lay flock, and apart from its sacred association and interesting history the fact that the small body of monks under his jurisdiction constitutes an independent Church on the same footing in that respect as, for example, the immense Church of Russia with its many million adherents, gives it a unique interest.

But Orthodoxy has innumerable monasteries and even the briefest account cannot omit mention of the ancient religious houses of Judaea and Cyprus or of the romantic monasteries of which Curzon wrote, some of which, as at Metéora, are perched on the top of cliffs so inaccessible that the visitor is drawn up by a rope.

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Russia has its famous monastery of the Holy Trinity near Moscow with its fortified walls which has played an important part in Russian history. It was here that Dmitry of the Don took counsel with St. Sergius before sallying forth to his great fight with the Tartars, and here was the rallying centre of Russian patriotism under Minin the butcher and Pozharsky the Prince, when the Poles had taken Moscow at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Further south is the ancient fourfold monastery of Kiev with its catacombs, which is probably the place of origin of the basis of the chronicle "of Nestor", now usually known as the Primary Chronicle, the earliest source for the beginnings of Russian history.

There is the great monastery of Pochaev in Volhynia; of Valaam on an island in Lake Ladoga; and away in the far north on another island in the White Sea, is Solovetsky which has the distinction of having been bombarded by an English ship during the Crimean War. The cannon balls are still to be seen there.

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Athos they respected the privileges of the monks in return for a substantial tribute. Athos suffered severely when the Turks occupied it during the Greek War of Independence; and still more in 1861 when Prince Cuza confiscated the vast estates in Rumania which pious benefactors in the past had bestowed upon the monasteries. Some indemnity was offered but the monks regarded the whole transaction as purely illegal, and refused it. The loss to them was an income of £120,000 a year, which meant the severe impoverishment of fourteen of the richest monasteries. These were Greek, and one effect was to tilt the balance in favour of the Russians in the perennial rivalry and friction which has existed between Russians and Greeks in the history of the Holy Mountain. But the turn of the Russians was to come, and the Russian Revolution has left the Russian monks on Athos almost entirely destitute.

The Greek census of 1928 gave the total number of monks on Athos as 4,858, rather less than half of whom reside within the walls of the monasteries. The monasteries are all fortified, and grouped among the luxuriant foliage they provide a picture of great beauty. The typical monastery surrounds a courtyard in the centre of which is the church and at one end the refectory. A fountain stands between them. The surrounding walls enclose on the ground floor store rooms and offices, and the monks' living quarters in the two or three stories above. The walls are castellated and may have projecting wooden galleries. In one corner is the keep, now generally converted into a library. The monastic libraries are rich in manuscripts and other documents which, even after the losses incurred during the Greek War of Independence, and by fire and neglect, are of great value to the political, ecclesiastical and social historian, and Athos is a store house of treasures of Byzantine art.

The monks spend their time for the most part in religious exercises. Otherwise they occupy themselves with agriculture, fishing and handicrafts.

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The ideal of the Orthodox monk is to glorify God and to save his own soul by a life of prayer and mortification. They all follow with greater or less strictness the system of St. Basil. There is nothing to correspond with the variety of Orders and

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Congregations which have developed in the West. The Orthodox monks do not fail in the duty of showing charity to the poor, and hospitality to the traveller. Benevolent institutions, such as schools and hospitals, may be attached to a monastery, in the sense that they are supported by funds provided by it, but not in the sense that the monks themselves give personal service in them. The fulfilment of an apostolate to the world is no part of the primary purpose of the Orthodox in embracing the monastic life. An exception is provided by many of the monks of mediaeval Russia. Here too it may be true that their first object in pushing their settlements ever further into the remote and barbarous districts to the north and east, was to escape from the world and secure that solitude in which the contemplative life can thrive. But it is to their honour that when so placed they were not deaf to the call of the world around them. These Russian monastic settlements were lights shining in the darkness and became civilizing and evangelizing agencies of incalculable worth among the peoples of the steppes and the tundras.

Nor must the intellectual and artistic activities of the religious houses of Orthodoxy be overlooked. The work of their copyists has saved the contents of many an ancient manuscript from being lost to posterity. Religious literature has been enriched by the original writings of Orthodox monks on theology, mysticism, prayer and the ascetic life, and they compiled many lives of the saints.

The religious poetry which figures so prominently in Orthodox forms of worship is largely the work of monks. Much of it is of great beauty and some few instances have been translated and established themselves in the hymn books of the West.[1]

Side by side with this is the work of the painter monks who created a whole world of beauty and spirituality of their own in the production of icons and the frescoing of the walls of churches, while the delicate labours of the miniaturist and illuminator of manuscripts have made something precious for the rest of the world.

[1] See Chapter VIII.

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brilliance." The Slavic sun god was also known as Dazhbog, 776
the god which gives life and fertility, but neither appellation, curiously enough, appears among the Southern Slavs. Dazhbog is occasionally called the son of Svarog, the god of fire.

A more general Slavic deity was Veles or Volos. In the Russian *Primary Chronicle* he is characterized as "the god of cattle," but this qualification has no relation to the original attributes of Veles. It results rather from the monkish chronicler's identification of the specifically Russian form of his name (Volos) with that of Saint Blasius, a Cappadocian bishop who died a martyr's death about 315 A.D., and was extensively revered thereafter as a patron of flocks and herds. In the *Primary Chronicle,* where Perun and Veles are mentioned together as gods by whom the Scandinavian Varangians and the Slavs of Kiev swore, the implication is that the Varangians swore by Perun (here the equivalent of Thor) and the Slavs by Veles, who thus may be viewed as the guardian of oaths, a sort of *Zeus epiorkios.* The name Veles itself is cognate with various Lithuanian words meaning "corpse," "ghost," and "devil," so that Veles is rather to be considered as a god of the dead, a conclusion justified by his frequent invocation in various late Bohemian curses.

Idols were used by the Eastern Slavs, and the medieval Ger- 778
man chroniclers describe sanctuaries which the Baltic Slavs 776
erected to their gods. Of these the most celebrated was that at Arkona, on the island of Rugen, dedicated to the god Svantovit, whose statue adorned it. Svantovit seems merely a local variant of Svarog, the sun god, and various other local deities of the same type are mentioned in medieval non-Slavic sources. If the Slavs did honor a supreme deity, it is reasonably clear that he was a thunder or a sun god like Perun or Svarog, who would thus reflect the more or less general Indo-European belief in such a deity who appears as Zeus, Jupiter, or the old Germanic Tiuz. Only among the Baltic Slavs is the existence 793 •
of a special caste of priests attested.

A final and equally interesting problem connected with the 000

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though the local clergy from Passau and Regensburg viewed them as dangerous rivals, for these Greeks were scholars and men of action who had the advantage of speaking the local language. At first they celebrated Mass in Greek, which was as incomprehensible to the masses as the Latin of the Frankish clergy. Constantine then hastened to translate the whole service, which only added to the resentment of their competitors, despite the fact that he actually translated not the Byzantine ritual but the Latin missal. In Western eyes this was a drastic and unparalleled innovation. Whatever Rostislav's good intentions were, he was not for long in a position to support the Greeks wholeheartedly, for in the autumn of 864 he had been attacked and once more reduced to vassalage by Louis the German. Yet the mission prospered to the point where the problem of ordaining new priests presented itself. Constantine even made a visit to the son of Pribina, Prince Kotzel, on Lake Balaton, who became an enthusiastic admirer of the brothers' work and confided fifty young men to him for training.

Since it was obviously undesirable, if not impossible, for Constantine and Methodius to have their disciples ordained by the bishops of Passau or Salzburg, they decided, after three years of missionary activity, to journey to Rome, where they could obtain the endorsement of Pope Nicholas I. The brothers were by no means hostile to the Pope; on the contrary, in common with numerous other Byzantine ecclesiastics of their day, they regarded the Bishop of Rome not only as the patriarch of the West but also as the supreme head of the Church. News of their arrival in Venice inspired a special invitation from Pope Nicholas to wait upon him, but before they left Venice he died in November 867 and was succeeded a month later by Adrian II. Though the Frankish opposition to the Slavic liturgy had been transmitted to the Roman clergy, Adrian ordered the ordination of the candidates whom Constantine and Methodius presented, and authorized the use of the Slavic liturgy. Constantine survived his triumph but a few

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000 months. Broken in health, he retired to an Italian monastery where he assumed the name of Cyril and died on February 4, 869.

175* 795 ●793 Meanwhile, in Pannonia, Prince Kotzel became worried over the long absence of the young priests he had detailed for ordination. When he sent a special mission to inquire about them, the Pope dismissed Methodius and his followers with a letter addressed jointly to Rostislav, to the latter's nephew Svatopluk, and to Kotzel, stating that he was designating Methodius as an emissary not merely to Pannonia, but to Moravia as well, but, fearful of irritating the Frankish clergy, he momentarily abstained from naming Methodius Bishop of Pannonia, as Kotzel preferred, since this action would have detached Pannonia from the diocese of Salzburg. His hesitation was banished, however, by Rostislav's military successes against Louis the German in 869, which diminished the authority of the Frankish clergy, and also by the news that Boris of Bulgaria was turning from Rome to Byzantium. In order to block any further expansion of Byzantine influence and to tie the Danubian Slavs more closely to Rome, he thus consecrated Methodius as Archbishop of Pannonia and named him papal legate to all the Slavs.

175* 795 The success of this design was almost immediately compromised by unforeseen political developments. In 870, Rostislav was deposed by his nephew Svatopluk, who became a Frankish vassal. On his arrival in Moravia, Methodius was arrested and brought before a court comprising the bishops of Passau, Salzburg, and Freising, who professed total ignorance of his new episcopal status. Far from doing anything to protect Methodius, Svatopluk was actually present when Hermanarich, Bishop of Passau, struck the Greek bishop with his whip. Discovering, however, that he was merely the catspaw of the Franks, Svatopluk soon reversed his field and by 874 was independent. The curia meanwhile endeavored to ascertain what had happened to Methodius. The Bishop of Freising denied to

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175* 797 771 attained by every individual, nevertheless produced some admirable characters among early medieval churchmen and laymen.

175* 793 797 The sources from which Vladimir drew his clergy present a problem of some importance and complexity. Adequate evidence exists that Greek priests were sent to Russia both in the suite of the Princess Anna and after her marriage to Vladimir. Since there were isolated Christians and at least one church at Kiev prior to Vladimir's conversion, there must have been a small nucleus of Russian-speaking clergy in the city itself before 989, though these clerics were probably of Greek nationality. Vladimir's well-attested activity in wholesale conversion even among the masses at widely separated points makes it likely, however, that some provision was made for evangelizing the people in a language comprehensible to them. Priests with the appropriate linguistic qualifications could be found at this period only among members of the Byzantine clergy who had been active in Bulgaria or among the Bulgarian clergy themselves, since the differentiation between the spoken languages of Bulgaria and south Russia in the late tenth century was so slight as to constitute no barrier to common understanding.

175* 779 The tradition of vernacular religious culture under Greek intellectual auspices had been established in Bulgaria during the reigns of Boris (852-889) and Simeon (894-927). In the light of the eventual transmission to Kiev of a large body of ecclesiastical literature in Old Bulgarian translations, it is an accepted and doubtless correct convention of Russian literary history in the pre-Tartar period to assume that these works were first transmitted to Kievan Russia through the medium of Byzantium as priests were sent out into the Russian field. But, curiously enough, there are no historical data behind this respectable hypothesis, nor does any explicit evidence point to the slightest direct contact between the charges of Bulgaria and Russia during the principates of Vladimir and of his son through 1045.

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While some ingenious theories to the contrary have been expounded, the fact remains that Byzantine relations with Bulgaria were constantly hostile from Vladimir's conversion to his death in 1015. Basil II would thus hardly have attached to an enemy state the young church founded by his brother-in-law. There is therefore no motive for believing that the Russian church at its foundation was other than an eparchy of the Byzantine patriarchate, even if we admit the contention that there was no metropolitanate in Russia during Vladimir's lifetime. In the transmission of Slavic liturgical and theological texts at this period the mediation of Constantinople was inevitable, and the priests at Vladimir's disposal must have likewise been chiefly Greeks, some of whom possessed a smattering of Bulgarian from work in Bulgaria itself or, like the proto-apostles Constantine and Methodius, from their contacts in the northern and western marches of the Byzantine Empire.

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That Vladimir assimilated certain intellectual interests along with the faith is indicated by his insistence upon some degree of education among the children of his followers. The *Primary Chronicle* reports:

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He took the children of the best families and sent them for instruction in book learning. The mothers of these children wept bitterly over them, for they were not yet strong in faith, but mourned as for the dead.

It is not clear whether Vladimir intended that these youths should be trained as priests or as civil servants, but from the facts that within the next fifty years educated Russian priests come to the fore and that extensive reference is made in the sources to the culture of Vladimir's son and successor Yaroslav the Wise, it is fair to suppose that Vladimir had his eye on both professions. In Constantinople at the close of the tenth century interest in higher education was restricted by the general attention to military problems and conquest, so that book learning was primarily a matter of personal and private

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Kiev in 1240. No remnant of it now survives except the ruins of its foundations.

In Vladimir's day the clergy rapidly assumed a place among the ruling class. Apart from introducing new notions of judicial procedure derived from the Greek *Nomokanon,* the early clergy also undertook to advise Vladimir on affairs of state and local policy. In 992 the bishops advised the substitution of corporal punishment for fines in order to suppress brigandage and similarly suggested that the proceeds of fines in other cases should be spent on military equipment for defense against the menacing nomads. The ecclesiastical courts also assumed jurisdiction over numerous social problems and offenses which took new significance in the light of the Christian moral code: bigamy, divorce, heresy, sacrilege, witchcraft, and adultery. Vladimir thus tolerated the fusion of church and state on the basis of contemporary Byzantine usage.

By the process of conversion among the various Slavic groups, the bases of cultural and political differentiation were thus laid before the year 1000. Exposed to Christian influences since the seventh century, the Slovenes were converted by Bavarian clergy, and after their absorption into the Carolingian empire in 788, remained until the first World War in submission to one German state or another. The Croats, though in contact with the mission of Constantine and Methodius, reverted to Rome after the disciples of Methodius were expelled from Moravia, and have come down through the ages as Catholics, whatev[illegible] [illegible]eir political allegiance. The Slavs along the Elbe and the Baltic were subjected to the most violent political and religious pressure from Saxon priests and nobles with the result that, despite heroic revolts, they were slowly pushed back toward the former Polish frontier. The Byzantine influence in Moravia lasted but a quarter of a century before the work of the proto-apostles, Constantine and Methodius collapsed, and the Moravians, like the Czechs, remained under the pastoral care of bishops of the Roman rite. Though the

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

acterize them as well-read and good linguists for their day and time. But during the Tartar hegemony such items are totally lacking. Not only the princes but even the higher clergy were frequently illiterate. Dmitri Donskoi could hardly read, and Basil II, Ivan the Terrible's great-grandfather, could neither read nor write. At the Council of Florence in 1439, Pope Eugene IV was told that the contemporary Russian bishops had little learning, and a feeble light of culture was kept burning in the Russian Church of this period solely by the appointment of Greek metropolitan bishops in Moscow. Only at the end of the fifteenth century do we encounter new interest in the foundation of schools for training the clergy, and considerable pressure in this direction was exercised by the Greek and South Slavic scholars who emigrated to Russia to escape the yoke of the Turks.

The advancement of clerical scholarship during the reign of Ivan III (1462-1505) was accompanied by a characteristic effort to acquire foreign techniques. Here, of course, we have an early example of what was to repeat itself so often in later days whenever the advancement of Russia required new mechanical skills. Under Ivan III Italian specialists were particularly active. The Bolognese architect Rudolfo Fioravanti not only built the Cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin, but also cast cannon, while Alevisio Novi, of Milan, designed and built the adjacent Cathedral of Saint Michael, in which were buried all subsequent Muscovite tsars to the time of Peter the Great. Miners, silversmiths, masons, and even an organist were imported from Hungary. Ivan the Terrible settled on the outskirts of Moscow in the so-called German suburb all German metalworkers who had been captured in his Livonian wars, and in 1567 obtained from England a doctor, an apothecary, and various goldsmiths. The Tsar was interested not only in material progress but also in raising the intellectual level of priests and officials, for it had been noted in the Church Council of 1551 that the opportunities for education were as yet slight. Besides, as the principality of Moscow developed into a

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national state and a world power, the need for trained personnel in the government services and in commerce became evident if only for practical considerations. Ivan the Terrible himself was comparatively well-educated, while Boris Godunov, his progressive but ill-fated minister and eventual successor, was obliged by the innate conservatism of the clergy to abandon a promising project for the establishment at Moscow of an academy with learned foreigners as teachers.

For, despite isolated outbreaks of rationalism which manifested themselves in heretical movements, the intellectual horizon of the Russian clergy was discouragingly narrow. After the Council of Florence, they considered themselves the sole repository of Orthodox rectitude and resented even competent criticism. That learned scholar from Mount Athos, Maxim Grek, who had studied in Italy and heard Savonarola preach, was accused of heresy and imprisoned when he ventured to suggest textual corrections of the accepted liturgy, and though he lived on into the reign of Ivan the Terrible, he was always regarded with suspicion and never allowed to return to his native country until his death in 1556.

Whatever material progress was registered under the Muscovite princes, the introduction of new intellectual concepts encountered serious barriers. From a social standpoint also the Muscovite regime was responsible for the establishment of one institution which cast its dark shadow over Russia far down into the nineteenth century. Though slavery was not unknown, universal agrarian serfdom does not date from the origins of Russia. On the contrary, its evolution was gradual. In the early Muscovite period there were two classes of peasants: first, those who had lived for some time on state, church, or private land and payed various fixed duties on the parcels they occupied; second, the so-called movable peasants who rented parcels on term contracts. As the princes assigned estates to deserving officials who did not belong to the old landed aristocracy, some competition developed among proprietors for peasants to till their lands, with the result that by the middle of the sixteenth

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was dependent upon the archdiocese of Magdeburg. On 175*
Easter Day 973, Mieszko, together with his Czech brother-in-law, was present as a vassal at Otto I's court in Quedlinburg. In spite of varying fortunes, the Polish ruler subsequently remained a reasonably faithful feudatory of the Saxon emperors until his own death in the summer of 992.

His son Boleslav the Brave at first pursued the same policy, aiding Otto III against the rebellious Elbian Slavs in 994-995. But he subsequently rewarded himself for this aid by stretching his own territory westward to the Bober, and was on sufficiently good terms with Otto to receive his visit to Gnesen in the year 1000 and to see his capital raised to an archbishopric. Then, after Otto's death in 1002, while internal difficulties occupied his successor, Boleslav calmly appropriated the whole march of Meissen east of the Elbe and even subjugated Moravia. For the next decade all efforts to pry Boleslav loose from his gains proved unavailing, and it was only in 1013 that he made peace with Henry II because he had ambitious plans connected with the succession of Vladimir I of Kiev, whose son Boleslav's daughter had married. Later, by the Peace of Bautzen, concluded in 1018, Boleslav guaranteed himself the possession of Lusatia, thus biting still deeper into the march of Thuringia, and it was only in 1031 that Conrad II managed to drive the Poles out of it and to restore Poland to a state of vassalage.

The next two hundred years were marked by a serious de- 175*
cline in the energy and authority of the Polish state, caused by 793
the weakness of its princes and the long struggle for domination between the throne on one hand and the magnates and the clergy on the other. It should be noted that the early clerics in Poland were mainly foreigners of either German or Bohemian birth. They held their charges directly from the king or prince and represented a stage in the administrative hierarchy, making the church an official institution. The clergy in general was supported by a tithe from villages and counties.

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175* 793 423 The monasteries were, on the whole, the only large private landowners, and supplied an example by their organization of large manors worked by half-free peasants.

175* With the throne weakened by the pretensions of the Polish nobility, an aggressive foreign policy was unthinkable. After Vladislav Hermann accepted the status of a German vassal in 1080, no Polish prince dared assume the title of king for two centuries. The Elbe valley and Silesia were definitely lost, together with the Pomeranian seaboard west of the Vistula. Then, early in the thirteenth century, when the still pagan Prussians menaced Duke Conrad of Mazovia (along the Vistula northwest of Warsaw) he turned for aid to the knights of the Teutonic Order, who entered Mazovia and occupied the districts ceded to them in 1229. They immediately founded strong points at Thorn, Kulm, Elbing and elsewhere, and by placing themselves under papal protection obviated any chance of Polish sovereignty. The next fifty years were occupied by the struggle of the Teutonic Order, supported by the margraves of Brandenburg and Meissen, against the Prussians. Königsberg was founded in 1255, when the Slavic Duke of Pomerelia, on the lower Vistula north of Thorn, became a vassal of the Margrave of Brandenburg, and Danzig fell into German hands for the first time. The Brandenburgers, however, were unable to hold it, and it was not until 1343 that Polish claims to the so-called Pomorze were given up.

175* 721 Apart from domestic disorders, Poland was also shaken during this period by a disastrous invasion of the Tartars, who in 1241 burned Cracow, invaded Silesia, and sacked Breslau. The depopulation caused both by civil war and this invasion impoverished the Polish princes and induced them to encourage German immigration. The movement had started even before the onslaught of the Tartars, for German villages began to appear in Silesia as early as 1140. But after the Tartar incursion, German settlements spread to every part of Poland. The belt laid waste by the Tartars had been thickly settled since the principal commercial highways between the west and the

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186* 829 648 will be founded—because it is in the force of events, because the peoples long for it, because it is the best possible solution to the present difficulties, and because, if it were not founded, these countries would fall a sure prey to Russia; Panslavism would be established in their place'. These few sentences—prophetic ones, moreover—provide the clue to all Serbian diplomatic thought, whether declared or understood, up to the 1914 War. The majority of the statesmen in Belgrade were partisans of a Russophile policy, with the exception of the old-time Progressists, and even so, one of their leaders, Stefan Novakovich, kept his confidence in the Tsarist Government. But, with these men, a Russophile policy never meant a Russian policy. We shall have defined the historical 'Russophilia' of the Balkan States, if we say that it always postulated the greatness of Russia, and was bounded by the determination to eliminate that country from internal affairs of the Peninsula.

186* 829 795 Yugoslav Catholics were inclined to be prejudiced in favour of Russia; this was due, on the one hand, to their geographical situation, beyond the reach of Russian ambitions, and, on the other, to the fact that their Catholicism was much less exclusivist than that of Poland, for instance. No doubt this intellectual liberty must be attributed to an instinctive reaction against the policy of the Vatican, which was then axed on Austria-Hungary, *i.e.*, on the two countries whose yoke the Yugoslavs aspired to shake off. The majority of the Croat and Slovene thinkers and poets of the nineteenth century were inspired by Slav traditions; the Illyrian movement was, in their countries, the starting-point • [793] of the national Renaissance. But the role of the Catholic clergy in this renaissance, and its connections with Orthodox Russia, is certainly one of the most decisive manifestations of that 'Slavonic conscience' which the politicians of St. Petersburg believed to be the attribute of the Orthodox Slavs. In Slovenia the priest, Jean Krek, the instigator of the Co-operative movement, and later on, Abbé Anton Korochets; in Croatia Bishop Strossmayer and Canon Ratski, were not only apostles of Slav solidarity, they had frequent contacts with the Russians. Strossmayer, who was one of the contrivers of Yugoslav unity, had not only been one of the opponents of the Vatican Council; he protested vigorously against the Holy See's anti-Russian attitude at the time of the 1877 War.

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countries and bring peace and liberty to men'. In the following September the Slav delegates to the Washington Congress of anti-Fascist Students passed a resolution calling upon their Anglo-American comrades to bring pressure to bear on their Governments with a view to opening a second European Front. In April, 1943, the Central Committee of the Congress of Slavs in America, sitting at Chicago, declared that if efforts were not made to crush Germany quickly, 'there will be nothing left to liberate but cemeteries'. They organised a 'Panslav Day' for June 22, and demanded the re-establishment of free circulation for Slav newspapers in Brazil.

Needless to add, there were reactionary or dissident movements, and certain Slav groups maintained contacts with the pro-Axis Governments, or pursued an anti-Soviet policy.

Their case was raised at the Congress of Slavs in America, which was held in Pittsburg on January 24, 1944, and was attended by seventy-five delegates from New York, Buffalo, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Saint-Louis, and even from Canada. This Congress studied reports on the activities of a hundred local committees during the year 1943. The chief subject for discussion was the attitude of the Committee of Americans of Polish Origin, of which Colonel Matuszewsky was the head, and of their newspaper, *Nowy Swiat,* which was unanimously censured. Then the Congress applauded a resolution approving Roosevelt's war policy as well as the Teheran, Moscow, and Cairo agreements. A second meeting was held in Pittsburg on September 23 and 24. Like the previous one, its chief object was to create a 'Slavonic electoral front' in favour of Roosevelt's candidature, to speed up the American war effort,[8] and to combat the action of the Matuszewsky Committee, a Polish breach in Slav solidarity. (The Congress of Americans of Polish Origin held in Buffalo in the preceding month had included this action on its agenda.)

* * *

A few months earlier, the Poles in America had been deeply moved by a strange episode, the journey of Father Stanislas Orlemanski to Moscow. This unassuming priest, of Polish

[8] The sale of bonds for the Fourth American War Loan by the Slav Committee of New York served to build, among other things, a bomber, 'The New York Slav', and a chaser, 'Spirit of Stalingrad'.

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648 origin, was in charge of a little Massachusetts church, the Holy
• 793 Rosary, in the diocese of Springfield. Was he first sounded, and
159 then invited to Moscow, as he himself was to allege, or did he improvise a mission? The facility with which he moved about in Russia, at a time when travelling was subject to severe restrictions, argues in favour of the former hypothesis. He was absent from April 17 to May 11, 1944, the object of his journey being, according to him, 'to see what he could do for the Catholic Church in Poland, Ukraine, and White Russia'. On his return he declared that he had twice been received by Stalin, and had obtained from him assurances, both verbal and written, in favour of religious liberty on Soviet territory. 'Future events will prove', he said, 'that Marshal Stalin nourishes very friendly sentiments towards the Roman Catholic Church. He wants a really democratic, independent Poland, capable of defending herself against any fresh aggression. The religion of the Polish people will be that of our ancestors; he will not tolerate any change. All he asks in return is a Poland animated with fraternal feelings towards the U.S.S.R.'.

Four hours after Father Orlemanski's return home, his bishop imposed the penalties provided for cases of unauthorised absence; he was forbidden to say Mass. After an attempted protest to the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, he submitted and solemnly promised never again to meddle with matters outside his priestly functions, upon which the bishop raised the interdict pronounced against him.

648 But his journey nevertheless aroused tremendous interest.
793 The Soviet Radio called it a 'great international event', and the
159 press published Orlemanski's declarations in full. As there are
208 very few Catholics in Russia proper, the assurances given by Stalin referred especially to the liberated territories of the Ukraine and of Eastern Poland. The Tass Agency, emphasising the reality of these assurances, accused (though in moderate terms) the Hierarchy of the United States of having, in this matter, adopted a not very favourable attitude towards the Soviets. Whilst the *Christian Science Monitor* expressed satisfaction at the Orlemanski mission, and did not doubt that the Vatican would take advantage of the conciliatory attitude of the Soviets, the *Chicago Sun* placed its trust in the Catholic clergy's common sense to reject 'the poisoned advice of the agitators',

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seeking to encourage the Church in her traditional opposition to the Soviets. But the *Post Dispatch* regretted that the Kremlin should have chosen such an unimportant person as Orlemanski for such a demonstration. The *Louisville Courier* deplored the censure passed on this priest by his bishop; no doubt the latter tolerated disparagement of the Soviet Union, but not efforts to understand it.

The truth seems to be that Father Orlemanski's initiative, whether concerted with Moscow or not, aroused in Slavonic circles reactions calculated to handicap the Government and prejudice Roosevelt's electoral campaign. While the Slavonic Committee of America approved this initiative, the *émigré* Poles threatened to launch a campaign which would have brought Washington and Moscow into opposition. It happened that Orlemanski's superiors were of Irish origin—which, obviously, did not predispose them to regard his journey with a favourable eye. In any case, the episcopal decision and the priest's submission cut short any attempts at propaganda, thus rendering a very opportune service to the Government, but postponing or compromising the perspective of a possible easing of the situation, if not of a *rapprochement* between Poland and the Soviets, and between the Soviets and the Vatican.

In Latin America the headquarters of the permanent Slav Committee were at Montevideo, where, in April, 1943, three hundred and ninety-four Slav delegates assembled at a Congress which established the Union of Slav Nationals (they were estimated at two millions), to organise the struggle against pro-Hitlerian activities.

* * *

This sketch of the recovery of the Slavs in the Old World and the New brings out two features: the gravitation of all the Slavonic nations round the Muscovite colossus, and the repugnance of a sector of Polish opinion to this method of regrouping.

As was to be anticipated, German propaganda affected to see in this the execution of a plan tending to 'Bolshevise' Europe, and even America. Germany again launched her old commonplaces about the inferiority of the Slavs. A Radio-Paris broadcast (February 21, 1943) assured listeners 'that about one-quarter of the American population is composed of Slavonic elements, of

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Turkish journalist) some people in Eastern Europe who would like to return to the old policy of oppression of the Slavonic peoples. . . . The new friendship among these peoples, related to each other and bound by century-old ties of a common culture, was being tempered in the crucible of the war of liberation. . . . Their *rapprochement* would displease none but those who dreamed of seeing them dominated once again'. 186* 829 204

* * *

The Orlemanski affair has shown us an attempt at Slav solidarity in the domain of religious tolerance. In the same order of things, but this time in connection with the Orthodox Slavs, we cannot omit to mention the deep impression produced by the restoration of juridical personality to the Russian Orthodox Church (September, 1943) and the elevation of the Metropolitan Serge to the office of Patriarch, abolished in 1721 by Peter the Great and which enjoyed a brief restoration in 1917. With its hundred and fifty million followers, the Orthodox community, placed at the cross-roads of the war, was undergoing one of the most tragic crises in its history. Its suffering was all the more serious, inasmuch as the Orthodox Churches are organised on national lines, in contrast to the hierarchical unity of Roman Catholicism. These churches are bound together by identical doctrine and canons. But, in the course of the centuries, they have progressively relaxed the bonds of dependence which used to attach them to the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. Religious autonomy has advanced side by side with the emancipation of the nationalities. In restoring the rights of the Church, Stalin not only indicated his desire to reawaken the traditions of Russian national life, within the framework of a social renovation; he also tightened the historic bonds between his country and the Balkan nations of the Orthodox religion, thus reinforcing, by new spiritual affinities, sympathies founded on community of race, of oppression, and of destiny. 186* 659 795

Germany tried to foil this policy by summoning to Vienna, on November 5, under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Belgrade, the Orthodox prelates adhering to the Axis cause, and especially the Metropolitans of Berlin and of Paris, who declared the election of the new Patriarch to be null and void. This demonstration was of no effect; the vast majority of the Serbian, Rumanian, Greek and Bulgarian hierarchies either had nothing 648 793 795

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648 793 795 to do with the protesting prelates,[11] or openly dissociated themselves from their attitude.

771 626 795 By way of retort, the first number of the *Moscow Patriarchy* published a message from the Council of Russian Bishops, assembled for the election, inviting Christians to pray for the victory of the Red Army and the fulfilment of the scriptural text invoked by Alexander Nevsky: 'He who strikes with the sword shall perish by the sword'. On September 8, this same Council had excommunicated 'as adversaries of the Cross of the Lord, all who have been guilty of treason to the common cause of the Church and gone over to Fascism'; the bishops and clergy guilty on this head were removed from their sacred office.

* * *

186* 563 To conclude, the only obstacles to a general reconciliation of the Slavonic peoples came from the Poles. To summarise here the vicissitudes of Soviet-Polish relations since the pact of December, 1941, would mean not only relating the most stormy chapter in the Allies' war diplomacy, but also recalling the relations of the various groups among the Polish exiles, the antagonism between the London Committee and that of Lublin, the frontier problem, and also the perhaps more tragic problem of the political, religious, and social concepts on the basis of which the Polish State was to be re-born. Once again it was made very clear that Poland occupied a place apart on the map of the Slavonic world, and formed an obstacle to the realisation of full Slav solidarity.

727 177 Like the other Slavonic States, however, she had been caught up in the advance of the Russian armies sweeping across Eastern Europe—an onrush which settled the fate of the Slav nations, with or without their consent, as a consequence of their liberation. For three or four years Germany had been the second Slavonic power in the world. She had imposed on her Serbian, Croatian, Slovak, and Bulgarian satellites not only the horrors of the occupation, but also ideologies strongly opposed to their temperaments and their history; an impersonal and tyrannical idea of the State, a 'New Order' which was nothing but a hypocritical subjection, anti-Semitism which—with the exceptions of Poland and Imperial Russia—the Slavonic nations had always regarded with horror. When the collapse came, all these nations turned

[11] Among these, however, we must include the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Argentine.

[J. Poland - Analyst]

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645 175 Communists, then rejoined the partisans in Bosnia and was elected President of the National Liberation Front.

687 175 The chief event of this period was the trial of General Draja Mihaïlovich, who had organised the earliest resistance to the invader, but was subsequently accused of collaboration with the Germans and the Italians. Arrested on the borders of Bosnia and Serbia, he was court-martialled on June 10, 1946, by the Military Tribunal of Belgrade, which condemned him to death on July 15. He was shot. Some American airmen had vainly asked to bear witness in his favour. The Belgrade Government had documents published establishing his 'treason'; they reveal undeniable complicity with the enemy in the lower ranks, and, especially, the implacable intention of eliminating the Communists from the Resistance; the role of Mihaïlovich himself is less clearly shown—which explains the emotion his condemnation aroused in England and in America.

[829] The *Daily Telegraph* thus expressed itself on this condemnation: 'The long perspective of history will enable the truth about the much-discussed figure of Mihaïlovich to be more clearly perceived. His contemporaries can do no more than think that caught up in the whirlwind of events beyond his control, he was a victim of Fate'.

In the same connection the British statesman, Noel Baker, declared that the decision to suspend aid to Mihaïlovich during the war had been taken as the result of numerous denunciations from various sources, alleging that he was no longer adequately contributing to the war effort. 'Subsequently', he said, 'it became evident that certain of his lieutenants were actively collaborating with the Germans'.

• 793 687 175 659 No less sensational was the trial of the Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb, Mgr. Aloysius Stepinac. This followed proceedings against numerous members of his clergy, notably that involving some Slovene priests, in December, 1945, at Ljubljana. The bishop of that town, Mgr. Rozman, a refugee in Italy, was condemned to eighteen years' imprisonment.

[208] The action against the Croatian priests accused of collaboration was prepared in January, 1946, by a violent press and radio campaign, denouncing the Archbishop's relations with the *Oustachi* of Pavelich, by whom he had been decorated (in

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common with the Croatian Orthodox Metropolitan, Hermogene Maximov, and the German Lutheran bishop, Popov).

Arrested on September 18, 1946, Mgr. Stepinac was tried, on the 30th of the same month, not only on the charge of intelligence with the enemy, but also of having, after the liberation, worked with the opponents of the régime. These charges (as well as that of having forcibly converted Orthodox Christians to Catholicism) were upheld by the judges, who condemned the prelate (on October 11) to sixteen years' hard labour, to the loss of his civic rights for a period of five years, and to the confiscation of all his possessions. In vain had the defence recalled the fact that Mgr. Stepinac had protested against the racial laws and collective reprisals, and that the allied press had, while the war was actually in progress, rendered homage to his courageous stand.[3]

Pope Pius XII, in a public speech, protested against this verdict, denying the compulsory conversions—which, moreover, are contrary to canon law. And, although Tito had declared that the proceedings were by no means the prelude to a campaign against the Church in Czechoslovakia, Christian circles throughout the world protested against what they called a 'religious trial'. The 115 Catholic archbishops and bishops of the United States, assembled in Washington for their annual Assembly, described the verdict as 'an outrage on justice'. The Archbishop of Westminster declared that, during the war, 'in Croatia the only voice raised against Nazism and its works had been that of Archbishop Stepinac'.

The Vatican, in an unofficial note, recalled the Church's sanctions against members of the laity sitting in judgement on a bishop, or guilty of any act of violence upon his person; it nevertheless continued to maintain its Nuncio in Belgrade—Mgr. Patrick Hurley, a priest of American nationality, who had entered upon his office at the beginning of the year. In October, 1946, it appointed a co-adjutor to the Bishop of Maribor and another to the Bishop of Ljubljana. (In the absence of a

[3] A Catholic Agency announced, at the end of February 1947, that the President of the Croatian Government, Dr. Bakarich, was said to have invited the prelate to sign his appeal, giving him reason to hope that he might be liberated and, with American support, go abroad. Mgr. Stepinac refused, not wishing to leave either his people or his diocese.

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793 794 648 Concordat in Yugoslavia, the Vatican proceeds directly to the appointment of bishops, without previous agreement with the Government.)

648 175 [659] Relations between the Holy See and Belgrade again became strained when on January 31, 1947, Tito's Government handed to the Secretariat of State two notes, demanding the handing over of five Yugoslav 'war criminals', said to have taken refuge in the Vatican, and accusing the latter of having facilitated the escape to South America of other Yugoslav nationals, wanted by their country's police. The Pope denied these allegations, but added 'that he distinguished between those who were persecuted for political reasons, and criminals; to the former he gave every assistance in his power, without asking whence they came'.

Yugoslavia's external policy remained unshakeably based on Soviet support. 'The Slav peoples now look to Moscow as, after 1919, they looked to Paris; nothing is more natural', said a semi-official commentary on Tito's tour of Central Europe. Far from endeavouring to gain the confidence of the English and the Americans, whose co-operation a wise diplomacy would have sought, in order to bring their claims on Trieste to a successful conclusion, the Belgrade Government was continually in conflict with those powers.

Its relations with Washington were particularly chequered. On January 8, 1946, President Truman had declared: 'As regards Yugoslavia, recognition of the present Government is still subject to certain conditions'. (Moreover, he put Rumania and Bulgaria on the same footing.)

These 'conditions' were the assurance that the new Yugoslavia would recognise the existing treaties and agreements between the two countries (commercial exchanges, extraditions, naturalisations, etc.). Having obtained this assurance on April 18, he recognised Tito and appointed Mr. Richard Patterson ambassador in Belgrade. 'In granting diplomatic recognition', said the *Washington Post* next day, 'the United States are but looking unpleasant realities in the face'.

And when Sava Kosanovich, the representative of Yugoslavia, presented his credentials to President Truman, the latter said to him, with bantering courtesy: 'The United States are following, with interest and sympathy, the efforts of the Yugoslav people . . . to succeed, individually and in harmony with the United

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at Kherson. And thither also at the same time arrived an Embassy from Pope John XV.[1]

Vladimir set to work with energy to make his people 797 Christian. The idols of the great god Perun and others, erected in not too distant a past (for Vladimir before he embraced Christianity had toyed with the idea of revitalizing the pagan religion) were overthrown and churches built in their place. The more or less instructed people were baptized in droves in the Dnieper. Other influences were at work beside that of Byzantine Orthodoxy. The institution of tithes is found in the early Russian Church, and it would seem that that must have come from the West, and the same is true of the veneration of certain distinctively Latin saints.

Even before the time of Vladimir, books and perhaps missionaries also had arrived from Bulgaria. The work which the disciples of the Apostles of the Slavs had carried on in that country spread into Russia, with the result that the Russian Church had a Slavonic liturgy from the beginning. After Vladimir's death there was a continued period of quarrelling among his sons, in the course of which the celebrated Boris and Gleb, unresisting, met their deaths. But one of the sons, Yaroslav, finally succeeded in establishing his position and reigning for thirty-five years. He it was who finally settled the dependence of the Russian Church upon the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

[793] In 1037 Alexis the Studite consecrated Theopemptos as Metropolitan of Kiev and thereafter, with two notable exceptions, the Russian Metropolitans were Greeks appointed from Constantinople until the fall of that city. Yaroslav was a great lawgiver and he raised Kiev to a status in which he treated with European nations on equal terms and married his daughters into royal houses of the West. He built the superb cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev and in his time the Petchersky Monastery was founded there. He died in 1054, the year in which the schism between Rome and Constantinople was finally consummated.

[1] On the puzzling question of the contact between the West and the Russian Church of this early period, see Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*. London, 1949, p. 173 ff. and 255 f.

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viction that the world was to be subdued to Islam. If the people they conquered were simple pagans they were offered the crisp alternative of accepting either Islam or death. But the Jews and the Christians were different. They were recognized as being, like the Mohammedans themselves, People of the Book. Each had a scripture, a written record of revelation. Their faith was regarded by the Turks as true but incomplete, since Mahomet had superseded both Moses and Christ. 798

The Orthodox were, therefore, permitted to survive and to practise their religion, but under severe restrictions. They had to pay tribute, to wear a distinctive dress and to conform to other irritating and humiliating regulations. In practising their religion they had to refrain from letting any outward sign of it be seen or heard; there were to be no crosses, for instance, on their churches, and no bells were to be rung. All this was the letter of the Law, nor was there any guarantee that it would be adhered to by the victorious Turkish governors; indeed, it was often violated by a harsh sultan or a blood-thirsty local administrator. There was much suffering and many instances of martyrdom. Doubtless there were many cases of apostasy also.[1] Social pressure was a more effective agent in winning converts to Islam than deliberate oppression and direct official action.[2] Its results are to be seen in the atrophy of the Christian Church in North Africa, and in the considerable number of adherents which Islam gained at the expense of Christianity in the Balkans.

But it is the glory of the Orthodox people as a whole that under centuries of Turkish oppression and misrule, with every inducement to abandon their religion, they remained faithful to it in spite of all.

For purposes of administration under the Turks the Orthodox Church became the *Rum Millet*—the Roman nation, with the Ecumenical Patriarch as its recognized head and representative. That is to say the Patriarch of Constantinople 793 659

[1] See Latourette: *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. III, p. 71 and f. London, 1945.

[2] It has been discovered in modern Russia that religion is like a nail, the harder you hit it, the deeper it goes in, and that the subtler policy of leaving social pressure to do its work is the wisest course for those who hope to see the disappearance of religion.

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was given civil jurisdiction over all the Orthodox within the Turkish Empire; he was responsible for their behaviour, they could approach the Government only through him. Thus, to his former claim to ecclesiastical precedence over the other Eastern Patriarchs, was now added a delegated civil jurisdiction as well.

The result was a signal example of the corrupting influence of power. The temptation to use secular authority as a means to ecclesiastical aggrandizement was strong, and it is one of the ironies of history that the Turkish régime led to the steady expansion of the spiritual jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. It reached its climax in the eighteenth century when the Churches of Rumania, Bulgaria and Serbia were brought under its sway and the Patriarchate extended right across Asia Minor. But the price paid was seen in the Patriarch's relation with his Turkish masters.

He was obliged to receive his "berat" from an infidel source, that is the confirmation of both his spiritual and secular authority. He was removed, and sometimes more than once reinstated, at the Sultan's will, and this combination of humiliating loss of prestige with the prize of rich emoluments led to a long and depressing story of simony and intrigue. There have been notable exceptions and some Patriarchs have suffered deprivation and even death for their principles. But over long periods of time the acquisition and tenure of the Patriarchate was a matter of intrigue and money, and the precarious nature of the dignity is reflected in the fact that "out of 159 Patriarchs who have held office between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries, the Turks have, on 105 occasions, driven Patriarchs from their throne; there have been 27 abdications, often involuntary; 6 Patriarchs have suffered violent deaths by hanging, poisoning or drowning; and only 21 have died natural deaths while in office."[1] During the seventy-five years from 1625 to 1700, there were 50 Patriarchs—an average of eighteen months each.[2]

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Nor was the evil limited to the Patriarchate itself. The party which had bought the office for their nominee recovered

[1] Kidd: *The Churches of Eastern Christendom* (1927), p. 304.
[2] Fortescue: *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (1907), p. 242.

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their expenses, through him, from the Greek bishops whom he appointed to the sees within his vast jurisdiction. They in their turn passed on the burden to their parochial clergy, who finally reimbursed themselves from their parishioners in the Balkans and Asia Minor. 793

It must be remembered that the level of education and culture really was higher among the Greek clergy of the Phanar[1] than among the Bulgars, Serbs and Rumanians, and to that extent there was good reason for appointing Greek bishops in those "daughter" Churches. But it is not surprising that the system, especially in its fiscal aspect, gave rise to much resentment, and that when in the nineteenth century the Balkan peoples began to recover their political independence from the Turks, they were equally eager to escape from their ecclesiastical dependence upon Constantinople. This movement met with its first success in 1833 when the Church of the Kingdom of Greece declared its independence, though it had to wait seventeen years for its recognition by Constantinople. The Serbian Church followed suit in 1879 and the Rumanian in 1885. These independent Churches were established not without struggle and a good deal of friction, but at least they have remained in full communion with Constantinople. In the case of Bulgaria, however, it led to schism. The Bulgars claimed more than ecclesiastical independence within a defined locality, i.e., the Kingdom of Bulgaria; they insisted that the head of the Bulgarian Church must have jurisdiction over all Bulgars wherever they may live. This the Phanar would not agree to, and branded it as the heresy of "Phyletism".[2] In 1872 the Ecumenical Patriarch, with the concurrence of the other Patriarchs, except Cyril of Jerusalem, excommunicated the Bulgars, and the Schism remained till 1945. 793 795

Nothing perhaps more clearly illustrates the isolation into which the East was driven by the Schism of 1054 and the Turkish conquest than the fact that it had no part in the making or opposing of the Reformation, that great cataclysm which shook and split, and yet revivified, the Western Church in the

[1] The seat of the Patriarchate in Constantinople from 1586 onwards.
[2] Exaggerated emphasis upon the spirit of nationality in the ecclesiastical sphere.

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sixteenth century. That is not to say that the Reformation had no effect at all upon the East. Its repercussions were felt there in the following century, and about this something must now be said. It is connected with the person of Cyril Lucar, a remarkable and tragic figure, whose personality and writings dominated Orthodoxy in the seventeenth century. He was born in Crete, which was then still under Venetian rule, in 1572. It was to Venice, and also Padua, that he went as a student, after which he settled in Alexandria, where he was ordained, became an Archimandrite and took his place in the immediate entourage of the Patriarch. In due course the latter sent him on a mission to Poland, the purpose of which seems to have been to try to persuade the Protestants in that country to become Orthodox. It was a fateful journey for Lucar, for while there he became attracted to Lutheran and Calvinist doctrines and followed the trail of them to Wittenberg and Geneva.

On his return he succeeded his late patron who died in 1603, and became Patriarch of Alexandria. Seventeen years later he was made Patriarch of Constantinople and continued so intermittently till his death in 1638. His tenure of that high office is a conspicuous example of the insecurity that attached to it under the Turkish régime, for he was six times deposed and as often reinstated during those years. Both at Alexandria and at Constantinople Lucar made vigorous and persistent efforts to popularize the ideas which had aroused his enthusiasm in the West, and to establish a reforming movement within the Orthodox Church on the same lines as had been adopted by the Western Reformers. With the co-operation of the Chaplain to the Dutch Embassy at Constantinople he started a Protestant school in that city, and put out a Greek version of the Bible which he had printed at Geneva and which bore evident doctrinal marks of its place of origin. He conceived and carried out a plan for sending promising theological students to study in Switzerland, Holland and England, the best known of them being Metrophanes Kritopoulos (himself later Patriarch of Alexandria) who was sent to Balliol College, Oxford. Lucar's relations with this country are of great interest. He corresponded with Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury; and the

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fifth century manuscript of the Bible, known as Codex Alexandrinus which is one of the most precious treasures of the British Museum, was presented by Lucar to Charles I from the Library of Alexandria. 795 793

This strange figure of a Protestant Patriarch encountered violent opposition. Not only had he to face the solid uncompromising body of traditional Orthodoxy, he was met also by the bitter hostility of the Jesuits and of a Latinizing party within his own Church which had been formed by the proselytizing efforts of Roman Catholic missions. These were very active at the time, and enjoyed the support of France and Venice.

In 1629, Lucar published his celebrated *Confession*, a document which contained much Calvinist doctrine and inaugurated a controversy which was not settled until the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672. Lucar himself was strangled by order of the Sultan on a trumped-up charge which his enemies brought against him. Just how far Cyril Lucar himself was a "heretic" has been disputed. It has been maintained that he did not hold the doctrines attributed to him, and the assertion of the Synod of Jerusalem that he did not write the *Confession* has been repeated by modern writers.[1] A synod held at Constantinople the year after his death condemned both Lucar and the *Confession*; the following Synods of Jassy and Jerusalem the *Confession* only. What is certain is that the Orthodox Church rose in a body to repudiate Lutheran, Calvinist or any other sort of "Protestant innovations"—whether Lucar held them or not.

The Synod of Jerusalem (sometimes called the Synod of Bethlehem, because it was convoked from that place) is of very great importance. It was convened with the express purpose of condemning the *Confession* attributed to Lucar but in doing so it promulgated a positive affirmation of the faith of the Orthodox Church.[2] Its acts include a Confession of Faith which "is a closely knit, carefully worked out summary of theological doctrine, in its phraseology very strongly 779

[1] E.g., Mesolora, and others. See Gavin: *Greek Orthodox Thought*, footnote on pp. 214 ff.

[2] The Acts of the Synod of Justin, and Cyril's *Confession* may be found in English in J. N. W. B. Robertson: *The Synod of Jerusalem*, 1899.

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785 between the octave of Whit Sunday and June 29, the festival of St. Peter and Paul.

796 Even outside these periods there are many days upon which the Orthodox faithful are expected to use only abstinence food, including, with a few exceptions, all Wednesdays and Fridays.

786 Furthermore, fasting itself is a much more rigorous affair among the Orthodox than it is in the West. It involves abstinence from any food of animal origin including fish, milk, eggs and butter. Indeed, the strict observer is left with little but bread, fruit and vegetables.

The extent to which this formidable programme is actually carried out is difficult to estimate. Doubtless like other observances of religion it has less hold upon people than it had, and town dwellers sit more lightly to it than the peasantry. Nevertheless, the Orthodox probably fulfil their obligation in this respect to an extent which would surprise the easy-going Westerner. Many of the devout are strict about it, and those who practise their religion at all will observe at least the first and last few days of the prescribed periods of fasting.

To the Orthodox, religion is very much concerned with this world as well as with the next, and fasting is of importance not only as a discipline of the human will. It expresses also the impact of the spiritual upon the material, the control of the world which is seen, by the power of the unseen world. It plays its part in causing the material to serve spiritual ends, and thus the human will shares in the process of rescuing and restoring the fallen world of Nature.

•793 The clergy are a visible link between the two worlds. The parish priest with his flowing cassock and unshorn hair stands apart. He is and is seen to be distinct from other men. He is a reminder of the unseen spiritual world in which both he and his flock are living even while they live in the day-to-day world of material things, and his ministrations apply the power of the spirit to daily life.

Yet if he stands apart, he does not stand aloof. The parochial clergy throughout the Orthodox East are required to be married men. But they must marry before they are ordained. Once they are ordained marriage is forbidden them.

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Very frequently they marry the daughters of other priests, and thus clerical families tend to form a fairly well defined section of the community with its own traditions and general outlook. But in the country districts at any rate, and that is to say in the vast majority of cases, they live a life which is close to that of their parishioners. It is a simple life; they cultivate their own piece of land, and are not regarded as belonging to gentry. The question naturally arises, what happens if a parish priest is left a widower? Being a parish priest, he must have a wife, being ordained, he is precluded from marrying. In strict theory there is nothing for it but for him to give up his parish and retire into a monastery. But the theory is not unduly pressed, and he may even be allowed to have a female relation to look after his children. The bishops, on the other hand, are always chosen from among the monks, and they, of course, must remain unmarried. The married cleric can reach no higher dignity than that of Arch-priest. So that at the outset of his career the neophyte must make up his mind whether he will take a wife and settle down to parish work—or whether he will take the monastic vows and keep open the possibility of being made a bishop later on. Transition from one class to another is not common, but there are cases of widowed priests entering a monastery and subsequently being raised to episcopal rank.

The deacon is as familiar to the people as the priest, for the diaconate is not regarded in the East as a mere step towards the priesthood and expected to last only about a year. So far from being simply a sort of incomplete priest, the Greek or Russian deacon may remain in deacon's orders all his life, and he very frequently does. He has a well-defined status with its own specific function. The deacon has his own assigned part in the Liturgy, notably the chanting of the Litanies and the singing of the Gospel; one of his qualifications is the possession of a good voice. "Father Deacon" shares in the respect and affection which are commonly given to the parish priest. Should it unhappily be the case that the priest or deacon is not all that he ought to be and even notoriously otherwise, the people will not on that account stop going to Church. If you have a good priest, so much the better, thank God that it

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E1L

is as it should be. If you have a bad one, that is much to be deplored. But a priest of some sort you must have, for otherwise there are no worship and no sacraments, and these are just where, most conspicuously, the other world breaks through.

As the Church, with its succession of festivals and fasts keeps touch with the yearly cycle of Nature, so it shepherds the individual human life from the cradle to the grave. The rites that attend his birth and his death stress the link between the two worlds, and the fact that man lives in both at the same time. Even his baptism is not the first occasion on which a child of Orthodox parents will be brought into contact with the Church of which he is to become a member. On the day following the birth the priest comes to say prayers over the mother and child, and again a week later when the child is given his name. On the fortieth day from its birth the mother brings the child to Church, when prayers are said for the child, and if baptism has meanwhile been administered the priest carries the child through the church and (in the case of a male child) into the Sanctuary, reciting the *Nunc Dimittis*. But unless the child has been baptized at home, which is not infrequently the case, the latter ceremony will follow baptism. And the prayers of the eighth day are now combined with those of the first day. The rite of baptism is preceded by exorcism and a short catechism of renunciation of Satan and acceptance of Christ, which concludes with the recitation of the Nicene Creed.

The administration of the Sacrament itself begins with a Litany said by the deacon while the priest prays secretly for himself and for the one about to be baptized. This is followed by a long prayer said aloud, in the course of which the water is blessed in words which at times recall the phraseology of the Anglican rite; e.g.,

> "Grant that the person to be baptized therein may be thoroughly renewed, that he may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of him that made him; that being planted in the likeness of his death by baptism, he may be partaker of his resurrection."

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

IV

SOURCES OF ANCIENT MAGIC AND MEDICINE

I

During the pagan and semi-pagan period the Slavs lived in small, independent tribes, later forming loose federations within territorial limits. For long the Greeks were unable to negotiate with them, because they did not agree among themselves and had no central authority. The organisation of a united state in Rascia coincided with the establishment of state Christianity, and the pagan empire of Bulgaria was comparatively short-lived.

The tribal religious cult was likely to have been an extension of a domestic cult, probably rarely accompanied by the specialised functions of an official priesthood. The domestic cult lasts to the present day. The head of the household officiates in ceremonial, and the assistance of an outsider is not essential. In ceremonial which involves the whole tribe or village, the heads of households—the tribal elders—are again responsible; but that they have not an entire monopoly of ritual is evident in ceremonies which are performed by a group without a specially chosen leader, particularly those which belong to the younger people, or ceremonies conducted by old women doctors, etc.[1]

[1] The rites of the peasants hint also at an independent development. It is not true only that the non-Christian element enjoyed a revival, tended to revert to type, after the fall of the mediaeval empire. A direction was taken at that time, perhaps, in which the popular religion continued a course of development and adaptation. The popular religion, or sometimes a popular aversion to religion as well as to social forms that flourished under a feudal church, must have sought new outlets much earlier. Local forms of peasant cults must be of comparatively recent growth, and contain more than the survivals of an ancient paganism. The *slava*, for instance, is a typical example of a domestic rite which does not require a special priesthood. It has become perhaps the central

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Great Russians RF2
Slavic Peoples E 16

B Y SP 795 793 756 [887]

There is little trace of shamanism in the Balkans, and few instances of the combining of the functions of priest and doctor and magician except by accident. In peasant cults these offices are adopted to meet a special occasion, unless they are the speciality of a local wise woman. Women who have ceased to menstruate or widows may have to be chosen for certain rites, but this is only a temporary priesthood. The seeress mediates between ordinary people and spirits only when she is required to do so. Young men without physical defect only may be allowed to take part in certain ritual dances, etc. Almost each cult has its own 'priest'. The fulfilment of the village 'vows' and the sacrifice at the sacred village tree is performed by householders, and the high priest of the occasion is the host for that year. The mother of twins is, it is said, considered to be specially pure, and twins themselves have special occasional functions. I hazard that this arrangement is characteristic of peasant cults; and that the institution of a monopoly of priestcraft, whether on the part of the Christian church or by the priests of organised pagan cults, meant a profound social change, to uphold which popular custom had to be discredited.

B Y SP [845]

R SP 771 171

In Russia itself, so many parallels are found that a close

SP 795 174 771 793

feature of the religious life of South Slav Orthodox communities and has died hard among the non-Orthodox. It represents an elaboration under peculiar circumstances of a strictly domestic cult with occasional ministrants, whose sporadic priestly duties are determined by their normal social function and status. A similar Lithuanian rite was also traditionally a strictly domestic affair. The *slava* embraces ideas and ceremonial found in the earliest accounts of Slav custom and which belonged to pre-Christian ideas, but other features, and the general form as we now know it, so closely resemble the celebration of the liturgy that the institution may well have arisen from an early practice of private celebrations, or imitations of the liturgy, perhaps at a time of a Christian minority, or further encouraged by the conditions of Turkish occupation. There is still a tendency to think that anything that is not traceable to the Churches' institutions is necessarily pre-Christian in origin. The cycle of Christmas rites also shows a mixture of sources and evidence of late formation, and considerable local variety when the cycle of the whole season, which may include rites transferred from other seasons, is considered. In any case, the past is not always 'fossilised'. While a

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Great Russians RF2
Slavic Peoples E16

connection with Asiatic shamanism was suggested many years ago. On the whole, the characteristics of magical practice are better mapped regionally than ethnologically; the Russian and West Slavs falling beside the Baltic and Finnish races of the north; while Balkan Slav folk-lore more closely resembles that of the neighbouring southern races.

In the process of time a religious sentiment has grown up about the ritual inherited from ancient semi-magical rites; and direct magic, conceived as such, figures principally as a part of a medical system, in which, however, empiricism now predominates, and magic is applied rationalistically. This division between applied magic and religion, between charm worker and the priest, seems to have existed since early times.

The pagan cult, as far as can be judged, recognised innumerable local and tribal gods, associated with the various activities of the people, such as war, agriculture, etc., or representing personifications; and an equally important cult of trees, stones and waters, in which, according to some, gods or spirits were supposed to reign. The Slavs of the East could not swear by trees, fountains or stones (but the priests gave accused persons the choice of trial by ploughshare, iron or

custom can in any sense be said to live, though it come out of the past it is also a part of actuality and a factor of present-day life and psychology. The popular religion is more sophisticated, and probably greatly more varied than any reconstruction of primitive cults that could be made. It depends on the vigour of the church organisation locally how far a distinction is made between standard Christian practice and the rest, and how far the non-Christian part of tradition is looked upon as not wholly in conformity with the nominal faith. Left to itself the folk-mind blends diverse elements into a single law. Certainly custom, particularly religious custom, is not in origin a direct response to the physical environment. Adjustment to the demands of a ruling class, for instance, is not expressed only on the economic plane. But there is a tendency to try to adapt institutions—even those forced upon a community—to material circumstances. Hence the permeation of all peasant cults by the dominant interest in provision for life and the staying of disaster. The Church would have had little chance of survival here had its rites not received an economic and apotropaeic interpretation, far removed from the spiritual benefits of its written doctrine.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Great Russians RF2
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Slavic Peoples EV6

R SP 771

lot). The sacred oak tree is mentioned by several early chroniclers. Now while the cult of vegetation, water spirits, and to some lesser extent of stones, in the Balkans at any rate, retains most of its primal character and importance, so that the sacrificing to trees, or on trees, for instance, can be found almost exactly as described by Herbord among the West Slavs and by Ibn Rosteh in Russia, that of patron deities, of an ancient Slavonic pantheon, does not remain at all. Not a single name of a Slavonic god has been recorded here beyond doubt; not a single image recovered.

B Y SP 771 793

Taking all the evidence together, it is not impossible to conclude that the complex pantheism of the other Slavs which required an established priesthood, was not typical of the religion of the Southern Slavs; whereas in the north and west the priestly cult overshadowed older popular forms. Even there the cult of the sacred tree is spoken of as an ancient custom of the people, not one of the ministrations of the priests. The priests themselves delivered oracles as well as read omens; and besides carrying out performances within the shrine to which the populace was not admitted, or at which it assisted only as an audience, they took upon themselves to impersonate gods in order to mislead the ignorant. Literary sources in the Balkans have plentiful references to 'magicians', etc., but those to priests occur mainly in conventional accounts of paganism, except in the accounts of the Bulgars during the Asperuh period.

B Y SP 793 787

The two chief offices of priesthood were sacrifice and divining, which could, in the north, elevate the priest to the position of tribal leader. For the Balkans we are told that the reading of omens accompanied blood sacrifice.

782 SP 793 791

The priests of the East and West Slavs were a caste apart, specially endowed and specially venerated. In the long list of terms connected with priestcraft and sorcery in early monuments, and in the vocabularies of modern languages, the titles of various kinds of priest and magician and

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E16
Historical Bulgaria EE 2

doctor indicate a difference of method and function rather than a distinct rank or profession. Long after the priest ceased to be recognised these different functions were regularly given their proper Slavonic names in the South Slav area also. In documents these are found mixed with names coined from Greek. In the *Syntagma*, for instance: '*O vlhvahь, oučitelnyhь, bajalničěhь, ište že zvezdoslovčěhь, obavničěhь, nь oubo i čarodejehь, otrovničehь, i navezatelhь.*' In another South Slav monument, the *Ivaničev Zbornik* (cf. *Starine*, XXIII, 56): '*ki věruje vešte nego ima vervati tako, kako su vražiteli i vražitelьnice i bahornice....*' In the Code of Dušan: '*volhь, resnikь, madjinikь, otrovnikь.*' Further we have: '*magtinik, glědačь, kobnikь, vračь, bajalnikь, obavьnikь, oblakogonci, sanovnici.*' A gloss in the *Ilovačka Kormčaja* reads: '*...i o vlьsvěhь i o obavničehь i o zvezdocьtьcihь i provědьcihь i o čarodějenihь i o otrovleniihь i o naouzehь rekše ouzlehь*' (cf. *Starine*, VI, p. 81). In a seventeenth-century manuscript: '*radi magesnicy i samovili i basnarki i zalaganie i brodnicy i baenie...samovili, basnarky, brodnicy, baene... i koito nositь bourǫn na sebi*' (cf. Kačanovski, *Pamjatniki*, 32, etc.).

Magic was probably not simply a vocation but a gift, as it is reckoned to be to-day. Among the Old Bulgars, for instance, the second son of the emperor Simeon was given to magic and could turn himself into any kind of wild beast.[1]

Procopius refers to divining carried out by the priests at a blood sacrifice. Helmoldus relates that the people depended upon such prophecies in every emergency. On festivals they gathered to hear oracles, and to sacrifice. 'After the sacrifice the libation blood was poured over the priests that their oracles might be more propitious....For it is the opinion of many that the demon is freed the easier by means of blood.' Ditmar gives an account of divination by blood and ashes, and so on, and if historical evidence were lacking for the practices of the South Slavs, the blood sacrifice among

[1] Luitprandus Episc. Cremonensis, *Opera*, III, 29.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

In 1915 she declared war on Tsarist Russia, but refused to do so in 1940 on Soviet Russia, although she owed much to the former and nothing to the latter. Even then, in 1915, she was obliged to intern a good many politicians and generals before embarking on her campaign, a campaign which, in actual fact, both sides conducted in 'slow motion'. The Russian Black Sea Fleet fired fifty-nine shells on Varna; in the Dobrudja, the Bulgarians were opposed to the Rumanians and to the Serbian Corps, while the Germans were engaged with the Russians of Chtcherbatchev. This realist nation, little given to passionate or ideological enthusiasms, nevertheless showed a curious obstinacy in 'backing the wrong horse'. In 1913, 1915, and 1942, they entered the war with the winners, and came out of it with the vanquished. The 'Macedonian psychosis' periodically pushed them into the arms of 'liberators', only to end by sharing their defeat. 186* 648 [721]

After the Treaty of Neuilly, the Bulgarian propagandists realised the error made by their leaders. They returned to the theme of Slavonic affinities, to the pro-Russian tradition. 'We Bulgarians', said the *Narodna Otbrana*,[13] 'have been the pioneers of a foreigners' policy, and have pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for others'. 'The future of Bulgaria is closely bound up with that of Russia', proclaimed the Minister, Bakalov.[14] And Stamboliiski entered into a mortal struggle with the Macedonian organisation, to clear the way for an entente with Belgrade. He succumbed in this struggle; his successors realised, after much shilly-shallying, that this policy was a reasonable one, but could not be imposed until the psychological atmosphere it had always lacked had been prepared for it.

And yet, paradoxical as it may seem, in the thick of the fratricidal struggles in which she has engaged, Bulgaria has never stifled her inner feeling of community of destiny with Serbia. When the Bulgarian resistance collapsed in 1918, a Deputy-Prefect of the occupying authorities took leave of the inhabitants of his administrative district in these terms: 'We shall perhaps

[13] Of June 30, 1920.

[14] The Bulgarian Church, like the Serbian-Orthodox Church, refused to make the religious calendar coincide with the civil calendar when the State adopted the Gregorian reckoning. The two Churches gave, as the reason for this refusal, the fact that it was impossible to come to an agreement with the Russian Church, which then had no competent representative. 805 794

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

common with the Croatian Orthodox Metropolitan, Hermogene Maximov, and the German Lutheran bishop, Popov). 793 687

Arrested on September 18, 1946, Mgr. Stepinac was tried, on the 30th of the same month, not only on the charge of intelligence with the enemy, but also of having, after the liberation, worked with the opponents of the régime. These charges (as well as that of having forcibly converted Orthodox Christians to Catholicism) were upheld by the judges, who condemned the prelate (on October 11) to sixteen years' hard labour, to the loss of his civic rights for a period of five years, and to the confiscation of all his possessions. In vain had the defence recalled the fact that Mgr. Stepinac had protested against the racial laws and collective reprisals, and that the allied press had, while the war was actually in progress, rendered homage to his courageous stand.[5] 175 659

Pope Pius XII, in a public speech, protested against this verdict, denying the compulsory conversions—which, moreover, are contrary to canon law. And, although Tito had declared that the proceedings were by no means the prelude to a campaign against the Church in Czechoslovakia, Christian circles throughout the world protested against what they called a 'religious trial'. The 115 Catholic archbishops and bishops of the United States, assembled in Washington for their annual Assembly, described the verdict as 'an outrage on justice'. The Archbishop of Westminster declared that, during the war, 'in Croatia the only voice raised against Nazism and its works had been that of Archbishop Stepinac'. 829

The Vatican, in an unofficial note, recalled the Church's sanctions against members of the laity sitting in judgement on a bishop, or guilty of any act of violence upon his person; it nevertheless continued to maintain its Nuncio in Belgrade—Mgr. Patrick Hurley, a priest of American nationality, who had entered upon his office at the beginning of the year. In October, 1946, it appointed a co-adjutor to the Bishop of Maribor and another to the Bishop of Ljubljana. (In the absence of a 793 794 648

[5] A Catholic Agency announced, at the end of February 1947, that the President of the Croatian Government, Dr. Bakarich, was said to have invited the prelate to sign his appeal, giving him reason to hope that he might be liberated and, with American support, go abroad. Mgr. Stepinac refused, not wishing to leave either his people or his diocese.

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

793 Concordat in Yugoslavia, the Vatican proceeds directly to the
• 794 appointment of bishops, without previous agreement with the
648 Government.)

648 Relations between the Holy See and Belgrade again became
175 strained when on January 31, 1947, Tito's Government handed
[659] to the Secretariat of State two notes, demanding the handing over of five Yugoslav 'war criminals', said to have taken refuge in the Vatican, and accusing the latter of having facilitated the escape to South America of other Yugoslav nationals, wanted by their country's police. The Pope denied these allegations, but added 'that he distinguished between those who were persecuted for political reasons, and criminals; to the former he gave every assistance in his power, without asking whence they came'.

Yugoslavia's external policy remained unshakeably based on Soviet support. 'The Slav peoples now look to Moscow as, after 1919, they looked to Paris; nothing is more natural', said a semi-official commentary on Tito's tour of Central Europe. Far from endeavouring to gain the confidence of the English and the Americans, whose co-operation a wise diplomacy would have sought, in order to bring their claims on Trieste to a successful conclusion, the Belgrade Government was continually in conflict with those powers.

Its relations with Washington were particularly chequered. On January 8, 1946, President Truman had declared: 'As regards Yugoslavia, recognition of the present Government is still subject to certain conditions'. (Moreover, he put Rumania and Bulgaria on the same footing.)

These 'conditions' were the assurance that the new Yugoslavia would recognise the existing treaties and agreements between the two countries (commercial exchanges, extraditions, naturalisations, etc.). Having obtained this assurance on April 18, he recognised Tito and appointed Mr. Richard Patterson ambassador in Belgrade. 'In granting diplomatic recognition', said the *Washington Post* next day, 'the United States are but looking unpleasant realities in the face'.

And when Sava Kosanovich, the representative of Yugoslavia, presented his credentials to President Truman, the latter said to him, with bantering courtesy: 'The United States are following, with interest and sympathy, the efforts of the Yugoslav people . . . to succeed, individually and in harmony with the United

1: Niederle--27 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Tsarist Russia R2

S.P. T.R. 162 0.04% divorced women.

S.P. T.R 162 795 In the matter of religion, here are the principal figures for the Russian Empire:

Orthodox	95.48%
Old Believers	2.59%
Catholics and Armenians	1.78%
Protestants	0.5 %
Jews	0.8 %
Mohammedans	0.01%

In Russia, the concepts of Russia and of Orthodoxy are practically identical (except for the area of Kholm /35/ and for Byelorussia). In Austria and in Hungary, the Russians are for the greater part uniates (that is to say, united to the Church of Rome while preserving their own liturgical language and the custom of the marriage of their priests); only about 8% belong to the Eastern Church.

In the Kingdom of Poland, there were enumerated in 1897 78.8% Catholics, 4.4% Protestants, 14% Jews, and only 6.57% Orthodox (4.2% according to the census of 1906).

In the western guberniyas of the Empire, Chubinskii numbered even in 1870, 290,000 Ukrainian Catholics (in the guberniyas of Lublin and Siedliszcze) and he declared that, although they belonged to the Roman Church, they called themselves Russians.

Recently, in the Russian district of Kholm, a certain number of individuals considered to be Orthodox, following the edict concerning religious liberty (17 April 1905), declared themselves to be Caltholics. Frantsev estimates at 300,000 the number of conversions during the last three years. Thus the number of Ukrainian Catholics has considerably increased. On the other hand, there are some Catholic Byelorussians in Kurland, in the guberniyas of Vitebsk, Pskov, Suwalki, and Grodno, and in western Galicia there are many localities where a portion of the population is Catholic though claiming Russian as their mother tongue. Professor Floriinsky /36/ recently estimated the number of Russian Catholics at a million and a half.

S.P. T.R. 161 Movement of the Population. --The annual marriage rate, which especially permits an appreciation of the vitality of the nation, is higher in Russia than anywhere else. It is 9 per 1,000; the number of births is about 48 per 1,000 (3.4% of which are

S.P. P. 161 accessible date. The population increase for the entire province of Galicia between 1890 and 1900 was 16.7%. Of this number, according to Austrian statistics, the Poles furnished 14.52%, which would be an annual growth of 1.45%. (In this figure 15% Jews are included). The Russians contributed only 8.71%. In comparing these figures with previous ones we note the steady progress of the Poles. In 1851, 11.45% were estemated already in Cisleithania; in 1880, 14.86%; in 1890, 15.84%; in 1900, 16.59%. In Galicia, where the Poles are the masters of the country, their numbers increased by 14% in fifty years.

S.P. P. 162 In the matter of longevity, the rate is the same among the Poles as among the Galician Russians. The number of young people is above the average (30.4% being less than twenty years of age); the number of old people is very low; only 12% have passed fifty years of age.

The number of married persons is 32.3%. Among the Poles of Russia there have been enumerated 60.6% of unmarried men and 55.9% of unmarried women, 37% men and 36.3 % women married, 2.24% widowers and 7.64% widows, 0.05% men divorced, and 0.08% women divorced.

In the matter of the proportion of sexes, there are among the Poles of Galicia 1,049 women for every 1,000 men; in Russian Poland, the proportion is inverted, only 989 women. But it is evident that all of the soldiers were enumerated. /80/ The relationship of the two sexes, moreover, is a balanced one, save in the government of Lomza, where only 925 women were found for each 1,000 men.

S.P. P. 795 162 In the matter of religion, Catholicism is the characteristic religion of the Poles, as Orthodoxy is that of the Russians. There are no more Orthodox Poles, one might say, since the religious toleration was proclaimed in 1905. Old statistics, for example those of Lebedkine about 1860, stated that according to official documents there were 40,000 Orthodox Poles (uniates). There are also very few Poles who belong to the Evangelical church. They are to be found especially in Silesia and in the northern part of Prussia. On the other hand, the Mazuri of Prussia belong to the Evangelical church (96% in 1906), and this circumstance explains to us why they allow themselves to be easily Germanized. The Catholicism of the Poles is one of their strongest weapons against Germanization. In Austria only 83.14% Catholics

S.P. P. 795 162

are reported. This is explained by the fact that among those individuals who declared themselves to be Poles there were 14.7% Jews. There are 1.8% Protestants. Therefore, one may consider Catholic to be synonymous with Pole.

In Russian Poland the proportion is as follows: 78.8% Catholics; 4.7% Protestants; 14.05% Jews; and 6.57% Orthodox, or "old believers" of the Orthodox Church.

The Catholics here are concentrated on the /81/ left bank of the Vistula, where they are estimated at 70 to 80%. The gubernivas of Siedlec and of Lublin are the only ones in the kingdom where as few as 66 to 62% Catholics are to be found, if one believes the census of 1897. After the edict of religious tolerance of 17 April 1905 the proportions changed noticeably (see above in S 5), but we have no strictly precise data.

With respect to the Poles of Russia, here are the latest statistical results:

Orthodox and "old believers"	0.63%
Roman Catholics	98.26%
Protestants	0.51%
Jews	0.59%
Mohammedans	0.01%

Polish is, therefore, synonymous with Catholic. But it must be noted that among the Catholics there has recently developed a sect called Mariavites to which in 1906, 59,000 persons belonged. It is in the Russian section that the Polish population provides the largest contingent in the cities and large towns, 22.1%. Among these are found 1.9% nobles and officials, 0.8% clergy, 0.14% of honorary burgeois and of merchants, 23.5% bourgeois, 72.98% farmers. Among the Poles of Austria there are 65.6% laborers, 14.8% factory workers, 11.2% tradesmen, and 8.4% officials.

S.P. P. 871 212

From the point of view of public education the Poles still have far to go, not only in Russia and in Prussia, where the government has placed numerous obstacles in the way of the development of the schools, but also where they have for a long time enjoyed complete liberty, namely in Galicia. In this province statistics still report 40.8% illiterate. Furthermore it must be recognized that the Poles in Russia (notably the

161 German, one arrives at the figure of 116,810 individuals, and, if this figure is corrected according to the estimates of Parczewski, of Swjela*, and of Muka, about 156,000 persons are obtained, a lamentable total for a people surrounded and penetrated from all sides by the German
[177] flood. What favors Germanization is the extent to which the Sorbs are economically dependent upon the Germans: the military service, preaching in German, the absence of an intellectual class, their complete isolation. The Sorbs who resist most energetically are those of Upper Lusatia, whose intellectual center is at Bautzen (Budysin). In Saxony, of 297 communes called Wends (1), according to the census

1. The Sorbs of Lusatia are called Wends in German.

of 1900, there are in all 225 with a Slav majority, and only 7 entirely Slav.

167 We have no other data on the Lusatians or on their emigration. It appears that there are colonies in America (especially in Texas--Serbin (a town), which recalls the name of the nation, Giddingswenden (probably the town of Giddings), West (perhaps the town of West Point) Yewa (not located), Warda (a town), Burleson (a county) whose inhabitants left Europe towards the middle of the last century, and who still preserve the national tradition. There are also some in Australia (at Angerspark, at Adelaide near Melbourne). They are of more recent origin.

775 The great majority of the Sorbs are Lutherans; there are 15,000
162 Catholics, who live for the most part in the neighborhood of Budysin (Bautzen).

197 /98/ S 19. Differentiation.--Even though they are only a small
182 nation, the Sorbs are not unified from the linguistic point of view. The difference between the idioms of Upper and Lower Lusatia is so great that the common people have great difficulty in understanding one another and many linguists have recognized two distinct languages. There are in fact two literary languages founded upon the two dialects which are farthest apart (that of Kottbus and that of Bautzen) and two literatures. This duality creates a grave danger, the much more so as the two fractions are divided from a political viewpoint. Kottbus belongs to Prussia and Bautzen to Saxony. Aside from the language, the
101 two Lusatian groups differ from many viewpoints in matters of domestic
182 life and costume. According to Muka, the boundary between the two

S.P. C. 167 of immigration of Germans among the Czechs is practically insignificant. On the contrary, in these ten last years 70,000 to 90,000 Slavs have left Bohemia. Formerly it was above all emigration to America which S.P. C. 167 weakened the Czechs. Today this movement has slowed down, but 161 it is rather considerable among the Slovaks and it suffices to explain to us the very minor increase of the population group which in 1851 constituted 13% of the total population of Transleithania, in 1886, 12%, in 1890, 11%, and in 1900 only 10.5%. In these last thirty years, according to Stodola, there have emigrated from the 12 Slovak counties 307,000 persons--especially into America. Now, from 1850 to 1900, the total increase of the Magyars was 80%; these figures include, it is true, 25% other nationalities more or less Magyarized, which would make 1.6% a year; the increase /122/ of Slovaks has been only 0.66% a year.

S.P. C. 212 From the point of view of popular education and the restricted number of illiterates, the Czech national group holds the first rank among the Slav peoples. The Czechs are even superior to the Germans of Austria; for, according to the official statistics, there are in Bohemia 93.77% who know how to read and write, 91.84% among the Germans, 68.53% among the Slovenes, 47.52% among the Poles, and 21.87% among the Russians and Ruthenians.

In Hungary, in the purely Slovak counties, the number of illiterates is 32%; in the counties of the center where there are mixtures of Magyars and Russians, it is 42%.

S.P. C. 162 In the matter of professions, 43.1% of the Czechs devote themselves to agriculture, 36.5% to industry, 9.3% to commerce and the transportation business, 11.1% to public services. From the industrial viewpoint, only the Germans surpass the Czechs by two percentage points (38.5%); from the point of view of agriculture, the Czechs come after the Poles (65%), the Slovenes (75%), the Serbo-Croats 89%, and the Russians of Galicia (63%).

S.P. C. 715 162 In the matter of religion, the Czechs are for the most part Catholics (96.15%). It is figured that there are 2.4% Protestants. Among the Slovaks of Hungary the proportions are no longer the same There are figured to be 70.2% /123/ Catholics, 5% uniates, 23% Protestants of the Augsburg confession.

1: Niederle--91 E-5 1911 E/6 Slavic Peoples E/6
Slovenes E F 7

S.P. Sl. 163 181 167 In the matter of the birth rate, during these latter years it has been very low in Carniola: between 1890 and 1900, 1.84%; the birth-rate for Austria taken all together is 9.44%. Between 1880 and 1890 the coefficient was 9.44%. For all of the Slovenes taken together the coefficient is only 1.37%.

Therefore, the development of the nation appears to be arrested. This phenomenon is due in part to denationalization, in part to emigration, and in part to inexact census figures.

S.P. Sl. 162 [195]

From the religious viewpoint the Slovenes are almost entirely Catholics (99.9%). In respect to occupations, 75.4% devote themselves to farming, 13.4% to industry, 3.5% to trade, and 7.7% to public services.

S.P. Sl. 197 101

S 28. Differentiation.--From a linguistic viewpoint there are rather numerous differences; but they are not very deep (see what is said further along regarding the dialectology of the southern Slavs). To designate the various groups within the nation, the Slovenes usually give themselves geographic names, borrowed from their political boundaries: Kranjci (Carniolians), Primorci /145/ (people of the seacoast), Korosci (Carinthians), Goricani (Goricians), Styrians, or names of an even more local character, borrowed from the orography and the hydrography. In Styria there are singled out the Pohorianci, the Polianci of the Mura and of the Drava, the Halozanes, in Carniola the Gorenici (people from above), Dolenici (people from below), and the Notranjci who speak different dialects. To the north of the Mura, the Prekmurci (Transmurians) present an interesting type. In the north-west of Istria the Savrini or Bresavi are also pure-blooded Slovenes, as are the Berkini in the north of Istria. On the contrary the Fucki in the outskirts of the town of Buzet (Pinguente) and the Cici are Croats of the kaikavski and cakavski dialects. (1) Likewise, the White

1. Although certain philologists attach the Kaikavci of Croatia to the Slovenes, we relegate them to the next chapter; they consider themselves to be Croats.

Krainici--so called from their costume--who are settled between Kocevje and the Kupa River are also of the kaikavski dialect.

A very interesting group, particularly studied by Professor Beaudoin de Courtenay (2), is the group of Resians established in the

S.P. Cr. Sl. 163 the net increase 0.98%.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, the rate, for a period of ten years, was still greater; gross total, 14.8%, net total, 14.2%, otherwise speaking, the birth rate exceeded the death rate by 1.48%. During these latter years, one notes a much more considerable increase but it results from the large number of migrations of persons fleeing from the Turkish territory. The same may be said for Bosnia and Hercegovina, where, as a result of immigration, an abnormal increase was produced at the end of the last century (from 1879 to 1895, 2.15% on an average). Between 1901 and 1904, the increase was only 0.95% per year.

In the north, the Croats and the Serbs are threatened by the Magyars in Hungary and by the Germans in Croatia. The Magyars and the Germans are greatly increasing in number in Croatia. In the space of ten years, from 1880 to 1890, the Serbo-Croats in this province increased by 12.23%, the Germans by 41.3%, the Magyars by 66.1%. In the years 1890 to 1900, the Slavs increased by 8.96%, the Germans by 13.12%, the Magyars by 36,3%. Thus, between 1880 and 1900, the relative number /168/ of Slavs decreased from 90.48% to 87.22%; that of the Germans increased from 4.4% to 5.53%, that of the Magyars from 2.19% to 3.74%.

000 This state of affairs is not yet very serious, but nevertheless it gives rise to concern about the future.

S.P. Cr. Sl. 167 The Serbs and the Croats should agree to resist with a common front, all the more as their birth rate is weak, weaker in the areas inhabited solely by them than in the areas with mixed population and as they are constantly diminished by emigration. Between 1880 and 1900 this took away from them more than 100,000 souls and in these recent times the Croats have emigrated in rather large numbers into the two sections of America.

S.P. Sl. 795 162 We have already pointed out the decrease in the numbers of Serbs in the area of Novi Pazar and Kosovo. Alongside the Orthodox Serbs there are to be found today in this zone many Albanianized Mohammedan Serbs--notably of the tribes of the Gash and of the Berish, also 6,000 Cherkessians who settled there in the years 1858-1862. In this zone there are no Turks properly speaking.

S.P. Sl. [563]

S.P. Sl. 75 162

According to Turkish statistics, in the plain of Kosovo, that is to say in the kazas of Pristina, Vucitrn and Mitrovia, there are 80,000 Mohammedans and 22,000 Orthodox; according to private Serbian statistics there are only 1,956 Serb homes with 14,000 persons. Kancov in 1901 counted at Novi Pazar, Kosovo, and Metokhia, 250,000 Albanians, 100,000 Serbs, and 90,000 Bosnians /169/ who spoke Serbian, while being Mohammedans and enemies of the Serbs.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 161

In the matter of population density, the areas occupied by the Croats and the Serbs are particularly well divided. In Montenegro, it is figured that there are 18 persons per square kilometer, in Bosnia-Hercegovina 30.7, in Dalmatia 46, in Serbia 51.6, in Croatia-Slavonia 56.8, in Istria 69, at Gorica 80, on the seacoast 95. The ratio between the two sexes is particularly interesting. In comparison with other Austrian areas the masculine sex is much more numerous; but the proportions vary according to the areas. Thus for each 1,000 men there are in Dalmatia 976 women, in Istria 933, at Gorica 970, along the seacoast 973, in Serbia 945.6, in Bosnia 893.4, in Montenegro, 882. On the average, throughout the Austrian territory, for every 1,000 men there are 974 women. In Croatia-Slavonia the number is 988, and if we count only the men--leaving out the army--the figure rises to 1,011. Vrbanic gives for 1,000 men 963 women, and he explains the reasons for this ratio. Many more males than females are born here, and during the early part of life there are fewer who die than in the rest of Europe. During the first year the number of deaths is 8.3% for Bulgaria, 21.2% for Croatia, 16.3% for Serbia.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162

Vrbanic gathered in 1896 very interesting data /170/ on the birth rate of the southern Slavs, notably the Serbo-Croats. It is true that they are based upon anterior facts, but they are still of interest.

He finds 40% of the people married among the Serbo-Croats. Serbia especially presents unusual figures.

According to the statistics of 1900 there are only 25.4% unmarried and 67.7 married; 36% of the men and 57% of the women are married before the age of twenty years. Among the Serbo-Croats of Austria, the unmarried are estimated at 58.6% and married persons only at 35.4%. In Croatia-Slavonia, in 1900, above the age of fifteen, 30% of the men were unmarried, and 22.7 of the women, and 63.7% and 64.5% were married. In Serbia, the number of births is 44.45

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1: Niederle--107 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

S.P. Cr. Sb. 163 In Serbia, the number of births is 44.45 Serbs E E6 Croats E E4 per 1,000; in Croatia, 44.18; in Damatia, 38.39; in Istria 37.43. In Bulgaria the rate is only 36.36. But if we take into consideration only the legal marriages, we ascertain that for every 1,000 women there were 290 births at Gorica, 273 in Istria, 257 in Dalmatia, 215 in Serbia (same figure in Bulgaria). This is a relatively low birth rate, and, in Serbia and Croatia, the lowest in Europe. Thus it seems that the large number of births depends only upon the number of marriages and not upon fecundity.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 165 /171/ According to Vrbanic the death rate is 30.24 per 1,000 in Croatia, 27.79 in Istria, 27.16 at Gorica, 25.67 in Serbia, 24.38 in Dalmatia. (It is only 18.00 in Bulgaria). The death rate is then higher in Serbia than in Bulgaria. In Bulgaria, in fact, far fewer infants died during their first year (8.3% only, 16.3% in Serbia, 15.4% in Dalmatia, 21.2% in Croatia). The rate of increase through births is, then, 1.83% for Bulgaria, 1.87% for Serbia, 1.4% for Dalmatia, 1.39% for Croatia, 0.98% for Gorica, 0.96% for Istria, which gives an average for the southern Slavs of 1.57%.

S.P. Cr. Sb. 162 795 Religion is one of the principal marks which distinguish the Croats from the Serbs: the Croats are Catholics, the Serbs Orthodox and Mohammedans. But this is not an absolute indication. There are Orthodox who consider themselves to be Croats. Thus the latest Croat statistics give 2,075 more Orthodox than the Serbs who were enumerated (616,518 Orthodox against 614,543 Serbs). And there also are numerous Catholics who consider themselves to be Serbs or who are claimed by the Serbs. Such are, for example, the Catholics of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and of the Gulf of Kotor (Cattaro), or the Sokci, the Bunievci and the Krasovani of Hungary.

In the Kingdom of Serbia, Serb means Orthodox. There are 98.7% Orthodox, /172/ 0.40% Catholic, 0.60% Mohammedan. In 1895 there were 548,632 Serbian Mohammedans in Bosnia-Hercegovina (that is 34.9% of the population). But it must be stated that they are decreasing through emigration. Official statistics have, between 1883 and 1905, given 32,625 emigrants of whom 30,434 were Mohammedan. In Bosnia and Hercegovina there were reported 637,246 Orthodox (that is 42.9% of the total population), and 334,142 (21.3%) Catholic. (1)

S.P. Cr. Sb. [167]

1. In Bosnia-Hercegovina the Mohammedans are in the majority at Saraievo and in 12 districts, the Orthodox in 25, the Catholics

S.P. Cr. Sl. 75 162

in 12. During the first years which followed the Austrian occupation, emigration was quite considerable; it still continues, but it is slowing down. The official figures for 1906 give 590,900 Mohammedans, 760,000 Orthodox, and 360,000 Catholics. Mr. Florinskii figures for the entire Balkens 820,000 Mohammedan Serbs.

In Dalmatia in 1900 there were 96,279 Orthodox, 496,778 Catholics which gives 16.2% and 83.6%. The other Austrian areas are Catholic (Istria 99.6%, the seacoast 98.5%). In Croatia and in Slavonia there are 1,721,416 Catholics, and 616,518 Orthodox, that is 71.2% and 25.5%. The total figures for the censuses of Budapest and Zagreb are not completely in accord, but the proportion remains the same. In Montenegro, according to Vrbanic, there are 87.5% Orthodox, 3.1% Catholics, and 9.3% Mohammedans whom Vrbanic considers as Slavs.

S.P. Cr. Sl. 212

From the viewpoint of education /173/ the Serbo-Croats are very much behind. Throughout Austrian territory the number of illiterates reaches 74.14%, in Croatia 54.4% and even 56%, if one is to believe the Hungarian statistics. It is especially Dalmatia which is backward. In 1900, 64.8% of the men and 86.6% of the women did not know how to read or write. Teaching is also greatly neglected in Istria and still more in the Balkan countries about which we do not have any documentation except in the Serbian statistics. There are in Serbia only 21.3% literate (55% in the towns and 15% in the villages).

S.P. Cr. Sl. 162

With regard to occupations, the Serbs and the Croats are primarily an agricultural people. In Istria and in Dalmatia there are 86.9% farmers (industry 4.6%, commerce 3.8%, public services 4.7%). In Bosnia-Hercegovina 88.34%. In the Kingdom of Serbia 85.23% of the population devote themselves to agriculture and to raising cattle.

S.P. Cr. Sl. 578

S 32. Internal Differentiation.--The Serbs and the Croats do not differ greatly either from the physical viewpoint, or from that of linguistics or in the manner of living. Differences have been created solely by the political situation, by religion, and by literature. There are, however, certain shades of differences and certain special groups which we mentioned a short time ago.*

S.P. Cr. Sl. 44

From the anthropological viewpoint there is, a far as we know at present, a much greater /174/ difference between the Serbo-Croats and the other Slavs than between the Serbs and the Croats

*[cf. cat. 116, pp. 92-95, pp. 105-106, p. 107--Analyst]

S.P. B. 161

in 1900 about 12,000 (according to V. Cintula). In 1891 the statistics numbered them at /201/ 23,000; but it confused other Slavs with the Bulgars, for example the Serbs of Krasso.

In America, Valjavec figured on 4,000 Bulgars, but obviously this is too few, for in the most recent statistics the Bulgars are always placed with the Serbs. We have seen that in Russia statistics for 1897 enumerated 172,659.

It is in Turkey that estimates are most difficult. For Macedonia I have followed the figures of Kanchov, in regard to his opinion upon the Macedonian problem.

Cvijic has estimated the number of Slavs in the vilayets of Kosovo, of Salonica, and of Bitolj to be 1,300,000 (450,000; 500,000; 340,000). Brankov and Skopalski have figured on 1,172,000 Bulgars; in Turkish Rumelia I have counted the Pomaks among the Bulgars. In the vilayet of Adrianople, Mach estimated the number of Bulgars at 370,000 of the Orthodox religion and 115,000 of the Mohammedan religion.

S.P. B. 161 795

According to a census conducted by Hilmi Pasha and reported by M. Rene Pinon (of which the results are far from being exact), there were in the vilayet of Kosovo 164,476 Patriarchists, 184,912 Exarchists (1), 420,388 Mohammedans; in the vilayet of Bitolj, 309,759 Greek

1. Spiritual subjects of the Bulgarian Exarch of Constantinople, otherwise Bulgars.

Patriarchists, /202/ 11,301 Rumanians, 8,461 Serbs, 178,527 Exarchists, 509,307 Mohammedans; in the vilayet of Salonica, 311,982 Greek Patriarchists, 24,377 Rumanians, 244,723 Exarchists, 531,431 Mohammedans. For these three vilayets, Monsieur Pinon, accepting the old statistics of certain districts, gave a total of 3,267,265 souls, of whom 1,795,359 were Mohammedans and only about 600,000 Bulgarian Exarchists. He counted 850,000 Greek, Rumanian, and Serbian Patriarchists; but of this number the Serbs make up only a very insignificant total.

S.P. B. 161

Other statistical data, for well known reasons, can be applied only to the Bulgars of the Kingdom. This is the only country which provides statistical data. We shall study them here on the basis of the work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

1: Niederle--126 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Bulgaria EE1

000 work of Vrbanic, who goes back to the census of 1888.

S.P. B. 163 [162] He[1] presents the following results:

Among the Bulgars the number of men is 1,000 for every 965 women; the males show an excess of births of 54.2%; the ratio between single persons to married persons is for men, 53%; for women 41.9% (4.4% widowers). The birth rate is 36.36 per 1,000; it is below that of the Serbs; on the contrary, the death rate is less than among these, only 18. (compare the figures given above in Section 31). In Bulgaria S.P. B. [165] very few infants die during the first year. They have the lowest infant mortality of any among the South-Slavs /203/ (8.3% only, against 15.4% in Dalmatia, 16.3% in Serbia, 21.2% in Croatia). As a result of this peculiarity, the coefficient of the excess of births over deaths is, if Jirecek is to be believed, as favorable as in Serbia, it represents 1.83. For the years 1881-1887, Sarafov found an increase of 1.85 (during this period there were born 100 boys for 89.7 girls); for the period 1890-1900, the coefficient was, it seems, slightly less. More recently, Iurkevich suggested the figure of 1.5 for the north of Bulgaria and of 1.2 for the south.

S.P. B. 161 According to Popov, the population density is 38.8 inhabitants per square kilometer.

S.P. B. 795 From the religious viewpoint the Bulgars belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church. They have a church of their own whose head, called The Exarch, lives at Orta-koi (now Ivailovgrad) near Constantinople. Along with the Orthodox majority, one finds two dissident groups. The first of these is the Catholic Bulgars, or Paulitians (Pavlikiani). They speak the eastern dialect and live in the districts of Nikopol, of Svishtov, in seven villages in the outskirts of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There is also a Catholic community at Berdavski Geran, near Byala Slatina, and another, that of Gostilia, near Oryakhovo (district of Vratsa). All of them originated in the region of Plovdiv or Philippopolis, which was formerly their center. They formerly composed a whole series of communities between Plovdiv and /204/ Nikopol. It is from these that there came the colonies of Bulgars who settled in Hungary (Vinga, Besenov), and who are Catholics.

S.P. B. 795 101 Another rather sizeable section is composed of the Bulgars who, under Turkish domination, embraced Islam. They are called Pomaks.

1 [i.e. Vrbanic. cf. cat. 116, p. 125--Analyst]

S.P. B. 796 101

They have settled by preference in the Rhodope (Grk., Rodope), where they constitute a rather large group between Plovdiv and Salonica. They are met with here and there to the north of the Balkans in the region of Lovech, Pleven (Plevna), especially between the Vid and Panega Rivers, to the south of Pleven. In the Kingdom of Bulgaria their number has greatly diminished; for, as a result of their Turkish sympathies, they have since 1878 been in perpetual conflict with the other Bulgars. The latest statistics numbered 20,644 of them in Bulgaria, of whom 17,055 were in the district of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and 2,837 in that of Pleven.

S.P. B. [871] 212

From the viewpoint of education, the Bulgars are not very much advanced, which is explained by the difficult conditions in which they have lived, deprived of all the advantages of civilization. They are now making an effort to make up for lost time. According to the latest statistics the number of literate persons in the principality was an average of 28.4%. The districts may be placed in the following order:

Ruse 38.5%; Shumla 35.9%; Varna 34%; Trnovo /205/ 34%; Plovdiv (Philippopolis) 29.6%; Burgas 29.4%; Sofia 28.8%; Stara Zagora 28.3%; Pleven 23.1%; Kustendil 20.1%; Vidin 19.8%; Vratsa 19%. The highest degree of education is found naturally in the regions of the great cities: 60% at Sofia, Ruse, and Varna; 49% at Plovdiv; 47% at Kotel and at Shumla; 37% at Kazanluk. The least literate areas are those of Radomir (20%), Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad) (19%), Kyzilagatch (19%), Berkovitsa (16%), Kula (14%), Belogradchik (13%), Ferdinandovo (13%).

S.P. B. 197 101

S 38. Internal Differentation.--The Bulgars are divided into three groups from the point of view of language.

1). That of the western dialect: it is bounded on the east by a line which starts from the confluence of the Vid and the Danube and runs towards Salonica across the regions of Nikopol, Pleven, Lovech, Teteven, Pirdop, Novo Selo, Panagyurishte, Ikhtiman, Chepino, Rezlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Seres, and Salonica.

2). The eastern group is divided into two branches:

A. That of the northeast where the people bear the general name of Zagortsi (Mountaineers), or Khertsoi*, or Poliantsi*.

B. That of the southeast, or branch of the Rhodope, whose

S.P. B. 101

local designations. The peoples are called Mervatsi who are settled between the Struma and the Rhodope Mountains in the area of Serrai, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Melnik, Drama, Nevrokop (now Delchev) and Bratsigovo. In western Macedonia there is a region called Mala Reka, "The Little River", whose inhabitants have received the name of Miak*. They call the inhabitants of Kichevo, Bitolia, Prilep and Tito Veles the Brsiak: (compare the Greek Bersetai). Among the other Macedonian names, Kanchov mentions the Esti on the right bank of the Black Drin, the Kekovtsi in the region of Popolie, the Pulivakovtsi in the western part of the plain of Salonica, the Ketskari, the Uliufs. Let us also mention /208/ the Touriaki and the Torlaki whose name is also applied by the inhabitants of Sofia to the inhabitants of the regions of Pirot and of Tsaribrod, the Tokuntsi, the Niniovtsi, the Marachi between the Osem and the Isker (now Sibir), etc.

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The Mohammedan Bulgars who live near the sources of the Arda are called Ashrians; this name comes from the ancient form Agariane, the children of Agar (1); between the Dospat and the Mesta are found

1. On this name see the index of my Chronicle supposedly by Nestor. Translator.

are found the Tseshtentsi and, below the Chardagh, the Torbechi.

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We have spoken above (Section 33)[1] of the names of the old Bulgars. An enigmatic appellation is also given them. They are called the Khrisoi, and this word generally means an uncouth man, a rustic. They are spread out between the Black Sea and the Isker (now Sibir) and also in the region of Vidin and to the south as far as the Stamdja Planina (Mountains). They speak the dialect of the northeast and may be distinguished by their special costume. Likewise, the costume of the women is distinguished by the somber color of the woolen gown called sukman.

The immigrants from the Balkans who come into the regions of Shumen, or Razgrad, and of Ruse are called by the natives "The Blacks" because of the color of their breeches. In western Bulgaria "the wearers of white" and "the wearers of black" are distinguished. Other sobriquets are due to the cut of the breeches.

We owe special mention to the Schopi. They inhabit especially the mountainous region of Kustendil, Kratovo, Radomir, Breznik and

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 113-118 -- Analyst]

S.P. C.M. 643 exaggerated claims, without counting Turkey which is today the proprietor of the contested territory, without speaking of the Great Powers, especially Russia, Italy, and Austria, who have their eye on Macedonia.

000 From all of this whirlpool of literary, political, and scientific endeavors, a disinterested observer can draw today only these obvious conclusions:

S.P. C.M. 181 1). The Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia represent a people whose national consciousness is not yet completely and equally developed, if we compare them with the two neighboring nations. However, it is beyond doubt that the largest portion of this people S.P. C.M. [795] feel themselves and proclaim themselves to be Bulgars, that they belong to the independent Bulgarian Church, whose head is the Exarch resident at Ortakioi. (1) On the other hand, it is certain that the

1. According to Brankov, there are in Macedonia 77% Exarchists and 23% Patriarchists. According to Hilmi, the proportion is entirely different. See above in Section 37.

name Bulgars is an historic name in these regions and that it has not been brought in through the religious propaganda of these recent years. Even though these regions were once annexed to the Serbian State, yet the name Serb has not taken root among the people. This is why in recent times the Bulgarian propoganda, both ecclesiastical and political, has found a very deep response throughout the country; Serbian propoganda has a chance of future success only in the northern region which is in contact with the Serbian Kingdom and has direct dealings with it; this region is Old Serbia.

S.P. C.M. 197 2). From a philological point of view it is true that the language of the Slavs of Macedonia presents an aggregation of local dialects rather distinct from one another. They form a sort of idiom which is intermediate between the Serbian stokavski and the Bulgarian language proper. (1) But taken altogether and in certain details it is much more

1. See Section 32, above.

S.P. C.M. [197] [193] closely related to the Bulgarian than to the Serbian. These special traits are the use of the postpositive article (used after the substantive), the loss of declension and the retention of the nasals. Only the dialect of the northern region is more closely related to the dialect group of Vranje, Nish, Timok, which Profesessor Belic assigns to the domain of the Serbian language, but certain philologists do not agree with him.

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It was to this district, centering about the city of Czernowitz, 101
that many Polish officials and soldiers withdrew to escape Ger- 131
man and Russian pursuit when Poland was invaded in 1939. 197

The Western Slavic group includes the Poles, the Czechs (or Bohemians) and Moravians, the Slovaks, and two Slavic islands in German territory: the Kashubs, who live on the [161] Baltic coast northwest of Danzig, probably not over two hundred thousand in number, and a considerably smaller number of Sorbs, or Wends, who inhabit Lausitz, or Lusatia, a small area on the upper Spree river northeast of Dresden.

The Southern Slavs are cut off from their northern kindred by the Austrian Germans, the Magyars, and the Romanians, but comprise the Slovenes in the extreme northern part of Yugoslavia; the Serbs and the Croatians, who differ from one [195] another only in slight variations of dialect and by the fact that [212] the Serbs belong to the Greek Orthodox church and use the Cyrillic Script (similar to the Russian), while the Croatians are Catholics and use the Latin alphabet; and the Bulgarians who, though possessing a Slavic national language, represent a complex fusion of racial and linguistic stocks.

In view of the numerous and violent migratory movements 174
which took place in northern Europe both before the Christian 167
era and during the first few centuries after it began, the Slavs are hardly likely to have occupied their present extensive territory during their whole recorded history. On the contrary, their migrations cover a range almost as vast as those of their Germanic neighbors, and the location of their primitive habitat constitutes a problem which has long engaged students of Slavic history and linguistics.

The earliest native tradition dealing with Slavic origins is 101
contained in the so-called Russian *Primary Chronicle,* a com- 174
pilation completely extant only in two fourteenth-century 113
texts, but which reproduce with considerable accuracy a work composed by a monk of Kiev about the end of the eleventh century. Here we read:

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III

Conversion and Religious Divisions

175* While conversion to Christianity was an inevitable phase of
186 the process by which the Slavs were drawn into the general
797 movement of European civilization, it was by no means an unmixed blessing. When Slavic tribes had evolved to some semblance of national consciousness and even statehood, or were sufficiently remote from the center where religious influence was exempt from political pressure, they were able to retain their independence and to follow a characteristic course of development. But if they lived on the periphery of a powerful and aggressive Christian state, their political independence was frequently threatened, and if this state cherished colonial aims, the convert Slavs were very likely to face the choice between assimilation and enslavement, or, at the very worst, complete extermination.

797 The section of the medieval church which brought about the
●795 conversion was also a factor of durable historical weight. The
178 Western Church was devoted to the tradition of Latin culture.
779 It insisted on the celebration of the Mass in the hallowed
191 language of the Church. Hence it evinced little concern for the creation of any vernacular culture. Though not possessed of
175* the same vitality, the Eastern Church soon found that it could evangelize the various pagans on the long Byzantine frontier more effectively if it allowed them to use their native languages

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in the service. Hence, though much of early south or east Slavic literature is either translated or imitated, the fact remains that the Slavs under Byzantine intellectual and religious influence developed significant national cultures much more rapidly than those under the domination of Rome. That these cultures, after a brilliant initial spurt, were later retarded and even brought to a halt which lasted several centuries is due, not to the source of conversion itself, but to historical accidents which supervened after conversion took place. Had not the Eastern and the Southern Slavs fallen victims, in one case to Tartar invasion and in the other to Turkish conquest, their intellectual lag in comparison with the rest of Europe would not have been so great. The Russians, for example, were completely deprived of all Western stimulation after the middle of the thirteenth century and nearly three hundred years elapsed before they entered upon the difficult process of assimilating the Western culture which had developed during that long and critical interval. The South Slavs, on the other hand, shook off the Turkish yoke only within the last century and thus were even more handicapped than the Russians in their struggle to catch up with the modern world.

Of all the Slavs, the Slovenes in Carinthia and Carniola were the first to encounter missionary activities. Early in the seventh century, they had been temporarily combined with Czechs and Sorbs north of the Danube in the semilegendary kingdom under Samo, who led them victoriously against the Avars and simultaneously offered a temporary barrier to Frankish expansion southward. During his declining years in Switzerland, Saint Columban, the great Irish missionary, had thought, as early as 612, of setting out from Bregenz on a mission to the nearest Slavs, but, finding the task too difficult for his advanced age (he was already sixty-nine), he retired to Italy and ended his days at Bobbio.

After Samo disappeared from the scene and his realm was dissolved, the Slovenes were unable to withstand the Avars, who soon held the Danube as far as the Enns. The Slovenes

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175* thodius became abbot of the monastery of Polychron, in the vicinity of Mount Olympus.

175* 212 The two brothers were recalled from their retirement by Michael III when Rostislav's mission asked for Slavic-speaking priests. Constantine in particular had demonstrated considerable linguistic talent on his mission to Khazaria, where he had learned Hebrew, and it is certain that both brothers spoke the Bulgarian dialect which prevailed in the environs of their native city. Upon accepting the mission, and before proceeding to Moravia, Constantine invented a Slavic alphabet, and translated into the Slavic dialect he knew a selection of passages from the Gospels. [779]

This translation is the beginning of all Slavic literature, but the nature of the alphabet invented by Constantine is questionable. We have, as it happens, two early Slavic alphabets, the so-called Glagolitic, somewhat enigmatic in origin, and the Cyrillic, which is a combination of the Greek and Latin alphabets with some additions for specifically Slavic sounds. This latter is the ancestor of the modern Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian scripts. On account of the difficulty of the Glagolitic, it was later supplanted in Bulgaria by the Cyrillic, which is relatively close to the Greek. On purely psychological grounds, but in utter disagreement with many much more authoritative teachers and colleagues, I believe that the priority belongs to Cyrillic, since Constantine would (I assume), if only for reasons of convenience, have used an alphabet as close as possible to the one with which he was most familiar. Then later in Moravia, when he found that the German clergy viewed with suspicion and hostility everything Greek, I believe that he devised the tricky and crabbed Glagolitic, which does not resemble Greek script at all, to disarm his opponents. [538]

175* 797 796 795 Accompanied by a few Greek priests who also knew Slavic, Constantine and Methodius arrived in Moravia during the spring of 863. They were well received by Prince Rostislav,

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though the local clergy from Passau and Regensburg viewed them as dangerous rivals, for these Greeks were scholars and men of action who had the advantage of speaking the local language. At first they celebrated Mass in Greek, which was as incomprehensible to the masses as the Latin of the Frankish clergy. Constantine then hastened to translate the whole service, which only added to the resentment of their competitors, despite the fact that he actually translated not the Byzantine ritual but the Latin missal. In Western eyes this was a drastic and unparalleled innovation. Whatever Rostislav's good intentions were, he was not for long in a position to support the Greeks wholeheartedly, for in the autumn of 864 he had been attacked and once more reduced to vassalage by Louis the German. Yet the mission prospered to the point where the problem of ordaining new priests presented itself. Constantine even made a visit to the son of Pribina, Prince Kotzel, on Lake Balaton, who became an enthusiastic admirer of the brothers' work and confided fifty young men to him for training.

Since it was obviously undesirable, if not impossible, for Constantine and Methodius to have their disciples ordained by the bishops of Passau or Salzburg, they decided, after three years of missionary activity, to journey to Rome, where they could obtain the endorsement of Pope Nicholas I. The brothers were by no means hostile to the Pope; on the contrary, in common with numerous other Byzantine ecclesiastics of their day, they regarded the Bishop of Rome not only as the patriarch of the West but also as the supreme head of the Church. News of their arrival in Venice inspired a special invitation from Pope Nicholas to wait upon him, but before they left Venice he died in November 867 and was succeeded a month later by Adrian II. Though the Frankish opposition to the Slavic liturgy had been transmitted to the Roman clergy, Adrian ordered the ordination of the candidates whom Constantine and Methodius presented, and authorized the use of the Slavic liturgy. Constantine survived his triumph but a few

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000 months. Broken in health, he retired to an Italian monastery where he assumed the name of Cyril and died on February 4, 869.

175* Meanwhile, in Pannonia, Prince Kotzel became worried over
795 the long absence of the young priests he had detailed for or-
793 dination. When he sent a special mission to inquire about them, the Pope dismissed Methodius and his followers with a letter addressed jointly to Rostislav, to the latter's nephew Svatopluk, and to Kotzel, stating that he was designating Methodius as an emissary not merely to Pannonia, but to Moravia as well, but, fearful of irritating the Frankish clergy, he momentarily abstained from naming Methodius Bishop of Pannonia, as Kotzel preferred, since this action would have detached Pannonia from the diocese of Salzburg. His hesitation was banished, however, by Rostislav's military successes against Louis the German in 869, which diminished the authority of the Frankish clergy, and also by the news that Boris of Bulgaria was turning from Rome to Byzantium. In order to block any further expansion of Byzantine influence and to tie the Danubian Slavs more closely to Rome, he thus consecrated Methodius as Archbishop of Pannonia and named him papal legate to all the Slavs.

175* The success of this design was almost immediately com-
795 promised by unforeseen political developments. In 870, Rostislav was deposed by his nephew Svatopluk, who became a Frankish vassal. On his arrival in Moravia, Methodius was arrested and brought before a court comprising the bishops of Passau, Salzburg, and Freising, who professed total ignorance of his new episcopal status. Far from doing anything to protect Methodius, Svatopluk was actually present when Hermanarich, Bishop of Passau, struck the Greek bishop with his whip. Discovering, however, that he was merely the catspaw of the Franks, Svatopluk soon reversed his field and by 874 was independent. The curia meanwhile endeavored to ascertain what had happened to Methodius. The Bishop of Freising denied to

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Pope Adrian that he even knew him, but after Adrian's death in 872, his successor John VIII sent a special legate to Louis the German with orders suspending two of the offending bishops and directing the primate of Salzburg to release Methodius and to install him in his proper diocese. Unfortunately, however, John was obliged to placate the Germans, and compromised to the extent of forbidding Methodius the use of the Slavic liturgy, though he permitted preaching in the vernacular. 175* 795 796

Since 867 events had moved rapidly in Constantinople itself. Basil I, the bold and able successor of Michael III, whom he had murdered, revived the Byzantine navy, drove the Arabs from the Adriatic, and gradually reëstablished Greek ascendancy over the Croat tribes of the shoreline, who maintained their independence from the Frankish yoke that weighed upon their inland kindred, and therefore for the moment gravitated toward Byzantium. Basil thus secured not only the submission of the Serbs and the coastal tribes as far as Dalmatia, but also sent missionaries to baptize any remaining pagans. Dalmatia was then subjected in 878, and more missionaries accompanied the new Greek administration. Since the Bulgarians had been affiliated with Constantinople since 870, this date represents the high watermark of Byzantine influence in the Balkans. In 879, however, the Grecophile Croat princes were opposed by a revolt which brought the Dalmatian coastal area once more into the Roman sphere. This development defined the future limits of Byzantine influence. It remained dominant in Serbia and on the Croat coast as far as Dalmatia, as well as among the Slavs in Bulgaria, Thrace, and the Greek peninsula. 175*

In connection with the Serbs, we should note here that the faith reached them from two directions. The territory south of Pannonia and west of the Balkan Morava River, which joins the Danube east of Belgrade, was evangelized by Roman priests from the coast as early as the eighth century. On the other hand, the conversion of the Slavs in western Macedonia, 175* 797

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175* 797 whether Bulgarians or Serbs, proceeded from Salonika at approximately the same time, but was most intense during the reign of Basil I.

175* 796 ●795 798 Methodius had not obeyed the Pope's injunction to abandon the Slavic liturgy but, when summoned to Rome in 879 to explain his position, was again victorious on even this point. John VIII, however, endeavored to conciliate Svatopluk, who had never been personally sympathetic toward Methodius, by naming as the latter's suffragan the Prince's favorite priest, one Wiching, who immediately took the side of the Frankish clergy and blocked Methodius at every turn. The Archbishop eventually decided to shift his activities further south, and in 881 set forth on a journey toward the valleys of the Drave and the Save, where he received an invitation from Basil I to visit Constantinople. The Patriarch Photius was, after all, an old friend, and the Emperor himself was well-informed of Methodius's activities in a frontier area not entirely alien to Greek interests.

Upon his return to his diocese Methodius at first concentrated his efforts on translating additional canonical books and ecclesiastical texts. Unfortunately for his pastoral work, however, John VIII was poisoned in 882, and under Stephen V hostile exchanges between Rome and Byzantium were resumed. Methodius himself died in April, 885, after designating as his successor Gorazd, his most capable disciple. Wiching, Methodius's old enemy, straightway renewed his intrigues and had no trouble in securing the favorable ear of a pope already irritated against Byzantium. Stephen V abandoned the Slavic liturgy altogether, Wiching's partisans secured the eternal exile of Gorazd and the other disciples of Methodius, and thus the work of twenty years in Moravia was wiped out.

175* 795 After the decision of Prince Boris of Bulgaria to accept conversion in 862, the next twenty years were marked by fruitless papal attempts to gain control of the Bulgarian church. In 870, indeed, the Eighth Oecumenical Council, under the influence of Basil I, had formally decided that the Bulgarian church was subject to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and

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Roman priests were thereafter excluded from the country. The archbishop of Bulgaria ranked next after the patriarch so that his diocese was practically autonomous, and Boris had good reason to resist all further Roman overtures and blandishments. Greek influence was therefore greatly intensified in Bulgaria, though the Byzantines were tactfully careful not to use their missionary activities for political ends. Besides Methodius, during his visit to Constantinople in 881, had given brilliant accounts of the results of his Moravian efforts in the vernacular. These reports aroused in both Basil I and Photius the idea that they could advance the good cause in Bulgaria by similar means, and a training school for Slavic priests was opened on the Bosporus.

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After the elimination of Methodius's disciples from Moravia in 885, some of them were sold into slavery and were accidentally discovered by a Greek envoy in the slave market at Venice. They were immediately redeemed by the Byzantine envoy and taken to Constantinople where Basil hastened to assign them to Bulgarian charges. At the same time Clement and the other disciples of Methodius who had been put across the Danube arrived at the Bulgarian frontier fortress of Belgrade, whence they were sent on to Boris's court at Pliska, where they were cordially welcomed. At the moment the Greek court favored Slavic priests, hence there could be no objection to their employment in Bulgaria, even if the local Greek clergy viewed them with a somewhat jaundiced eye.

Unfortunately, however, Basil I died in the summer of 886, and Photius, the great patriarch and the friend of Constantine and Methodius, was supplanted by an insignificant successor. Boris therefore decided not to provoke the influential Greek clergy needlessly. He kept them at his court, but sent Clement and his associates to work among the people in Macedonia, which he hoped might develop into a promising stronghold of purely Slavic Christianity.

Boris abdicated in 889, and during the next thirty years, under the rule of his son Simeon, Bulgaria, despite varying

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fortunes, not only threw off even the vestiges of a Byzantine protectorate but also extended its domain far into Serbia. During this interval Clement's activity greatly expanded. He founded the great monastery of Saint Panteleimon at Okhrida, and on Simeon's accession he was consecrated a bishop. The legacy of Constantine and Methodius was thus preserved in all its wealth, to the great advantage of Bulgaria, which thus became a purely Slavic country with an autonomous church. Simeon was accordingly able to realize his father's ambition of proclaiming a Bulgarian patriarchate.

Obviously the roots of the culture disseminated by the Bulgarian church, however nationalistic, were essentially Byzantine. Though a Slav by birth, Clement himself had been trained by Greek masters, and Simeon too was culturally so Hellenized as to be nicknamed the "half-Greek." Hence the literary productions of the Macedonian schools founded by Clement and his associates were, if not mere translations, usually slavish imitations of Greek texts. Simeon himself composed an anthology of texts compiled from Greek theologians. Though the influence of Byzantine letters during this epoch was limited to the theological and the liturgical sphere, it is of relatively enormous significance that at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth the Old Bulgarian language was being adopted for literary purposes under Greek influence, and that a large body of Slavic-speaking priests was being created who were capable of transmitting at least the ecclesiastical aspects of Greek culture in their own tongue. The mission of Constantine and Methodius thus bore fruit, not on the ground they themselves sowed, but on territory closer to Byzantium, so that the results of what their disciples accomplished in Bulgaria could be easily drawn upon seventy-five years later when a much more extensive field was opened with the conversion of the south Russian principality of Kiev.

At the same time, the Slavic liturgy which had been proscribed in Moravia was also transmitted through Pannonia into Croatia, but in general the popes saw no reason to use it

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as an instrument once Byzantine encroachments were no longer feared, especially since the local bishops were liable to Roman influence, and the Slavic princes themselves were anxious to placate the romance-speaking populations of the wealthy coastal cities. But with the exception of Croatia, the work of Constantine and Methodius brought all the South Slavs and later the Eastern Slavs under the cultural aegis of Byzantium.

The Slovenes, the Czechs, and the Moravians had fallen, as we have seen, to the lot of Rome. While the Slovenes, by withdrawing southward from the Danube, were able to escape total absorption by the Germans, their Slavic kindred on the Baltic coast and in the interior of Germany faced infinitely more critical circumstances. The Saxon clergy were eager for landed possessions, and the easiest way to obtain them was by evangelizing the Transelbian Slavs, whose conversion would also pour tithes into their coffers. German expansion at the expense of the Western Slavs was most drastically pursued during the reign of Otto I (936-973). Beyond the Elbe a swarm of bishoprics arose, half houses of God, half fortresses. The Slavs became tributary as far as the Oder. They retained their landed possessions, but all unoccupied land was transferred from the Slavic chiefs to the German crown. Royal vassals were placed in the tribal centers to operate the administration, and bishoprics were established along the eastern border. Forcible conversion of the Slavic natives became the order of the day. Narrow as their margin of living was, the Slavic peasants were driven to rigorous abstention from labor on the numerous saints' days. The spiritual content of their conversion was actually so slight at this period that it is actually recorded how the Slavic peasants who were laboriously taught to say *Kyrie eleison* in the right places sullenly parroted it with like-sounding Slavic words which mean "in a crooked alder-bush." Indeed, the avarice and oppression of both clergy and nobles provoked violent outbreaks of resentment among the Transelbian Slavs in 982, 1018, and 1066, which cost many German lives and threw the colonizers back across the Elbe, so that it was not until the middle

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of the twelfth century that German domination was reëstablished between the Elbe and the Oder.

The beginnings of the Polish state fall, as it happens, within the period characterized by German pressure on the Baltic Slavs during the reign of Otto I. About 963 the pagan Polish prince Mieszko I ruled over a realm east of the Oder and south of Pomerania and modern East Prussia, which included the middle and upper Vistula basin, stretching further southward to the Czech border at the Sudetens, and comprising most of Volhynia. The German Margrave Gero, whose territory included a good part of modern Saxony, subjugated the Slavic Lusatians (Liticians) and Milchanians of the upper Spree valley. These tribes extended eastward to the Oder and the Bober, and were thus in close contact with the western Polish peoples. At the same time, German penetration threatened Silesia southwest of the upper Oder, and in 979 the Margrave Odo even endeavored to force Mieszko to pay tribute on the area between the Oder and the War—the rivers (that is, roughly, between Frankfurt-Glogau and Posen). This expedition resulted in a German defeat, but the German menace had already induced Mieszko to improve his standing by affiliating himself with a Christian reigning family and to embrace the faith himself.

In spite of his previous record of polygamy, he married Dubravka (Bona), sister of the Czech prince Boleslav I, in 966, and was converted. The Polish bishopric of Posen was founded in 968. It was subject to the archdiocese of Magdeburg, and its first encumbent was a German cleric. Mieszko then made his submission to Otto in Quedlinburg on Easter Day, 973. After Otto I's death, German relations with Poland were more or less in abeyance until 984. Meanwhile Dubravka had died in 977, whereupon Mieszko married Oda, previously a nun, the daughter of the Margrave Thiedrich. Mieszko himself died in 992 as a faithful vassal of Otto III. His son and successor, Boleslav the Brave, maintained the same policy with such success that he won the respect of both Otto III and Pope Sylvester II

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(Gerbert d'Aurillac). Otto's temperament was singularly open to foreigners, and he conceived an intense regard for Boleslav which the latter was not beyond exploiting. Knowing that Otto's friend Adalbert, former Bishop of Prague, had been slain on a missionary journey to the Prussians in 999, Boleslav successfully endeavored to recover his relics. Otto was thus induced the next year to make a pilgrimage to Gnesen, where they were preserved. He relieved Boleslav of the previous tribute to the empire, made Gnesen an archbishopric, and transferred Posen to the archdiocese of Mainz. Polish bishoprics dependent on Gnesen were also set up in Breslau, Krakow, and Kolberg (Pomerania). Though he could not entirely throw off German vassalage, Boleslav thus made the Polish church practically independent of German influence.

During the ninth century ambitious Vikings from Sweden settled in the Slavic trading centers on the Russian water courses, established themselves as a ruling class, and organized two strong points at Novgorod and Kiev at either extremity of the great trade route from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Extending its authority over neighboring tribes and cities, Kiev in the tenth century became a rising principality largely supported by commerce. Its princes raided the shores of the Black Sea, and its commercial contacts with Byzantium were regulated by extant treaties as early as 907. One Kievan prince even ventured to attack Constantinople in 941. Another member of the ruling house, the Princess Olga (she was of pure Swedish blood), visited Constantinople and was converted in 957. Though there were some Christians in Kiev from that early date, her son Sviatoslav refused to change his faith. During his campaigns of 967-971 in Bulgaria, he seriously menaced the Greek capital. But his son Vladimir was destined to play an even more conspicuous role in Byzantine diplomatic and dynastic history.

Vladimir succeeded to the principate in 977. He had extensive Scandinavian connections, and was highly successful in subjecting Slavic tribes of the periphery. He was in close con-

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tact with the Poles, and among his concubines were several Christian girls of either Greek or Slavic blood. He was not without interest in religion as such, having staged a sort of pagan revival in Kiev at the opening of his reign. There is some likelihood that frequent exchanges with Byzantium had caused him to entertain the idea of conversion before 987, but in that year an unusual combination of circumstances pushed him toward a decision.

John Tzimisces, one of the greatest of Byzantine generals and victor over Vladimir's father Sviatoslav in Bulgaria, had died in 976 after reigning as emperor of Byzantium for six years. He was succeeded on the throne by two youthful sovereigns, Basil II and Constantine. Since their prestige was slight, their authority was almost immediately menaced by a military revolt, the leader of which even occupied Scutari, opposite Constantinople. As soon as the revolt broke out, Basil entered into correspondence with Vladimir in the hope of winning an alliance and auxiliary troops. Vladimir was disinclined to furnish this aid without commensurate reward, and coupled with his assent the condition that the emperors should give him their sister Anna in marriage. Up to this point Byzantine sovereigns had normally been chary of marrying their female relations to alien princes. Constantine Porphyrogenitus had laid down the principle twenty-five years before that no Byzantine princess should marry a foreign potentate unless he were baptized. The German emperor Otto I had vainly negotiated in behalf of his son for the hand of the emperors' sister whom Vladimir now sought. But the situation of the empire was too critical to brook long delay, and the emperors consented to the marriage provided Vladimir would accept conversion.

The Prince of Kiev then supplied six thousand troops who helped to repress the rebellion during the summer of 988. But once the fortunes of the emperors began to rise, they showed manifest reluctance to execute the part of the bargain which concerned the Princess Anna. Vladimir, for his part, had taken this stipulation very seriously and intended it should be en-

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forced. So while his troops were still assisting the Byzantines during the summer of 989, he besieged and captured the Greek city of Chersonesus on the western Crimean coast about three miles south of modern Sevastopol, after which he sent envoys to Constantinople with the warning that if the princess were not sent to meet him he would attack the capital. Basil and Constantine were thus induced to carry out their share of the contract, and Anna departed tearfully with a numerous suite for Chersonesus, where Vladimir's baptism and his marriage were duly solemnized.

After restoring Chersonesus to the Greeks, Vladimir returned to Kiev accompanied by the priests in Anna's entourage, and there proceeded to convert his subjects with the same forthright energy he showed in other crises. He caused the local idols to be overthrown, and the local population was subjected to wholesale baptism in the Dnieper river which flows past the city. As conversion progressed, the principate was divided into eight eparchies, each under a bishop. During the next century, however, Christianity spread rather slowly, as is indicated by outbreaks of paganism fifty and even eighty years later under the leadership of local shamans.

The conversion of the masses was to some extent accelerated by a facile syncretism which assimilated the figures of Christian belief to the chief dieties of the rudimentary pagan Slavic cult. Perun the thunderer was identified with the prophet Elijah in his chariot of fire, and it was also an easy step from belief in Svarog, the god of fire, and in his son Dazhbog, the life-giving solar orb, to an elementary conception of Almighty God the Father and the Son, the light of the world and of truth. The pagan Slavs' conceptions of an omnipotent multitude of benign or hostile supernatural beings were satisfied by the Christian notions of the Virgin, of saints, and of devils. Conversion also provided the upper classes with a general basic philosophy or *Weltanschaung* and with abundant ritual answers to their common human speculations. It likewise endowed them with an ideal of conduct which, though hardly

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While some ingenious theories to the contrary have been expounded, the fact remains that Byzantine relations with Bulgaria were constantly hostile from Vladimir's conversion to his death in 1015. Basil II would thus hardly have attached to an enemy state the young church founded by his brother-in-law. There is therefore no motive for believing that the Russian church at its foundation was other than an eparchy of the Byzantine patriarchate, even if we admit the contention that there was no metropolitanate in Russia during Vladimir's lifetime. In the transmission of Slavic liturgical and theological texts at this period the mediation of Constantinople was inevitable, and the priests at Vladimir's disposal must have likewise been chiefly Greeks, some of whom possessed a smattering of Bulgarian from work in Bulgaria itself or, like the proto-apostles Constantine and Methodius, from their contacts in the northern and western marches of the Byzantine Empire.

175* 779 795

That Vladimir assimilated certain intellectual interests along with the faith is indicated by his insistence upon some degree of education among the children of his followers. The *Primary Chronicle* reports:

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He took the children of the best families and sent them for instruction in book learning. The mothers of these children wept bitterly over them, for they were not yet strong in faith, but mourned as for the dead.

It is not clear whether Vladimir intended that these youths should be trained as priests or as civil servants, but from the facts that within the next fifty years educated Russian priests come to the fore and that extensive reference is made in the sources to the culture of Vladimir's son and successor Yaroslav the Wise, it is fair to suppose that Vladimir had his eye on both professions. In Constantinople at the close of the tenth century interest in higher education was restricted by the general attention to military problems and conquest, so that book learning was primarily a matter of personal and private

[793]

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Kiev in 1240. No remnant of it now survives except the ruins of its foundations. 175* 346

In Vladimir's day the clergy rapidly assumed a place among the ruling class. Apart from introducing new notions of judicial procedure derived from the Greek *Nomokanon*, the early clergy also undertook to advise Vladimir on affairs of state and local policy. In 992 the bishops advised the substitution of corporal punishment for fines in order to suppress brigandage and similarly suggested that the proceeds of fines in other cases should be spent on military equipment for defense against the menacing nomads. The ecclesiastical courts also assumed jurisdiction over numerous social problems and offenses which took new significance in the light of the Christian moral code: bigamy, divorce, heresy, sacrilege, witchcraft, and adultery. Vladimir thus tolerated the fusion of church and state on the basis of contemporary Byzantine usage. 175* 793 565 693 [681] [684] [688]

By the process of conversion among the various Slavic groups, the bases of cultural and political differentiation were thus laid before the year 1000. Exposed to Christian influences since the seventh century, the Slovenes were converted by Bavarian clergy, and after their absorption into the Carolingian empire in 788, remained until the first World War in submission to one German state or another. The Croats, though in contact with the mission of Constantine and Methodius, reverted to Rome after the disciples of Methodius were expelled from Moravia, and have come down through the ages as Catholics, whatev[illegible]eir political allegiance. The Slavs along the Elbe and the Baltic were subjected to the most violent political and religious pressure from Saxon priests and nobles with the result that, despite heroic revolts, they were slowly pushed back toward the former Polish frontier. The Byzantine influence in Moravia lasted but a quarter of a century before the work of the proto-apostles, Constantine and Methodius collapsed, and the Moravians, like the Czechs, remained under the pastoral care of bishops of the Roman rite. Though the 175* [797] 795

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spirit of Bohemian individualism rose again during the Hussite Wars of the early fifteenth century, and was not extinguished even after the accession of the Hapsburgs in 1526, in our own time, after triumph and defeat, it will (we hope) rise to play a worthy role in a better world.

The Poles have never departed from the faith that Mieszko I brought them in 963, and their whole cultural evolution is intimately dependent upon the civilizing mission of the Roman Church; if ever their faith was firm, they need it doubly now. The Serbs and Bulgarians were ecclesiastically dependent from the ninth century on Byzantium, and we have seen how the intellectual nationalism of Boris and Simeon built up a treasury of native Slavic culture derived from Byzantine sources. Upon this treasury the Russian Church drew as soon as it was founded, and without Simeon's policy of ecclesiastical autonomy the rapid advance of medieval Russian culture would have been greatly retarded. After the fall of Byzantium before the Turks in 1453, Russia remained the sole great repository of Byzantine and Greek Orthodox religious tradition until thirty years ago.

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175* was the husband of a Greek princess, and the son of this union
643 eventually became the consort of Gytha, daughter of the Saxon
631 Harold who fell at Hastings in 1066. Kiev was thus united with contemporary European states by a series of dynastic alliances foreshadowing the customs of modern times.

175* Yet for all his power and wealth, Yaroslav governed by the
643 same simple mechanism that had prevailed under Vladimir. The prince won his position by force and maintained it by personal supremacy, supported by Varangian mercenaries recruited from Scandinavia whenever domestic levies proved insufficient or disloyal, and consulting with his chief military aides, with the city elders, or with church dignitaries on matters of general
[671] policy. Yaroslav began the codification of customary civil and ecclesiastical law, encouraged both translations and original
●[795] literature, and endeavored without success to emancipate the Russian Church from the Byzantine patriarchate. By his crushing victory over the nomad Pechenegs before the walls of Kiev in 1036, he made the marches of his principality safe for thirty-five years.

175* Beside rebuilding his father's Church of the Tithe after it
643 was damaged by fire in 1017, he carried out a large-scale con-
346 struction program which made Kiev one of the most notable
532 medieval cities. His great cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev, with its five apses and thirteen cupolas, still contains the largest extant yardage of eleventh-century Byzantine frescoes and a series of remarkably preserved mosaics of impressive beauty. This is the one medieval Russian church which has been exhaustively studied by American archaeologists in coöperation with native Russian colleagues.

175* The underlying weakness of the Kievan principality lay in
643 the fact that its stability was assured only by the prestige and
186 ability of the ruling prince. There was as yet no sentiment of
631 solidarity, national unity, and group interest which guaranteed that the whole system would not be overthrown by some ambitious and resolute rival from among the kindred princes in outlying cities loosely subject to the authority of the prince of Kiev and envious of his power and wealth.

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earlier, and is reflected in the increased importance of the more remote northeastern domains of Rostov, Suzdal, and Murom, between the Oka and the Volga where the nomad menace did not reach.

While the inarticulate masses bore the brunt of the crisis, the wealth of the ruling class was for the moment not impaired, but rather enhanced. As long as the princes and their retainers were prosperous, the wealth of the Church also increased by grants and gifts. Monasteries multiplied and new churches were erected. Contact with Byzantium was still preserved. Through the expansion of the hierarchy under Greek guidance and example, the intellectual progress initiated by Yaroslav was intensified. To be sure, this culture remained aristocratic and ecclesiastical, but in this respect it hardly differed from the contemporary civilization of Western Europe, even though deprived of the continuity of classical tradition which lay at the root of the culture developed under the aegis of Rome. Marital alliances with German, Hungarian, and Polish princely families show at the same time that the Russian princes attached but slight importance to differences between the Eastern and Western Churches even after the schism of 1054.

No sooner had Vladimir Monomach died in 1125 when strife among the princes became rife once more. Competition for the control of Novgorod developed between the prince of Kiev and Monomach's son George whose domain lay at Suzdal in the northeast. Rival princes sacked and plundered one another's domains. One unpopular prince was even lynched by the angry Kievan populace. In 1149, Prince George captured Kiev himself, thus proving the vitality and resources of the northeastern area, but was unable to hold the metropolis permanently before 1155. When George died in 1160, however, the city had been fought over so constantly in the previous thirty years that practically all its dependent territory had been nipped off by neighboring principalities and it had been stripped of every element of its political prestige. Hence the possession of Kiev no longer conferred upon the ruling prince

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Bohemia. Sometimes a Bohemian village received so many 175*
German colonists that it was practically changed into a Ger- 177
man settlement. Czech towns frequently were obliged to alter their traditional character and adopt German usages. The nobles began to resurvey and repartition the lands attached to these villages, forcing the Czech peasants to pay rent and to assume all obligations applied to the newer settlers. The Czechs were obliged to accept these innovations for fear of being dispossessed in favor of the German newcomers, and this process continued until the early fifteenth century and the period of the Hussite Wars.

The Germanization of Bohemia progressed most rapidly after the year 1200. King Václav (Wenceslas) I was a great friend of the German colonists, even to the point of driving the Czech peasants out of his native town and settling it with Germans, and his example was eagerly followed by the Bohemian nobility. It even became the custom to rechristen local castles with German names and to give new ones such names to start with, till the country bristled with Löwenbergs, Steinbergs, Rosenbergs, and Rosenthals. New monasteries were 175*
headed by German abbots who systematically forgot the Old 177
Slavonic liturgy and the great tradition of Methodius, though 195
he was buried at Velehrad, from 1201 the site of a Cistercian house. Among the German militant orders, the Knights of St. John were permitted to settle German colonists anywhere upon their lands. These settlers were exempt from local laws and freed from local duties and obligations. Both Templars and Hospitallers had established churches at Prague before 1255. About the same period, Dominicans and Franciscans also founded their first Bohemian houses, including both German and Italian friars. The German colony at Prague was the oldest 175*
and richest foreign group within the country, since all other 177
German settlements were either in rural districts or in the mountainous mining regions.

The favors extended to the Germans at Prague were not dictated by sentiment but by practical interests, since they

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186* will be founded—because it is in the force of events, because
829 the peoples long for it, because it is the best possible solution to
648 the present difficulties, and because, if it were not founded, these countries would fall a sure prey to Russia; Panslavism would be established in their place'. These few sentences—prophetic ones, moreover—provide the clue to all Serbian diplomatic thought, whether declared or understood, up to the 1914 War. The majority of the statesmen in Belgrade were partisans of a Russophile policy, with the exception of the old-time Progressists, and even so, one of their leaders, Stefan Novakovich, kept his confidence in the Tsarist Government. But, with these men, a Russophile policy never meant a Russian policy. We shall have defined the historical 'Russophilia' of the Balkan States, if we say that it always postulated the greatness of Russia, and was bounded by the determination to eliminate that country from internal affairs of the Peninsula.

186* Yugoslav Catholics were inclined to be prejudiced in favour
829 of Russia; this was due, on the one hand, to their geographical
• 795 situation, beyond the reach of Russian ambitions, and, on the other, to the fact that their Catholicism was much less exclusivist than that of Poland, for instance. No doubt this intellectual liberty must be attributed to an instinctive reaction against the policy of the Vatican, which was then axed on Austria-Hungary, *i.e.*, on the two countries whose yoke the Yugoslavs aspired to shake off. The majority of the Croat and Slovene thinkers and poets of the nineteenth century were inspired by Slav traditions; the Illyrian movement was, in their countries, the starting-point
[793] of the national Renaissance. But the role of the Catholic clergy in this renaissance, and its connections with Orthodox Russia, is certainly one of the most decisive manifestations of that 'Slavonic conscience' which the politicians of St. Petersburg believed to be the attribute of the Orthodox Slavs. In Slovenia the priest, Jean Krek, the instigator of the Co-operative movement, and later on, Abbé Anton Korochets; in Croatia Bishop Strossmayer and Canon Ratski, were not only apostles of Slav solidarity, they had frequent contacts with the Russians. Strossmayer, who was one of the contrivers of Yugoslav unity, had not only been one of the opponents of the Vatican Council; he protested vigorously against the Holy See's anti-Russian attitude at the time of the 1877 War.

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Turkish journalist) some people in Eastern Europe who would like to return to the old policy of oppression of the Slavonic peoples. . . . The new friendship among these peoples, related to each other and bound by century-old ties of a common culture, was being tempered in the crucible of the war of liberation. . . . Their *rapprochement* would displease none but those who dreamed of seeing them dominated once again'. 186* 829 204

* * *

The Orlemanski affair has shown us an attempt at Slav solidarity in the domain of religious tolerance. In the same order of things, but this time in connection with the Orthodox Slavs, we cannot omit to mention the deep impression produced by the restoration of juridical personality to the Russian Orthodox Church (September, 1943) and the elevation of the Metropolitan Serge to the office of Patriarch, abolished in 1721 by Peter the Great and which enjoyed a brief restoration in 1917. With its hundred and fifty million followers, the Orthodox community, placed at the cross-roads of the war, was undergoing one of the most tragic crises in its history. Its suffering was all the more serious, inasmuch as the Orthodox Churches are organised on national lines, in contrast to the hierarchical unity of Roman Catholicism. These churches are bound together by identical doctrine and canons. But, in the course of the centuries, they have progressively relaxed the bonds of dependence which used to attach them to the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. Religious autonomy has advanced side by side with the emancipation of the nationalities. In restoring the rights of the Church, Stalin not only indicated his desire to reawaken the traditions of Russian national life, within the framework of a social renovation; he also tightened the historic bonds between his country and the Balkan nations of the Orthodox religion, thus reinforcing, by new spiritual affinities, sympathies founded on community of race, of oppression, and of destiny. 186* 659 795

Germany tried to foil this policy by summoning to Vienna, on November 5, under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Belgrade, the Orthodox prelates adhering to the Axis cause, and especially the Metropolitans of Berlin and of Paris, who declared the election of the new Patriarch to be null and void. This demonstration was of no effect; the vast majority of the Serbian, Rumanian, Greek and Bulgarian hierarchies either had nothing 648 793 795

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648 to do with the protesting prelates,[11] or openly dissociated them-
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795 selves from their attitude.

771 By way of retort, the first number of the *Moscow Patriarchy*
626 published a message from the Council of Russian Bishops, assem-
795 bled for the election, inviting Christians to pray for the victory of the Red Army and the fulfilment of the scriptural text invoked by Alexander Nevsky: 'He who strikes with the sword shall perish by the sword'. On September 8, this same Council had excommunicated 'as adversaries of the Cross of the Lord, all who have been guilty of treason to the common cause of the Church and gone over to Fascism'; the bishops and clergy guilty on this head were removed from their sacred office.

* * *

186* To conclude, the only obstacles to a general reconciliation
563 of the Slavonic peoples came from the Poles. To summarise here the vicissitudes of Soviet-Polish relations since the pact of December, 1941, would mean not only relating the most stormy chapter in the Allies' war diplomacy, but also recalling the relations of the various groups among the Polish exiles, the antagonism between the London Committee and that of Lublin, the frontier problem, and also the perhaps more tragic problem of the political, religious, and social concepts on the basis of which the Polish State was to be re-born. Once again it was made very clear that Poland occupied a place apart on the map of the Slavonic world, and formed an obstacle to the realisation of full Slav solidarity.

727 Like the other Slavonic States, however, she had been caught
177 up in the advance of the Russian armies sweeping across Eastern Europe—an onrush which settled the fate of the Slav nations, with or without their consent, as a consequence of their liberation. For three or four years Germany had been the second Slavonic power in the world. She had imposed on her Serbian, Croatian, Slovak, and Bulgarian satellites not only the horrors of the occupation, but also ideologies strongly opposed to their temperaments and their history; an impersonal and tyrannical idea of the State, a 'New Order' which was nothing but a hypocritical subjection, anti-Semitism which—with the exceptions of Poland and Imperial Russia—the Slavonic nations had always regarded
000 with horror. When the collapse came, all these nations turned

[11] Among these, however, we must include the head of the Russian Orthodox Church in the Argentine.

[J. Poland - Analyst]

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648 And, on August 15, Warsaw and Russia signed a treaty
175 covering the frontier-delimitation of the two States, and war damages. M. Osubka-Morawski welcomed the agreements, which restored to Poland her 'historic frontiers' on the Neisse, the Oder, and the Baltic shore. For his part, M. Stanczyk, Minister of Labour, addressing the Polish troops, endeavoured to dispel their hesitation: 'The new Poland is free and independent. Naturally, in the event of a fresh aggression, Russia would be our ally, but the fact that her line of defence coincides with our western frontier has nothing to do with our independence. If you return you will find, it is true, plenty of work—but you will be working for Poland. That is why I advise you to return as soon as possible'.

162 In October, 1945, the President of the Polish National
175 Council, Borislav Bierut, still estimated at six million—a quarter of the total population—the number of Poles remaining outside the national territory. This was a major obstacle to the carrying out of the undertaking given in respect of an early and conclusive election.

But it was not to be doubted that many Poles would, once more, prefer exile to returning to a country whose independence was hopelessly mortgaged.

186* Her geographical position, which condemned Poland to be dominated either by Germany or by Russia, had just fixed her destiny in the East. For a long time anti-Russian (and, since 1920, anti-Sovietic) feeling and ideas had been for Poland a political trend—and, even more, an axiom of international ethics. They had been considered as the fundamental criteria of patriotism—a sort of moral urge, the preliminary condition for the exercise of civic rights.

So that a new era was opening in the history of the Polish people. The previous one was called 'romantic', the present one being designated 'realistic'. But there was a deep-seated uneasiness in the soul of this nation, which—as her history has a hundred times borne witness—has never hesitated to rush into a catastrophe rather than restrain the impulses of a very sensitive patriotism.

186* Poland's strong attachment to the Catholic Faith also opened
•795 up possible difficulties. It was natural that the partisans of an *entente* with Russia should be recruited in extreme-Leftist and

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atheistic circles. But the international crisis which swept the country was complicated by a religious crisis. This became evident when the Council of Ministers decided, on September 17, to denounce the Concordat, accusing the Vatican of having violated its clauses by the publication, during the occupation, of laws contrary to its engagements (an allusion to the nomination of bishops of German nationality in Posnania).

Poland had lost the liberty of choice which, for so long, had enabled her to seek her equilibrium between the Teutonic and the Russian world. Willy-nilly, she had to accustom herself to the new state of affairs; but she brought to the situation the germ of serious civil discord. And her exiles, maintaining a more than century-old tradition, were to keep alive, especially in Anglo-American and in Catholic circles, an atmosphere of opposition—not to mention the clandestine resistance, all the centres of which were not extinct in Poland itself. Our grandchildren will talk of the 'Polish Question' just as our grandparents used to do.

* * *

In her foreign policy Bulgaria has a 'spare ideology' which enables her to reverse her international situation according to whether she is at peace or at war. Thus she periodically takes her stand beside the Power which seems able to help her to realise her territorial aspirations. This is the effect of that 'Macedonian psychosis' of which we have spoken. But her evil genius has invariably inspired her to 'back the wrong horse'.

In the Second World War, she passed through three phases.

Feeling sure that Germany was invincible, but profiting by her previous disappointments, she first tried to gain Hitler's support at the lowest possible price. This was the period of so-called 'passive belligerency', limited to platonic manifestations—adhesion to the Tripartite Pact and to the anti-Comintern Pact.

But the Axis soon saw through this ruse. In April, 1941, it allowed Bulgaria to settle in Western Macedonia (Serbia) and in Eastern Macedonia (Greece). In return, it expected its troops to have right of passage through and of quartering in Bulgarian territory. Such was the *leit-motiv* of the three interviews which took place between Hitler and King Boris, between March, 1941,

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the resurrection of Montenegro, a country of 200,000 inhabitants, 578
which had disappeared since 1918, and of Bosnia, which had 643
not been heard of in history since the Middle Ages, in keeping with the ideas of a 'new world' that were current in Tito's circle? And had not Tito himself, by liberating atomic nationalisms, super-Balkanised his country at a time when means of communication were suppressing distances—in other words, had he not inaugurated a policy which was opposed to history, progress, and common sense, in order to realise the midsummer night's dream of a Slavophile of the 'Forties'?

The federal régime, it will be said, has representatives in 000
Europe—Switzerland, Russia, Austria. But Switzerland has maturity, Russia has extent, Austria has an historical and cultural homogeneity to safeguard its unity.

Was not the Yugoslav community in imminent danger from [795] •
this 'State power' given to regions hitherto divided by so many memories? The Croats used to oppose the Serbs in religious matters. Between the two wars, rivalry between Catholics and Orthodox had subsided somewhat. But the elections in Austria and Hungary showed that, after the liberation, the attachment of the populations of Central Europe to the Roman Church had lost none of its force. Croatia—*antemurale Christianitatis*—could not escape this deeply-rooted tendency, still less at a time when Russia, the protectress of the Yugoslav State, reaffirmed the Orthodox tradition on which her relations with the Serbs had formerly been based. How was it possible not to see in this renewal of religious antagonism between Belgrade and Zagreb a threat of secession?

In Yugoslavia the Crown used to be (as in Belgium) the link 642
between different peoples, traditions, and trends. On November 29, 1945, obedient to Tito's watchword, the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly, composed of the Union Assembly and the Assembly of the Nationalities, proclaimed the Federative Republic. It deposed and condemned to exile the dynasty of the Karageorgevich. 175

This vote was the logical conclusion of the elections and also —it must be admitted—of the errors of the young King. The latter raised a protest which was greeted, in London circles, with more sympathy than encouragement. The fate of the monarchy in Yugoslavia seemed, indeed, to be definitely settled.

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186* 829 create an indissoluble union of Slavs which will be a bulwark against the repetition of catastrophes similar to that of 1941'.[8]

On October 2, addressing a group of Polish journalists, Tito used the expression 'Slavonic era'. But this expression must be understood in a constructive, not an imperialist sense. 'United spiritually, the Slavs form a barrier against medieval [*sic*] ideas directed against culture and humanity. . . . The Slavs will bring peace and security to Europe'.

There were the same oratorical outpourings among the Bulgars. Kimon Gheorgiev's programme included 'a cordial friendship with the Soviet Union and an eternal friendship with the sister nation of Russia'. Nikolov, President of the Slav Committee in Sofia, also protested against the legend of Slavonic imperialism, but announced a 'union of the Slavonic peoples for the protection of their liberty and of their independence'.

• [795] In the same spirit the Bulgars, walking hand in hand with Tito's Yugoslavia, affected an ostentatiously detached attitude to the question of Macedonia. They abolished the schism caused by the Exarchate, which had been created solely for the purpose of propaganda on behalf of annexation. Formerly the Macedonians were divided into Orthodox (Serbs) and Exarchists (Bulgars). Once this distinction was abolished, Bulgaria could, according to international circumstances, proclaim her disinterestedness or extend her claims to Macedonia.

[648] The Slavonic Governments backed one anothers' reciprocal claims. Marshal Tito approved the Czech policy with regard to the Hungarian minorities; Poland and Czechoslovakia handed to the London Conference notes supporting the Yugoslav territorial claims, which ran counter to those of Italy. Bulgars and Yugoslavs conducted a joint campaign against Greece regarding Aegean Macedonia.

[648] There was another manifestation of this general fraternisation. A Slav Congress was held in Bratislava in July, 1945. It passed a motion favouring the conclusion of a regional pact of friendship and mutual aid among all the Slavonic nations. The speakers indulged in striking forecasts of the possible effect, in international life, of a bloc of 205 million Slavs, *i.e.*, one-third of the total population of Europe, covering two-thirds of its surface.

[8] Speech made at Bela Tsrkva on July 8.

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Chapter Seven

ORTHODOXY AND PANSLAVISM

IN the renewal of the spirit of Slavonic solidarity an important place must be attributed to the action of Orthodoxy. 795 797 185

The Muscovite Patriarchate, almost as soon as it was reconstituted on new juridical bases and assured of the Kremlin's support, set out to reconquer the communities who had relaxed their ties as a result of the Bolshevist Revolution, thereby renewing a Russian tradition which dates from Ivan III. The spiritual object of this pacific crusade was to restore union and harmony to the Orthodox or 'Pravoslav' world. But its political objective, though not openly avowed, was none the less obvious; the Moscow Government sought to extend its influence by having recourse to the 'armour of light' of which the Apostle speaks. 659

This campaign met with no canonical obstacle, since, among the Pravoslavs, there is no primacy of jurisdiction. But it *did* meet with resistance from the autocephalous 'national' tendencies of the various Orthodox Churches—tendencies which had been affirmed in the States created or enlarged by the First World War and in which the hierarchy had seized the opportunity of breaking away from the spiritual control of the Phanar (Constantinople Patriarchate).

But the weight of Soviet power enabled the Russian clergy easily to overcome the prejudices felt by the national Churches against any moral control exercised outside their State frontiers. For this purpose the clergy borrowed their arguments from the Muscovite temporal power, that is to say, they posed as champions of proletarian emancipation, and exploited the Orthodox Slavs' old prejudices against the Catholic Church. Whilst the Patriarch Alexis visited the Christian communities of the Middle East to restore the 'primacy of honour' of the Russian Church in the Orthodox Pentarchy (Moscow, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem), the Metropolitan Alexis of Juroslav went to the United States to try to rally the section of Orthodox emigrants who resisted the authority of the Patriarch of Moscow.

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•795 177 648 659 But it goes without saying that it was upon the Churches of the Balkan States that Muscovite influence was exercised most directly and decisively. In Yugoslavia the hierarchy created at Sremski Karlovtsi by Russian exiles, and which Mgr. Antoine, ex-Archbishop of Kiev, had organised immediately after the First World War, was dissolved and had to go into exile. A Russian delegation, presided over by the Metropolitan Serge of Odessa, went to present a mitre to Joseph, Metropolitan of Serbia, in February, 1946. The real object of this mission, which spent a month in Belgrade, was to define the future relations between the Yugoslav Church and the Muscovite Church.

186* 795 659 Then arose the case—a rather complicated one, it must be confessed—of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch, Mgr. Gavrilo. The latter had been accused by the Germans of having hidden part of the Crown treasure; he was interned, then taken to Dachau. When the Allies occupied Bavaria, he preferred retirement to Italy to a return to his country, where he was being begged to resume his duties. He adopted an attitude of opposition towards the régime established by Marshal Tito, as shown [798] by his pastoral letter of Easter, 1946. The Serbian Orthodox Church had been rather badly treated by this régime, for she had been deprived of the education of the young, religious marriage had been declared invalid in law, and she had lost most of her property. It is said that it was under the influence of the Russian clergy that her Metropolitans invited the Patriarch to return. He did, in fact, return on November 14, 1946, and had an interview with Tito, during which 'all misunderstandings were cleared up'. And, as proof of this, at the Slav Congress in Belgrade on December 11, he made a speech in which, after having recalled the sacrifices made for the 'safeguarding of truth, the application of justice, and the defence of liberty', he manifested his joy at finding that the Slavonic peoples 'sorely tried by the bitter experience of their recent and remote past, were expending all their energy in their spiritual unity'. 'Slav solidarity', he concluded, 'is manifested, today more than ever, with the help of our mother, Russia, and of Generalissimo Stalin; it is the surest guarantee of the development of the Slavonic peoples'.

186 795 648 659 In Bulgaria the clergy, after seventy-five years of schism, returned to nominal obedience to the Patriarchate of Con-

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stantinople, in agreement with the Muscovite hierarchy. The thousandth anniversary of the death of the anchorite, Saint John of Rila, restorer of Bulgarian monastic life, was the occasion, in May, 1946, of impressive solemnities which were attended by the Patriarch Alexis. It was the second time in ten centuries that the head of the Russian Church had visited the monastery. He officiated in person. The head of the Communist Party, George Dmitrov, took the opportunity of reminding the Bulgarian clergy that they should no longer look back towards the fallen régime :— 186* 795 648 659

'Today we can ask that our Church shall remain faithful to her millenial traditions and become, in fact, a Republican Church, by ceasing to render homage to the dynasty and the monarchs who have betrayed the Bulgarian nation. Let our Fathers in the Holy Synod and all honest servants of the Church understand that today we are living in new times, that they must on no account thwart the aspirations of the people, and that they may take example from the chiefs of the Russian Orthodox Church'.

We can fully understand this warning only if we visualise the state of latent tension existing in the relations between the Church and the Bulgarian State since the liberation. It had shown itself, since the month of January, 1946, in a protest from the Exarch, Mgr. Stephan, against the prohibition of religious instruction in the schools. Since the new Constitution provided for the separation of the Churches and the State, the Bulgarian Holy Synod announced in December, 1946, that, while remaining hostile to this separation, it would nevertheless accept it if the Charter surrounded the exercise of the Church's spiritual mission with juridical guarantees. Moreover, it demanded that lay instruction should be neither anti-religious nor anti-Christian, but strictly neutral. 659 [871]

At the same time, in order to create conditions facilitating adaptation to the new state of affairs, it announced a programme of reforms destined to 'democratise' the internal régime of the Church and to bring its principles more in line with those of popular power. [85]

So that, in Bulgaria, the separation did not appear as persecution; it was manifested rather by a strengthening of the autocephalous character of the Church, too closely bound up 186* 659

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186* 659 with Bulgarian national life to be neglected by the new régime, which will continue to subsidise it, and counts upon its co-operation in rallying the masses; in which, moreover, it is assured of the goodwill of Mgr. Stephan and his clergy. On August 28, at the Bachkovo pilgrimage, Mgr. Cyrille, Metropolitan of Plovdiv, made a speech urging the faithful to vote, at the referendum, for the Republic and against 'the abhorred monarchy, whose role', he said, 'has been as fatal in the history of the country as in that of the Church'.

* * *

185 Whereas, in the Balkan countries, the religious problem lay in getting the clergy to forget that they had, for some centuries, been the support of the monarchical institution, it had a quite different aspect among the Western Slavs, where the problem was, first and foremost, the liquidation of Uniatism.

175 •795 648 As the reader will know, the 'Act of Union' (hence the word 'Uniat') was concluded three and a half centuries ago, in 1596, at Brest-Litowsk, where the Metropolitan of Kiev acclaimed the renewal with Rome of the Union of Florence. As a result, since that date there had been flourishing communities 'of the Oriental rite', which recognised Papal supremacy while keeping their national liturgy and their discipline—which, among other regulations, permits (as the Orthodox Church does) the clergy to marry. These communities today number in all about two million followers, especially in territories formerly incorporated in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

[809] Uniatism had always been regarded by the Russians as a 'turning movement' on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, supported first by Poland, then by Austria-Hungary, to detach the Orthodox from their traditional faith. Urban VII's apostrophe: 'Ruthenians, the East will be conquered by you!' has obsessed the Muscovite Church, which has never ceased to endeavour to recapture its positions.

After the fall of the Tsarist régime this Church's efforts were paralysed by the crisis she was herself experiencing, and by the official atheism professed by the Soviet State. The Holy See sought to take advantage of this crisis to restore the 'seamless robe of Christ'. It gave repeated proofs of solicitude, placing the Uniats on a footing of complete equality with their brethren of the Latin rite. It cherished the hope, thanks to these Uniats,

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of one day seeing Slavonic Christianity return to Catholic unity, and the immense flock of all the Russians come back to the Roman fold. As is well known, the critical point in dogma is the divergence between the two Churches regarding the procession of the Holy Ghost. It is the famous 'Filioque' quarrel. Now, in the Liturgy published by the Holy See in June, 1943, for the use of the Russians and Ruthenians, the *Credo* is given according to the version of the early centuries, without reference to the 'Filioque'—in other words, ignoring the chief dispute which separated the Orthodox from the 'Romans'.

In spite of these concessions, Orthodoxy has never given up. In Carpatho-Ruthenia the number of its followers doubled from 1921 to 1930. Moscow had nothing to do with this; at that time it was the Serbian Patriarchate which presided over the destinies of the Russo-Carpathian Orthodox Church.[1]

And, after the incorporation of the Eastern Marches of Poland and of Carpatho-Ruthenia in the Soviet Union, a counter-offensive for the return of the Uniats to Orthodoxy was organised, using the customary resources of Russian political power. On June 18, 1945, a Committee of Initiative was formed, with a view to winning over these Catholics to Pravoslav unity. A 'Council' of the Uniat Church of the Western Ukraine was held in Lwow on March 8, 1946; it proclaimed the dissolution of ties which, for 350 years, had bound that Church to the Vatican,[2] and its submission to the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the name of the delegates of the three Uniat Eparchies which were represented at the Council, a message was sent to Stalin announcing this decision, and the breaking of the spiritual bond between the Eastern Catholics and Rome.

The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate[3] commented on this event as follows: 'So, gradually, day by day, in union and in united prayer, will the breach opened by Rome within the ranks of the Orthodox clergy be closed; the time is not far distant

[1] In 1921 the figures for Ruthenia were: Catholics 55,000; Uniats 332,500, and Orthodox 60,997.

[2] The anniversary of the connection was commemorated by the encyclical letter *Orientales omnes ecclesias*, published on January 19, 1946, in which the Pope accused the Russians of treating the Catholic Ruthenians as enemies of the State and encouraged the latter to persevere in their traditional faith.

[3] February 6, 1947.

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when the word 'Uniat' will survive only as a historical idea'.

The Vatican published a note contesting the validity of this Council, recalling that part of the Catholic clergy of the Ukraine had been cast into prison; it saw, in the Lwow decision, the result of political pressure exercised by apostate priests.[4]

Nevertheless, the movement spread. The Patriarch Alexis, addressing the Uniats of Ukraine—formerly Poles or Czechs—put its development in the domain of political realities: 'You have always been united to Russia and her people by ties of language and of customs. Now that Divine Providence has restored to Russia her ancient frontiers, you are with us for ever'.

In any case the role of Uniatism as the vanguard of Catholicism in the Slavonic world seems to be, if not completed, at least paralysed for many a year, despite the resistance of part of the clergy and the support the dissentients can expect from the Catholic Ukrainians of Canada and the United States. The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate[5] defined the lines on which the 'unification' is being carried on, by opposing the 'œcumenical spirit' to the 'imperialist spirit'. 'Universality is of God; Imperialism is of Cæsar. A new Orthodox era has been inaugurated by the rebirth of Western Orthodoxy at the great Council of Moscow; by the renewal of communion between the Russian Orthodox Church and her Eastern sisters; by the end of schisms and discords among the Orthodox (especially the reconciliation of the Bulgarian Church with Moscow, and the restoration of her rights to the autocephalous Georgian Church, brought into subjection to the Moscow Synod by the will of the autocratic Tsarist régime); by the journey of the Patriarch Alexis who, for the first time, went to pray at the Holy Sepulchre in 1945; and by the visit which the Metropolitan Nicolaï made to the Orthodox Christians of Western Europe'.

Indeed, Orthodoxy is driving its offensive towards the West,

[4] Radio-Moscow protested, in its turn, against this assertion, affirming that the Council represented 78% of the whole of the Uniat clergy. As for the bishops incarcerated before the meeting of the Council, these were, they said, traitors or accomplices of the German occupation. Cf., for the Catholic point of view on Moscow's policy regarding the Uniats, Charles Pichon: *Le Vatican*, in the series *Le Monde et l'Histoire* (Editions S.E.F.I.), pp. 396 *et seq.* According to Pichon only 5% of the Uniat priests had obeyed the Soviet injunctions.

[5] Of February 2, 1947.

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beyond the territories placed within its traditional sphere of influence, and especially in Czechoslovakia. 795 185 648

It is true that the saints given to the Church by the Czech nation in the tenth century appear both in the Orthodox and in the Roman calendars, but Orthodoxy disappeared as an official religion in the twelfth century. However, its influence did not completely disappear; it still had a latent existence in the time of John Huss and his disciples, who established relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1451—which relations were interrupted by the capture of the city by the Turks two years later. 175 779 795

With Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance in 1781, Orthodoxy, previously eliminated by the religious reaction known as the Counter-Reformation, re-established itself in Bohemia. We have related above (p. 24) the enthusiasm with which the people of Prague heard a Serbian prelate conduct an Orthodox service and pray for the soul of John Huss on the Wenceslas Square, on the occasion of the 1848 Slav Congress. In 1874 the use of the Catholic Church of Saint Nicholas was granted to the Orthodox cult, which thereafter worshipped in it concurrently with the National Church. After the Vatican Council, and in spite of the hostility of the Austrian authorities, conversions which created a great stir took place. But it was only after the First World War that the Orthodox Church was organised in Bohemia. Not being able, at that time, to attach itself to Moscow, it placed itself under obedience to the Serbian Patriarchate of Karlovtsi, which, in September, 1921, consecrated the first bishop. This Czech Orthodox Church was itself torn by the current of dissidence created by the 'Czechoslovak National Church', which claimed to be based on the ideas of John Huss, but was in reality far from being so. In 1929 the Patriarchate of Belgrade approved the constitution of an Orthodox Eparchy (Bohemia-Moravia-Silesia) in which divine worship was offered in liturgical Slavon and in Czech.

When the two Resistance heroes who were parachuted to deliver Bohemia from her torturer, the 'Protector', Reinhard Heydrich, had executed the latter,[6] they hid in the crypt of the

[6] The execution took place on May 27, 1942, on the outskirts of Prague, in a street which bore the symbolical name of Strossmayer. The practical details of the murder curiously resembled those connected with the

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175 779 •795 Church of St. Charles Borromeo, assigned to the Orthodox cult. They were discovered, and, after a regular siege, killed themselves rather than fall into the enemy's hands. The Orthodox Bishop Gorazd and his assistants, who had hidden them, were executed. And their church, which had just given marytrs to the national cause, was dissolved, and the cathedral turned into a shop.

After the liberation this church was restored to its rights and transferred (in April, 1946) from the jurisdiction of the Serbian Patriarchate to that of the Moscow Patriarchate, which raised Prague to the rank of an Archbishopric. On the following May 19 there arrived in the capital Mgr. Jelevferij, Exarch of the Patriarch of Moscow and Archbishop of Prague, who was received by the members of the Government and the Russian Orthodox Archbishop, Mgr. Sergej. The first service celebrated by the prelate was offered in memory of Bishop Gorazd.

[659] In the following June Karpov, President of the Soviet's Council of State for Orthodox Affairs, gave a talk on 'Religion in Russia' to officers of the Czechoslovak Army, to emphasise the liberty of divine worship permitted under the Soviet régime, and the clergy's loyalty to the State.[7]

* * *

186* 779 659 As in the time of the Tsars, Catholicism has again become the 'sore point' of the Slavonic community. Soviet Russia, which had so ostentatiously dissociated itself from the religious tradition of the Slavophiles, has rediscovered the latter on its line of expansion. The Kremlin has, by the force of circumstances, been obliged to play the Orthodox card in the regions placed within its sphere of influence. But action is followed by reaction. If Uniatism is retreating before Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism represents, in Poland, in Slovakia, in Croatia, in Slovenia, a basis of resistance to Russian penetration in its twofold aspect of Marxism and schism. With the result that one would need the gift of prophecy to be able to say, today,

assassination of Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914. Bishop Gorazd, Cikli, a parish priest, and Petzek, a curate, who sheltered the two heroes, were discovered on June 18.

[7] The reconstituted Hussite Church aspired to the role of an official Church; it held a Congress at the beginning of January 1946, and its Primate, M. Kovar, presented the new bishops to M. Benes on the 23rd of that month. The President advised him to co-operate with the other Churches of the West and the East, taking care, however, not to mix politics and religion. The Church numbers 850,000 members.

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plete disaster. He was imprisoned, and Moscow declined the union. 186* 175

Ever since that time Moscow considered herself as the new and unique center of pure orthodoxy, of pure Christianity. When in 1453 Byzantium was invaded, Moscow's prestige became even greater in her own mind. The Muscovite monks, working out a sort of Muscovite historiosophy and formulating the Muscovite political program, gave a very significant interpretation of that catastrophe: Byzantium had been punished by God for the sin of the Union of Florence. And then came the establishment of the theory of the "Third Rome": "Two Romes have fallen, but the third still remains." This third Rome was Moscow.

Thus was established a Muscovite eastern Messianism. This Messianism became more and more universalistic in its scope. The Muscovite tsars began to consider themselves the representatives not only of their own Orthodox world but of the whole Orthodox community in the world and, even more, of pure, unsoiled Christianity in general. Very soon after the fall of Byzantium and the spread of the Turkish invasion in the Balkans, many Serbian and Bulgarian émigrés, intellectuals of those times, arrived in Moscow with all sorts of Bulgarian and Serbian Messianic and imperialistic conceptions and theories, modeled on Byzantium and on Greek and Hebrew texts. Messianistic honey was collected from these Bulgarian-Serbian-Hebraic-Byzantine hives by various monks and old men like Philotheus. There were fantastic genealogies, orthographical mistakes — consciously or unconsciously committed—daring eschatological solutions of such problems as why the world did not come to an end on March 25, 1492, which escape it was supposed to owe to Moscow for not having acceded to the Florentine union. Greek prophetic legends, exploited by Bulgars as well as by Serbs, legends promising victory for the *rusy* (reddish) race, *xanthos genos*, became *russky* (Russian) race; and so, as Professor Milyukov stressed, "an orthographical mistake became a source of the Russian imperialistic dreams about Constantinople and the Straits." In a word, ortho- 186* 175 668 795

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186* graphical errors and boundless imagination, fed on Byzantine and
175 autocratic Imperial doctrines, decided for a long time the style
668 of Russian political thought. Hence, practically, the Moscow
● 795 Tsar and later the St. Petersburg Emperor became the head of the church of a Byzantine Caesaro-Papist type and assumed the position of a Byzantine theocrat. The conception of absolute power coming from God, absolute in the universalistic sense, meaning that the monarch was the ruler of all material goods as well as of human souls, became established in Russia particularly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, after the period of the Mongolian yoke had excellently prepared the ground for such a conception of monarchical power. As the ultimate result of these events Moscow represented the type of an Oriental despotism with a tendency toward state control characteristic of these organizations (especially at the time of the *oprichnina* of Ivan the Terrible and later) and the equally characteristic tendency towards imperialism based on Byzantine religious and historical premises.

175 These bonds with Byzantium became particularly strong after,
643 and in connection with, the marriage of Ivan III to Sophia Paleologus, the Byzantine princess in exile whom Ivan III received from Italy. This marriage is also an interesting story. Both Rome and Venice were still meditating a war against the Turks in order to liberate Byzantium. For the realization of this new, grandiose enterprise the help of the already developed might of Moscow appeared very desirable. Moscow had succeeded at that time through all sorts of belligerent activities and political manoeuvres in establishing its predominance among Russian princes and was on the eve of liberating Muscovy from the Tartar yoke. Led by western political conceptions, Rome and Venice thought that the good will of Ivan III could be bought by the offer of the title of *king*, and on the other hand by a marriage with a Byzantine princess who after the death of the legitimate heir to the Byzantine Empire would become vested with the right to the Byzantine throne.

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Ivan III was not very much interested in the European title of *king*, which did not mean very much to him. Moscow was so far away from the habits, manners, and international hierarchy of Europe that European distinctions and collaboration with Europe could not awake real interest in the exotic Muscovite state. On the other hand, Sophia Paleologus was considered by the Pope as a zealous Catholic; Ivan III needed a pure Orthodox fiancée. This last thing, however, was settled, and in 1472 Sophia Paleologus, the princess of Byzantium, the presumably zealous Catholic girl, became the Tsarina of Moscow and the most zealous of Orthodox ladies. The offers of the title of *king* interested Ivan, however, from one special point of view, from the very one which caused great discomfort in Cracow. Ivan III was supposed to become king or even emperor of the whole Russian nation *(in tota Ruthenica natione)*. As I have said, Ivan III was not interested in the title, as he was not even very anxious to buy from the direct heir of the Byzantine throne the rights to the throne, and Andrew Paleologus had to sell them elsewhere. But the formula in *tota Ruthenica natione* awakened some interest, curiosity, and appetite in Moscow.

Ivan III had two reasons for being interested in this suggestion. The first one was connected with the fact that some of the lands which belonged to the Polish King and Grand Duke of Lithuania (in one person, as the King of Poland was at the same time the Grand Duke of Lithuania from the time of the union between Poland and Lithuania) represented ancient *votchinas*, appanages, of the Rurikoviches, that is, of the ancestors of Ivan III. Moscow viewed this circumstance as making possible the expansion of the Muscovite Tsardom, and it opened the door to Russian, Muscovite territorial pretensions and demands.

On the other hand the Ruthenians who populated these lands were descendants of people who had been Christianized from the eastern source; therefore, they were Orthodox. The Union of Florence included them, but not to Moscow's thinking. Therefore Moscow saw in them the object of a religious mission, and that

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was the beginning of the Muscovite tendency to establish a protection extending to a great part of the citizens of the Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian commonwealth, which meant an interference in the domestic affairs of the Polish state. This state of affairs led in Poland to the Union of Brześć (Brest) in the year 1596, the purpose of which was to assure the Ruthenian church of Poland an independence of Moscow, which had become especially menacing since 1589 when a patriarchate dependent on the tsar was established in Moscow. However the Act of Brest did not settle this problem, because of disagreements among the Ruthenians and mistakes of the Polish policy. (The marriage of Alexander of Poland and Lithuania with Helen, daughter of Ivan III—she was Orthodox—reinforced the Orthodox feelings among the Ruthenians).

Poland was powerful enough in the era of Ivan III to stop the inappropriate Roman schemes connected with the problem of unifying all the lands that could be called Ruthenian. And the court of Cracow received satisfactory excuses from Rome in the matter. But Moscow did not give up, and in spite of the fact that the daughter of Ivan III, Helen, was married to the Polish King and Lithuanian Grand Duke Alexander, of the Jagiellonian dynasty, Ivan III seized every occasion to insist on his views and his territorial ambitions. And we see that ever since then Moscow has constantly spoken of cities and towns situated inside of the Polish commonwealth, constantly augmenting the number of cities mentioned, adding to these formulations the sacramental phrase "and many other cities and towns." . . . It is justly said by Milyukov that "on even the most cold-blooded reader of these dry ambassadorial reports, these heavy rhythmic strides of the Muscovite 'Stone Guest' may produce the impression of some crushing nightmare."[4]

But what were these lands—Kiev, Smolensk, Polock, Witebsk, "and many others," constantly demanded from the time of Ivan

[4] *Ocherki po Istorii Russkoi Kultury*, Paris, 1930, v. 3, p. 48. Cf. for the story of the Union of Florence, of Ivan III and Rome, the brilliant work of P. Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège* (1896-1912).

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Catholic church. Goldmann elaborated a very systematic plan for 186* a consistent and gradual weakening of the Catholic church and 829 its prestige in Poland. I have no space to enter into the striking details of that program which Kucharzewski revealed in his book; enough to say that it was indeed a diabolic program of systematic spoliation of faith through, first of all, confusion of the minds of the faithful. His aim was not only the Catholic Church but also the Uniate Church. Poles, White Ruthenians, and Ukrainians were to become, as Russian subjects, members of the dominant church of the Russian state. In his cautiously elaborated strategy not a single weapon has been forgotten: the building of Orthodox churches, the substitution of Orthodox crosses in the countryside for the Cahotlic ones, the institution of the Greek calendar, the organization of a press of Orthodox propaganda for the people, the appointment of only Orthodox directors and inspectors in the schools, etc. The Catholic priesthood must be weakened by the favoring of sectarianism and material spoliation. "It is difficult," he says, "to secularize one monastery; but the annihilation of 194 monasteries and the refusal of any noviciates in order to create from the unused wealth larger funds for the clergy will find many advocates among the clergy themselves. In general, the state should not hinder but help the clergy to surely and freely ruin and prostitute itself."[17] [795]

This was, in broad lines, the program for eradication of all Polish ties with the West. One is justified in asking if this system which was adopted by the Russian government in Poland was not very close to the main ideas of the Slavophils and Panslavists as far as the problem of Russian-Polish relations is concerned. As was mentioned before, at the time when Cherkassky and Samarin were active in Poland Slavophilism degenerated into Panrussianism. Parallel to this there developed, especially during the time of the Slavic Congress in Moscow in 1867, Panslavic conceptions of the Slavs united under Russian leadership. The most complete and consistently developed program for the sub-

[17] Kucharzewski, *op cit.*, vol. II, pp. 281-297.

1 [Charles Edward Goldmann ---Analyst]

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especially poetry, even if it be the popular poetry. A synthesis 197
appears absolutely impossible. It would be enough to compare 538
the Czech versification and all the changes it went through with the Russian and Polish to see how great are the differences. Let us take the Russian *byliny* with their assonances, which have no correspondents in other Slavic productions. On the other hand the *Shchedrivky* and the *Koladki* are ritual poems often inspired by historical subjects of a purely Ukrainian character. A quite distinct group is represented by the Serbo-Croatian and Bulgaro-Macedonian popular poetry—heroic rhapsodies which sing of the legendary Serbian hero Kralević Marko, the mother of the Jugović and her sons and many others. This poetry which served the fantasies and mystifications of Mérimée, which enchanted Goethe, Pushkin, Mickiewicz and Nodier, represents a quite special formation and a unique genre in the Slavic world. How different is the medieval Polish poetry, only semi-popular in its most distant origins, with its origin in the Church. Its lyrical starting point is to be found in the *Kyrie Eleison* and *Alleluiah*, refrains of liturgical songs.

Let us abandon for a moment this purely philological state- 795 ●
ment and turn to a more essential factor which determined the 563
historical development of the Slavic nations: I have in mind re- 177
ligion. Religion divided the whole Slavic world into two parts. 538
Bulgarians, Serbians, Great Russians, Ukrainians, and White Ruthenians embraced Eastern Orthodoxy from a Byzantine source. Czechs, Croatians, Slovenes, Slovaks, and Poles embraced the Catholic religion from its Roman Source. And in addition the Czechs went through Hussism; a part of the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians adopted the Union. The Muscovite Slavophils and Panslavists were fighting against Catholicism. By that very fact they were in opposition to the whole Western Slavic world. Religion determined the cultural differentiation, and if we add to that some other historical factors we shall see that at the time when Russia was under the influence of Byzantium, of the Bulgarian and Serbian messianistic literature which formed her

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795 563 177 538 theory of "Moscow the Third Rome," based on all kinds of imported legends and apocryphas, Poland was shining in the sun of the Renaissance. She had her Rabelais—Nicholas Rey, her Ronsard—Kochanowski, and a wonderfully rich and brilliant political literature connected with Latin republican writers, some of which was soon translated into foreign languages, even English.

The Southwestern Slavs, the Croatians, Slovenes, and Dalmatians also took part in the achievements of the Renaissance. They lived that period in contact with Italy while on the other hand Dalmatia was under the influence of several Byzantines. Let me recall the brilliant Italianism of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the flowering of the Dalmatian literature which followed the songs of the provencals troubadours, and of the *Dolce stil nuovo*. The Dalmatian muses found their inspiration in Petrarch, Boccaccio, Guarini, Tasso, Metastasio; this literature knew all genres from *canzone* to the pastoral drama and *la commedia dell' arte*. The Czechs went through this epoch carrying their religious reform—a heavy burden but rich in immense moral consequences. It is probably this reform that gave the definitive form to the moral and intellectual character of this Slavophil and Slavologist nation, least Slavic in its spiritual physiognomy.

The marvellous flowering of the Russian and Polish literatures in the nineteenth century represents again a kind of exception among the Slavic nations. And in spite of a close parallel development, these two literatures very often, following the same roads of literary evolution, in many ways contrast with each other.[80]

186* 563 So even if one should try to eliminate the purely political barriers separating the Slavic nations, such as the political antagonisms existing between Bulgars and Serbs, Serbs and Croatians, Russians and Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Ukrainians and Great Russians, Ukrainians and Poles, etc., the problem of spiritual

[80] I have discussed these problems in a more detailed form in my article, "Existe-t-il un patrimoine commun d'études slaves?" Cf. *Le Monde Slave*, Paris, 1926.

538 nineteenth century, was only sporadically linked with earlier
197 attempts: it raised to literary usage a folk dialect of Herzegovina and emphatically rejected Church Slavonic or Russian ingredients and the influence of any older literary heritage. A similar populist tendency characterized the rise at the same period of modern literary Ukrainian which was first used in the burlesques of the very late eighteenth century, and in its further development oscillated between the Western (Polish-influenced) and the Eastern (Russian-influenced) variants. Both Standard Byelo-Russian and Macedonian modestly entered into literature in the nineteenth century and acquired civil rights—the former after the First, the latter after the Second World War. On the other hand, modern Standard Bulgarian, likewise formed during the nineteenth century after some isolated earlier attempts, strongly and consistently continued to borrow from Russian and particularly from its Church Slavonic stock. Toward the middle of the same century, the Slovaks, who had used literary Czech (somewhat adapted to their own habits), inaugurated their own literary language based on the Central Slovak dialect but patterned after standard Czech.

197 Church Slavonic perseveres as a liturgic language in several
795 slightly distinct variants: Nikon's recension is used by Greek Orthodox Slavs (and—with somewhat stronger orientation toward the old Kievan tradition—by the Greek Catholics); the pre-Nikon, Great-Russian recension is followed by the Old Believers; the Croatian Roman Catholics, in so far as they use Church Slavonic, maintain their own recension, although since the seventeenth century they have incorporated a considerable Kievan strain.

198 In the Slavic standard languages, besides Greek influence, pre-
177 vailing in the area of the Eastern Church, and Latin, predominant in that of the Western, there can be noted a strong Turkic lexical layer in Eastern Slavic and in the majority of Southern Slavic languages, and a German stamp on the vocabulary and phraseology of Slovenian and of Western Slavic languages and on the technical terminology of modern Russian. To some degree all the main Slavic literary languages in their recent phase bear French imprints. Neighboring languages have undergone an appreciable Slavic influence, principally in their vocabulary. This is particularly so

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INTRODUCTION

THE subject of this book is those organized bodies of Christians which formed the original nucleus of Christendom in Apostolic times, together with those Churches which owed their foundation directly to that nucleus and have not since broken their communion with it. That, at least, is a rough and ready description of the Eastern Orthodox Church. It consists of a number of independent and self-governing Churches which together constitute the second largest organized body of Christians in the world. Geographically they lie for the most part at the meeting of East and West, and this has been a dominating fact in shaping their destinies and in forming their distinctive character. East meets West in Russia in the north, and again in the South where Asia juts out westwards to touch Europe on the one hand and Africa on the other.

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The Orthodox Church presents a spectacle of the most venerable antiquity and often of an impressive continuity of life which is second to none in Christendom. Its territory embraces the land where Christ himself was born and lived and died. It includes bishoprics in cities of which the names are already familiar words in the New Testament, Jerusalem itself, the Mother of all Churches, and Nazareth; Antioch where "the disciples were first called Christians", and many others. When St. Paul sailed out from Antioch, as many another after him in the history of that great Christian centre, he founded Churches some of which are flourishing centres of Orthodoxy to this day, though from others the glory has long since departed. He wrote letters to the Corinthian Church: the former Archbishop of Corinth, now Archbishop in America, was at one time Dean of the Greek Cathedral in Bayswater. One of the Seven Churches of the Book of Revelation was Thyatira: there is still a Metropolitan of Thyatira, though the

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795 Christian population of the place was wiped out a century ago, and its late Archbishop, Germanos, lived for many years in London.

It is not as simple a matter as might be supposed to enumerate exactly all the independent Churches which are constituent members of the Orthodox Communion. The tumultuous events of the two world wars have left some of them in an uncertain position. It is a general principle of Orthodoxy that an independent nation has an independent Church; it is also an Orthodox principle that such ecclesiastical independence requires the recognition of the parent Church. Thus the various Churches of the Balkans became self-governing after the peoples concerned wrested their political independence from the Turks in the nineteenth century, and in due course their ecclesiastical independence was recognized by the Mother Church of Constantinople. The same parent Church has more recently (1927) granted autocephalous status to the Church of Albania. But political independence takes time to establish securely, it may even prove to be transitory. Moreover, parent Churches may display a very human reluctance to recognize the fact that their daughters have grown up.

There are organized Orthodox Churches in the Baltic States—in Esthonia, Latvia and Finland—as well as in Czechoslovakia, whose autonomy has been recognized by Constantinople. The Church of Georgia too, which was for long absorbed into the Russian Church, has, under the Soviet régime, regained its ancient independence. There is a difference in the degree of independence. An autocephalous Church is entirely independent and self-governing. It appoints its own chief bishop and conducts its relations with other Churches directly. Autonomous Churches are also self-governing and manage their own internal affairs. But the appointment of their chief bishops requires the sanction of the Mother Church, and it is through the Mother Church that their relations with other Churches are carried on.

Up to a point an order of precedence among the autocephalous Churches is recognized. Thus the four ancient patriarchates come first, in this order: Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem. Then comes the Church of

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the Island of Cyprus, after which there is no strict order of dignity. They are enumerated here roughly according to the number of their adherents, Russia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, Bulgaria, Poland, Georgia, Albania, Sinai. To these must be added the autonomous Churches of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia and Czechoslovakia.

It will be seen that the order of precedence by no means corresponds to relative size. The Russian Church is still, in spite of events since 1917, immensely the largest of them all, while the ancient Patriarchates have flocks numbering at most a hundred thousand or so each, and some much less. But Constantinople, the Ecumenical Patriarchate—shorn as it is of almost all its former splendour and dignity externally—retains its hold upon the reverence of the whole Orthodox Communion as the first of all its sees and the centre of its unity. The smallest of all these Churches is Sinai, which consists of no more than the Monastery on the mountain of that name and contains a score or so of monks.

In the Churches of Alexandria and Jerusalem, the Patriarch himself and the rest of the hierarchy are Greeks, but the enormous majority of their flocks are Arabic speaking, and the relations of these two elements have, in modern times, given rise to some dissensions.[1] The position was similar in the Patriarchate of Antioch, until in 1900 the Arab-speaking Orthodox succeeded in securing the appointment of a Patriarch of their own race and language.

In the Balkan peninsula the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Church of Greece are, of course, Greek, both racially and linguistically. The Serbs to the north of them are Slav, the Bulgars are a mixed race. Both use forms of Slavonic speech akin to Russian. In the midst of this great tract of Slavdom is embedded the Rumanian Church. The Rumanians claim to be a people of Latin origin and their tongue is derived from Latin. The fact that they are Orthodox by religion provides an interesting contrast to the Poles, who are Slav by race, but prevailingly Roman Catholic in religion.

All these belong to what might be called the home lands

[1] See the Bertram and Young Report (Oxford University Press, 1926 for the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

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795 of Orthodoxy, they are all places in which the Orthodox Church has been established for many centuries. But adherents of the Orthodox Communion are to be found in groups of varying size and importance in many other parts of the world. Russian imperial expansion under the successors of Peter the Great led them far afield to the north and the east, and again the Russian Revolution scattered them in all directions in the present century. Colonists from the Balkan countries have sought new homes in the New World, and many of them have settled in different parts of the British Empire. Thus the organized Church life of the Orthodox has extended far beyond its homelands and something of this modern expansion of Orthodoxy and its significance will be said in the last chapter of this book.

Everywhere it has borne with it its two names. To the Greeks it is the Orthodox Church, the Church which has received, which guards and teaches the right belief. To the Slavs it is "pravoslavny"—the Church which praises and worships aright. Each name expresses a cherished conviction which belongs to the very core of Orthodoxy. "The Orthodox Church" is its name in English. "The Greek Church" is too narrow, for many, indeed most Orthodox are not Greek. "The Eastern Church" is too wide, for Eastern Christendom includes beside the Orthodox, the Separated Churches of the East.

The latter fall outside the scope of this book which is concerned with the Orthodox Communion only. But for the sake of clearness it may be well to add a few paragraphs here to show who they are and to distinguish them from the Orthodox East, particularly as the interest which attaches to them and their historical significance is out of all proportion to their numbers.

The first group consists of the people commonly called the "Assyrians". Now but a handful of refugees they are the remnants of the once mighty "Church of the East". The Church of Persia, as it then was, asserted its independence in the fifth century, and it has been separated from the Orthodox since the time of the Council of Ephesus, the decrees of which it refused to accept, and thus became, theoretically at any

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first permanent schisms within the Christian Church, played a vital part in the historical development of the Orthodox Church. 000

The following pages are an attempt to show in bare outline a picture of Orthodoxy in its historical setting, its characteristic contribution to the life and thought of the Christian Church and its significance for the Orthodox people themselves. In a picture with so wide a scope, only salient features can be depicted. In the early centuries the fortunes of the Orthodox Church were involved in the prolonged and unsuccessful attempt of the Byzantine civil power to hold the disintegrating Empire together. In the long run, and in spite of divisions within itself, it refused to collaborate in holding the East by compromise with heresy, as later it declined to purchase material support from the West by recognition of the Papal claims.

With the loss of Syria and Egypt in the East, the increasing estrangement from the West, and the incorporation of the Slav peoples into the Orthodox world, the axis of Orthodox consciousness veered round from an east-west direction to one which ran north and south, and Orthodoxy stood alone, conscious of itself as the sole guardian of the integrity of the traditional faith of Christendom, proud of its inheritance of Hellenistic culture and all too aware of the splendour of its civilization. The alienation from the Papacy was accentuated by the latter's recognition of a rival emperor in the West, and the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 both revealed how profound the break between East and West had become and set the seal of permanence upon it. 795.

With the fall of the city in 1453 Greek and South-Slav Orthodoxy went underground, yet succeeded in preserving its life and maintaining its identity. In it the peoples, submerged beneath the rule of Islam, found not only consolation but hope also, and inspiration to cherish their national and cultural aspirations. They looked wistfully northwards to the only Orthodox country which was ruled by Christian sovereigns; to Moscow, itself still isolated from the West, but claiming to be the heir of the glory and Orthodoxy of Byzantium.

A mere glance at such a history helps the understanding of

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their expenses, through him, from the Greek bishops whom he appointed to the sees within his vast jurisdiction. They in their turn passed on the burden to their parochial clergy, who finally reimbursed themselves from their parishioners in the Balkans and Asia Minor. -193

It must be remembered that the level of education and culture really was higher among the Greek clergy of the Phanar[1] than among the Bulgars, Serbs and Rumanians, and to that extent there was good reason for appointing Greek bishops in those "daughter" Churches. But it is not surprising that the system, especially in its fiscal aspect, gave rise to much resentment, and that when in the nineteenth century the Balkan peoples began to recover their political independence from the Turks, they were equally eager to escape from their ecclesiastical dependence upon Constantinople. This movement met with its first success in 1833 when the Church of the Kingdom of Greece declared its independence, though it had to wait seventeen years for its recognition by Constantinople. The Serbian Church followed suit in 1879 and the Rumanian in 1885. These independent Churches were established not without struggle and a good deal of friction, but at least they have remained in full communion with Constantinople. In the case of Bulgaria, however, it led to schism. The Bulgars claimed more than ecclesiastical independence within a defined locality, i.e., the Kingdom of Bulgaria; they insisted that the head of the Bulgarian Church must have jurisdiction over all Bulgars wherever they may live. This the Phanar would not agree to, and branded it as the heresy of "Phyletism".[2] In 1872 the Ecumenical Patriarch, with the concurrence of the other Patriarchs, except Cyril of Jerusalem, excommunicated the Bulgars, and the Schism remained till 1945. 793 795

Nothing perhaps more clearly illustrates the isolation into which the East was driven by the Schism of 1054 and the Turkish conquest than the fact that it had no part in the making or opposing of the Reformation, that great cataclysm which shook and split, and yet revivified, the Western Church in the

[1] The seat of the Patriarchate in Constantinople from 1586 onwards.
[2] Exaggerated emphasis upon the spirit of nationality in the ecclesiastical sphere.

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sixteenth century. That is not to say that the Reformation had no effect at all upon the East. Its repercussions were felt there in the following century, and about this something must now be said. It is connected with the person of Cyril Lucar, a remarkable and tragic figure, whose personality and writings dominated Orthodoxy in the seventeenth century. He was born in Crete, which was then still under Venetian rule, in 1572. It was to Venice, and also Padua, that he went as a student, after which he settled in Alexandria, where he was ordained, became an Archimandrite and took his place in the immediate entourage of the Patriarch. In due course the latter sent him on a mission to Poland, the purpose of which seems to have been to try to persuade the Protestants in that country to become Orthodox. It was a fateful journey for Lucar, for while there he became attracted to Lutheran and Calvinist doctrines and followed the trail of them to Wittenberg and Geneva.

On his return he succeeded his late patron who died in 1603, and became Patriarch of Alexandria. Seventeen years later he was made Patriarch of Constantinople and continued so intermittently till his death in 1638. His tenure of that high office is a conspicuous example of the insecurity that attached to it under the Turkish régime, for he was six times deposed and as often reinstated during those years. Both at Alexandria and at Constantinople Lucar made vigorous and persistent efforts to popularize the ideas which had aroused his enthusiasm in the West, and to establish a reforming movement within the Orthodox Church on the same lines as had been adopted by the Western Reformers. With the co-operation of the Chaplain to the Dutch Embassy at Constantinople he started a Protestant school in that city, and put out a Greek version of the Bible which he had printed at Geneva and which bore evident doctrinal marks of its place of origin. He conceived and carried out a plan for sending promising theological students to study in Switzerland, Holland and England, the best known of them being Metrophanes Kritopoulos (himself later Patriarch of Alexandria) who was sent to Balliol College, Oxford. Lucar's relations with this country are of great interest. He corresponded with Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury; and the

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fifth century manuscript of the Bible, known as Codex Alexandrinus which is one of the most precious treasures of the British Museum, was presented by Lucar to Charles I from the Library of Alexandria. 795 793

This strange figure of a Protestant Patriarch encountered violent opposition. Not only had he to face the solid uncompromising body of traditional Orthodoxy, he was met also by the bitter hostility of the Jesuits and of a Latinizing party within his own Church which had been formed by the proselytizing efforts of Roman Catholic missions. These were very active at the time, and enjoyed the support of France and Venice.

In 1629, Lucar published his celebrated *Confession*, a document which contained much Calvinist doctrine and inaugurated a controversy which was not settled until the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672. Lucar himself was strangled by order of the Sultan on a trumped-up charge which his enemies brought against him. Just how far Cyril Lucar himself was a "heretic" has been disputed. It has been maintained that he did not hold the doctrines attributed to him, and the assertion of the Synod of Jerusalem that he did not write the *Confession* has been repeated by modern writers.[1] A synod held at Constantinople the year after his death condemned both Lucar and the *Confession*; the following Synods of Jassy and Jerusalem the *Confession* only. What is certain is that the Orthodox Church rose in a body to repudiate Lutheran, Calvinist or any other sort of "Protestant innovations"—whether Lucar held them or not.

The Synod of Jerusalem (sometimes called the Synod of Bethlehem, because it was convoked from that place) is of very great importance. It was convened with the express purpose of condemning the *Confession* attributed to Lucar but in doing so it promulgated a positive affirmation of the faith of the Orthodox Church.[2] Its acts include a Confession of Faith which "is a closely knit, carefully worked out summary of theological doctrine, in its phraseology very strongly 779

[1] E.g., Mesolora, and others. See Gavin: *Greek Orthodox Thought*, footnote on pp. 214 ff.

[2] The Acts of the Synod of Justin, and Cyril's *Confession* may be found in English in J. N. W. B. Robertson: *The Synod of Jerusalem*, 1899.

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779 The Synod's Answer to the first three is that the Scriptures "should not be read by all but only by those who with fitting research have inquired into the deep things of the Spirit," and who understand how they should be read. The New Testament itself is quoted to shew that the Scriptures "are very profound and their sense lofty; and that they need learned and divine men to search out their true meaning." It is asserted that the Books of the Apocrypha are genuine parts of Scripture.[1]

In answer to Question 4, "Cyril" had said, ". . . We permit those that so desire to have icons of Christ and the Saints; but the worship and service of them . . . we reject." The Synod, however, gives an answer of some length and reasserts the doctrine of Icons affirmed by the Seventh Ecumenical Council (see p. 54) and refers to that Council by name. It draws a clear distinction between worship as *latria* which may be offered to God alone, and the *dulia* with which the Saints and their icons are adored, or rather, honoured. There is further a higher degree of *dulia*, called *hyperdulia* which is paid to the Blessed Virgin Mary, "the Mother of God the Word. For though, indeed, the Theotókos be servant of the Only God, yet it is also His Mother as having borne in the flesh one of the Trinity; wherefore also she is hymned as being beyond compare, above as well all Angels as as Saints; wherefore also we pay her the adoration of *hyperdulia*."

Finally the *Confession of Dositheus* appeals by name to a number of writers who have written expositions of the Orthodox Faith, to the Fathers, to the Ecumenical Councils, as expressing the same teaching as the Confession. And even the heretics, it says, Nestorians, Armenians, Copts and the Ethiopians, apart "from their own particular heresies" believe the same thing.

A few years before this Council of Jerusalem assembled, 795 Macarius, the 147th Patriarch of Antioch, had returned from a journey to Moscow. It was his second visit to that city. He had been there before in 1655, when his son Paul, Archdeacon of Aleppo, had accompanied him, and kept a diary which is full of interest and at times diverting.[2] He made his journeys

[1] The Russian version omits this: and tones down somewhat the refusal of permission to all to read the Scriptures.

[2] Ridding: *The Travels of Macarius*. London, 1936.

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apparently in defiance of the Sultan's general order which forbade such travel without his leave, and one account says that the Sultan hanged him on his return; but the matter is obscure. The reasons for his visits to Russia, however, are clear enough. In the first place he went to collect alms for his flock, whom Turkish misrule had reduced to the last extremity of misery and debt. Russia was at this time the only Orthodox land under Christian rule, and it is rather pathetically referred to as "the land of the Christians" by one Oddib who celebrated in verse his master the Patriarch's return. Macarius's second journey was undertaken in company with Paisius, the Patriarch of Alexandria, to take part in the Council which tried and deposed Nikon of Moscow in 1666.

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To the Orthodox in bondage under Moslem rule, Russia appeared as a far off land of promise, a place of rest and peace, where Orthodoxy was free and honoured. And it is to Russia that we too must now turn.

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CHAPTER XII

ORTHODOXY IN THE MODERN WORLD

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THE modern expansion of Orthodoxy begins with the romantic story of the Russian conquest of Siberia which was begun by Yermak in the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1582). The Russian, as Berdyaev often notes, is essentially a pilgrim and a wanderer, and when he wanders abroad he takes his Church with him. Thus, Orthodoxy has spread north-eastward, right across Siberia and even into Japan, where one of the most striking foreign missions in the history of Christendom led to the establishment of a Japanese Orthodox Church. Its Metropolitan claimed 40,000 adherents in 1931, and all its clergy were Japanese. The Orthodox communities on the mainland of north-east Asia have grown greatly both in size and in importance since the Russian Revolution in 1917 drove many refugees and settlers into that part of the world. The vast diocese of Harbin includes adherents of various races, but they are mainly Russians. Nor did the movement stop at the confines of Asia.

By way of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, Orthodoxy was introduced into the American Continent at the end of the eighteenth century. The Russians were thus the first to bring Orthodoxy to the New World, but since then members of other Orthodox nations—Greeks, Albanians, Rumanians, Serbs and others—have joined in the flood of immigration from the Old World, and the Orthodox Church has travelled to America, journeying from east to west as well as from west to east. A Russian diocese was founded in South America in 1934. Before the second world war there were eleven Russian dioceses on the American Continent and four Greek. The Orthodox bishops in the United States in a letter to President Roosevelt

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claimed to speak as representing six million people.[1] It is a significant fact that Athenagoras, the Greek Archbishop of America was in 1948 elected to the Ecumenical Throne of Constantinople. There is a Greek Orthodox diocese also in Australia, its archbishop resides in Sydney. Orthodox who live in South Africa too belong to a Greek diocese with its archbishop at Johannesburg. It is one of the seven dioceses of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, whereas the Australian diocese belongs to Constantinople. 797 795

Nor must the Russian *diaspora* which followed the Revolution be forgotten. It led to the formation or the enlargement of colonies of Russian Orthodox in many cities of Central and Western Europe with the establishment of diocesan life outside Russia whose relation to the Mother Church in Moscow still remains unsettled.

Thus Orthodoxy is a world-wide phenomenon. Its significance cannot be fairly assessed only in terms of its homelands in the east of Europe. There, of course, the enormous majority of its adherents live, and there is the traditional centre of its prestige. But in considering on the one hand the impact of the modern world upon Orthodoxy and on the other hand any message that Orthodoxy may have for the post-war world, those scattered communities of Orthodox over the world cannot be left out of account. 795

The parallel with the Anglican Communion can hardly escape notice. That too, like the Orthodox, is made up of a number of independent self-governing Churches, each managing its own affairs, but all in communion with each other and finding their centre of unity in Canterbury as the Orthodox find theirs in Constantinople.

Thus Orthodoxy has come increasingly into contact with "the West", and members of other Christian Confessions have opportunities of becoming aware of it and of studying it by personal observation. Such opportunities are, indeed, much limited, but nevertheless Orthodoxy is no longer a remote phenomenon known to the West only through the medium of travellers' reports or the learned writings of experts.

[1] Bolshakoff: *Foreign Missions*, who gives many statistics about Russian Orthodox abroad.

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795 Orthodoxy is in touch with the Ecumenical Movement, and its representatives have taken part in the conferences and assemblies which that movement convenes. Modern Russia, and especially modern Greece, have produced a number of able and erudite theological scholars fully competent to place Orthodoxy in the setting of the modern world. It is characteristic of Orthodoxy that many of its greatest theologians are laymen. For in the Orthodox Church, theological learning is not regarded as a clerical preserve. It is part of that task of guarding and preserving the Faith which is conceived as the function of the whole Church, of the *laos*, the people of God.

But Orthodoxy has been cautious, and to some extent suspicious in its contact with other Confessions. Its readiness to come into closer touch with them has ebbed and flowed. For instance, in 1925 almost the whole Orthodox world was represented at the Nicene Commemoration in London. But in 1948 the Orthodox assembled at Moscow to celebrate the five-hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the independence of the Russian Church, all, with the exception of the representatives of Constantinople and Greece, subscribed to pronouncements which, as well as expressing the traditional Orthodox hostility to the Vatican, were unfavourable both to the recognition of Anglican Orders and to the Ecumenical Movement. They declined to take any part in the meeting of the World Conference of Churches at Amsterdam in that year.

Whether this attitude was to any extent due to political causes and adopted under Russian pressure as consonant with the general cleavage at the time between Russia and the West, is a question which different people will answer with different guesses. But what is beyond question is Orthodox uneasiness at the possibility that the Ecumenical Movement might move towards an attempt to set up a sort of inter-confessional super-church, which seeks unity through a process of dilution, and accepts as its faith the lowest common denominator of the respective beliefs of those who compose it. In actual fact, Amsterdam itself made it clear that nothing of the kind was contemplated. But the uneasiness exists in the Orthodox mind; and it not only fears that unity may be sought in what

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they regard as the wrong way, but frankly suspects the motives which inspire the Ecumenical Movement. 795

In any case, it is well enough known that when the West enters into relation with Orthodoxy it must expect to meet with a conservative attitude. The Orthodox are of course conservative. But theirs is not a conservatism which is rigid and passive, with eyes only for the past and with ears which are deaf to the voices of the modern world. It is not a mummy swathed in the bands of tradition. Theirs is a conservatism which can shew itself surprisingly flexible at times, and it is an active sense of guardianship. Its stress is upon truth rather than upon authority.

For the Orthodox Church conceives itself as the whole Church, and to it is committed the deposit of faith, the truth of the divine revelation, which is one and the same in the first century or the tenth or the twentieth, which is susceptible of explanation, but not of change. The conservatism of Orthodoxy is due to the fear lest this trust should not be fulfilled, lest any generation of Orthodox should hand on to the next less than, or something other than it received. This inherent quality has been emphasized and strengthened by the history of the Orthodox peoples. For all of them have at one time or other, and some for long periods, been subject politically to an alien, hostile and non-Christian despotism when their religious life was their only corporate life, and their Christian faith the symbol of all their hope.

This conception of its life as custodianship, this stress upon truth rather than upon authority is perhaps what saves the relations of Orthodoxy with other Confessions from being a mere demand for submission. There is a wide difference between one bishop's saying "all Christians must submit to my jurisdiction", and the Orthodox "if you hold the same faith as we, you are indeed one with us". "The Faith" is primary, everything else is secondary, and it is of the first importance to grasp this Orthodox point of view. "The first mark of the Church is that all her teachers and pastors agree with each other in everything." This startling assertion was made by Metrophanes Kritopoulos in his *Confession*, which is one of the Symbolic Books of Orthodoxy.

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The Faith of the Church is now what it always has been. Dogma is not a fossilized deposit from the minds of the past. It is a living experience of the whole body of the faithful. If you hold the Church's faith and live the Church's life, then you belong to the Church. That is where the stress lies in Orthodoxy. It follows that the great offence against the life of the Church is innovation on the part of any of its members—or group of its members. The idea that since A is true and B is true, and since by the process of logical deduction in human reasoning C follows, therefore C can be erected into a new dogma, is an idea they will not accept. This is the root of their doctrinal quarrel with the Vatican and the distinguishing tenets of Roman Catholicism.

The motive of the Orthodox in entering into discussions with other Christian bodies is perfectly clear. It is two-fold. First to explain their own position, and secondly to ascertain whether those with whom they are conferring do actually hold "the Faith". It is never with the idea of arriving at an amalgam or a mutual adjustment, a working compromise, or an agreed minimum or anything of that kind.

Meanwhile it will be found that they can treat those outside the visible boundaries of Orthodoxy with a surprising degree of accommodation. For in a sense there is no sharply defined edge to Orthodoxy. It is not primarily an institution but a life. It admits of degrees. It may exist to a greater or less extent, or in embryonic form, beyond the limits of the external Orthodox world. The Orthodox hold that the Church (i.e., they themselves) has the power to give an "economic" recognition, under certain conditions, to the sacramental acts of another body of Christians. It is on the strength of this that ministration by Anglican priests to the Orthodox laity and *vice versa* have occurred in different parts of the world. A striking catalogue of such cases could be compiled. On the same ground the Church of Constantinople and some others of the autocephalous Orthodox Churches have recognized Anglican Orders as possessing "the same validity as those of the Roman, Old Catholic, and Armenian Churches possess"; that is to say, not absolutely and in principle, but so far as the Orthodox can judge pending the assurance of identity of faith.

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The collapse of humanism and the breakdown of liberalism under the impact of the great wars which have characterized the twentieth century have left a frightening blank in men's minds, and in this state of affairs Orthodoxy has its word to say. 195

The Greek's own name for their Church is "Orthodox"—they claim to hold unaltered and unimpaired the true doctrine taught and handed on by the Apostles. No less significant is the name by which the Slav members of the same Communion designate it. They call it "Pravoslavny"—the "right-praising" or "right-worshipping" Church. To the Orthodox religion is primarily—though not, of course, solely—belief expressed in worship. Their worship is dogmatic, the truths of their Faith are repeated in it again and again, it re-echoes with glad assertion of what God has done and revealed of Himself in the Christian Gospel, in the experience of the Church, in the livesof the saints. 795 781

At the same time it is all couched in the language of poetry and the Service is always sung. The "aesthetic approach" to religion is often spoken of as characteristic of Orthodoxy. There is a legend which was held to explain how Russia came to adopt the religion of Constantinople. Envoys were sent in various directions to investigate different forms of Christianity. Those who had been sent to Constantinople came back and reported on the worship they had witnessed in Justinian's superb Church of the Holy Wisdom. Never had they seen anything like the beauty of it. "We felt we were in heaven rather than on earth," they said. Their description of all this beauty carried the day. "That is the religion for us," cried the Russians.

The truth of this story is in its symbolism. There is in Orthodoxy a real recognition that beauty is one of the links which bind the earth to its Creator. There is much beauty in Orthodox worship, in its buildings, its vestments, its appointments, its music and the quiet unhurried dignity of its movement. Time is of no account in its symbolic representation of the drama of the Life and Death of Christ, and of little account in the actual passing of the moments as anthem and repeated litany unroll themselves. All this is not to say that the outward expressions of Orthodox worship are always more beautiful than those to be found in the West. That would be to reduce the matter largely to a question of individual taste. And,

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indeed, ugliness is to be found in Orthodox churches, as it is elsewhere, though perhaps not quite so often; ugliness as blatant as that polished alabaster and those brazen whatnots which make us wince in many a Victorian church.

But the phrase "aesthetic approach" must not be taken in too narrow a sense. The "aesthetic approach" of Orthodoxy is not only *through* beauty but also *in* beauty, and it involves the reception *of* beauty. It is the sense of the beauty of the unseen world, which is reflected in this world, which dominates it. The Orthodox feeling for religion is a vital awareness of the Resurrection of Christ as a source of salving, reinvigorating power which is to rescue and transform the whole Cosmos. Its goal is the rescue of all creation from corruption, the transfiguration of the Cosmos, the restoration of its original beauty, as well as of its pristine goodness. Thus the icon, for instance, is not only a human attempt to achieve beauty and offer it in the service of God. It is much more a scrap of the material world which has been rescued from corruption and made a vehicle by which the unseen world comes into touch with men and in which the divine beauty dwells.

Thus in the flux and confusion of the modern world where men are groping for new certainties amid the ruins of bygone stabilities, Orthodoxy proclaims a definite body of beliefs anchored in historical facts, and expresses that belief in worship. It is, therefore, conscious of a mission to the world. It is aware of its Orthodox life as a cleansing, restoring and transfiguring agency in a world which "lies in evil".

It may with justice be said that for long periods that sense of mission has lain dormant. Or at least that owing largely to the political environment in which the Orthodox Church was set and to which its hierarchy has too often been submissive, the sense of mission has failed to find active expression. But it was never dead, and from time to time it awakes and demands new outlets and new methods of presenting Orthodoxy to the world as new circumstances arise and the conscience of the Church is quickened to meet them.

A notable example is the Zoe Movement in Greece which was founded in 1907 and came into public notice with the appearance of its periodical *Zoe* a few years later. The move-

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ment originated in a brotherhood, the members of which took no permanent vows and had no rigid rule. But they lived in common; the majority of them were laymen, and they were trained theologians. They were an unofficial independent body and as such had to meet some opposition at first. Their purpose was first to live the Orthodox life themselves, and then to bring it home to the masses of the people in Greece. The members of the Zoe Brotherhood were teachers, they fostered the revival of preaching and set up a press for the printing of cheap books of religious instruction and devotion. (Not so very long before this, according to the former Archbishop of Corinth, nine-tenths of the Greek parochial clergy were incapable of writing their own names.)[1] They laid great stress upon Confession, and they organized Sunday schools. Their efforts met with much success and the response of the people was visible and striking.

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A rather different illustration of the recuperative strength of Orthodoxy is afforded by the action of the Russian Church in the period between the two revolutions of 1917. In August and September of that year, in spite of the condition of civil disorder, the Council of the Russian Church met in Moscow and set itself vigorously to the task of reform. The former Holy Synod abolished itself, and the Patriarchate was restored. The Church turned to the reorganization of its own government in view of the changes which had taken place in civic life. An extensive programme of work was undertaken by the Council in its 170 sittings, and the fact that much of it was rendered ineffective by subsequent developments in the relations of Church and State should not be allowed to disguise the inherent vigour and the faith in Orthodoxy which the Council revealed.[1]

The remarkable cohesive strength in the Orthodox Communion is a fact to be noted. Since the time of the breakaway of the Monophysites described in Chapter II, the Orthodox world has remained one united family of Churches, in spite of temporary estrangements and quarrels. They are held together by no monarchical system of government, but,

[1] See *The Christian East*, July, 1937, and December, 1937.

[1] See an account of this period by a Russian writer in the Sixth Report of *The Anglican and Eastern Churches Association*, 1921.

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according to their own account, by community of faith and love. In this respect their life is in striking contrast with the fissiparous tendencies displayed by the West. The Orthodox Church includes men of different races and languages, they are frankly national in outlook, they worship in the language of the people, not in a common and liturgical tongue. There are marked divergencies of temperament, especially between Greek and Slav which run like an undercurrent beneath the surface of their history and threaten disruption, as much now as ever. Yet in spite of all this the Orthodox Communion holds together and retains its identity. The case of Bulgaria serves but to underline the fact. For the schism which occurred in 1871 between Constantinople and the Bulgarian Church, precisely on the grounds of what the former regarded as the excessive nationalism of the latter, has now at length been healed, and Bulgaria is once more restored to the full communion of Orthodoxy. This unity in diversity which maintains itself in the face of so many factors which might make for disintegration, and which owes its existence to no coercive principle but to bonds which are intangible and belong to the moral and spiritual sphere, is an impressive fact of which a disordered world may well take note.

795 659

If the life of the Orthodox Church in past centuries has been conspicuously defensive, a rôle of guardianship of its faith and a willingness to suffer in its defence, the twentieth century has revealed the fact that such a life has not ceased to be the vocation of Orthodoxy. The geographical situation of the Orthodox peoples in Eastern Europe places them in a peculiarly exposed position in the conflict which atheistic Communism wages with all forms of religion. This conflict is something new in the modern world. The Christian creed and way of life have been rejected before by individual people or small groups. Alternative creeds have been proposed and accepted, more or less in the seclusion of the study. But the twentieth century has seen the proclamation of rival creeds to the Christian in the market place, publicly, with explicit claims to be superior, supported by argument and backed perhaps by force. Communism, with its definite philosophy of history and its altruistic appeal on behalf of the downtrodden

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and oppressed, has made vast numbers of converts at the expense of Christianity.

This is not the place to discuss the compatibility of Communism with Christianity in theory. It has claims to be regarded as in itself a religion, inasmuch as it has its own philosophy of life which is totalitarian in character, and an equipment of fundamental ideas which claims the allegiance of the whole personality and seeks to control every aspect of life. It insists upon rigid and impeccable orthodoxy in its party members; it has its heresy hunts in the form of purges, its sacred texts and its official interpretation of them. Like Christianity itself, it has its Golden Age in the future, not in the past, but for the Communist the Golden Age will be reached within the confines of this world and within historical time.

Communism has secured political power in the countries of Eastern Europe and here it finds itself face to face with Orthodoxy. If in Yugoslavia the interesting fact has come to light that politically Communism can assume a form which deviates in some respects from the Soviet pattern, yet its attitude to religion remains that of Communism elsewhere when in power. The crux of the conflict lies in the fact that Christianity also claims the whole man, body, soul and spirit, and neither can in theory tolerate the existence of another *total* allegiance. The clash is emphasized by the fact that Communism regards this other allegiance as an aberration of the human mind, and the idea of the spiritual principle in man as an illusion.

So far as words are concerned freedom of religion is guaranteed under Communist rule, but the Communist has his own meaning for the word freedom, as he has for many other words, and in practice Orthodoxy, in common with other forms of religion, faces attack.

It is subject on the one hand to a stream of propaganda of which perhaps the most potent aspect is the explicit assumption that religion is due simply to lack of education. On the other hand it suffers from insidious attempts to undermine the position of religious leaders and to discredit them in public opinion. This may culminate in a trial, the pattern of which has become familiar and may include the uncanny and macabre "confession" of the accused.

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Meanwhile, pending the disappearance of religion under the influence of enlightened education, Communism is prepared to use it as a tool. Like art, literature, history and science, religion also is to be pressed or cajoled whenever possible into the service of the Communist *Weltanschauung*. The case of Bulgaria may suffice as an instance: In June, 1948, a letter was sent from the Department for Religious Affairs in the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry to the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the head of which, the Exarch Stepan, with the Synod behind him, had attracted the attention of the Government by his wise but firm attitude in defence of the rights of the Church and the claims of religion. The letter contained the following sentences:

> "The representatives of the Church must not criticize the people's rising of 9th September, 1944, and the subsequent change of government."
>
> "The nationalization of private industry and the mines must have the approval and daily support of the hierarchy of the Church."
>
> "The representatives of the Church must stress, in their daily work, their respect for the State and their acknowledgment that the State stands above the Church, and that the Church fulfils the laws of the People's Republic and the State's discipline."
>
> "It is further required that the Church should make certain changes in the educational system of her institutes where—the government claims—subjects are taught which contradict the scientific knowledge of the evolution of nature and society and which are opposed to the democratic and progressive spirit."
>
> "It is desirable that the Church use the pulpit, the Church press and private talks for the education of the faithful in love for the state leaders of Bulgaria and Soviet Russia and to ask that their portraits be placed in public places and private homes."

There was, moreover, a significant note that the reply to this letter should be signed individually by each member of the Synod.

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The solid front of the Synod disintegrated under pressure brought to bear upon its individual members, and Stepan found himself obliged to resign.

The general picture must not be drawn too much in sheer black and white. There is a Communism which is not the sworn foe of religion; and even when it is, it is well to recall Berdyaev's frequent warning that even the fight against God may be a form of affirming God if it is a protest against unworthy conceptions of God which have allowed cruelty and injustice to prevail in human life.[1]

But so far as the Orthodox Church in the Communist State is concerned, we may remember that Orthodoxy has tried conclusions with the secular power before. In the interests of political unity the Byzantine Emperors often tried to force it to come to terms with heresy, as later they endeavoured to impose upon it union with Rome upon Rome's conditions in order to save the State. There was everything to be said for the Emperor's attitude from the worldly point of view and much perhaps from the spiritual point of view also. But Orthodoxy refused to compromise. Henri Grégoire assures us that it is no paradox to represent the religious history of Byzantium as a conflict between the Church and the State, from which the Church emerged unquestionably the victor.[2]

Orthodoxy lived for centuries under the harsh Government of the Turk. But with the coming of political emancipation, it is found to have retained its faith intact, its identity unimpaired and its unity preserved. It has known how to bend before the storm and, unbroken, to abide its time. Doubtless it has had its sinners, its time-servers even in high places. But the two-fold cry of Orthodoxy "Lord have mercy" and "Glory be to Thee O Lord", has rung out above them all, and still rings out. The host of its saints and prelates and of common folk held fast to their faith in the power of the Resurrection to transform the whole world, and they have seen and see in Orthodoxy the authentic faith of Christ, for which many of them have been prepared to die.

[1] See the Report of the Lambeth Conference, 1948, Part II, p. 20 ff., London, 1948.

[2] Baynes and Moss: *Byzantium*, p. 130.

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describe a number of local or tribal cults; nor is it justifiable to imagine a basis of a uniform primitive Slav system.

In the South, that is to say, in the Lower Danube basin and in Illyria, tradition ascribes the first conversions to Christianity to the time of Heraclius, and there seems not to have been the same fierce and prolonged opposition to the new cult, with which it had to contend in Russia and Northern Europe. In Russia and in Poland, a dual confession, and apparently a heathen priesthood, lasted into the later Middle Ages; in the eleventh to twelfth centuries attempts were made to re-establish the old faith on a national basis. True, the rising in Bulgaria against Boris (eleventh century) was led by an anti-Christian element, but we do not know of an active priesthood in this connection, nor whether it was a revival of Slavonic or Asperuh tendencies. Until the final establishment of a national, autonomous Church in Bulgaria, and in fact, until the turning-point of the Synod of Trnovo (seventeenth century), the indecision as to belief was evident not only in the varying allegiance to pope or patriarch, but in the activities of the numberless heretical sects, not merely tolerated, but at times enjoying considerable privileges and influence.

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The presence of these sects, notably of a gnostic character, pre-dates the Orthodox missions of the tenth century, and caused their retreat from Pannonia. The earliest account of the Slav apostles mentions the 'thrice heathen heretics' who were unacquainted with Slavonic; probably referring to that mixture of Paulician and Eulite doctrine, which, since the fourth century, had spread into the Northern Balkans, and remains to this day among the Nazarenes of the trans-Danube. Syrian and Armenian colonies had been established in Thrace during the seventh century in the time of Constantine, still known to M. Psellos and Cedrenos as Massalians. Armenian Monophysites and Paulicians lived in the neighbourhood of Plovdiv, Sofia, Devol, Rila, Moglena, Kjustendil, etc., from the eleventh to the thirteenth century; the Dragovići being known in South-east Macedonia as extreme

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dualists since the tenth century, and the Macedonian Kudigeri flourishing until the fifteenth century. Many of these local sects have left traces of their former habitation in place names. These facts alone would necessitate a critical attitude towards the unilateral character of the 'Iranian theory' of old Slavonic religion, since features claimed to show community of custom may equally well derive from these later historical contacts.

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Under various names, the Bogomil or Bulgarian Heresy, described as a mixture of Paulician and Massalian teaching, spread from some such centre as far as Ohrid (according to the accounts of Dimitrij Homatijan, Archbishop of Ohrid, 1217–34); and to Albania (probably during the second Bulgarian occupation); took firm root in Bosnia; for a time troubled the Catholic areas of Dalmatia; appeared in favour in Croatia, in the time of Honorius III being embraced by local nobles and princes; and in Bulgaria Bogomilism was near becoming the official state religion in the thirteenth century. In Rascia, it provided one of the principal activities of the first members of the Nemanja dynasty, whose biographers reckoned them amongst the most zealous defenders of Orthodoxy; nor had the heresy been entirely disposed of in their realms in the time of Stefan Dušan. Later, it found fanatical adherents in Russia, where its teachings were in evidence until recent times.

B Y 795 797

There is no doubt that the Catharians of Lombardy, and kindred sects in Western and Central Europe, derived their versions of the scriptures directly from a Balkan source; but the Bulgarian heresy, as it appears in the Northern Balkans, has a peculiar character, which can only be explained by a local modification of the Armenian prototype. Did it here absorb the non-Christian element, or develop spontaneously along the lines of popular ideas?

It is not entirely due to imperfect information or a desire to discredit heresy at all costs, that the heretics are mentioned in connection with what had come to be regarded as popular superstitions, magic, and practices which pre-date Chris-

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Certain minor observances of conduct, which we have noticed throughout the so-called patriarchal zone, but which vary considerably from place to place, such as not crossing the feet, using right or left hand for certain operations, wearing certain colours, etc.—in short, at all times a care that everything be done in a way fitting to the conditions, according to some precise ruling of custom—exist because otherwise an evil force can be inadvertently put in motion, or a man work on himself or his associates some kind of auto-curse.[1] Particular care must be taken as regards children and domestic animals, who naturally cannot be expected to understand the importance of such observances, and must therefore be prevented from doing the wrong thing. Hence in part the arbitrary influencing of omens.

B Y 771 795 788

'I fear to go to the four parts of the earth, and over the whole earth,' says the devil in a Greek manuscript (sixteenth century) when he descends to fetch earth for the creation of man. 'Therefore, he made a sign of the cross with his sceptre, saying: "East, west, north and south." Thereupon all the earth came before God.'

Y B 795 771 773

The so-called Bogomil creation legend, slightly varied, occurs in Russia, Transylvania, in Dobrudja, in the Rhodopes, in Western and Southern Bulgaria, and right across the middle of the Peninsula, in Macedonia, in Bosnia and Hercegovina, in Eastern Serbia and in Old Serbia, and probably elsewhere. It is found in manuscripts from the twelfth century, in Old Bulgarian, Russian, Serbian and Bosnian books. On the one hand, there are versions similar to that of the Book of Enoch, the Vision of Isaiah, and the 'Secret Book' of the Bogomils. On the other, it links up a chain of cosmogonic myth shared by the Finno-Ugrian and Ural-Altaic peoples, and in the traditional version known to Slavonic folk-lore it is more like this latter.[2] It is of interest to note that an

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[1] *v. infra.*

[2] Similarities between Slavonic, Finnish and Central Asian cults and mythology first came to the notice of students of Russian custom, notably P. Jacobi and Prof. Aničkov. The latter's views are theories rather than

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early Russian chronicle attributes a very similar cosmogony to Volhs (*magi*) at Kiev, long before the first traces of Bogomil apocryphal literature in Russia.

The fact of the matter is, that most of the apocryphal literature, important for creating a new source of popular legend in the Balkans—e.g. the Apocalypsis of Baruch, Gospel of St Thomas, the Palaia, Vision of Isaiah, etc.—appeared in Slav versions, often markedly differing from any known Greek originals, as early as the eleventh century, and possibly before Bogomilism as such had established a popular hold or, at any rate, a literature of its own. To Jeremije, the Bogomil, is generally attributed the Slavonic version of the Elucidarium. Here, again, no exact Greek prototype can be discovered. Neither the devil's contract motif, nor that of his appearance over the primeval waters in the form of a diving bird, and other significant details, can be traced with any certainty beyond the Slavonic versions.

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Only on going westwards into Bosnia, it seems certain that the literary form preceded the popularised story. Otherwise, it is clear that the Slav writers of the Middle Ages made considerable use of popular sources, unaware of any inconsistency of doctrine, and tempering their material to taste. In the beginning, according to a Russian monastic writer of the seventeenth century, Almighty God resided in the three chambers of the upper heaven. 'The three chambers of the cross,' he says, in iconographical symbolism. 'The Emperor without beginning, uncreated, unspeakable, not born, not conceived, universal, invisible and unseeable, immortal and immaterial' was there before time. By his thought he gave birth to his Son. 'For the Father is neither created nor begotten, and the Son is begotten and not created. The Holy

substantial history, but there is documentation in his *Jazyčestvo i drevnaja Rus'* (1914), and in more recent articles in *Slavia* and *Revue des Études Slaves* (VIII). More relevant theories are put forward by M. Arnautov in Sb.N.U. IV. Older works include Spicyn, *Šamanizm v otnošenii k russkoj arheologii*, Zapiski Arheolog. XI; V. Bogoraz, *K psihologii šamanstva* (Etnograf. Obozrenie, XXII, I), where traditions of the type given above will be found.

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IV

SOURCES OF ANCIENT MAGIC AND MEDICINE

I

During the pagan and semi-pagan period the Slavs lived in small, independent tribes, later forming loose federations within territorial limits. For long the Greeks were unable to negotiate with them, because they did not agree among themselves and had no central authority. The organisation of a united state in Rascia coincided with the establishment of state Christianity, and the pagan empire of Bulgaria was comparatively short-lived.

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The tribal religious cult was likely to have been an extension of a domestic cult, probably rarely accompanied by the specialised functions of an official priesthood. The domestic cult lasts to the present day. The head of the household officiates in ceremonial, and the assistance of an outsider is not essential. In ceremonial which involves the whole tribe or village, the heads of households—the tribal elders—are again responsible; but that they have not an entire monopoly of ritual is evident in ceremonies which are performed by a group without a specially chosen leader, particularly those which belong to the younger people, or ceremonies conducted by old women doctors, etc.[1]

Y B SP 795 771 793 174

[1] The rites of the peasants hint also at an independent development. It is not true only that the non-Christian element enjoyed a revival, tended to revert to type, after the fall of the mediaeval empire. A direction was taken at that time, perhaps, in which the popular religion continued a course of development and adaptation. The popular religion, or sometimes a popular aversion to religion as well as to social forms that flourished under a feudal church, must have sought new outlets much earlier. Local forms of peasant cults must be of comparatively recent growth, and contain more than the survivals of an ancient paganism. The *slava*, for instance, is a typical example of a domestic rite which does not require a special priesthood. It has become perhaps the central

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B Y SP 795 793 756 [887]

There is little trace of shamanism in the Balkans, and few instances of the combining of the functions of priest and doctor and magician except by accident. In peasant cults these offices are adopted to meet a special occasion, unless they are the speciality of a local wise woman. Women who have ceased to menstruate or widows may have to be chosen for certain rites, but this is only a temporary priesthood. The seeress mediates between ordinary people and spirits only when she is required to do so. Young men without physical defect only may be allowed to take part in certain ritual dances, etc. Almost each cult has its own 'priest'. The fulfilment of the village 'vows' and the sacrifice at the sacred village tree is performed by householders, and the high priest of the occasion is the host for that year. The mother of twins is, it is said, considered to be specially pure, and twins themselves have special occasional functions. I hazard that this arrangement is characteristic of peasant cults; and that the institution of a monopoly of priestcraft, whether on the part of the Christian church or by the priests of organised pagan cults, meant a profound social change, to uphold which popular custom had to be discredited.

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In Russia itself, so many parallels are found that a close

feature of the religious life of South Slav Orthodox communities and has died hard among the non-Orthodox. It represents an elaboration under peculiar circumstances of a strictly domestic cult with occasional ministrants, whose sporadic priestly duties are determined by their normal social function and status. A similar Lithuanian rite was also traditionally a strictly domestic affair. The *slava* embraces ideas and ceremonial found in the earliest accounts of Slav custom and which belonged to pre-Christian ideas, but other features, and the general form as we now know it, so closely resemble the celebration of the liturgy that the institution may well have arisen from an early practice of private celebrations, or imitations of the liturgy, perhaps at a time of a Christian minority, or further encouraged by the conditions of Turkish occupation. There is still a tendency to think that anything that is not traceable to the Churches' institutions is necessarily pre-Christian in origin. The cycle of Christmas rites also shows a mixture of sources and evidence of late formation, and considerable local variety when the cycle of the whole season, which may include rites transferred from other seasons, is considered. In any case, the past is not always 'fossilised'. While a

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connection with Asiatic shamanism was suggested many years ago. On the whole, the characteristics of magical practice are better mapped regionally than ethnologically; the Russian and West Slavs falling beside the Baltic and Finnish races of the north; while Balkan Slav folk-lore more closely resembles that of the neighbouring southern races.

In the process of time a religious sentiment has grown up about the ritual inherited from ancient semi-magical rites; and direct magic, conceived as such, figures principally as a part of a medical system, in which, however, empiricism now predominates, and magic is applied rationalistically. This division between applied magic and religion, between charm worker and the priest, seems to have existed since early times.

The pagan cult, as far as can be judged, recognised innumerable local and tribal gods, associated with the various activities of the people, such as war, agriculture, etc., or representing personifications; and an equally important cult of trees, stones and waters, in which, according to some, gods or spirits were supposed to reign. The Slavs of the East could not swear by trees, fountains or stones (but the priests gave accused persons the choice of trial by ploughshare, iron or

custom can in any sense be said to live, though it come out of the past it is also a part of actuality and a factor of present-day life and psychology. The popular religion is more sophisticated, and probably greatly more varied than any reconstruction of primitive cults that could be made. It depends on the vigour of the church organisation locally how far a distinction is made between standard Christian practice and the rest, and how far the non-Christian part of tradition is looked upon as not wholly in conformity with the nominal faith. Left to itself the folk-mind blends diverse elements into a single law. Certainly custom, particularly religious custom, is not in origin a direct response to the physical environment. Adjustment to the demands of a ruling class, for instance, is not expressed only on the economic plane. But there is a tendency to try to adapt institutions—even those forced upon a community—to material circumstances. Hence the permeation of all peasant cults by the dominant interest in provision for life and the staying of disaster. The Church would have had little chance of survival here had its rites not received an economic and apotropaeic interpretation, far removed from the spiritual benefits of its written doctrine.

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175* thodius became abbot of the monastery of Polychron, in the vicinity of Mount Olympus.

175* 212 The two brothers were recalled from their retirement by Michael III when Rostislav's mission asked for Slavic-speaking priests. Constantine in particular had demonstrated considerable linguistic talent on his mission to Khazaria, where he had learned Hebrew, and it is certain that both brothers spoke the Bulgarian dialect which prevailed in the environs of their native city. Upon accepting the mission, and before proceeding [779] to Moravia, Constantine invented a Slavic alphabet, and translated into the Slavic dialect he knew a selection of passages from the Gospels.

[538] This translation is the beginning of all Slavic literature, but the nature of the alphabet invented by Constantine is questionable. We have, as it happens, two early Slavic alphabets, the so-called Glagolitic, somewhat enigmatic in origin, and the Cyrillic, which is a combination of the Greek and Latin alphabets with some additions for specifically Slavic sounds. This latter is the ancestor of the modern Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian scripts. On account of the difficulty of the Glagolitic, it was later supplanted in Bulgaria by the Cyrillic, which is relatively close to the Greek. On purely psychological grounds, but in utter disagreement with many much more authoritative teachers and colleagues, I believe that the priority belongs to Cyrillic, since Constantine would (I assume), if only for reasons of convenience, have used an alphabet as close as possible to the one with which he was most familiar. Then later in Moravia, when he found that the German clergy viewed with suspicion and hostility everything Greek, I believe that he devised the tricky and crabbed Glagolitic, which does not resemble Greek script at all, to disarm his opponents.

175* 797 ●796 795 Accompanied by a few Greek priests who also knew Slavic, Constantine and Methodius arrived in Moravia during the spring of 863. They were well received by Prince Rostislav,

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

though the local clergy from Passau and Regensburg viewed them as dangerous rivals, for these Greeks were scholars and men of action who had the advantage of speaking the local language. At first they celebrated Mass in Greek, which was as incomprehensible to the masses as the Latin of the Frankish clergy. Constantine then hastened to translate the whole service, which only added to the resentment of their competitors, despite the fact that he actually translated not the Byzantine ritual but the Latin missal. In Western eyes this was a drastic and unparalleled innovation. Whatever Rostislav's good intentions were, he was not for long in a position to support the Greeks wholeheartedly, for in the autumn of 864 he had been attacked and once more reduced to vassalage by Louis the German. Yet the mission prospered to the point where the problem of ordaining new priests presented itself. Constantine even made a visit to the son of Pribina, Prince Kotzel, on Lake Balaton, who became an enthusiastic admirer of the brothers' work and confided fifty young men to him for training.

Since it was obviously undesirable, if not impossible, for Constantine and Methodius to have their disciples ordained by the bishops of Passau or Salzburg, they decided, after three years of missionary activity, to journey to Rome, where they could obtain the endorsement of Pope Nicholas I. The brothers were by no means hostile to the Pope; on the contrary, in common with numerous other Byzantine ecclesiastics of their day, they regarded the Bishop of Rome not only as the patriarch of the West but also as the supreme head of the Church. News of their arrival in Venice inspired a special invitation from Pope Nicholas to wait upon him, but before they left Venice he died in November 867 and was succeeded a month later by Adrian II. Though the Frankish opposition to the Slavic liturgy had been transmitted to the Roman clergy, Adrian ordered the ordination of the candidates whom Constantine and Methodius presented, and authorized the use of the Slavic liturgy. Constantine survived his triumph but a few

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

Pope Adrian that he even knew him, but after Adrian's death in 872, his successor John VIII sent a special legate to Louis the German with orders suspending two of the offending bishops and directing the primate of Salzburg to release Methodius and to install him in his proper diocese. Unfortunately, however, John was obliged to placate the Germans, and compromised to the extent of forbidding Methodius the use of the Slavic liturgy, though he permitted preaching in the vernacular. 175* 795 796

Since 867 events had moved rapidly in Constantinople itself. Basil I, the bold and able successor of Michael III, whom he had murdered, revived the Byzantine navy, drove the Arabs from the Adriatic, and gradually reëstablished Greek ascendancy over the Croat tribes of the shoreline, who maintained their independence from the Frankish yoke that weighed upon their inland kindred, and therefore for the moment gravitated toward Byzantium. Basil thus secured not only the submission of the Serbs and the coastal tribes as far as Dalmatia, but also sent missionaries to baptize any remaining pagans. Dalmatia was then subjected in 878, and more missionaries accompanied the new Greek administration. Since the Bulgarians had been affiliated with Constantinople since 870, this date represents the high watermark of Byzantine influence in the Balkans. In 879, however, the Grecophile Croat princes were opposed by a revolt which brought the Dalmatian coastal area once more into the Roman sphere. This development defined the future limits of Byzantine influence. It remained dominant in Serbia and on the Croat coast as far as Dalmatia, as well as among the Slavs in Bulgaria, Thrace, and the Greek peninsula. 175*

In connection with the Serbs, we should note here that the faith reached them from two directions. The territory south of Pannonia and west of the Balkan Morava River, which joins the Danube east of Belgrade, was evangelized by Roman priests from the coast as early as the eighth century. On the other hand, the conversion of the Slavs in western Macedonia, 175* 797

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175* 797 whether Bulgarians or Serbs, proceeded from Salonika at approximately the same time, but was most intense during the reign of Basil I.

175* ●796 795 798 Methodius had not obeyed the Pope's injunction to abandon the Slavic liturgy but, when summoned to Rome in 879 to explain his position, was again victorious on even this point. John VIII, however, endeavored to conciliate Svatopluk, who had never been personally sympathetic toward Methodius, by naming as the latter's suffragan the Prince's favorite priest, one Wiching, who immediately took the side of the Frankish clergy and blocked Methodius at every turn. The Archbishop eventually decided to shift his activities further south, and in 881 set forth on a journey toward the valleys of the Drave and the Save, where he received an invitation from Basil I to visit Constantinople. The Patriarch Photius was, after all, an old friend, and the Emperor himself was well-informed of Methodius's activities in a frontier area not entirely alien to Greek interests.

Upon his return to his diocese Methodius at first concentrated his efforts on translating additional canonical books and ecclesiastical texts. Unfortunately for his pastoral work, however, John VIII was poisoned in 882, and under Stephen V hostile exchanges between Rome and Byzantium were resumed. Methodius himself died in April, 885, after designating as his successor Gorazd, his most capable disciple. Wiching, Methodius's old enemy, straightway renewed his intrigues and had no trouble in securing the favorable ear of a pope already irritated against Byzantium. Stephen V abandoned the Slavic liturgy altogether, Wiching's partisans secured the eternal exile of Gorazd and the other disciples of Methodius, and thus the work of twenty years in Moravia was wiped out.

175* 795 After the decision of Prince Boris of Bulgaria to accept conversion in 862, the next twenty years were marked by fruitless papal attempts to gain control of the Bulgarian church. In 870, indeed, the Eighth Oecumenical Council, under the influence of Basil I, had formally decided that the Bulgarian church was subject to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and

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as the curious onion-shaped cupola so often seen on Russian churches. 346

Some Orthodox churches are built of ornamental stone, and colour and patterns are introduced in the exterior walls by the use of brick and stone in conjunction. This may be seen particularly in many mediaeval Serbian churches, and in Rumania the churches are often adorned with outside paintings.

But the supreme achievement of Orthodox architecture, if not of all ecclesiastical building, is the Church of the Holy Wisdom, St. Sophia at Constantinople, which the Emperor Justinian began in the year 532 and which was consecrated five years later. The architect achieved the feat of placing a dome less than hemispherical, and with a diameter of 107 feet, upon a square. Later the rim of the dome was raised and pierced by forty windows, the effect produced by the whole being of astonishing lightness and beauty.

In the interior of an Orthodox church there are ordinarily no seats for the congregation; the normal attitude of the Orthodox at worship is standing. Their services are long compared with Western rites, but the congregation stands throughout, including the sermon should there be one. The choir also stands, in a group with their choirmaster. They are usually out of sight and they wear no distinctive robes. The singing, which is often of great beauty, especially among the Russians, is entirely unaccompanied, no instrumental music being allowed in Orthodox worship. [796]

But perhaps the most striking feature of the interior of an Orthodox church to Western eyes is the great screen, called the *iconostas*.[1] It stretches across the width of the church, completely shutting off the east-end and hiding the altar from view. It must not be confused with the chancel screen of Western Christendom. Its situation is technically quite different—it occupies the position of the Communion rails in a Western church, and separates not the whole chancel, but the sanctuary, from the rest of the church. An interesting difference in terminology may be noted here. In the Orthodox East, the altar

[1] *Ikonostás* is the Russian and most convenient form of the word. The Greek is *eikonostásion*. The form "ikonostasis", often seen in English, is neither Russian nor Greek.

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icons of Feasts of the Church, often of the Twelve Great Festivals of Orthodoxy.[1] In the fourth tier are Old Testament Prophets including King David and King Solomon. Above this may be another row depicting the Patriarchs and perhaps still another filled with Cherubim and Seraphim. The scheme is not rigidly adhered to in detail, but the whole represents all creation, representatives of the Old and the New Covenants grouped in praise and intercession around the Deesis. 346

To the Orthodox worshipper the iconostas symbolizes the meeting place of heaven and earth: it marks the distinction and at the same time the union, of the world of divine truth and beauty represented by the sanctuary, and this imperfect world of human life symbolized by the rest of the church. As he stands in worship he contemplates this representation of all creation united in a symphony of praise and adoration. And the great doors in the centre of the iconostas mark the place where his worship reaches its climax in the solemn act of Communion. But the whole interior of the church is adorned with images in fresco or mosaic of saints and heroes of the Orthodox Faith. The triumph over iconoclasm was to lead in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to an outburst of elaborate iconography which characterized what used to be known as the "*Second Golden Age*" of Byzantine art and which made the walls of their churches a picture book in which the Orthodox found a perpetual reminder of their creed. On the walls of the narthex and the nave are depicted the great festivals of the Church, and series of ascetics, confessors, martyrs, doctors and prelates. In the half dome over the apse of the sanctuary is the Theotókos—the God-bearer seated with her Child in her arms, while high up in the great dome this whole iconographic proclamation of belief is crowned by the image of Christ, the rainbow-throned Almighty surrounded by cherubim and seraphim. [781]

Within this building the principal act of worship is the Liturgy, the name which the Orthodox give to the service 746

[1] These are (not counting Easter, which is in a class by itself): Christmas, Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, Transfiguration, Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and the following feasts of Our Lady: Nativity, Purification, the Annunciation, Presentation in the Temple, and the Falling Asleep.

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which elsewhere in Christendom is called the Mass, or the Eucharist, or the Communion Serivce, or the Lord's Supper. There are three Liturgies in use among the Orthodox. The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom is by far the most frequently used and is the normal service. The Liturgy of St. Basil is used on the first five Sundays in Lent, on the Thursday and Saturday before Easter, on Christmas Day and Epiphany if they fall on a Sunday or Monday, otherwise on their eve; and on St. Basil's Day (January 1st).

There is very little difference between the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil; the former is a somewhat shortened form of the latter, the same general structure being maintained.

There is a traditional feeling among the Orthodox that the joyousness of the Liturgy in its complete form is not altogether suitable to the penitential season of Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays. On Wednesdays and Fridays during that season and on the first three days of Holy Week, therefore, the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified is substituted for the ordinary Liturgy. It consists of Vespers and part of the usual Liturgy, the significant omission being the act of Consecration. Those who make their communions at the Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified do so from the Sacred Elements consecrated on the previous Sunday and reserved for the purpose. This explains the name "pre-sanctified".

The Liturgies are in use in a number of different languages. Among the Greek-speaking peoples the Liturgy is said in Greek; in Russia and among the Slavs of the Balkans—in old Slavonic, and in the several appropriate places the Liturgy will be heard in Georgian, Arabic, Rumanian, Esthonian, Lettish, various Finnish and Tartar dialects, Japanese, Chinese, and even German and English (among Orthodox colonists in North America). The Russian Church has spread the Christian religion to the north and across Siberia to the Far East—and everywhere it has provided for worship in the language of the people.[1]

The form of Christian worship has changed but little in the conservative East as the centuries have passed, and the

[1] See Bolshakoff: *The Foreign Missions of the Russian Orthodox Church* London, 1943.

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Liturgy is today practically the same as it was in the sixth century. 796

The part of the rite called the Prothesis, i.e., the Preparation of the Bread and Wine, has been transferred from the middle of the service to the beginning, where it now forms a complicated and elaborately symbolic introduction to the service. The congregation is not usually present at this first part of the Liturgy, the laity for the most part come in when the Liturgy of the Catechumens[1] begins. The division between the Liturgy of the Catechumens and the Liturgy of the Faithful is still preserved. The Catechumens are prayed for and then dismissed with the cry of the Deacon, "Let all catechumens depart", although it is many centuries since this had any practical significance. The Deacon still calls "The Doors, the Doors" that they may be guarded before the recitation of the Creed and the entrance upon the most solemn part of the rite.

After a few attendances at the Orthodox Liturgy those who are accustomed to the Roman Catholic or Church of England rites will soon learn to recognize the same general structure of the service in East and West alike, though the framework is filled out at much greater length in the East.

The outstanding feature of the Liturgy of the Catechumens is the reading of the Epistle and Gospel, preceded by the Little Entrance.[2] They are embodied in a setting of Psalms, Canticles and Litanies, the last being recited by the Deacon as he stands outside the Royal doors and facing East.

In the Liturgy of the Faithful we note the familiar sequence of Offertory, Creed (in that order in the East), *Sursum Corda* ("Lift up your hearts"—"We lift them up unto the Lord"), *Sanctus* ("Holy, Holy, Holy") and Consecration. But in addition to the large number of variable parts of the service in Orthodox worship and all the rich embellishment of Canticle and Anthem, there is also a difference in relative external

[1] Those undergoing instruction preparatory to Baptism. Beside being the name of the whole rite, the word Liturgy is also applied to each of two divisions of it known as the Liturgy of the Catechumens and the Liturgy of the Faithful.

[2] i.e., the entry of the clergy from the Chapel of the Prothesis, with the Book of the Gospels. It is "little" as compared with the "Great Entrance" later in the Service.

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•796 emphasis, in dramatic stress. Thus in the West everything plainly leads up to the Consecration as the climax of the rite not only in its inner meaning but in its outward aspect. In the Orthodox Liturgy, however, the Consecration might even escape the notice of one who was not accustomed to follow the rite or attentive to note it. The Consecration is, of course, actually its climax in East and West alike, but in the East no special outward signs of it are visible to the congregation, the Royal doors which shut off the Sanctuary being closed.

On the other hand the Great Entrance is easily the most conspicuous part of the whole service. It corresponds to the offertory in the West, i.e., the bringing of the bread and wine to be offered at the altar. In the West this is the simplest of actions[1] and involves no more than moving the bread and wine a few feet from a small table called the Credence, to the Altar. In the East it is the occasion of a solemn procession in which all the clergy present and their attendants pass out through the northern door of the iconostas, along the front of it, and after a pause for biddings to prayer, in again through the Royal doors. All this is done with pomp and circumstance, the choir meanwhile singing the Cherubic hymn.

The deportment of the worshippers is to be noted. They take little audible part in the service—there are no hymns in the Western sense—but they often join in the Lord's Prayer aloud and sometimes in the Creed. They cross themselves [782] frequently (making the sign from right to left) and kneel or even prostrate themselves as devotion moves them. There is much freedom and spontaneity of action. Men, women and children are all gathered together in the nave, occupying any particular part in it which takes their fancy. They move about from one place to another if they are so disposed and go up to salute an icon or place a lighted candle whenever they are moved to do so. It is quite unlike an English congregation, in which all do the same thing at the same time. The Orthodox habit is more free and easy. But at the same time it is less so, for the Orthodox stands to worship, and this not simply in the sense of not sitting or not kneeling. It is more like standing

[1] But compare the Offertory as performed in Westminster Abbey and some other Anglican churches.

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to attention. If he is well brought up in this respect the Orthodox worshipper will stand erect with his feet together, his hands by his side, with head up and eyes looking straight before him to the east end of the church. His bodily posture expresses, and perhaps contributes to, the active share he is taking in what is going on. Ideally he is rendering praise and glory to God for all that He is and does, and at the same time he is presenting himself before God and submitting himself to the divine scrutiny. 796

At the time of Communion, the celebrant and other officiating clergy make their communion in both kinds, separately, as in the West. The priest and deacon then come out through the Royal doors and stand just outside them. The priest holds the chalice, into which the consecrated breads have been put. Lay communicants then approach and are given their communion standing, in both kinds, but administered together by means of a spoon placed between the communicant's lips. He then wipes his lips on a silk napkin which hangs over the deacon's arm, takes a sip of water and a small piece of bread (not, of course, consecrated) from a table standing near and returns to the body of the church. 796 778

The words of administration are "The servant of God, N——, receives the precious and holy Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, unto remission of sins and unto everlasting life", (to children "unto everlasting life" only).

At the end of the service all present go up to the Royal gates and in turn kiss a cross held out to them by the priest: and small pieces of bread which have been blessed are distributed and eaten.

The Orthodox rite is, generally speaking, a good deal longer than the Western, though not so much so as appears from the printed page. For at certain times the priest's part and the deacon's are going on simultaneously—the deacon being outside the iconostas and leading the devotions of the people in a Litany, while the priest is saying the prayers allotted to him within the Sanctuary. Still, Orthodox services are sometimes of great length, the Russians in particular having long been notorious in this respect, though modern times have brought some concessions to human frailty. "God grant us His special 796

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aid to get through the whole of this present week. As for the Muscovites their feet must surely be of iron"—was the pathetic lament of the Archdeacon of Aleppo who was in Moscow for Holy Week and Easter in the year 1656. He complained bitterly of services which lasted from "early dawn" until "the eleventh hour".[1]

The Orthodox Liturgy has been frequently described.[2] The Daily Offices of the Orthodox Church, however, i.e., its regular liturgical services other than the Liturgy, are perhaps not so familiar, and the structure and shape of the service are not so easy to grasp. Even with a translation before him the reader is daunted by a bewildering variety of rubrics and subtitles of portions of the service. Certain details strike him at once as curious. The *Magnificat* is a morning canticle, for instance, and the *Te Deum* does not appear at all in the regular sequence of liturgical services. The *Gloria in excelsis* is said at Mattins and at Compline, and the Nicene Creed at the midnight service and Compline. There is also a richness, variety and flexibility about the Orthodox offices in the highest degree contrasted with the sober regularity of our own.

Theoretically the daily offices—Vespers, Compline, the midnight service, Mattins, Prime, Terce, Sext and None—are spread out over the twenty-four hours to form one unbroken offering of prayer and praise. In practice, however, they are, at least in parish churches, grouped together. The recitation of None, Vespers and Compline constitutes the evening service; the midnight service, Mattins and Prime are said together as the morning service, while Terce and Sext are combined with the Liturgy at some convenient hour, perhaps about ten o'clock in the morning. This grouping of the offices may vary somewhat on Sundays and the great festivals, when the all-night vigil service, consisting of Vespers, Mattins and Prime, is recited at about six o'clock on the evening before. In monasteries where everything is sung in full, and slowly, this service

[1] *The Travels of Macarius*, p. 46.

[2] For the text see: *Brightman Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896.

The Russian novelist Gogol wrote a mystical commentary on the Liturgy which has been translated into English: *Meditations on the Divine Liturgy*, London, 1926.

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may last literally all night, but as used in parish churches it takes about two hours. 796

In common with the rest of Christendom the Orthodox Church uses the Psalter and lections from the rest of Holy Scripture in the structure of its services. But the characteristic feature of Orthodoxy in this regard is its inclusion of a very large element of religious poetry. Something more will be said about this later on.

Two of the many books required by the officiant are known as the "Apostle" and the "Gospel". The four Gospels are included in the latter, while the former contains the Acts of the Apostles as well as the Epistles. The Epistle and Gospel of the day are read at the Liturgy according to a fixed order, and the Gospel is read at Mattins also. In addition to the normal division into chapters and verses the books are also portioned out into sections and the order in which these sections are to be used is given at the end of the books. For each day in each week of the year, beginning at Easter, the proper section is shown, and there are special lections provided for the greater festivals and for the Occasional Offices.

The Psalter is used in three ways. First, each of the offices has its own fixed psalms to be recited daily. In addition to this the whole Psalter is divided into twenty sections called *Kathismata*, and each *Kathisma* again into three *Staseis*. The *Gloria* is said at the end of each *Stasis*, not at the end of each psalm. Thus arranged the Psalter is used at Mattins and Vespers, in addition to their fixed psalms. In Lent all twenty *Kathismata* are read through twice in each week. From Maundy Thursday till Low Sunday they are omitted altogether. But during the rest of the year two *Kathismata* are said at Mattins and one at Vespers and thus the recitation of the Psalter is more or less completed in one week. The third manner in which the Psalter is used is by the incorporation into the service of detached verses from the psalms, singly or in groups. For example, two verses (hardly ever consecutive) of a psalm are said before the Epistle in the Liturgy, and repeated in the offices. They are called the *prokeimenon* of the day.

Such then roughly is the use of the psalms and lessons. The actual prayers in the narrower sense of the word, which

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•79b are used in the office, are many of them very beautiful. They are often long and couched in poetic phraseology, quite different in form from the concise and regular Western Collect. Frequently they are said silently by the priest while the choir are singing their part. Thus while the reader reads the six psalms at Mattins, the priest recites the twelve morning prayers, the first three within the Altar (i.e., in Western phraseology, the Sanctuary), and the remainder outside the iconostas, facing the Royal doors. The same is true of the Seven Prayers of Light at Vespers. The following, which is said at all the hours, may be given as an example:

> "O thou who at all times and seasons in heaven and earth art worshipped and glorified, Christ our God, long-suffering, pitiful and all-compassionate, who lovest the righteous and pitiest sinners, who callest all to salvation through the gospel of thy coming kingdom, do thou, O Lord, receive our prayers at this time, and guide our lives in thy statutes. Sanctify our souls, cleanse our bodies, correct our thoughts, purify our hearts, and deliver us from all affliction, evil and pain. Defend us by thy holy angels, that, being guarded and guided by their ranks, we may come to the unity of the faith and the knowledge of thine unapproachable glory, who art blessed to ages of ages. Amen."

But the bulk of the Orthodox services consist of ecclesiastical poetry. It has been computed that poetry comprises 80 per cent of the vast contents of the service books, and it is made up for the most part of short hymns. The word "hymn" is not here used in the modern and Western sense with its implication of metre and perhaps rhyme. They are rhythmical compositions in poetical language—hymns in the sense that the *Gloria in excelsis* may be so called. A general name which covers a large number of them is *troparion* (Slavonic: *tropar*), and the Orthodox services are festooned with them, strung together with *Glorias* and broken verses from the psalms like pearls on a string. The number of different sorts of *troparia* is large and the total of all sorts must run into many thousands. The deacon Romanus, who lived about A.D. 500, is credited with the

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composition of over a thousand *kontakia*. A *kontakion* is one of those short "hymns" summing up the life of a saint or giving the gist of the occasion for which it is used. This is the *kontakion* of Easter Day: 796

> "Thou, O Immortal, thou didst descend into the tomb, yet didst thou overthrow the might of Hades, O Christ our God; and thou didst arise as Victor, saying to the Ointment-bearers—Hail! Thou didst give peace to thine Apostles, who dost cause them that are fallen to arise."

A *Theotókion* is a hymn about or addressed to Our Lady:

> "Formed wert thou to be the dwelling of light, pure and most holy Mother and Virgin, who didst give birth to Christ the King of all and the Enlightener of them that sit in darkness: whence with faith we bless thee."

A *Stavro-theotókion* is the same, but contains also a reference to the Cross:

> "Standing by the Cross of thy Son and the Son of God, and beholding his long-suffering, with tears, pure Mother, thou saidst, Woe is me! Why sufferest thou thus unjustly, my Son, Word of God, for the race of men?"

These must suffice as illustrations of the three or four dozen different varieties of *troparia*. Many of them are of great beauty. A few have been translated, put into modern dress, and become favourites in our hymn books. Thus the original of "Hail, gladdening Light" is the *troparion* which occupies in the Orthodox Vespers the position which *Magnificat* holds in the West.

> "Joyful Light of the holy glory of the Father, Immortal, Heavenly, Holy, Blessed O Jesu Christ; we, having come to the setting of the sun and beholding the evening light, hymn God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. It is meet at all times that thou shouldst be hymned with auspicious voices, Son of God, Giver of Life: wherefore the world glorifieth thee."

It has been sung at Vespers at least since the time of St. Basil.

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who ascribes it to the martyr Athenogenes, about A.D. 175. "The day is past and over", "Stars of the morning", "The Day of Resurrection", "Come, ye faithful, raise the strain", "Fierce raged the tempest", and others are all examples of modern renderings of Orthodox *troparia*.

The *troparia* have been likened to pearls on a string. One might also think of them as pieces of mosaic fitted together into an intricate pattern which can itself be picked up as a whole and placed here or there as required. Such is that very important element in Orthodox worship known as a *Kanon*, some rough and generalized description of which is necessary in even this brief survey. There are *kanons* of the great festivals, most Saints' days have their *kanons*, and some have more than one, and there are *kanons* in some of the Occasional Offices. One of the best known composers of *kanons* is St. John Damascene, another is Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople in the fifth century, and many *kanons* are of great antiquity. Their structure is as follows: three, four, five or more *troparia* (the number varies) form an *ode*, and nine *odes* make a *kanon*. But in addition to their own subject-matter the *odes* are supposed to conform to, or contain some allusion to, certain scriptural prototypes.
These are:—

(1) The Song of Israel (Exod. xv, 1–21).
(2) The Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii, 1–44).
(3) The Song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii, 1–11).
(4) The Prayer of Habakkuk (iii, 1–19).
(5) The Prayer of Isaiah (xxvi, 9–21).
(6) The Prayer of Jonah (ii, 2–10).
(7) The Prayer of the Three Children (from the Apocryphal addition to the third chapter of the Book of Daniel).
(8) The *Benedicite*.
(9) The *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*.

These scriptural *odes* are taken as covering the whole field of religious emotional experience, and whatever be the occasion for which the *kanon* is written, its *odes* are skilfully constructed to carry the mind back to the corresponding scriptural *ode*. Further, each *ode* begins with a verse called a *heirmos*, setting

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the rhythmic scheme for the following verses, and ends with a *theotokion* (see above). Various other sorts of *troparia* are inserted at fixed places as the *kanon* progresses, and after *Ode* 6 there may be a whole group of them, beginning with a *kontakion*; and even a litany and a lection. 796

The *Ectine* or Litany is another element which enters freely into the composition of Orthodox services. There are four forms of Litany used both in the Liturgy and the offices: the Great Litany, the Little Litany, the Increased Litany (so called from its triple response) and the Petitioning Litany. To these may be added the Litany of the Catechumens which belongs to the Liturgy alone, and the Litany of the Faithful Departed which is said on occasion at the Liturgy, and in the Office of the Dead. The Litanies are said by the deacon standing before the Royal gates. He holds the end of his stole in his right hand and crosses himself with it before he bows at the end of each petition. The Litany ends with an "exclamation" by the priest, which is the concluding phrases of the prayer which he has been saying secretly during the singing of the Litany. As an example the Petitioning Litany is here given (from King's translation of Vespers):

Deacon: Let us compleat our evening supplication to the Lord.
Choir: Lord, have mercy upon us.
Deacon: Protect us, save us, be merciful unto us, and preserve us by thy grace, O God.
Choir: Lord, have mercy upon us.
Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord that we may finish this evening in holiness, peace, and innocence.
Choir: Grant this, O Lord.
Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord for the angel of peace, the faithful guide and keeper of our souls and bodies.
Choir: Grant this, O Lord.
Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord for pardon and remission of our sins and offences.
Choir: Grant this, O Lord.
Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord for all things good and profitable for our souls and for the peace of the world.
Choir: Grant this, O Lord.

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•796 *Deacon:* Let us beseech the Lord that we may end the rest of our days in peace and repentance.

Choir: Grant this, O Lord.

Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord that the last period of our lives may be suitable to our Christian profession, without pain and confusion of face, that we may give a good answer at the dreadful tribunal of Christ.

Choir: Grant this, O Lord.

Deacon: In remembrance of our most holy, most pure, most blessed and glorious Lady, the Mother of God, and ever-virgin Mary, with all Saints, we commend ourselves and each other, and our whole life to Christ our God.

Choir: To thee, O Lord.

Exclamation

Priest: For thou art the blessed God, the Lover of mankind, and to thee, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, we offer our praise, now and for ever, even unto ages of ages.

Choir: Amen.

The *Trisagion* has its place at the beginning of the Daily Offices and of many other services also. In its extended form it runs as follows:

O Holy God, O Holy Mighty, O Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us (*thrice*).

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, both now and for ever, even unto ages of ages. Amen.

O Most Holy Trinity, have mercy upon us; O Lord, purify us from our sins, and forgive us our transgressions, O Lord: O Holy, look down upon us, and heal our infirmities for thy Name's sake.

Lord, have mercy upon us (*thrice*), and this is followed by the *Gloria* again, and the Lord's Prayer.[1]

One sound will be heard echoing insistently throughout

[1] For further details about the Daily Offices and a description of the Occasional Offices of the Orthodox Church, reference may be made to the writer's article in *Liturgy and Worship* (S.P.C.K., 1932), upon which most of the foregoing is based.

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Orthodox worship, and that is the praise of the Mother of God. The poetic language of the "hymns", the discursiveness of the phraseology and the repetitions alike lend themselves to the expressing of a devotion which seems, at times, to have no bounds. The *Theotókos*, the God-bearer in her purity, her humility and the glory of her destiny is a theme of which Orthodox worship never tires. Thought and language are ransacked to add to the profusion of epithets and titles of honour which are showered upon her to stress the faith of the Orthodox in the basic truth of Christianity, the Incarnation of the Son of God. It reaches its climax in the Akathist Hymn[1] which is sung either in part or wholly once a week during the first five weeks of Lent. It is the most celebrated poetic achievement of the Byzantine Church and was traditionally attributed to the Patriarch Sergius, who was said to have composed it in thanksgiving for the miraculous deliverance of the City in A.D. 626 (see p. 41) by the protective action of Our Lady. The attribution may not be able to bear the searchlight of historical criticism, but that matters little. The Akathist hymn still expresses at its highest that disinterested and exuberant praise of her who gave human birth to the child Who was God, which from early times has been woven into the very texture of Orthodox worship.

[1] An English translation was published by the St. Dominic Press in 1934.

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781 the machine, to the worker in the fields, to the housewife and the mother who teaches her children the Orthodox faith?

All generalizations are perilous and break down somewhere. There are marked differences between Greek and Slav, and again within the Slavs themselves. For instance, the Southern Slavs have perhaps never been the enthusiastic churchgoers that their cousins the Russians have been.

If we ask in what manner a man is conscious of his religion we shall get different answers. In some religions he is conscious of it in terms of fear. The Western man or woman is probably aware of it primarily in terms of duty, of the claims it makes upon him in respect of conduct. I am talking about its primary impact and his immediate response, if he makes any. Doubtless many other things follow.

But one might perhaps risk the assertion that the Orthodox are conscious of their religion primarily in terms of the reality of the unseen world and the permeation of this world by the other. Orthodoxy is meeting, the meeting of two worlds, the contact of the material and the spiritual and even the penetration of the material by the spiritual.

When the Greek stands in Church, this is what he is aware of and here he finds it symbolized. The space where he stands, before the Iconostas, is this world, behind the Iconostas, is the other world. There they meet and there, as he makes his communion, they meet again not in symbol but in fact, in his own person. The icon which he salutes in reverence, he looks not at, but through, for it is (among other things) a window opening upon the spiritual world.

All this is because God Himself came from the heavenly world and entered the earthly, and what is more, stayed in it. The faith, the doctrinal statements to which all alike, both clergy and laity, adhere so passionately, are but the safeguarding shrine of this commanding truth and all that it implies.

781 This explains the central position which Easter occupies in the spiritual life of Orthodoxy. The Great Service takes
• 796 place at midnight and it has been frequently described. It is preceded by a procession outside the Church, which represents a fruitless search for the body of Christ. Then follow the joyful announcement "Christ is Risen", and the Easter Liturgy

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to which succeed domestic rejoicings which may last most of the night. For Christ has plunged into the abysses of this world and deeper still, to return with the new life of restorative power which shall claim not only the hearts of men but the whole cosmos for light and truth. Fedotov[1] draws attention to the figure of Cosmos in Greek icons which represent the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The Apostles are grouped around Our Lady in the upper room and the flickering tongues of fire play upon the head of each, and there is another figure in the picture who also shares in the out-pouring of the Spirit. It is "King Cosmos", a crowned and bearded man who is apparently coming up from below, out of the earth.

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But it is expressed and preserved in other more homely and intimate ways, and the Church's touch upon Nature is repeated as the year unfolds. New mown hay, just as it is with the flowers that fell with it, is brought in armfuls and strewn on the floor of the church at Whitsuntide, for Pentecost was one of the first of Harvest Festivals. On the Feast of the Transfiguration which means much for Orthodoxy, grapes are blessed and distributed. "As the water is changed by Nature into the blood of the grape," a Serb said to me, "so by a higher power the blood of the grape is changed into the Blood of Christ." Once more that world penetrates this to transfigure and enrich it.

A ceremony to which enthusiastic crowds always flock, and which may be seen in any Orthodox land from the Jordan to the Neva, is the Blessing of the Waters at the Epiphany. It commemorates the Baptism of Christ, but as it has spread from Palestine into the rest of the Orthodox world, so it has widened its significance to include the touch of the other world upon the waters which give life and fruitfulness to the earth. And a charming ceremony it is, best seen perhaps in the cold countries where at that season of the year the rivers are frozen. There great blocks of ice are cut out of the surface, and from them an altar is built, the cross upon which is also fashioned from ice. The vested clergy and their attendants are grouped around and with them the crowds of worshippers and sightseers.

[1] Fedotov: *The Russian Religious Mind*, Harvard, 1946, p. 369.

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781 The waters are blessed by dipping the cross into them with the
796 appropriate prayers. At the Jordan, multitudes of the excited people plunge into the newly blessed river, and even in cold climates there are hardy enthusiasts who will leap through the hole in the ice.[1]

781 All this and much more is the happy side of the realization that the unseen world of light and life enters into this other dark gross world of sin and suffering. But there is another aspect of it which finds expression in what is a characteristic cry of Orthodoxy—"*Lord have mercy.*"

Toynbee has written[2] that one element in Russia's inheritance from Byzantium is the conviction that Byzantium, and then Russia is always right. In matters of State policy, both secular and ecclesiastical, this may well be so. But there is a sense in which the Orthodox has the conviction that he is always wrong. Not only is he aware of his failures and shortcomings in his relations with his fellows, but he expresses it. A Russian in saying "good-bye" to a friend may use a word which equally well means "forgive". If he is a devout person, he may seek his acquaintances and ask their forgiveness, not necessarily with any specific wrongdoing in his mind, on solemn occasions, as, for instance, when he intends to make his communion. A vivid sense of man's need of the divine compassion of forgiveness is woven into the very fabric of Orthodox religion. The words "Lord have mercy" are constantly on the lips of the Orthodox and they are repeated, over and over again in the course of worship.

781 The scene may be in a cathedral church on September 14,
796 the Festival of the Exaltation of the Cross. A platform has been erected in the centre of the church, and upon this a group of men stand. They hold in their hands a huge and resplendent cross. Very slowly, by almost imperceptible degrees they raise it, holding it in a vertical position, and lifting it higher and higher, until they can reach no further. The cross remains for a moment, poised at its highest elevation, above the heads of the bearers, above the watching eyes of the

[1] In Greece a cross is thrown into the sea with a ribbon attached by which it is retrieved. In town churches the ceremony of blessing the water may take place at the font.

[2] *Civilization on Trial*, p. 164 ff., Oxford, 1948.

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vast multitude of worshippers who throng the church on all sides. Then with the same slow deliberation it is gradually lowered again to the ground. During this action a choir is singing, and many of the congregation whispering—"Lord have mercy"—just that one phrase over and over again, beginning softly on a very low note and rising in pitch and increasing in volume until the cross is at its maximum height, when the whole building reverberates with the reiterated appeal which slowly dies away again as the cross descends. Then the whole action is repeated to the same accompaniment, and more than once. The number of repetitions must run into hundreds. To many Western minds they will doubtless appear "vain repetitions". But the look on the faces of the worshippers will perhaps give pause to the expression of any such sentiment. The dramatic action expresses something very deeply implanted in the religious consciousness of the Orthodox, the feeling of human unworthiness and its need of the divine compassion, the sense of being imprisoned in the dark and crude elements of this world and the appeal for light and liberation.

Closely allied to it is the awareness of a positive value in suffering and humility, even of humiliation. One meets many members of the Orthodox Church whom political events and recent decades have reduced from riches to poverty or from a reasonable degree of material comfort to almost none at all. But very rarely indeed is there any sign of bitterness and resentment in their reaction. The vivid awareness of the other world does much to soften the asperities of this, and that unseen world is peopled by those who have suffered, it is ruled by the Christ Who humbled Himself.

Another scene may illustrate this, the ceremony of the Feet-washing on Maundy Thursday—which again will pack the church to the doors and beyond. A large dais has been erected in the centre and on it are twelve seats in two rows facing each other. Upon each seat is a bishop fully vested. At a certain point in the service, the chief bishop present, who has been conducting it, lays aside his episcopal vestments, girds himself with a towel and takes a basin and water. He ascends the dais and goes to each of the seated bishops in turn,

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781 kneels in front of him, removes his foot-gear first from one foot, then from the other, and washes and dries his feet. He 796 replaces the socks and shoes and passes on to the next. When he comes to the one who represents St. Peter, the latter makes the protest recorded in St. John's Gospel and his reluctance has to be overborne before his feet are washed. Finally the officiant resumes his vestments and the main service continues its course. How long does all this take? It does not matter, no one minds or even notices how long. It is all done in absolute silence. All that is audible is the breathing of one's immediate neighbours among the tense crowd of worshippers.

781 Here too is something particularly real to the Orthodox spirit which is an echo of individual experience, or at least of individual aspiration constantly known. Humiliation may even be sought after from religious motives, and exceptionally this may take oddly extreme forms. The bizarre and well-nigh incredible figure whom the Russians call "Yurodivi", which may be translated the "Fool for Christ's sake"[1] could only be found within the Eastern Orthodox world. He may be really deficient mentally, and as such, in the Russian view, under the special protection of God. He may also be the man who in pursuit of humility and in praise of it deliberately assumed a character of foolishness, and courted the jeers of those he met, inviting their mockery as he roamed from village to village—a fantastic figure, but one who has his meed of reverence too, for the grace that he seeks is loved.

771 The Orthodox has more to remind him of the unseen world than those who dwell in lands in which religion assumes forms that are more austere. Though for centuries under Turkish rule he was deprived of such outward signs of religion, so that at times he was wont to build his church half buried in the ground to aid concealment, yet with the return of freedom he set up his shrines at street corners and along the wayside. Icons are not confined to the churches, they are to be found in the houses, in every room of a devout household. The living-room will have an icon in a position stereotyped by custom, and a visitor will salute it on entering as he greets his host. Especially in Russia of pre-revolution days, icons were

[1] See 1 Corinthians iv, 10.

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to be seen everywhere, at the railway stations, in the shops, in prisons and barracks and all sorts of public buildings. 771

A further reminder is provided by events in the yearly round marked by the Church Kalendar. This has perhaps a more intimate touch upon the lives of Orthodox people, so many of whom are peasants for whom the festivals of the Church are closely associated with the recurrent seasons in Nature and with agricultural work. 771 796

The Orthodox Kalendar is in its framework the same as the Western. That is to say it is built up around the Great Festivals which are common to the whole of Christendom, Easter being the chief of all. But there is no Trinity Sunday, the first Sunday after Whitsuntide is used by the Orthodox for the commemoration of All Saints. Thereafter the Sundays are counted after Whit Sunday. In the course of the year many of the Sundays are given names, e.g., the first Sunday after Easter is known as the Sunday of St. Thomas, and in general the names are derived from the Gospel appointed for the day. The first Sunday in Lent is Orthodox Sunday (see p. 54) when blessings are invoked upon the champions of Orthodoxy and anathemas upon its foes. There is no season of Advent. 796

Every day is marked as the commemoration of a saint, and sometimes of more than one. Here differences will be found in various parts of the Orthodox world owing to the introduction of the names of local saints, and the differences from the West are remarkable. The Orthodox Kalendar contains the names of most of the Old Testament Prophets and Patriarchs and almost none of the Western saints find a place in it. If it is compared with the English Kalendar it will be found that practically none of the minor saints belong to both Kalendars. An outstanding exception is St. George on April 23, who is highly venerated in the East as the Great Martyr.

The times of fasting prescribed by the Orthodox Church are more frequent than in any part of the West. In addition to Lent, which begins in the East on the Monday after Quinquagesima, and is known as the Great Lent, another fasting period is the first fortnight of August, another is the six weeks before Christmas, and there is still another of varying length 785 796

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785 between the octave of Whit Sunday and June 29, the festival of St. Peter and Paul.

796 Even outside these periods there are many days upon which the Orthodox faithful are expected to use only abstinence food, including, with a few exceptions, all Wednesdays and Fridays.

786 Furthermore, fasting itself is a much more rigorous affair among the Orthodox than it is in the West. It involves abstinence from any food of animal origin including fish, milk, eggs and butter. Indeed, the strict observer is left with little but bread, fruit and vegetables.

The extent to which this formidable programme is actually carried out is difficult to estimate. Doubtless like other observances of religion it has less hold upon people than it had, and town dwellers sit more lightly to it than the peasantry. Nevertheless, the Orthodox probably fulfil their obligation in this respect to an extent which would surprise the easy-going Westerner. Many of the devout are strict about it, and those who practise their religion at all will observe at least the first and last few days of the prescribed periods of fasting.

To the Orthodox, religion is very much concerned with this world as well as with the next, and fasting is of importance not only as a discipline of the human will. It expresses also the impact of the spiritual upon the material, the control of the world which is seen, by the power of the unseen world. It plays its part in causing the material to serve spiritual ends, and thus the human will shares in the process of rescuing and restoring the fallen world of Nature.

793 The clergy are a visible link between the two worlds. The parish priest with his flowing cassock and unshorn hair stands apart. He is and is seen to be distinct from other men. He is a reminder of the unseen spiritual world in which both he and his flock are living even while they live in the day-to-day world of material things, and his ministrations apply the power of the spirit to daily life.

Yet if he stands apart, he does not stand aloof. The parochial clergy throughout the Orthodox East are required to be married men. But they must marry before they are ordained. Once they are ordained marriage is forbidden them.

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III

Conversion and Religious Divisions

175* While conversion to Christianity was an inevitable phase of
186 the process by which the Slavs were drawn into the general
797 movement of European civilization, it was by no means an unmixed blessing. When Slavic tribes had evolved to some semblance of national consciousness and even statehood, or were sufficiently remote from the center where religious influence was exempt from political pressure, they were able to retain their independence and to follow a characteristic course of development. But if they lived on the periphery of a powerful and aggressive Christian state, their political independence was frequently threatened, and if this state cherished colonial aims, the convert Slavs were very likely to face the choice between assimilation and enslavement, or, at the very worst, complete extermination.

797* The section of the medieval church which brought about the
795 conversion was also a factor of durable historical weight. The
178 Western Church was devoted to the tradition of Latin culture.
779 It insisted on the celebration of the Mass in the hallowed
191 language of the Church. Hence it evinced little concern for the creation of any vernacular culture. Though not possessed of
175* the same vitality, the Eastern Church soon found that it could evangelize the various pagans on the long Byzantine frontier more effectively if it allowed them to use their native languages

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in the service. Hence, though much of early south or east Slavic literature is either translated or imitated, the fact remains that the Slavs under Byzantine intellectual and religious influence developed significant national cultures much more rapidly than those under the domination of Rome. That these cultures, after a brilliant initial spurt, were later retarded and even brought to a halt which lasted several centuries is due, not to the source of conversion itself, but to historical accidents which supervened after conversion took place. Had not the Eastern and the Southern Slavs fallen victims, in one case to Tartar invasion and in the other to Turkish conquest, their intellectual lag in comparison with the rest of Europe would not have been so great. The Russians, for example, were completely deprived of all Western stimulation after the middle of the thirteenth century and nearly three hundred years elapsed before they entered upon the difficult process of assimilating the Western culture which had developed during that long and critical interval. The South Slavs, on the other hand, shook off the Turkish yoke only within the last century and thus were even more handicapped than the Russians in their struggle to catch up with the modern world.

Of all the Slavs, the Slovenes in Carinthia and Carniola were the first to encounter missionary activities. Early in the seventh century, they had been temporarily combined with Czechs and Sorbs north of the Danube in the semilegendary kingdom under Samo, who led them victoriously against the Avars and simultaneously offered a temporary barrier to Frankish expansion southward. During his declining years in Switzerland, Saint Columban, the great Irish missionary, had thought, as early as 612, of setting out from Bregenz on a mission to the nearest Slavs, but, finding the task too difficult for his advanced age (he was already sixty-nine), he retired to Italy and ended his days at Bobbio.

After Samo disappeared from the scene and his realm was dissolved, the Slovenes were unable to withstand the Avars, who soon held the Danube as far as the Enns. The Slovenes

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797 then applied for aid to the Bavarians. The latter beat off the Avars, but in 750 also seized control of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. Then, in 788, when Charlemagne deposed Duke Tassilo of Bavaria, all Bavarian dependencies fell under the sway of the Carolingian realm. Even before this date, some of the local Slovene nobility had been converted to Christianity and consequently intermarried with Bavarian families. A number of churches had thus been founded in this area by missionaries from Salzburg, and a considerable proportion of the local Slovene population had also been Christianized before the epoch of Carolingian sovereignty.

797 When this sovereignty became established, missionary activities were intensified. During the reign of Charlemagne there were two centers from which missionary activity reached the Slovenes: the archbishopric of Salzburg and the patriarchate of Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic. The former soon took the lead, and after Charlemagne defeated and dispersed the Avars in 796, the area between the Danube and the Theiss which they evacuated was added to the diocese of Salzburg. Bavarian missionaries accompanied German colonists into this district, where the new Slavic occupants were rapidly converted and Germanized, especially as the Slavic landlords were rapidly eliminated. The first bishop regularly assigned to the Slovenes was Deodoricus, ordained at Salzburg in 799. His diocese extended to the river Drave, which was the dividing line between the sees of Salzburg and Aquileia.

Similar missionary activity was also set in motion among the neighboring Croats south and east of the Slovenes. As the power of the Byzantine empire declined, the Frankish power gradually extended to the Slavs of the Adriatic coastline, so that the Dalmatian Croats were subject to the Franks from 803, and Frankish authority was but little impaired by the revolt of the Croat prince Lyudevit against Louis the Pious from 819 to 822. A few years later, for political reasons, an inland Croat district headed by Margrave Pribina, a Frankish feudatory with his headquarters in Pannonia near Lake Bala-

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ton, experienced a period of intense missionary activity stimulated by its chief. Pribina thus entered into the good graces of King Louis the German, and in 850 the archbishop of Salzburg consecrated the first Christian church in Pribina's dominions at Mosaburg, on Lake Balaton. Since fully half the notables present on this occasion bore German names, it is clear how intense German immigration had been and how far the policy of Germanization pursued by the Bavarian missionaries had proceeded. Within fifteen years Pribina's territory contained more than thirty-two churches and many monasteries. On the other hand, conversion and colonization also contributed to diminishing the area occupied by pure Slavic populations, and the rapid contraction of Slovene and Croat territory southward from the Danube is due primarily to this process.

797 175*

After the dissolution of Samo's kingdom about 650, the Western Slavs in modern Czechoslovak territory played no role in history until Charlemagne's campaigns against the Avars one hundred forty years later. On these campaigns the emperor's troops passed through Bohemia, and since the pagan Slavs of this area threatened the flank of the empire, they were subjected to Frankish attacks after the year 800. Louis the Pious already possessed numerous Bohemian vassals, and in 845 fourteen Czech chieftains appeared in Regensburg at the court of Louis the German to request baptism. Somewhat further eastward, the kindred Moravians were united under one prince, Mojmir, who, though still a pagan, was also a vassal of Louis the German and thus did not oppose the operations of missionaries from Regensburg and Passau.

797 721 775*

When Mojmir died in 845, Louis chose as the prince's successor the latter's nephew Rostislav, whom he regarded as stupid and who, he hoped, would be grateful for this elevation. Rostislav proved to be neither. Not only did he pursue Mojmir's consolidation tactics, but, while letting his allies, the disunited Czech tribes, fight against the Franks, he still maintained outward loyalty to Louis and actively promoted a policy

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797 721 175* of Christianization, hoping that a common faith would eventually combine all neighboring Slavic tribes under his sway. This ingenious policy soon worried Louis to the point where he sent a Bavarian force against Rostislav in 855, at the same time detailing another detachment to prevent the Czechs from helping him. This punitive expedition was a failure. Rostislav chased the Bavarians out of his territory and became virtually independent. The next few years were too full of complications in the west to allow Louis the luxury of reprisals against Rostislav, who extended his sway along the Danube at the expense of the disorganized Avars, and finally, in 860, deposed the Croat Prince Pribina in favor of the latter's son Kotzel. Since Pribina was loyal to Louis the German, this exploit was carried out under the pretext of making common cause with Louis' rebellious son Carloman, margrave of the Ostmark, who hoped to gain the empire with Slavic support.

797 643 175* In any case, Rostislav was at this juncture the independent chief of a large group of Slavic tribes, not only in Moravia but also south of the Danube. He could not be certain that Carloman, if successful, would deal any more gently with him than did Louis the German. Rostislav's expansion along the Danube had brought him into direct touch with the Bulgarians who, under the Khagan Krum before 814 and his successor Omurtag thereafter, had become a pagan state important enough to maintain diplomatic relations with both Franks and Byzantines. The Bulgarians supported Louis the German against Carloman, and Boris, their prince since 852, was now toying with the possibility of accepting conversion from Byzantium. Rostislav himself had succeeded reasonably well with the political emancipation of his countrymen. What more natural than that he should also seek their religious autonomy by creating a clergy who could use the vernacular, and would perhaps wield the book more efficiently than the sword? For the priests and monks from Salzburg and Passau were at least as good soldiers as they were clerics—the church militant in person.

Rostislav thus seems to have thought of Slavic-speaking mis-

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sionaries as early as 860. There is good evidence that he first applied to Rome in vain. After this failure, he turned to Constantinople, with enormous consequences for the future of Slavic civilization, not so much in his own domains, but throughout eastern Europe and the Balkans. Confronted, after the defeat of Carloman, by a new alliance between Louis the German and Boris of Bulgaria, Rostislav was now so placed that any political contact with the Greek empire, such as might result from closer religious affiliations, could be regarded only as eminently desirable insurance.

A Moravian mission sent by Rostislav reached Constantinople toward the end of 862 and stayed there the rest of the winter. The Eastern empire had been ruled since 843 by Michael III, picturesquely nicknamed the Drunkard despite his military and administrative ability. The chief ecclesiastical and intellectual light of Byzantium in his day was the patriarch Photius, who had held this post since 858. From a political standpoint, the mission was successful. Boris of Bulgaria was detached from his alliance with Louis the German. But the religious results of the mission were even more striking.

At Salonika, in the ninth century the center of an area largely populated by Slavs, there was stationed a Greek *drungarios* or battalion commander of noble birth by the name of Leo. He had two sons, Constantine and Methodius. Constantine had enjoyed a liberal education, studied under Photius himself, and became a professor of philosophy, but later gave up a brilliant scholarly career for monastic orders. He was eventually sent upon a missionary journey to the Khazars, on which he was accompanied by his elder brother Methodius. Likewise well-educated, Methodius had already held the post of district governor in a Slavic-speaking area not far from Salonika, but had abandoned the civil service to become a monk on Mount Athos, which he left only for the mission to Khazaria. The two brothers returned to Constantinople from this mission late in 861, about a year before Rostislav's envoys reached there. Constantine retired to private life, while Me-

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175* thodius became abbot of the monastery of Polychron, in the vicinity of Mount Olympus.

175* 212 The two brothers were recalled from their retirement by Michael III when Rostislav's mission asked for Slavic-speaking priests. Constantine in particular had demonstrated considerable linguistic talent on his mission to Khazaria, where he had learned Hebrew, and it is certain that both brothers spoke the Bulgarian dialect which prevailed in the environs of their native city. Upon accepting the mission, and before proceeding to Moravia, Constantine invented a Slavic alphabet, and translated into the Slavic dialect he knew a selection of passages from the Gospels. [779]

This translation is the beginning of all Slavic literature, but the nature of the alphabet invented by Constantine is questionable. We have, as it happens, two early Slavic alphabets, the so-called Glagolitic, somewhat enigmatic in origin, and the Cyrillic, which is a combination of the Greek and Latin alphabets with some additions for specifically Slavic sounds. This latter is the ancestor of the modern Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian scripts. On account of the difficulty of the Glagolitic, it was later supplanted in Bulgaria by the Cyrillic, which is relatively close to the Greek. On purely psychological grounds, but in utter disagreement with many much more authoritative teachers and colleagues, I believe that the priority belongs to Cyrillic, since Constantine would (I assume), if only for reasons of convenience, have used an alphabet as close as possible to the one with which he was most familiar. Then later in Moravia, when he found that the German clergy viewed with suspicion and hostility everything Greek, I believe that he devised the tricky and crabbed Glagolitic, which does not resemble Greek script at all, to disarm his opponents. [538]

175* 797 796 795 Accompanied by a few Greek priests who also knew Slavic, Constantine and Methodius arrived in Moravia during the spring of 863. They were well received by Prince Rostislav,

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though the local clergy from Passau and Regensburg viewed them as dangerous rivals, for these Greeks were scholars and men of action who had the advantage of speaking the local language. At first they celebrated Mass in Greek, which was as incomprehensible to the masses as the Latin of the Frankish clergy. Constantine then hastened to translate the whole service, which only added to the resentment of their competitors, despite the fact that he actually translated not the Byzantine ritual but the Latin missal. In Western eyes this was a drastic and unparalleled innovation. Whatever Rostislav's good intentions were, he was not for long in a position to support the Greeks wholeheartedly, for in the autumn of 864 he had been attacked and once more reduced to vassalage by Louis the German. Yet the mission prospered to the point where the problem of ordaining new priests presented itself. Constantine even made a visit to the son of Pribina, Prince Kotzel, on Lake Balaton, who became an enthusiastic admirer of the brothers' work and confided fifty young men to him for training.

Since it was obviously undesirable, if not impossible, for Constantine and Methodius to have their disciples ordained by the bishops of Passau or Salzburg, they decided, after three years of missionary activity, to journey to Rome, where they could obtain the endorsement of Pope Nicholas I. The brothers were by no means hostile to the Pope; on the contrary, in common with numerous other Byzantine ecclesiastics of their day, they regarded the Bishop of Rome not only as the patriarch of the West but also as the supreme head of the Church. News of their arrival in Venice inspired a special invitation from Pope Nicholas to wait upon him, but before they left Venice he died in November 867 and was succeeded a month later by Adrian II. Though the Frankish opposition to the Slavic liturgy had been transmitted to the Roman clergy, Adrian ordered the ordination of the candidates whom Constantine and Methodius presented, and authorized the use of the Slavic liturgy. Constantine survived his triumph but a few

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Pope Adrian that he even knew him, but after Adrian's death in 872, his successor John VIII sent a special legate to Louis the German with orders suspending two of the offending bishops and directing the primate of Salzburg to release Methodius and to install him in his proper diocese. Unfortunately, however, John was obliged to placate the Germans, and compromised to the extent of forbidding Methodius the use of the Slavic liturgy, though he permitted preaching in the vernacular. 175* 795 796

Since 867 events had moved rapidly in Constantinople itself. Basil I, the bold and able successor of Michael III, whom he had murdered, revived the Byzantine navy, drove the Arabs from the Adriatic, and gradually reëstablished Greek ascendancy over the Croat tribes of the shoreline, who maintained their independence from the Frankish yoke that weighed upon their inland kindred, and therefore for the moment gravitated toward Byzantium. Basil thus secured not only the submission of the Serbs and the coastal tribes as far as Dalmatia, but also sent missionaries to baptize any remaining pagans. Dalmatia was then subjected in 878, and more missionaries accompanied the new Greek administration. Since the Bulgarians had been affiliated with Constantinople since 870, this date represents the high watermark of Byzantine influence in the Balkans. In 879, however, the Grecophile Croat princes were opposed by a revolt which brought the Dalmatian coastal area once more into the Roman sphere. This development defined the future limits of Byzantine influence. It remained dominant in Serbia and on the Croat coast as far as Dalmatia, as well as among the Slavs in Bulgaria, Thrace, and the Greek peninsula. 175*

In connection with the Serbs, we should note here that the faith reached them from two directions. The territory south of Pannonia and west of the Balkan Morava River, which joins the Danube east of Belgrade, was evangelized by Roman priests from the coast as early as the eighth century. On the other hand, the conversion of the Slavs in western Macedonia, 175* 797

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175* whether Bulgarians or Serbs, proceeded from Salonika at ap-
797 proximately the same time, but was most intense during the reign of Basil I.

175* Methodius had not obeyed the Pope's injunction to abandon
796 the Slavic liturgy but, when summoned to Rome in 879 to ex-
795 plain his position, was again victorious on even this point.
798 John VIII, however, endeavored to conciliate Svatopluk, who had never been personally sympathetic toward Methodius, by naming as the latter's suffragan the Prince's favorite priest, one Wiching, who immediately took the side of the Frankish clergy and blocked Methodius at every turn. The Archbishop eventually decided to shift his activities further south, and in 881 set forth on a journey toward the valleys of the Drave and the Save, where he received an invitation from Basil I to visit Constantinople. The Patriarch Photius was, after all, an old friend, and the Emperor himself was well-informed of Methodius's activities in a frontier area not entirely alien to Greek interests.

Upon his return to his diocese Methodius at first concentrated his efforts on translating additional canonical books and ecclesiastical texts. Unfortunately for his pastoral work, however, John VIII was poisoned in 882, and under Stephen V hostile exchanges between Rome and Byzantium were resumed. Methodius himself died in April, 885, after designating as his successor Gorazd, his most capable disciple. Wiching, Methodius's old enemy, straightway renewed his intrigues and had no trouble in securing the favorable ear of a pope already irritated against Byzantium. Stephen V abandoned the Slavic liturgy altogether, Wiching's partisans secured the eternal exile of Gorazd and the other disciples of Methodius, and thus the work of twenty years in Moravia was wiped out.

175* After the decision of Prince Boris of Bulgaria to accept con-
795 version in 862, the next twenty years were marked by fruitless papal attempts to gain control of the Bulgarian church. In 870, indeed, the Eighth Oecumenical Council, under the influence of Basil I, had formally decided that the Bulgarian church was subject to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and

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175* fortunes, not only threw off even the vestiges of a Byzantine
795 protectorate but also extended its domain far into Serbia. During this interval Clement's activity greatly expanded. He founded the great monastery of Saint Panteleimon at Okhrida, and on Simeon's accession he was consecrated a bishop. The legacy of Constantine and Methodius was thus preserved in all its wealth, to the great advantage of Bulgaria, which thus became a purely Slavic country with an autonomous church. Simeon was accordingly able to realize his father's ambition of proclaiming a Bulgarian patriarchate.

175* Obviously the roots of the culture disseminated by the Bul-
795 garian church, however nationalistic, were essentially Byzan-
538 tine. Though a Slav by birth, Clement himself had been trained
779 by Greek masters, and Simeon too was culturally so Hellenized as to be nicknamed the "half-Greek." Hence the literary productions of the Macedonian schools founded by Clement and his associates were, if not mere translations, usually slavish imitations of Greek texts. Simeon himself composed an anthology of texts compiled from Greek theologians. Though the influence of Byzantine letters during this epoch was limited to the theological and the liturgical sphere, it is of relatively enormous significance that at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth the Old Bulgarian language was being adopted for literary purposes under Greek influence, and that a large body of Slavic-speaking priests was being created who were capable of transmitting at least the ecclesiastical
•[797] aspects of Greek culture in their own tongue. The mission of Constantine and Methodius thus bore fruit, not on the ground they themselves sowed, but on territory closer to Byzantium, so that the results of what their disciples accomplished in Bulgaria could be easily drawn upon seventy-five years later when a much more extensive field was opened with the conversion of the south Russian principality of Kiev.

175* At the same time, the Slavic liturgy which had been pro-
795 scribed in Moravia was also transmitted through Pannonia
797 into Croatia, but in general the popes saw no reason to use it

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as an instrument once Byzantine encroachments were no longer feared, especially since the local bishops were liable to Roman influence, and the Slavic princes themselves were anxious to placate the romance-speaking populations of the wealthy coastal cities. But with the exception of Croatia, the work of Constantine and Methodius brought all the South Slavs and later the Eastern Slavs under the cultural aegis of Byzantium.

The Slovenes, the Czechs, and the Moravians had fallen, as we have seen, to the lot of Rome. While the Slovenes, by withdrawing southward from the Danube, were able to escape total absorption by the Germans, their Slavic kindred on the Baltic coast and in the interior of Germany faced infinitely more critical circumstances. The Saxon clergy were eager for landed possessions, and the easiest way to obtain them was by evangelizing the Transelbian Slavs, whose conversion would also pour tithes into their coffers. German expansion at the expense of the Western Slavs was most drastically pursued during the reign of Otto I (936-973). Beyond the Elbe a swarm of bishoprics arose, half houses of God, half fortresses. The Slavs became tributary as far as the Oder. They retained their landed possessions, but all unoccupied land was transferred from the Slavic chiefs to the German crown. Royal vassals were placed in the tribal centers to operate the administration, and bishoprics were established along the eastern border. Forcible conversion of the Slavic natives became the order of the day. Narrow as their margin of living was, the Slavic peasants were driven to rigorous abstention from labor on the numerous saints' days. The spiritual content of their conversion was actually so slight at this period that it is actually recorded how the Slavic peasants who were laboriously taught to say *Kyrie eleison* in the right places sullenly parroted it with like-sounding Slavic words which mean "in a crooked alder-bush." Indeed, the avarice and oppression of both clergy and nobles provoked violent outbreaks of resentment among the Transelbian Slavs in 982, 1018, and 1066, which cost many German lives and threw the colonizers back across the Elbe, so that it was not until the middle

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of the twelfth century that German domination was reëstablished between the Elbe and the Oder.

The beginnings of the Polish state fall, as it happens, within the period characterized by German pressure on the Baltic Slavs during the reign of Otto I. About 963 the pagan Polish prince Mieszko I ruled over a realm east of the Oder and south of Pomerania and modern East Prussia, which included the middle and upper Vistula basin, stretching further southward to the Czech border at the Sudetens, and comprising most of Volhynia. The German Margrave Gero, whose territory included a good part of modern Saxony, subjugated the Slavic Lusatians (Liticians) and Milchanians of the upper Spree valley. These tribes extended eastward to the Oder and the Bober, and were thus in close contact with the western Polish peoples. At the same time, German penetration threatened Silesia southwest of the upper Oder, and in 979 the Margrave Odo even endeavored to force Mieszko to pay tribute on the area between the Oder and the War—the rivers (that is, roughly, between Frankfurt-Glogau and Posen). This expedition resulted in a German defeat, but the German menace had already induced Mieszko to improve his standing by affiliating himself with a Christian reigning family and to embrace the faith himself.

In spite of his previous record of polygamy, he married Dubravka (Bona), sister of the Czech prince Boleslav I, in 966, and was converted. The Polish bishopric of Posen was founded in 968. It was subject to the archdiocese of Magdeburg, and its first encumbent was a German cleric. Mieszko then made his submission to Otto in Quedlinburg on Easter Day, 973. After Otto I's death, German relations with Poland were more or less in abeyance until 984. Meanwhile Dubravka had died in 977, whereupon Mieszko married Oda, previously a nun, the daughter of the Margrave Thiedrich. Mieszko himself died in 992 as a faithful vassal of Otto III. His son and successor, Boleslav the Brave, maintained the same policy with such success that he won the respect of both Otto III and Pope Sylvester II

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tact with the Poles, and among his concubines were several Christian girls of either Greek or Slavic blood. He was not without interest in religion as such, having staged a sort of pagan revival in Kiev at the opening of his reign. There is some likelihood that frequent exchanges with Byzantium had caused him to entertain the idea of conversion before 987, but in that year an unusual combination of circumstances pushed him toward a decision.

John Tzimisces, one of the greatest of Byzantine generals and victor over Vladimir's father Sviatoslav in Bulgaria, had died in 976 after reigning as emperor of Byzantium for six years. He was succeeded on the throne by two youthful sovereigns, Basil II and Constantine. Since their prestige was slight, their authority was almost immediately menaced by a military revolt, the leader of which even occupied Scutari, opposite Constantinople. As soon as the revolt broke out, Basil entered into correspondence with Vladimir in the hope of winning an alliance and auxiliary troops. Vladimir was disinclined to furnish this aid without commensurate reward, and coupled with his assent the condition that the emperors should give him their sister Anna in marriage. Up to this point Byzantine sovereigns had normally been chary of marrying their female relations to alien princes. Constantine Porphyrogenitus had laid down the principle twenty-five years before that no Byzantine princess should marry a foreign potentate unless he were baptized. The German emperor Otto I had vainly negotiated in behalf of his son for the hand of the emperors' sister whom Vladimir now sought. But the situation of the empire was too critical to brook long delay, and the emperors consented to the marriage provided Vladimir would accept conversion.

The Prince of Kiev then supplied six thousand troops who helped to repress the rebellion during the summer of 988. But once the fortunes of the emperors began to rise, they showed manifest reluctance to execute the part of the bargain which concerned the Princess Anna. Vladimir, for his part, had taken this stipulation very seriously and intended it should be en-

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forced. So while his troops were still assisting the Byzantines during the summer of 989, he besieged and captured the Greek city of Chersonesus on the western Crimean coast about three miles south of modern Sevastopol, after which he sent envoys to Constantinople with the warning that if the princess were not sent to meet him he would attack the capital. Basil and Constantine were thus induced to carry out their share of the contract, and Anna departed tearfully with a numerous suite for Chersonesus, where Vladimir's baptism and his marriage were duly solemnized.

After restoring Chersonesus to the Greeks, Vladimir returned to Kiev accompanied by the priests in Anna's entourage, and there proceeded to convert his subjects with the same forthright energy he showed in other crises. He caused the local idols to be overthrown, and the local population was subjected to wholesale baptism in the Dnieper river which flows past the city. As conversion progressed, the principate was divided into eight eparchies, each under a bishop. During the next century, however, Christianity spread rather slowly, as is indicated by outbreaks of paganism fifty and even eighty years later under the leadership of local shamans.

The conversion of the masses was to some extent accelerated by a facile syncretism which assimilated the figures of Christian belief to the chief dieties of the rudimentary pagan Slavic cult. Perun the thunderer was identified with the prophet Elijah in his chariot of fire, and it was also an easy step from belief in Svarog, the god of fire, and in his son Dazhbog, the life-giving solar orb, to an elementary conception of Almighty God the Father and the Son, the light of the world and of truth. The pagan Slavs' conceptions of an omnipotent multitude of benign or hostile supernatural beings were satisfied by the Christian notions of the Virgin, of saints, and of devils. Conversion also provided the upper classes with a general basic philosophy or *Weltanschaung* and with abundant ritual answers to their common human speculations. It likewise endowed them with an ideal of conduct which, though hardly

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175* attained by every individual, nevertheless produced some ad-
●797 mirable characters among early medieval churchmen and lay-
771 men.

175* The sources from which Vladimir drew his clergy present a problem of some importance and complexity. Adequate evi-
793 dence exists that Greek priests were sent to Russia both in the
797 suite of the Princess Anna and after her marriage to Vladimir. Since there were isolated Christians and at least one church at Kiev prior to Vladimir's conversion, there must have been a small nucleus of Russian-speaking clergy in the city itself before 989, though these clerics were probably of Greek nationality. Vladimir's well-attested activity in wholesale conversion even among the masses at widely separated points makes it likely, however, that some provision was made for evangelizing the people in a language comprehensible to them. Priests with the appropriate linguistic qualifications could be found at this period only among members of the Byzantine clergy who had been active in Bulgaria or among the Bulgarian clergy themselves, since the differentiation between the spoken languages of Bulgaria and south Russia in the late tenth century was so slight as to constitute no barrier to common understanding.

175* The tradition of vernacular religious culture under Greek
779 intellectual auspices had been established in Bulgaria during the reigns of Boris (852-889) and Simeon (894-927). In the light of the eventual transmission to Kiev of a large body of ecclesiastical literature in Old Bulgarian translations, it is an accepted and doubtless correct convention of Russian literary history in the pre-Tartar period to assume that these works were first transmitted to Kievan Russia through the medium of Byzantium as priests were sent out into the Russian field. But, curiously enough, there are no historical data behind this respectable hypothesis, nor does any explicit evidence point to the slightest direct contact between the charges of Bulgaria and Russia during the principates of Vladimir and of his son through 1045.

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Kiev in 1240. No remnant of it now survives except the ruins of its foundations. 175* 346

In Vladimir's day the clergy rapidly assumed a place among the ruling class. Apart from introducing new notions of judicial procedure derived from the Greek *Nomokanon,* the early clergy also undertook to advise Vladimir on affairs of state and local policy. In 992 the bishops advised the substitution of corporal punishment for fines in order to suppress brigandage and similarly suggested that the proceeds of fines in other cases should be spent on military equipment for defense against the menacing nomads. The ecclesiastical courts also assumed jurisdiction over numerous social problems and offenses which took new significance in the light of the Christian moral code: bigamy, divorce, heresy, sacrilege, witchcraft, and adultery. Vladimir thus tolerated the fusion of church and state on the basis of contemporary Byzantine usage. 175* 793 565 693 [681] [684] [688]

By the process of conversion among the various Slavic groups, the bases of cultural and political differentiation were thus laid before the year 1000. Exposed to Christian influences since the seventh century, the Slovenes were converted by Bavarian clergy, and after their absorption into the Carolingian empire in 788, remained until the first World War in submission to one German state or another. The Croats, though in contact with the mission of Constantine and Methodius, reverted to Rome after the disciples of Methodius were expelled from Moravia, and have come down through the ages as Catholics, whatev[illegible] [illegible]eir political allegiance. The Slavs along the Elbe and the Baltic were subjected to the most violent political and religious pressure from Saxon priests and nobles with the result that, despite heroic revolts, they were slowly pushed back toward the former Polish frontier. The Byzantine influence in Moravia lasted but a quarter of a century before the work of the proto-apostles, Constantine and Methodius collapsed, and the Moravians, like the Czechs, remained under the pastoral care of bishops of the Roman rite. Though the 175* [797] 795

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175* selves in the cities, there was as yet no prospect for the forma-
566 tion of a growing and self-conscious middle class whose aspirations might have sown the seeds of progress. As a result, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all intellectual advance was confined to the aristocratic and ruling minority.

175* In the seventeenth century, however, the door was again
177 opened to Western influence by the need for self-defense. Foreign mercenaries entered the Russian army, which now became a professional force. New mines and arsenals were opened. The foreign colony founded at Moscow by Ivan the Terrible (the German suburb), though scattered during the upheaval of 1598-1612, was soon repopulated with merchants, technicians, and artisans, and their advanced notions of material comfort influenced those Russians who came into contact with them. Artamon Matveyev, the able foreign minister of Michael's son, the Tsar Alexis (in turn Peter the Great's father), married a Scotch lady, and was one of the first Russian nobles to set up his household on a Western scale. Through him notions of contemporary culture penetrated even to the court.
[562] Natalia Narishkina, Peter the Great's mother, was Matveyev's ward, and though Scotch on her mother's side, was probably the first Muscovite lady of her day to receive even a moderate education and to emancipate herself from the seclusion in which noblewomen had vegetated since the Tartar conquest.

177 While material progress was largely implemented by the
871 German technicians resident in Moscow, new theological and
● 797 literary ideas penetrated the empire by another route. It may be recalled that Kiev and the Dnieper valley were conquered by the Lithuanians in 1363. Then by the fusion of Poland and Lithuania at the end of the fourteenth century, the whole Ukraine became exposed to Polish colonization and cultural influence. By the sixteenth century, Polish intellectual life was entirely under the control of the Jesuits, who developed an intense but largely unsuccessful proselytizing activity among the Orthodox Ukrainians. As a counterpoise against Jesuit influence, the Orthodox clergy of the Kiev area opened schools

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which taught the late renaissance disciplines on which the Poles themselves were fed. This process culminated in the establishment of a college at Kiev which was founded in 1622 by Peter Mogila, the great Orthodox Bishop of Kiev. An alumnus of this school, Simeon Polotski, who was already known to Tsar Alexis as a scholar and poet, migrated to Moscow in 1663, where he founded a small monastery school, and in 1667 became tutor to the Tsar's eldest son. Simeon was the first influential exponent at Moscow of renaissance scholarship on a Latin basis, and from 1667, when the Ukraine was ceded by Poland to Moscow, the impact of Western influences through Kievan channels was immediately intensified. That this infusion of a new spirit did not take place without violent opposition goes without saying, but destiny was on the side of the progressives, even though progress was appallingly slow.

It is apparent, however, that increasingly broader breaches had been splitting the Chinese Wall of Muscovite self-sufficiency ever since the time of Ivan III. But Peter the Great set out to demolish it with one charge. For a prince of Moscow, his upbringing was exceptional. His education had been fragmentary, but his free contacts with foreign technicians while he lived in the country near Moscow during the regency of his sister Sophia embued him with a profound taste for military and naval science and mechanics. Essentially practical and rationalistic, he departed from Muscovite tradition in caring nothing for the church as a vessel of dogma and used it only insofar as it was adaptable to his purposes. His boundless energy strained toward goals far beyond the comprehension of any but an infinitesimal minority of his subjects, the rest of whom he undertook to reform and modernize by brute force. But he knew Russia could not become a major European power without the knowledge by which to use the fruits of modern technique. This knowledge he literally drove into the Russians at the point of the bayonet. Since his eye was permanently fixed on material progress, he cared little for abstract learning. His idea of literature was propaganda, and the for-

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Passau and Vienna, and the area devastated by the Magyars 000
was largely reoccupied by the year 1000.

At this period,[1] German missionary work in the Slavic dis- 175*
tricts south of the Danube proceeded not from Regensburg or 797
Passau, which were mainly occupied with the German settlements along the Danube, but from Bamberg. Missionaries from this diocese lived among the Slavs of Carinthia which was rapidly settled by colonists from Franconia and the middle Rhineland, as opposed to the predominantly Bavarian origin of the German settlers in Austria itself. While Bamberg was thus active in Carinthia (roughly the valley of the Drave east and west of Villach), Bavarian missionaries from Freising in Bavaria occupied themselves with Carniola (Krain), the region of the Save valley somewhat further southwest (the hinterland of Trieste), and here the colonists were again Bavarian. The Slovene population found by these German newcomers in Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria (originally a portion of Carinthia), was less driven out or exterminated than it was repressed. Documentary evidence reveals German and Slavic personal and place names side by side. The politically and socially [513]
dominant class was everywhere German. In Austria along the Danube, from which the Slavic population had been driven by the Avars before Carolingian times, the peasantry was almost exclusively Bavarian. But in Carinthia and Carniola, German peasants lived in close proximity to the native Slovenian peasantry which remained most numerous southwest of the Mur river in the valleys of the Drave and Save. Peculiar conditions on the right bank of the Danube thus explain the southward contraction of the Slovenes away from this river and their constant subservience in later days to Austrian political influence.

German influences in Moravia and their unfortunate conse- 175*
quences for the mission of Constantine and Methodius have 177
already been mentioned. Even while the brothers were still active, the struggle for Frankish supremacy was going on and

[1] [10th century --Analyst]

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intensified during the period of Slavic expansion to produce the various Eastern, Western, and Southern Slavic tongues. The subsequent political and cultural history of the Slavs was then conditioned by their locations and by the source from which they assimilated Christianity. The Slavs adjacent to the Danube were, we saw, the first to encounter Christian missionaries at the close of the eighth century, and were soon subjected to the Frankish realm which drew its spiritual guidance from Rome. Early in the ninth century, these influences expanded to Bohemia and Moravia, while the bold German political and missionary offensive which dispossessed the Slavs along the Elbe and the Baltic coast began at the same time and lasted nearly four hundred years.

During the second half of the ninth century, Byzantine Christianity penetrated Bulgaria, and political combinations in Moravia inspired the historic mission of Constantine and Methodius which, though fraught with far-reaching consequences for the Eastern Slavs, was barred from success in central Europe by the jealous opposition of the German clergy. The first quarter of the tenth century then witnessed an intense growth of Bulgarian culture under Byzantine influences which was destined to bear fruit after the conversion of Russia, and with the exception of the Croats, the Balkan Slavs all received the faith from Constantinople. Christianity was transmitted to Poland from Bohemia toward the middle of the tenth century. And finally, near the close of the tenth century, political events produced a situation in which conversion through Byzantine agency became advantageous for Prince Vladimir I of Kiev, through whose efforts the medieval Russians first abandoned paganism.

The Eastern Slavs, ancestors of the Russians, we found at the dawn of their history split up into sparsely settled and disunited tribal units, with a tendency to group themselves around trading posts and strong points strategically located on the course of the middle and upper Dnieper and on the northern rivers which empty into Lake Ladoga and the Baltic.

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Chapter Seven

ORTHODOXY AND PANSLAVISM

IN the renewal of the spirit of Slavonic solidarity an important place must be attributed to the action of Orthodoxy.

The Muscovite Patriarchate, almost as soon as it was reconstituted on new juridical bases and assured of the Kremlin's support, set out to reconquer the communities who had relaxed their ties as a result of the Bolshevist Revolution, thereby renewing a Russian tradition which dates from Ivan III. The spiritual object of this pacific crusade was to restore union and harmony to the Orthodox or 'Pravoslav' world. But its political objective, though not openly avowed, was none the less obvious; the Moscow Government sought to extend its influence by having recourse to the 'armour of light' of which the Apostle speaks.

This campaign met with no canonical obstacle, since, among the Pravoslavs, there is no primacy of jurisdiction. But it *did* meet with resistance from the autocephalous 'national' tendencies of the various Orthodox Churches—tendencies which had been affirmed in the States created or enlarged by the First World War and in which the hierarchy had seized the opportunity of breaking away from the spiritual control of the Phanar (Constantinople Patriarchate).

But the weight of Soviet power enabled the Russian clergy easily to overcome the prejudices felt by the national Churches against any moral control exercised outside their State frontiers. For this purpose the clergy borrowed their arguments from the Muscovite temporal power, that is to say, they posed as champions of proletarian emancipation, and exploited the Orthodox Slavs' old prejudices against the Catholic Church. Whilst the Patriarch Alexis visited the Christian communities of the Middle East to restore the 'primacy of honour' of the Russian Church in the Orthodox Pentarchy (Moscow, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem), the Metropolitan Alexis of Juroslav went to the United States to try to rally the section of Orthodox emigrants who resisted the authority of the Patriarch of Moscow.

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CHAPTER IV

CONVERSION OF THE SLAVS

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THE final breach between Rome and Constantinople still lay in the future. But to all intents and purposes Orthodoxy now stands alone, the religion of the Empire, and conceiving itself as the heir and guardian of the traditional Hellenistic culture. In the West the Papacy, still recognized as the primary see of Christendom, was virtually a secular power also, between the Empire and the Franks, with whom it was in close alliance and upon whose kings it had poured the anointing oil, and in the end bestowed an imperial diadem.

In the East the Melkite Patriarchates were isolated outposts within the fierce world of Islam which was battering at the defences of the Empire.

It was some compensation for those losses that Orthodoxy was able, in the ninth and tenth centuries, to initiate a great missionary achievement and to strengthen its position by securing the allegiance of the bulk of the Slavs. The inclusion of the Slavs within the orbit of Byzantium was not undisputed by Rome, and the rivalry was intertwined with other quarrels concerned both with jurisdiction and with doctrine which broke out between the two Churches in the ninth century.

The Balkans had been swept by successive waves of invaders, by the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, and finally, as we have seen, by the Slavs and Bulgars, who established themselves there permanently, settling first in the open country, and later in the cities. The old civilization with its civil and ecclesiastical administration disappeared. But the Empire refused to regard the territory as permanently lost, it was still in theory a recoverable part of the Empire, and involved in the process of recovering it was the task of converting it to

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797 Christianity. In districts where the primitive Slavs came into close touch with the Greek and Roman world and accepted its higher civilization and culture, they were far more easily induced to accept the Christian religion also, than was the case among the more remote masses of the invaders. These latter soon became aware of the fact that to embrace the new religion was a danger to their own tribal coherence and even to invite foreign domination in the political sphere.

There were other obstacles, too, which slowed down the process of converting the Slavs and Bulgars, and prominent among them the fact that ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Balkans was a bone of contention between Rome and Constantinople. Politically the whole peninsula was part of the Eastern Empire, whether in fact or in theory. Ecclesiastically it had for centuries been divided between East and West. The geographical line of division had varied, but had tended to shift westward, and, as was recorded in the previous chapter, Leo III during the iconoclastic controversy had expelled Roman jurisdiction from Illyricum altogether. But this did not mean that the Papal claims in that respect were abandoned, and missionary enterprise for the conversion of the Slavs (including the Bulgars) came from the West as well as from the East. The invaders had by this time crystallized into various recognizable national units. There were the Moravians to the north, roughly in what is now Czechoslovakia; Slovenes in the south of Austria and the north-west of Yugoslavia; the Croats along the Dalmatian coast; the Serbs in the centre of the peninsula, and the Bulgars along the lower Danube.

The Slovenes having occasion to enlist the help of the Bavarians against their Avar enemies, came under the lordship of Bavaria, and later, with the Bavarians were engulfed in the Empire of Charlemagne. He drove out the Avars and incorporated both the Slovenes and the Croats of this region into the diocese of Salzburg. Thus they were converted from the Catholic West and later came under the direct control of the Pope. They have remained Roman Catholic to this day. The same is true of the Croats further south and along the Dalmatian Coast, though they showed some wavering between East and West in early days. For here, after the action of

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Leo III above referred to, great efforts were made to induce the people to accept the Byzantine rite. But by the end of the ninth century the country had finally settled down to the Papal allegiance. Yet Mestrović's colossal figure of Gregory of Nin at Spalato stands as a witness to the long struggle of the Croats for the use of their Slavonic language in worship. 747

The Moravians also were destined in the end to come under the Roman obedience, although they owed their conversion largely to the Byzantines. And here we have the romantic story of Cyril and Methodius, two brothers who came to be known as the Apostles of the Slavs. They were Greeks of Thessalonika, men of great ability, the younger in particular (known in his lifetime as Constantine) having an established reputation as a teacher and philosopher in Constantinople. He had already been employed by Photius, before the latter became Patriarch, upon a political and religious mission to the Khazars, who lived on the plains through which the Dnieper and the Don flow into the Black Sea, and have the unique distinction of having adopted Judaism as their religion. While there Constantine acquired the relics of St. Clement of Rome, and apparently carried them with him on his later travels.

About the year 862, the Moravian Prince Rastislav sent emissaries to Constantinople, where they found Photius, now Patriarch, the most conspicuous figure. To counteract the danger of the recently formed alliance between Louis the German and the Bulgarians, Rastislav offered, and succeeded in establishing, his own pact with the Empire. The military side of this alliance bore fruit two years later when a Bulgarian army on its way to help Louis the German was defeated by the Byzantines.

There was an ecclesiastical aspect of the agreement also. Rastislav was restive under the vigorous nationalistic tendencies displayed by the German missionaries in his country: and to Photius the situation may well have seemed a valuable opportunity to strengthen his position against the Pope. Constantine and Methodius were despatched into Moravia where their efforts soon shewed signs of success, for they brought the Christian religion to the people in their own language. The brothers seem to have formed a happy

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797 combination, the elder with his gifts as administrator and the younger as scholar and linguist. And doubtless one of their main qualifications was that coming from Thessalonika, they had lived in close contact with a Slav population and were perfectly familiar with a Slav language.

797 It was presumably this Macedonian Slav dialect which the brothers reduced to writing and into which they translated 212 a number of books, liturgical and other, for the use of their converts. They adapted the Greek minuscule letters into an alphabet to convey the Slavonic sounds, and this is the Glagolitic in which some old Church Slavonic was written and which, in a modified form, has survived for liturgical use still in certain dioceses on the Dalmatian coast. All the Orthodox Slavs today, however, use another alphabet, called Cyrillic, which is based upon the Greek uncials. Whether the Apostles of the Slavs had anything to do with the invention of the Cyrillic letters is uncertain—but they bear the name of the younger, for at the end of his life Constantine became a monk and took the name of Cyril. His death occurred in Rome in 869. Methodius went back as an Archbishop, to continue his labours in Moravia till his own death in 885.

797 The two brothers, with their devoted band of helpers, did an immense service for Slav religion and culture. But the attempt to set up a Slav Church in Moravia failed, and after the death of Methodius the Germanizing party secured the upper hand. Methodius's disciples and helpers were treated with some indignity and harshness and expelled. We shall meet them again later in Bulgaria.

The Serbian clans, lying inland, were less exposed than the Croats and Slovenes to outside influences, and although there was some infiltration of Christianity among them, no general conversion took place until the latter part of the ninth century. The Serbian Prince Mutimir, who died in 891, sent a request for missionaries from Constantinople and was himself baptized with large numbers of his people. But the political and utilitarian aspect of the event was rather unusually prominent. The Emperor had recently made a signal display of the might of Byzantine arms in his suppression of certain Serbian pirates in the Adriatic. It was not until the returning

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disciples of Methodius made their influence felt that Christianity as religion made real progress among the Serbs, and even so, many pagan customs were retained and, more or less, blended with the new Faith. But the official conversion of the Serbs is dated from the baptism of Mutimir. During his reign the Serbian Church was under the direct influence of Byzantium and the services were in Greek. But as Bulgarian ascendency became predominant in the Balkans, Byzantine suzerainty gradually gave place to Bulgarian, and the Greek liturgy to the Slavonic. 797

The first Bulgarian king to receive baptism was Boris, who reigned from 852 to 889 and was one of the ablest monarchs in Bulgarian history. Christianity had penetrated into Bulgaria before that time, and there had even been some persecution of it, due largely to fear of it as an agent which prepared the way for foreign and, in particular, for Byzantine domination. Boris was a statesman and although his own personal religious convictions played their part in his acceptance of Christianity, there were other considerations also that he had in mind. To make his realm a Christian State was some defence against the political and religious missionary zeal of his Christian neighbours. Further, it would tend to consolidate his own position. The great bulk of his subjects were Slavs, and many of them already Christian; the Bulgars were a ruling minority among whom Boris was the chief of many rulers. To favour the Slav element in his realm, therefore, and to Christianize it would be to break the power of the Bulgarian nobility and establish himself as sole ruler with all the force of the current Christian conception of royalty and the divine authority delegated to kings, to support him. The revolt of the Bulgarian nobles which subsequently broke out showed that they realized all this clearly enough, but they were too late. 659

In furtherance of his plans Boris looked first towards Rome for the same reason that Rastislav of Moravia had looked to Constantinople, i.e., each looked to the opponents of those from whom their own danger was greatest. But the Byzantine Emperor and Photius, then at the height of his quarrel with the Pope, were just as much alive to the facts and struck first. 659 648

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The matter was once more submitted to a Council (in 879) which, surprisingly, decided that Bulgaria should be returned to Rome. But Boris refused to be returned to Rome. It is possible that this was a contingency which had been foreseen by Photius, but in any case he loyally abode by the agreement reached, sent no more clergy to Bulgaria, and remained on good terms with Nicholas's successor, John VIII. The final decision had, however, been reached and the Bulgarian Church was to remain within the orbit of Orthodoxy. One other aspect of Boris's policy remained to be realized. To make his Church a really national institution, worship must be in the language of the people, to whom the bewildering changes from Greek to Latin had meant but the substitution of one foreign language for another.

The disciples of Methodius, who had just been expelled from Moravia provided Boris with precisely what he needed. The less important of these unfortunate men had been dubbed heretics and sold as such into slavery, the more prominent leaders, Gorazd, Clement and others more politely conducted to the Danube and bidden to cross it, never to return.

Boris gave them a cordial welcome, and under his patronage they did a great work, far-reaching and permanent, for Slav Christianity and culture. A centre for the training of a Slav clergy was established, a Slav Bulgarian Church was organized, and many translations into the Slav language were made. Boris was wise and skilful enough to effect these changes without offending Byzantium and his own Greek hierarchy, and the latter were in due course replaced by Slav bishops. Thus through Clement of Okhrida and his companions the work of the Apostles of the Slavs bore a rich harvest among the Slavs of the Balkans. For the political ascendency of Bulgaria continued to grow until for a while it wrested the hegemony from Constantinople itself. Boris's successor, Simon, was an outstanding personality, who not only decisively defeated the Byzantines in war, and had himself crowned with an imperial title, but himself a scholar and erstwhile monk, carried on his father's ecclesiastical and cultural policy and declared the Bulgarian Church autocephalous. Thus was welded into shape in Bulgaria a cultural and religious instrument which was ready to hand when needed for the evangelization of Russia.

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was ready to hand when needed for the evangelization of Russia.

The Vikings, who were the terror of north-west Europe, made their way south-eastwards also, along the waterways which connect the Baltic with the Black Sea. Here they found a Slav population which about the middle of the ninth century was organizing itself in political centres such as Novgorod in the north and Kiev in the south. The Scandinavian warrior merchants passing from the Volkhov to the Dnieper, established themselves whether as protectors or conquerors as masters of these communities, and if *Russ* is indeed a Scandinavian word the process which took place in Bulgaria was repeated, and the ruling minority gave its name to the Slav people which absorbed them. These "Russians" soon found their way across the Black Sea to the Great City, Byzantium, known to them as Tsargrad. In 860 their fleet appeared beneath its walls but was dispersed by a tempest. The part of Sergius in 626 was on this occasion played by the Patriarch Photius, who inspired the defenders with courage and energy.

The early contacts of the Russians with Constantinople are shrouded in a good deal of obscurity, but certain events connected with their conversion stand out as historical. The Patriarch Ignatius sent an archbishop into the country and he made a number of conversions. Igor, Prince of Kiev, made an unsuccessful attack upon Constantinople in 941, and a treaty which he made with the Byzantine Emperor a few years later reveals the fact that there were then Christians at Kiev and that they had a cathedral dedicated to St. Elias. Whether this community was the direct descendant of the converts made by Ignatius, or derived its Christianity from elsewhere is unknown. Igor's widow, Olga, who was later canonized, was definitely a Christian. She visited Constantinople and may have been baptized either there or at Kiev, and at one time seems to have adopted the policy of Boris of Bulgaria and to have played East and West against each other in her ecclesiastical relations. In response to her request, a mission was actually sent from Germany by the Emperor Otto, but it was half-hearted, and returned without accomplishing anything. Neither Olga's son Svyatoslav nor her grandson were Christians,

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but they at least tolerated Christianity, and Olga who lived until 969 was able to foster the growing Christian community. 797.

It was Vladimir, an illegitimate son of Svyatoslav, who less than twenty years after Olga's death took the decisive step and accepted the new religion for himself and his people. He was lord of Novgorod and made himself master of Kiev. Much discussion has taken place about the circumstances of Vladimir's baptism and the relation in which that event stood to his marriage and his capture of Kherson.

Some scholars see no reason to look for any one external event as the occasion which brought about his baptism. He must have been familiar with the Christian religion and with the work of his paternal grandmother Olga, and it would not escape the attention of an intelligent man that while culture, civilization and political power were associated in his world with Christianity, paganism belonged to the half-barbarous hordes against whom he warred on the steppes. They therefore suppose that Vladimir was baptized in his own city of Kiev, before, or possibly during, the visit of an Embassy from Constantinople.

The more usual view is that the baptism took place at Kherson after Vladimir had captured that place, in the following circumstances. In Byzantium the imperial throne was being shaken by rebellion, and its occupants hard put to it to deal with the rebel. The Embassy was sent to solicit the military assistance of the Russian chieftain. It was successful, Vladimir's terms being good payment for his men and the hand in marriage of the Emperor's sister for himself. The terms were accepted, Vladimir carried out his part of the bargain, and with his help the rebellion was crushed. When the danger was over, however, the Emperors showed marked reluctance to let their sister go back with the victorious Russian, and Vladimir had to resort to force to secure possession of his bride. The walls of Constantinople were too strong even for his wild warriors, so on his way home he besieged and captured the Greek town of Kherson in the Crimea. This display of force proved sufficient to bring the Byzantines to reason, and the bride was forthwith despatched to her distant future home. She, with her ecclesiastical retinue from Constantinople, joined Vladimir 797 648

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at Kherson. And thither also at the same time arrived an Embassy from Pope John XV.[1]

Vladimir set to work with energy to make his people 797 Christian. The idols of the great god Perun and others, erected in not too distant a past (for Vladimir before he embraced Christianity had toyed with the idea of revitalizing the pagan religion) were overthrown and churches built in their place. The more or less instructed people were baptized in droves in the Dnieper. Other influences were at work beside that of Byzantine Orthodoxy. The institution of tithes is found in the early Russian Church, and it would seem that that must have come from the West, and the same is true of the veneration of certain distinctively Latin saints.

Even before the time of Vladimir, books and perhaps missionaries also had arrived from Bulgaria. The work which the disciples of the Apostles of the Slavs had carried on in that country spread into Russia, with the result that the Russian Church had a Slavonic liturgy from the beginning. After Vladimir's death there was a continued period of quarrelling among his sons, in the course of which the celebrated Boris and Gleb, unresisting, met their deaths. But one of the sons, Yaroslav, finally succeeded in establishing his position and reigning for thirty-five years. He it was who finally settled the dependence of the Russian Church upon the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

[793] In 1037 Alexis the Studite consecrated Theopemptos as Metropolitan of Kiev and thereafter, with two notable exceptions, the Russian Metropolitans were Greeks appointed from Constantinople until the fall of that city. Yaroslav was a great lawgiver and he raised Kiev to a status in which he treated with European nations on equal terms and married his daughters into royal houses of the West. He built the superb cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev and in his time the Petchersky Monastery was founded there. He died in 1054, the year in which the schism between Rome and Constantinople was finally consummated.

[1] On the puzzling question of the contact between the West and the Russian Church of this early period, see Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*. London, 1949, p. 173 ff. and 255 f.

10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

CHAPTER XII

ORTHODOXY IN THE MODERN WORLD

THE modern expansion of Orthodoxy begins with the romantic story of the Russian conquest of Siberia which was begun by Yermak in the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1582). The Russian, as Berdyaev often notes, is essentially a pilgrim and a wanderer, and when he wanders abroad he takes his Church with him. Thus, Orthodoxy has spread north-eastward, right across Siberia and even into Japan, where one of the most striking foreign missions in the history of Christendom led to the establishment of a Japanese Orthodox Church. Its Metropolitan claimed 40,000 adherents in 1931, and all its clergy were Japanese. The Orthodox communities on the mainland of north-east Asia have grown greatly both in size and in importance since the Russian Revolution in 1917 drove many refugees and settlers into that part of the world. The vast diocese of Harbin includes adherents of various races, but they are mainly Russians. Nor did the movement stop at the confines of Asia.

By way of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, Orthodoxy was introduced into the American Continent at the end of the eighteenth century. The Russians were thus the first to bring Orthodoxy to the New World, but since then members of other Orthodox nations—Greeks, Albanians, Rumanians, Serbs and others—have joined in the flood of immigration from the Old World, and the Orthodox Church has travelled to America, journeying from east to west as well as from west to east. A Russian diocese was founded in South America in 1934. Before the second world war there were eleven Russian dioceses on the American Continent and four Greek. The Orthodox bishops in the United States in a letter to President Roosevelt

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claimed to speak as representing six million people.[1] It is a significant fact that Athenagoras, the Greek Archbishop of America was in 1948 elected to the Ecumenical Throne of Constantinople. There is a Greek Orthodox diocese also in Australia, its archbishop resides in Sydney. Orthodox who live in South Africa too belong to a Greek diocese with its archbishop at Johannesburg. It is one of the seven dioceses of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, whereas the Australian diocese belongs to Constantinople.

Nor must the Russian *diaspora* which followed the Revolution be forgotten. It led to the formation or the enlargement of colonies of Russian Orthodox in many cities of Central and Western Europe with the establishment of diocesan life outside Russia whose relation to the Mother Church in Moscow still remains unsettled.

Thus Orthodoxy is a world-wide phenomenon. Its significance cannot be fairly assessed only in terms of its homelands in the east of Europe. There, of course, the enormous majority of its adherents live, and there is the traditional centre of its prestige. But in considering on the one hand the impact of the modern world upon Orthodoxy and on the other hand any message that Orthodoxy may have for the post-war world, those scattered communities of Orthodox over the world cannot be left out of account.

The parallel with the Anglican Communion can hardly escape notice. That too, like the Orthodox, is made up of a number of independent self-governing Churches, each managing its own affairs, but all in communion with each other and finding their centre of unity in Canterbury as the Orthodox find theirs in Constantinople.

Thus Orthodoxy has come increasingly into contact with "the West", and members of other Christian Confessions have opportunities of becoming aware of it and of studying it by personal observation. Such opportunities are, indeed, much limited, but nevertheless Orthodoxy is no longer a remote phenomenon known to the West only through the medium of travellers' reports or the learned writings of experts.

[1] Bolshakoff: *Foreign Missions*, who gives many statistics about Russian Orthodox abroad.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Slavic Peoples E 16
Historical Bulgaria EE 2

SP 771 175

describe a number of local or tribal cults; nor is it justifiable to imagine a basis of a uniform primitive Slav system.

In the South, that is to say, in the Lower Danube basin and in Illyria, tradition ascribes the first conversions to Christianity to the time of Heraclius, and there seems not to have been the same fierce and prolonged opposition to the new cult, with which it had to contend in Russia and Northern Europe. In Russia and in Poland, a dual confession, and apparently a heathen priesthood, lasted into the later Middle Ages; in the eleventh to twelfth centuries attempts were made to re-establish the old faith on a national basis. True, the rising in Bulgaria against Boris (eleventh century) was led by an anti-Christian element, but we do not know of an active priesthood in this connection, nor whether it was a revival of Slavonic or Asperuh tendencies. Until the final establishment of a national, autonomous Church in Bulgaria, and in fact, until the turning-point of the Synod of Trnovo (seventeenth century), the indecision as to belief was evident not only in the varying allegiance to pope or patriarch, but in the activities of the numberless heretical sects, not merely tolerated, but at times enjoying considerable privileges and influence.

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The presence of these sects, notably of a gnostic character, pre-dates the Orthodox missions of the tenth century, and caused their retreat from Pannonia. The earliest account of the Slav apostles mentions the 'thrice heathen heretics' who were unacquainted with Slavonic; probably referring to that mixture of Paulician and Eulite doctrine, which, since the fourth century, had spread into the Northern Balkans, and remains to this day among the Nazarenes of the trans-Danube. Syrian and Armenian colonies had been established in Thrace during the seventh century in the time of Constantine, still known to M. Psellos and Cedrenos as Massalians. Armenian Monophysites and Paulicians lived in the neighbourhood of Plovdiv, Sofia, Devol, Rila, Moglena, Kjustendil, etc., from the eleventh to the thirteenth century; the Dragovitci being known in South-east Macedonia as extreme

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
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Historical Yugoslavia EF2

dualists since the tenth century, and the Macedonian Kudigeri flourishing until the fifteenth century. Many of these local sects have left traces of their former habitation in place names. These facts alone would necessitate a critical attitude towards the unilateral character of the 'Iranian theory' of old Slavonic religion, since features claimed to show community of custom may equally well derive from these later historical contacts.

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Under various names, the Bogomil or Bulgarian Heresy, described as a mixture of Paulician and Massalian teaching, spread from some such centre as far as Ohrid (according to the accounts of Dimitrij Homatijan, Archbishop of Ohrid, 1217–34); and to Albania (probably during the second Bulgarian occupation); took firm root in Bosnia; for a time troubled the Catholic areas of Dalmatia; appeared in favour in Croatia, in the time of Honorius III being embraced by local nobles and princes; and in Bulgaria Bogomilism was near becoming the official state religion in the thirteenth century. In Rascia, it provided one of the principal activities of the first members of the Nemanja dynasty, whose biographers reckoned them amongst the most zealous defenders of Orthodoxy; nor had the heresy been entirely disposed of in their realms in the time of Stefan Dušan. Later, it found fanatical adherents in Russia, where its teachings were in evidence until recent times.

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There is no doubt that the Catharians of Lombardy, and kindred sects in Western and Central Europe, derived their versions of the scriptures directly from a Balkan source; but the Bulgarian heresy, as it appears in the Northern Balkans, has a peculiar character, which can only be explained by a local modification of the Armenian prototype. Did it here absorb the non-Christian element, or develop spontaneously along the lines of popular ideas?

It is not entirely due to imperfect information or a desire to discredit heresy at all costs, that the heretics are mentioned in connection with what had come to be regarded as popular superstitions, magic, and practices which pre-date Chris-

1: Niederle--68 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Czechoslovakia EB1

S.P. C. 175 177 191

1. Quite a long time ago I indicated the importance of this chronicler. See my Boheme pittoresque et historique (Paris, 1867).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century matters had gone so far that at the coronation of King John in 1311 the larger part of the people sang in German and the minority in Czech.

S.P. C. 175 668 [798]

Under Charles IV and his son Vaclav a reaction took place to the benefit of the Slavic element.[1] The nobility and the clergy took an interest in this. This evolution was crowned by the wars of the Hussites, who fought at the same time for Czech faith and Czech nationality. The Germans lost their influence in the towns or were completely driven out; the Czech language reassumed its place. Among the towns which became Slavic may be cited Zatec (Saaz), Litomerice (Leitmeritz), Usti nad Labem (Aussig), Dvur Kralove, Jaromer, Hradec Kralove, Nemecky Brod, Caslav, Kutna Hora, Pelhrimov, Susice, Budejovice, Kaplice, Stribro and Plzen, all of which were already Czech at the end of the fourteenth century.

/108/ At this time, in Bohemia, in Moravia, in Siberia, Czech became an official language. It was proclaimed to be the sole administrative language at Opava (Troppau) in 1431, at Tesin (Teschen) in 1434, in Moravia in 1480, in Bohemia in 1495. In short, in the course of the fifteenth century Bohemia and Moravia rapidly became Czech, the national consciousness grew stronger, all the more because germanization became weaker within the country and in the frontier districts. Nevertheless, this very brilliant period had no enduring results. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a portion of Czech territory was again germanized as a result of the introduction of Protestantism and through the efforts of the new dynasty. Then came a long period of wars and persecutions which desolated entire regions and was followed by the new influx of German colonists from Misnie*, Voigtland*, from Franconia and from the Palatinate. Thus, at the very moment when the Czech language became official within the kingdom, when the Czech literature was flourishing, a great section of Czech soil was lost.

S.P. C. 175 177 167

S.P. C. [728]

Then came the defeat of Bila Hora (1620) and the unhappy events which placed the Czech nation in the hands of a dynasty which was German and absolutist. In 1627 a new organization was imposed

1 [Against the influence of the German element upon the country - Analyst]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* 797 whether Bulgarians or Serbs, proceeded from Salonika at approximately the same time, but was most intense during the reign of Basil I.

175* 796 795 798 Methodius had not obeyed the Pope's injunction to abandon the Slavic liturgy but, when summoned to Rome in 879 to explain his position, was again victorious on even this point. John VIII, however, endeavored to conciliate Svatopluk, who had never been personally sympathetic toward Methodius, by naming as the latter's suffragan the Prince's favorite priest, one Wiching, who immediately took the side of the Frankish clergy and blocked Methodius at every turn. The Archbishop eventually decided to shift his activities further south, and in 881 set forth on a journey toward the valleys of the Drave and the Save, where he received an invitation from Basil I to visit Constantinople. The Patriarch Photius was, after all, an old friend, and the Emperor himself was well-informed of Methodius's activities in a frontier area not entirely alien to Greek interests.

Upon his return to his diocese Methodius at first concentrated his efforts on translating additional canonical books and ecclesiastical texts. Unfortunately for his pastoral work, however, John VIII was poisoned in 882, and under Stephen V hostile exchanges between Rome and Byzantium were resumed. Methodius himself died in April, 885, after designating as his successor Gorazd, his most capable disciple. Wiching, Methodius's old enemy, straightway renewed his intrigues and had no trouble in securing the favorable ear of a pope already irritated against Byzantium. Stephen V abandoned the Slavic liturgy altogether, Wiching's partisans secured the eternal exile of Gorazd and the other disciples of Methodius, and thus the work of twenty years in Moravia was wiped out.

175* 795 After the decision of Prince Boris of Bulgaria to accept conversion in 862, the next twenty years were marked by fruitless papal attempts to gain control of the Bulgarian church. In 870, indeed, the Eighth Oecumenical Council, under the influence of Basil I, had formally decided that the Bulgarian church was subject to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

grandfather had begun, and as a result of his victories in 1559 the Order was dissolved. Esthonia became Swedish, Livonia fell into Polish hands, and Courland became a hereditary duchy and a fief of the kingdom of Poland. Esthonia and Livonia did not definitely become Russian until the Peace of Nystadt in 1721, and Courland fell into Russian possession only by the third partition of Poland in 1795. Early in the second World War we witnessed the final German surrender of all vested rights in this area acquired since the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Though Poland of the sixteenth century was by no means a peaceful state, it felt the influence of the Protestant reformation and, at least until a Catholic reaction set in under Jesuit direction about 1564 after the Council of Trent, had a reputation for religious tolerance. As a result, the religious wars in Germany started a new current of emigration into Polish territory, especially into the Posen area. At the same time, Low-German Protestants (Mennonites and other reformists) moved into the Pomorze around Danzig, where the local population had been decimated by the thirteen-years' war waged by Kazimir Jagiellonczyk against the weakened Teutonic Order from 1453 to 1466. This Low-German immigration took on greater proportions after Stephen Batory's siege and capture of Danzig in 1577, extending particularly to the courses of the Warthe and Netze rivers. Though the counter-reformation was by this time in full swing throughout Poland, these Protestant settlers, because of their industry and skill in agriculture, were guaranteed religious freedom, and remained free peasants even in an age when serfdom was the native Polish farmer's universal lot. At the same time, however, other settlers came into the lower Vistula valley from Brandenburg and Pomerania under much more onerous conditions, since they were without capital and completely subject to the caprice of their landlords.

This migratory movement was resumed in the seventeenth century during the Thirty Years' War, though many of the refugees from Brandenburg returned from Poland to their

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* homes after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. In Silesia, how-
798 ever, the persecutions incident to the counter-reformation caused the migration into Poland of some 200,000 Germans, who were responsible for the creation of the textile industry in western Poland. In eastern Poland as well, the German element played a prominent role. In 1648, for instance, when the Cossack Hetman Bogdan Chmelnitski, aided by the Crimean Tartars, threatened eastern Galicia, the German inhabitants of Lemberg paid one third of the ransom by which the city was saved, and German officers and soldiery fought on the Polish side in all the battles of the period.

175* Sweden came out of the Thirty Years' War greatly strength-
131 ened by the momentary possession of the mouths of the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser, and its king, Charles X, thinking to gain the support of the Elector of Brandenburg for further conquests at Poland's expense, recognized him in 1656 as Duke of Prussia, thereby bringing East Prussia under the sovereignty of Brandenburg. Then, by the Treaty of Wehlau, the next year, the Poles surrendered their claims to East Prussia, thereby assuring the rising Prussian state of the undisputed possession of this area until the Seven Years' War, though it was returned to Prussia after the death of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia in 1762. Silesia was regained by Prussia the next year, the Vistula valley south of Danzig fell to the German share by the first partition of Poland in 1772, and the Posen area followed by the second partition of 1793. Such, then, in its broadest outlines, is the process by which the political frontier between Germany and Poland was determined prior to 1914.

177 Until the nineteenth century there was little racial hostility
175* between German and Slav. The German expansion eastward
648 during the Middle Ages had been dictated by religious and economic motives, and the conflicts in which Poland, as an independent state, was involved with its neighbors before the partitions were the result of dynastic ambitions and jealousies rather than of any collision of national ideologies. The practical services rendered to the development of agriculture, trade,

648 728 175 tion, and the reconstruction of German economic life subordinated to the reconstruction of the devastated countries.

648 175 On the United Nations' Security Council the Polish delegation fastened on the Spanish problem, displaying all the more energy, inasmuch as none of their positive interests was at stake. They backed the views supported by France and the Soviet Union on rupture with Franco, and decided, on April 5, 1946, to recognise the Giral Government--an eminently platonic gesture, for Franco's Spain and Poland had no diplomatic relations.

*186 659 [798] The religious question, too, was a serious preoccupation of the Government, which refuted the widespread accusation of wishing to persecute the Catholic Church. It had, moreover, always included 'practising' Catholics among its members, for Poland is certainly one of the few countries where 'Leftists' are just as good Catholics as 'Rightists'. Cardinal Hlond, Primate of Poland and Archbishop of Warsaw, himself declared that, in spite of the denunciation of the Concordat of 1925, and the absence of relations between Chruch and State, there was no question of a Kulturkampf in Poland.

[586] There is no doubt; however, that the law (which came into force on January 1, 1946) rendering civil marriage compulsory and authorising divorce conflicted with the consciences of a large section of the population. The education reforms had dealt a death-blow to the religious schools. In the face of these measures, the Church adopted an attitude of restrained disapproval, in order not to make the situation worse; moreover, she had her 'Red Bishops', such as Mgr. Adamski, Bishop Katowice, whose sympathies were known to lie with the Soviet Union.

One of the reasons why the hierarchy avoided clashes was the fear of reviving accusations brought against certain of their members as the result of their attitude during the occupation; this in spite of the courageous conduct of the enormous majority of the prelates, and the murder by the Germans of four bishops and two thousand priests.

*186 659 798 It was, moreover, evident that the Warsaw Government's hostility was directed less against the Polish Church than against the Vatican, which they reproached with its policy during the war and its attitude in certain actions brought against agents of the occupying authorities. Yet M. Osubka-Morawski likewise

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

accused the hierarchy, in connection with the Kielce pogrom,[18] of not having adopted a sufficiently bold attitude towards anti-Semitism, and of having refused to sign the declaration of all political parties, condemning this racial crime.

The Cardinal addressed to the foreign press declarations in which, while deploring the acts of violence, he attributed them largely 'to the dominant position assumed by the Jews in the Polish Government, and to the efforts made to give Poland a governmental structure that the majority of the country did not desire'. As may be imagined, these words aroused passionate comments. The same remark applies to the pastoral letter addressed to the faithful on the eve of the elections, asking them to vote only 'for persons, lists or programmes in favour of Catholic teaching and morals'. Without mentioning the Marxist Parties by name, the pastoral reminded Catholics that they must not belong to 'organisations whose principles are contrary to this teaching and this morality'. The Cardinal was anxious, he said, to 'reconcile the Christian faith with a sound revolutionary movement'.

* * *

It was in Czechoslovakia that the adaptation of political and social life to the new state of affairs was achieved with the minimum of clashes and the maximum of realism. The Second Republic was stabilised under the form of a 'Socialising Democracy' (according to President Benes's term), half-way between Communism and the Bourgeois State. It no longer had the same exterior structure as Masaryk's republic, having adopted a *sui generis* type of bi-national community, with equal rights for Czechs and Slovaks. There was another innovation—a still more vital one—the elimination of minorities, whose presence and militancy had hindered its development, before contributing to its dislocation under the Hitlerian onrush.

[18] In this locality,[1] on July 4, 1946, there was a pogrom, arising out of a trifling cause, in the course of which 45 Jews were massacred. Nine of the presumed authors of this massacre were condemned to death. The clandestine organisations were accused of having fomented anti-Semite passions, whereas, in reality, the latter had remained very much alive in Poland—as witness the testimony of Dr. Shoskes, South America's representative in the Society for Assistance to Jewish Immigrants, and M. Segal, delegate to the World Jewish Congress of New York. Despite the frightful losses they suffered during the occupation, which reduced them to an insignificant minority, the Polish Jews, for the most part, aspire to leave the country. This is one of the indirect aspects of the Palestinian problem.

1 [in Kielce - Analyst]

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

sent as Papal Nuncio. In November, Mgr. Joseph Beran, a Dachau deportee, was appointed Archbishop of Prague. Czechoslovakia was then the only Slav State having accredited diplomatic representation with the Holy See. 648

In Slovakia the clergy had to suffer from the fact that a priest, Joseph Tiso,[21] who succeeded Father Hlinka as Leader of a Peoples' Party, had controlled the so-called 'Independent' State under the Nazi occupation. In some cases, proceedings against 'collaborators' took on the aspect of an anti-Catholic drive; some Associations, and even some religious communities, were dissolved. 798

As regards foreign policy during this period, it was dominated by two questions, the claim on Teschen and the 'liquidation' of the Hungarian minorities. The Teschen problem has been dealt with above, in connection with Poland; we will simply remind the reader that the Prague Government was adamant in its claim. 'Czechoslovakia will not give up one scrap of Teschen', declared President Benes on July 18, 1946. The treaty of alliance of March 10 left the matter in suspense until 1949. 648 563 728 175

The evacuation of the Hungarian populations raised a bitter and prolonged dispute between Prague and Budapest.

An agreement concluded on February 27, 1946 provided for an exchange between Hungarians in Slovakia and Slovaks in Hungary, on a parity basis, to the number of 150,000 persons. The Government of Budapest was to make this agreement widely known amongst the Slovaks placed under its jurisdiction.

But the intention of the Czechs was to expel from their territory the whole of the Hungarian minority, which was far more numerous than the Slovak minority in Hungary.[22] And so they asked that country to take over 200,000 other members of the Magyar minority, and a further 60,000 Hungarian minority subjects, expelled as war criminals or political offenders. The Hungarians in Czechoslovakia who might escape these various transfers would be 're-Slovacised', and would cease to enjoy any minority privileges. Prague emphatically insisted that

[21] His trial opened on December 2, 194(5?) before the High Court of Bratislava.

[22] Out of the 645,000 Magyars who lived in Czechoslovakia in 1939, 110,000 were in Carpathian Ruthenia, ceded to the Russians. There remained 435,000, more than half of whom were considered to be 'inassimilable'. [728]

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But it goes without saying that it was upon the Churches of the Balkan States that Muscovite influence was exercised most directly and decisively. In Yugoslavia the hierarchy created at Sremski Karlovtsi by Russian exiles, and which Mgr. Antoine, ex-Archbishop of Kiev, had organised immediately after the First World War, was dissolved and had to go into exile. A Russian delegation, presided over by the Metropolitan Serge of Odessa, went to present a mitre to Joseph, Metropolitan of Serbia, in February, 1946. The real object of this mission, which spent a month in Belgrade, was to define the future relations between the Yugoslav Church and the Muscovite Church.

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Then arose the case—a rather complicated one, it must be confessed—of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarch, Mgr. Gavrilo. The latter had been accused by the Germans of having hidden part of the Crown treasure; he was interned, then taken to Dachau. When the Allies occupied Bavaria, he preferred retirement to Italy to a return to his country, where he was being begged to resume his duties. He adopted an attitude of opposition towards the régime established by Marshal Tito, as shown [798] by his pastoral letter of Easter, 1946. The Serbian Orthodox Church had been rather badly treated by this régime, for she had been deprived of the education of the young, religious marriage had been declared invalid in law, and she had lost most of her property. It is said that it was under the influence of the Russian clergy that her Metropolitans invited the Patriarch to return. He did, in fact, return on November 14, 1946, and had an interview with Tito, during which 'all misunderstandings were cleared up'. And, as proof of this, at the Slav Congress in Belgrade on December 11, he made a speech in which, after having recalled the sacrifices made for the 'safeguarding of truth, the application of justice, and the defence of liberty', he manifested his joy at finding that the Slavonic peoples 'sorely tried by the bitter experience of their recent and remote past, were expending all their energy in their spiritual unity'. 'Slav solidarity', he concluded, 'is manifested, today more than ever, with the help of our mother, Russia, and of Generalissimo Stalin; it is the surest guarantee of the development of the Slavonic peoples'.

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In Bulgaria the clergy, after seventy-five years of schism, returned to nominal obedience to the Patriarchate of Con-

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when the word 'Uniat' will survive only as a historical idea'.

The Vatican published a note contesting the validity of this Council, recalling that part of the Catholic clergy of the Ukraine had been cast into prison; it saw, in the Lwow decision, the result of political pressure exercised by apostate priests.[4]

Nevertheless, the movement spread. The Patriarch Alexis, addressing the Uniats of Ukraine—formerly Poles or Czechs—put its development in the domain of political realities: 'You have always been united to Russia and her people by ties of language and of customs. Now that Divine Providence has restored to Russia her ancient frontiers, you are with us for ever'.

In any case the role of Uniatism as the vanguard of Catholicism in the Slavonic world seems to be, if not completed, at least paralysed for many a year, despite the resistance of part of the clergy and the support the dissentients can expect from the Catholic Ukrainians of Canada and the United States. The Bulletin of the Moscow Patriarchate[5] defined the lines on which the 'unification' is being carried on, by opposing the 'œcumenical spirit' to the 'imperialist spirit'. 'Universality is of God; Imperialism is of Cæsar. A new Orthodox era has been inaugurated by the rebirth of Western Orthodoxy at the great Council of Moscow; by the renewal of communion between the Russian Orthodox Church and her Eastern sisters; by the end of schisms and discords among the Orthodox (especially the reconciliation of the Bulgarian Church with Moscow, and the restoration of her rights to the autocephalous Georgian Church, brought into subjection to the Moscow Synod by the will of the autocratic Tsarist régime); by the journey of the Patriarch Alexis who, for the first time, went to pray at the Holy Sepulchre in 1945; and by the visit which the Metropolitan Nicolaï made to the Orthodox Christians of Western Europe'.

Indeed, Orthodoxy is driving its offensive towards the West,

[4] Radio-Moscow protested, in its turn, against this assertion, affirming that the Council represented 78% of the whole of the Uniat clergy. As for the bishops incarcerated before the meeting of the Council, these were, they said, traitors or accomplices of the German occupation. Cf., for the Catholic point of view on Moscow's policy regarding the Uniats, Charles Pichon: *Le Vatican*, in the series *Le Monde et l'Histoire* (Editions S.E.F.I.), pp. 396 *et seq.* According to Pichon only 5% of the Uniat priests had obeyed the Soviet injunctions.

[5] Of February 2, 1947.

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642 175 563 the preceding Constitutions, this one contained no clause designed to protect minorities.

[666] The elections, postponed until May 30,[1] gave 88 per cent of the votes (6,429,145) to the National Front, but the figure of 770,100 blank voting slips exceeded that anticipated by the Government. The latter was, however, fully master of the situation. On June 14 Clement Gottwald was elected President of the Republic, on the unanimous vote of the 296 deputies present. Under the chairmanship of Zapotocki, he formed a Cabinet on the lines of the previous one (sixteen Communists or supporters, and six non-Communists); the portfolio of Foreign Affairs remained in the hands of Klementis, who replaced Masaryk. The new Head of the Government announced implacable repressive action against 'those guilty of disorder or confusion, who seek to hinder the reconstruction of the country'.

[661] 659 798 175 Indeed, during the months that followed, there was a vigorous purging of diplomacy, the army, the police. But, in 1949, it was the religious question which was to dominate political life, owing to an offensive conducted against the Roman Church, opposing the old Czech Hussite spirit to Catholicism, the dominant trait in the Slovak national character.

Gottwald and his ministers, relying on this 'religious geography' peculiar to Czechoslovakia, embarked upon a struggle with the clergy in the domain of monopoly of the schools. They pursued the contest by seeking to alienate the Catholic Church from her natural hierarchy, and by encouraging the 'schism' of the Czech 'National' Church. To protest against the obstacles put in the way of the exercise of the cult, the bishops drew up a pastoral letter, setting forth the conditions required in order to regularise relations between the Church and the State. The Government forbade the distribution of the pastoral; infringements of this decree, specially numerous in Slovakia, were sternly repressed. Mgr. Beran, Archbishop of Prague, was detained in his palace; the civil authority created 'Catholic Action', an official organisation placed under the control of priests with Communist leanings. At the head of this movement was the Minister of Public Health, Father Plojhar, suspended by the ecclesiastical authorities for having sought a legislative mandate without his bishop's permission.

Tension rose with the 'resolutions' passed on June 28 by the

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Congregation of the Holy Office, forbidding the publication and diffusion of Communist doctrine.

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So the *Kulturkampf* was waged, now energetically, now quietly. The Prague Government was accused by the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of violating 'human dignity and civilisation'; once more the conflict passed from the national to the international level, symbolising the ideological antagonism which exists between the Soviet world and the Western democracies. Neither the Government nor the clergy showed any signs of weakening. On November 17 the bishops again asked the civil power to abandon the laws relating to religious teaching, as conceived by the State, and the interference of lay authorities in the nomination of priests and the administration of Church property.

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The end of the year 1949 was marked by waves of purges in Communist circles, and by fresh trials on charges of treason, incriminating, like those of Budapest and Sofia, Tito's 'agents' or 'accomplices'.

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During this period politics in Poland were somewhat less sensational than in the other Slav countries. There again, however, the régime of 'popular democracy' evolved in the direction of Stalin-Marxism. The struggle against the Church was less open, and did not, as in Czechoslovakia, go to the length of making the clergy civil servants. The Government concentrated its efforts particularly on increasing exports, on economic reconstruction, and on exploiting the German lands brought under its control—and these efforts, it must be admitted, were attended with remarkable results.

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The German Question was its chief external problem; in its view, it was France's policy in respect of the Reich which prevented the renewal of the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance. What Warsaw particularly feared was lest a change of attitude on the part of the Allies towards Germany should reopen the question of the Oder-Neisse frontier, which the Poles considered sacrosanct, but which transferred to them territories whose final allocation was, legally, postponed until the making of the peace treaty for the Reich.

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The most sensational event was the nomination (on November 7) of Rokossovsky, the Soviet Marshal (of Polish

2 [1949 -- Analyst] 2 [1949 -- Analyst]

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175 the idealism of the Serbian spirit at its highest point. For the night before the battle the Serbian Tsar had a vision in which he was offered the choice between an earthly and a heavenly crown. He chose the heavenly and rode out to the conflict and his own death on the morrow, knowing that from the earthly point of view all was already lost. There is something truly Orthodox here and especially perhaps Slav Orthodox, for Russian religion, too, is permeated by reverence for suffering in body or mind and a sense of its regenerating power.[1] It is this dark day of Kossovo which has become the National Day of the Serbian people. Day of utter defeat and obliteration of earthly hope as it was Kossovo Day has been observed ever since as a yearly memorial of the greatness of the past, and an occasion of self-dedication to the Serbia of the future.

But the new chapter of Balkan history which immediately follows bears the record of the Turk whose rule was marked by casual neglect, haphazard uncertainty and ingenious brutality.

The City of Constantine held fast for another sixty years. Then its walls were breached, and in the breach the last Byzantine Emperor died. Mahomet, the conqueror, rode to Justinian's Church of the Holy Wisdom where he dismounted and entered. He stopped the pillage that had already begun, and caused a passage from the Koran to be read from the pulpit.

For good and evil, Christian Byzantium had played out its part at the meeting place of East and West. Alexander's *Drang nach Osten* had come back like a flowing tide.

•798 The story of the Orthodox Church under the Turkish régime is one to excite both admiration and pity. The Turkish point of view must be grasped. They drew no distinction between nationality and religion, to them secular and religious politics were one and the same. This might be said of the Byzantine Empire too, but with a difference. Within the latter, there was a Church distinct from, and it might be, opposed to, the State. The Turkish armies sallied out with the con-

[1] Cf. Gorodetzky: *The Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought*, London, 1938.

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viction that the world was to be subdued to Islam. If the people they conquered were simple pagans they were offered the crisp alternative of accepting either Islam or death. But the Jews and the Christians were different. They were recognized as being, like the Mohammedans themselves, People of the Book. Each had a scripture, a written record of revelation. Their faith was regarded by the Turks as true but incomplete, since Mahomet had superseded both Moses and Christ. 798

The Orthodox were, therefore, permitted to survive and to practise their religion, but under severe restrictions. They had to pay tribute, to wear a distinctive dress and to conform to other irritating and humiliating regulations. In practising their religion they had to refrain from letting any outward sign of it be seen or heard, there were to be no crosses, for instance, on their churches, and no bells were to be rung. All this was the letter of the Law, nor was there any guarantee that it would be adhered to by the victorious Turkish governors; indeed, it was often violated by a harsh sultan or a bloodthirsty local administrator. There was much suffering and many instances of martyrdom. Doubtless there were many cases of apostasy also.[1] Social pressure was a more effective agent in winning converts to Islam than deliberate oppression and direct official action.[2] Its results are to be seen in the atrophy of the Christian Church in North Africa, and in the considerable number of adherents which Islam gained at the expense of Christianity in the Balkans.

But it is the glory of the Orthodox people as a whole that under centuries of Turkish oppression and misrule, with every inducement to abandon their religion, they remained faithful to it in spite of all.

For purposes of administration under the Turks the Orthodox Church became the *Rum Millet*—the Roman nation, with the Ecumenical Patriarch as its recognized head and representative. That is to say the Patriarch of Constantinople 793 659

[1] See Latourette : *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. III, p. 71 and f. London, 1945.

[2] It has been discovered in modern Russia that religion is like a nail, the harder you hit it, the deeper it goes in, and that the subtler policy of leaving social pressure to do its work is the wisest course for those who hope to see the disappearance of religion.

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In 1915 she declared war on Tsarist Russia, but refused to do so in 1940 on Soviet Russia, although she owed much to the former and nothing to the latter. Even then, in 1915, she was obliged to intern a good many politicians and generals before embarking on her campaign, a campaign which, in actual fact, both sides conducted in 'slow motion'. The Russian Black Sea Fleet fired fifty-nine shells on Varna; in the Dobrudja, the Bulgarians were opposed to the Rumanians and to the Serbian Corps, while the Germans were engaged with the Russians of Chtcherbatchev. This realist nation, little given to passionate or ideological enthusiasms, nevertheless showed a curious obstinacy in 'backing the wrong horse'. In 1913, 1915, and 1942, they entered the war with the winners, and came out of it with the vanquished. The 'Macedonian psychosis' periodically pushed them into the arms of 'liberators', only to end by sharing their defeat.

186* 648 [721]

After the Treaty of Neuilly, the Bulgarian propagandists realised the error made by their leaders. They returned to the theme of Slavonic affinities, to the pro-Russian tradition. 'We Bulgarians', said the *Narodna Otbrana*,[13] 'have been the pioneers of a foreigners' policy, and have pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for others'. 'The future of Bulgaria is closely bound up with that of Russia', proclaimed the Minister, Bakalov.[14] And Stamboliiski entered into a mortal struggle with the Macedonian organisation, to clear the way for an entente with Belgrade. He succumbed in this struggle; his successors realised, after much shilly-shallying, that this policy was a reasonable one, but could not be imposed until the psychological atmosphere it had always lacked had been prepared for it.

And yet, paradoxical as it may seem, in the thick of the fratricidal struggles in which she has engaged, Bulgaria has never stifled her inner feeling of community of destiny with Serbia. When the Bulgarian resistance collapsed in 1918, a Deputy-Prefect of the occupying authorities took leave of the inhabitants of his administrative district in these terms: 'We shall perhaps

[13] Of June 30, 1920.

[14] The Bulgarian Church, like the Serbian-Orthodox Church, refused to make the religious calendar coincide with the civil calendar when the State adopted the Gregorian reckoning. The two Churches gave, as the reason for this refusal, the fact that it was impossible to come to an agreement with the Russian Church, which then had no competent representative.

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Congresses and Assemblies of the time, void of ideas, and absurd'.[1] 186 668

The poet and precursor of the Russian Slavophile current had been the Muscovite, Alexis Khomyakov, who was born in 1804, and died of cholera in 1860. Although a man of very wide and varied general culture (he invented a gun, and a new type of shell), he was deeply attached to national and religious traditions. Moving in literary and philosophical circles, which looked to the West for their standards, he felt a frenzied need for reaction. To the cosmopolitanism of ideas and to the philosophy of Schelling, with whom his contemporaries were infatuated, he opposed a new system, based on the obligation, for any nation wishing to attain its full development, to preserve its original atmosphere of faith, manners, and traditions. Thus, while the Czechs, the Croats, the Slovenes, had at first perceived in Slavism an instrument of joint solidarity and of liberation, Russia began by regarding it as a rampart against the intrusion of Western thought. 186* 156 829

The fundamental idea of the so-called Slavophile school was this: the West was in full decay; it was up to Russia to keep herself free of all contaminations, in order to play the regenerating role assigned to her by Providence. In the history of the universe, it was the destiny of each nation to realise one aspect of human genius and to carry this realisation to its point of perfection. Ancient Greece expressed plastic beauty, Rome's mission was to realise the conception of the State, and of Law. The Christian peoples of Western Europe had developed Rationalism and its applications to actual life by giving special prominence to individualist doctrines; witness Luther's doctrine, English political Liberalism, French equalitarianism. 186* 812

The late-comers in history, Russia and the other Slavonic peoples, still had a decisive role to play in the evolution of humanity—to define the social value of love and brotherhood. The Slavonic race would find, in its mentality and institutions, the necessary conditions for fulfilling this mission. All it had to do was to foster and develop its original characteristics.

That was the psychological and providential aspect of the Slavophile thesis, in which we find unconscious reminiscences of

[1] *Confession*, p. 105 *sqq.*

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186* the Hegelian philosophical construction, whence came the
• 812 German Ultranationalist ideal, and which was now, through Khomyakov and his school (Kirejevsky, Constantin and Ivan Aksakov, Youri Samarin), to give rise to a powerful anti-Germanist reaction.

186* Khomyakov's odes constitute what we might call the epigraph
539 of Muscovite Slavophilia. They are a pathetic and prophetic appeal to Slav solidarity: 'Look Southwards over the vast steppes, and the distant West. . . . Numerous are they, in the Carpathians and in the chasm of the Balkans, numerous are our brethren, slaves of the Turk or of the German. . . . Warm them at the fire of your love, and the day will come when the eaglets, our brethren, bursting their bonds with their brazen beaks, will, in their turn, fly off, as eagles fly'. (*Ode to the Eagle,* 1832.) The *leitmotiv* of these odes is the divine mission of Russia, who is to raise up her brethren and snatch them from the oppressor's yoke. But this mission does not go beyond a moral hegemony. 'Be not proud', says the poet elsewhere, 'in your dealings with Belgrade, O Prague, capital of the Czech countries! Despise not the Bohemian sanctuary of Vychegrad, O Moscow of the gilded domes! Brothers in blood, let us all remember that we owe each other equal and fraternal affection'.

186* The Slavophile school, in its early days, had what we should
208 now call a 'bad press'. The Westernists, who then controlled the critics and moulded opinion, represented Khomyakov's
[292] friends as Chauvinists and Obscurantists. People made fun of their faith in the native virtues of the *moujik,* their extravagances in the matter of dress, the *mourmolka,* the traditional bonnet which they had adopted with the Russian costume, and especially at their illusions as to the expansion-power of Russian culture at that time. Nothing is so dangerous as a metaphor cast into the whirlpool of international life. Pushkin had one day written this unfortunate line:—

> 'Will the Slavonic streams all come and lose themselves in the Russian Ocean?'

186* That was sufficient to lend credence to the idea that Russia considered herself to have a divine mission, that of liberating her racial brethren, and grouping them around her. When the Russians spoke of 'Slavophilia', the West persisted in understanding 'Panslavism'. Yet they were two very different things.

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same problem—she was to become eventually *the* liberator, *the* protector, *the* unifier. For this reason these two expressions of the Panslavistic idea differ not only in their aims but also in their historical origins.

From the modern point of view—from the point of view of the political implications which the Panslavistic doctrine contains—the Russian aspect is, of course, much more important. Let us, therefore, devote our attention first of all to Russian Panslavism.

The direct ancestor of the Russian Panslavistic conceptions belonging to the second part of the nineteenth century is to be found in the famous school of the Muscovite Slavophils and Messianists. The formation of this school resulted from different sources, and here again one finds interweaving ramifications of Slavic and Western European thought.

If one were to enumerate the different germs of ideas, programs, currents of thought, sometimes divergent and contradictory, which brought about the actual birth of the Slavophil idea in different Slavic countries, one would be obliged first of all to stress the fact that it took place in the nineteenth century and that it was in harmony with the political atmosphere of the rest of Europe. We find its ultimate sources in a variety of places. There was, for instance, the tenet of universal brotherhood which the Masonic Societies in particular had spread at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. To the same period belong the works of the German-Russian scholar August L. von Schloezer, the philosophies of Herder, Rousseau, and the Romantics. From the Christian standpoint a kind of Messianism came to the fore with the sentimental attachment of the Romantics to the Bible and with Bossuet's reliance upon the Hebrew prophets. Mention must also be made of the German philosophers Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel. Along with the conception of the unity of the Slav world which arose out of the studies of the European ethnographers and philologists, went the demand for the freedom of the oppressed nations—a demand proclaimed and strengthened by the French Revolution. The movement toward

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186* a Slavophil philosophy was fostered by the propaganda of Czechs
829 like Dobrovský, Kollár, and others who championed the claims of
● 812 freedom for people of good will—propaganda based on affection for the national past and on Catholic conservatism which saw in the Slav world, and particularly in Orthodox Russia, a bulwark against Western Jacobinism. Finally there were many political factors to be taken into account: on one hand, the role of Russia in the Napoleonic Wars and the growing political power of Russia, which was held to be the only power able to win freedom for the Slavic nations; and on the other, the anti-Russian tendencies voiced in the Polish risings, the leaders of which considered the enemy a nest of political reactionaries and a stronghold of violence. All these elements, various and even contradictory though they were, contributed to the establishment of the Slavophil doctrine and at the same time indicated the goal which it might ultimately attain.[3] As far as the purely Russian Slavophil and hence Panslavistic doctrine is concerned, some other factors must also be taken into consideration.

186* I must start *ab ovo*. For several very important historical rea-
175 sons the Byzantine political influence in Moscow, in the Muscovite ideology, became particularly potent. I have in mind the fall of Byzantium and some other events bound up with this great
[648] catastrophe. In connection with the more and more imminent Turkish menace, in order to save Byzantium, in order to organize a coalition against the Turks, men in the Roman Church began to consider with even more urgency the already existing concept of a possible union of the two churches; and at the Council of Florence in 1439 the union of the churches was accomplished. The whole Greek world accepted this union. The representative of the Muscovite Church at the Council, the Metropolitan Isidor, also adhered to the union; but unfortunately his adherence did not conform to sentiments at home. And when he reached Moscow, after celebrating masses in Cracow, he was confronted by com-

[3] This follows my articles, "Poland and the Slavophil Idea" published in the *Slavonic and East European Review*, London, 1928 29.

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186* 175 648 literary purposes. Symptomatically two of the men most actively associated with this denationalizing, Russianizing policy, were among the most prominent Slavophil or Panslav Muscovites of the day: Prince Cherkassky and Yuri Samarin, a close friend of Aksakov."[16]

186* 668 Cherkassky, Samarin, and N. A. Milyutin worked at the agrarian reform in Poland, and Cherkassky "distinguished" himself in the campaign for reuniting the Uniates with the Orthodox Church. "Samarin and Cherkassky are significant in the Panslav movement in that, unlike Aksakov or the earlier Slavophils, and unlike the professorial type, represented by Lamansky, Miller, or Grot, they were active in administration and were well-known public figures. . . . Both men are also, above all, significant as representing the transformation of the idea of Panslavism into that of Panrussianism." (*op. cit.*, *p.* 67) Characteristically enough, Samarin was, besides all the traits mentioned by Sumner, a "considerable theologian," the collaborator of Khomyakov in this field.

186* 812 It is not mere chance that I mention this trait of Samarin's personality. The Slavophil doctrine was from its very beginning deeply rooted in religious thought. The father of the Muscovite school, Ivan Kireevsky, was first of all absorbed by problems of religious and moral categories. Parallel to the pre-Romantics, the Romantics, and the German idealistic philosophers, he was primarily interested in the spiritual structure of the human personality and in the problem of perfecting it. He was fighting for the unity and entirety of the human personality and believed that the superior truth cannot be conceived by rationalism but by the entire spiritual personality in which the factors of feeling and belief were more efficient than reason. M. Gershenzon, in his book, *Istoricheskie Zapiski* (Berlin, 1932), sensationally enough stresses that Kireevsky committed a mistake which became the starting point for the whole Slavophil Doctrine. Milyukov pretends that the century-old Russian trends toward Constantinople and world domination also originated from a mistake—from an orthographic

[16] B. H. Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

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mistake. I shall not try to discover whether or not Gershenzon was right. The point is that Kireevsky's example did not represent any exception. But what was the mistake? The mistake consisted in the fact that conceptions of the law of universal improvements based on a metaphysical truth led Kireevsky and all his followers to the belief that the Russian past, the Russian nation, and Russian Orthodoxy represented the incarnation of that law of universal improvement and of that metaphysical truth. These beliefs led them to their violent hatred for Peter the Great (the brother of Ivan Kireevsky, Peter Kireevsky, hated Peter the Great to such a degree that he was deeply ashamed of the fact that he himself bore the same name) and for Western Europe, and led them to the most simplified and crude philosophical interpretation of the historical development of Europe, which they based, by the way, again on European conceptions—on Guizot's triad: Roman heritage, Catholicism, and conquest. A one-sided rationalism characterized, in their opinion, modern Europe — to which they opposed Russia.

Exactly the same might be said about Samarin, who was, as I mentioned before, plunged in religious and theological speculations and whose philosophy was based on religious personalism and Providentialism. But what is striking is precisely this—that all these men, personally honest and dignified, busy with problems of individual self-perfection, demanding Christianization of international relations, immediately lost and forgot all these speculations as soon as they touched problems connected with concrete political facts. And the respect which they had for the nation, as such, was practically confined to the Russian nation alone, as without Orthodoxy the nation did not mean anything to them. On the other hand, no less characteristic of these self-perfectionists is the dissolution of the individual in their conceptions of the village community and of the choral principle—in the thesis of the Orthodox *sobornost'*. There is hidden their Achillean heel. We shall see later to what ultimate aberrations these doctrines led, for instance in the case of Leont'ev, who praised the "ignorance of the

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186* Russian people" as a guarantee against the dangers of European
812 rationalism.

3. Goldmann, Pogodin, Stur

186* The above mentioned remarks of Sumner about the role of
829 men like Samarin and Cherkassky illustrate the fact that although in the beginning the Slavophils were not always in *odore sanctitatis* in the official quarters in Petersburg, that situation changed; the government appeared ready to use some of their conceptions. However, similar arguments and weapons for the fight against Poland—sometimes even sharpened ones—were offered to the government from other sides also. We may find a fascinating example of this in the Goldmann episode.

Charles Edward Goldmann, a German and a paid agent of the Russian government, wrote two books: *Die Europäische Pentarchie*, published in 1839 and *Europa's Cabinette und Allianzen*, published in 1862, and several memoirs which he presented to the Russian government. In his writings he tried to prove that the original religion of the Poles was the eastern Greek religion, that this religion had been uprooted by the Latin priests, that the oldest Polish Christian cathedral in Gniezno had been transformed from a Greek into a Catholic one. He attacked and derided the Polish emigration: "Polish emigration?—Does not England hang it *en masse* in Canada, while it dies from starvation in the hospitable England and the French throw it as a prey to the Bedouins, to the roulette, or to the *rouge et noir?* Russia knows very well that England and France in their nobleness and magnanimity would put the emigration next to the lackeys in their state carriage."

Goldmann also gives very valuable advice to the Russian government on how to eradicate the Polish spirit. First of all, Poland must be cut from the West, and Polish scholarship must be submerged in the Russian, the Latin traditions must be uprooted, and above all the Napoleonic Codex which rules Poland must be liquidated; the other Latin institution which must be destroyed is the

S.P. T.R. 578 186 centuries. However, formerly the conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, did not exist in its present day sense. On the contrary, the two parts had a sense of kinship, or even of unity, as may be seen in an examination of the motives for which Bohdan Khmelnitskyj gave himself to Moscow and to Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (in 1653), after detaching the Ukraine from Poland.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 The conflict[1] between the two Russian nations did not in fact break out until the Nineteenth Century.

Its basic causes were:

1. The efforts of the Ukrainians to create or to revive a language and a literature of their own.

2. A whole series of scientific discussions upon the question as to what were the connections between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, especially from a linguistic and an anthropological viewpoint.

Finally and above all:

3. The actual political and social status of the Ukrainians in the Empire and the general development in these latter years of social and democratic ideas.

/53/ Thus today the conflict is moving more and more from the literary and scientific field into the political field.

S.P. T.R. 578 668 538 The conflict began in 1798, when J.P. Kotljarevs'kji published in Ukrainian his Aeneid. From that date on there has been a great effort to create an indigenous literature. But these tendencies were quickly opposed by the government, which feared that this literary separatism might be prejudicial to national unity. And upon various occasions, especially in 1847, 1863, and 1876, it was forbidden to print or publish, save for a few rare exceptions, books in Ukrainian. But the result of these prohibitions was completely opposite from that which was intended. The tendencies toward literary emancipation asserted themselves so much the more strongly as they were more rigorously suppressed, and they found favorable soil in eastern Galicia, which belongs, as we know, to Austria.

S.P. T.R. 197 814 829 On the other hand, the conflict,[1] strengthened by the scientific discussions concerning the ties between the two nations, became aggravated. There were arguments about the antiquity of the Ukrainian idiom, especially in the Kiyev region, about the question of

[1] [Between Great Russians and Ukrainians, et. cet. 116, pp. 35-37. Ed.]

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determining who had produced the earliest Russian annals and the first Russian literature in the State of Kiyev. These polemics took place especially between 1850 and 1860; they were marked by the works of Sreznevskii, of Lavrovskii, and particularly of Pogodin, who pretended to demonstrate that up to the fourteenth century /54/ Kiyev had been occupied by the Great Russians, the initiators of the history and the literature of the region, and that the Ukrainians had not come from the Carpathians until after the Tatar conquest. This theory found opponents among the historians of the Ukraine; it was revived later with much greater energy (in 1883) from a linguistic point of view by Sobolevskii, and refuted with no less vigor by the historians Dashkevich, Antonovitch, Grouchevsky, A. Iablononskii, and the philologists V. Jagić, A. Shakhmatov, A. Krymskyj, A. Kolessa, A. Loboda, etc.

Naturally, no one limited himself to the question of discovering when the Ukrainians first settled in Kiyev. They also studied the degrees of kinship of the two idioms. Was there only a single Russian language with two dialects, or must two different languages be recognized? These debates, in which the principal Russian and Slavic philologists participated, oddly favored the theory which tended to separate the two groups and to widen the chasm which was being dug between them.

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But these theoretical polemics were not confined to the linguistics with which they dealt more and more frequently, and with a constant recourse to scholarly apparatus. Maksimovich had already declared that not only two languages, but two national types must be recognized in Russia; but he did not clearly formulate his doctrine. It was Kostomarov who ventured to do this and /55/ who produced a veritable revolution. He was followed by an entire series of anthropologists.

Maksimovich had not succeeded in formulating a precise distinction: Kostomarov succeeded in this in the article entitled: "The two Russian nationalities" published by the review Osnova (the Basis) in 1861. In this he pointed out the differences of history, of language, of customs, of character, of physical appearance, and he laid down this theory: that there are not only two Russian languages, but also two nationalities which differ completely the one from the other, and which history alone has united into a single unit.

This theory of Kostomarov had great success; it was developed

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and led to the following conclusion: Of the two nationalities only one, that of the Ukrainians, is purely Slav; the peoples who live to the north and to the east of the Dvina and the Dnepr are not Slavs, but Finns, Tatars, or Turani more or less affected by Slavic influences, whose entire organization, and whose absolutist government in particular, are Asiatic in origin and character.

This conclusion, which the inventors of the theory of the two nationalities had scarcely suspected, found favorable soil, in particular among the Polish victims of the ill-omened revolution of 1863. And it was through their emigration that the doctrine of the two Russias, the one Slavic, the other Turanian, was propagated. Among the propagators of this doctrine, let us mention only the /56/ names of Dushinskii and of his wife Severina Duchinska, of Buszczynski and of the French historian Henri Martin. (1)

1. Several times I have had the opportunity of expressing myself on these theories and on the misuse which Dushinskii and his disciples claim has been made of them. See especially La Revue des Cours letteraires (year 1868) and my Souvenirs d'um Slavophile (pp. 20-25, Paris, Hachette, 1905). Translator.

This theory did not find as favorable soil among the Ukrainians; but it has been accepted in various ways, and it explains to us the epithet, Khazars, (2) which is sometimes given to the Great Russians;

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2. The Khazars, formerly Kozares, a Scythian people according to the Russian Chronicle said to be by Nestor. See my translation of this chronicle (page 325). Translator.

this epithet apparently came from completely inaccurate ideas as to the origin of the Great Russians. The anthropologists have treated the question in a more scientific manner by indicating the considerable differences which exist between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. The Ukrainians are for the most part brachycephalic and of dark complexion, while the Great Russians are generally of light complexion; at the same time it is demonstrated that dark brachycephalic type is the pure Slavic type (Volkov, Taylor). But this theory, although it has a certain amount of data in its favor, cannot be considered as proven. There is another one, which considers the Belorussian and Great Russian type as the true type of the Slavs; and this theory has in its favor at least as many arguments to /57/ make it worthy of belief. And the differences that arise within each of the two groups

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Polish women), despite all of the ill will of the government, are better educated than the Russians. Among the Russians there have been found 29.50% of the men and 9.34% of the women who are literate. Among the Poles the proportions are 34.78% and 29.40%.

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S 14. Differentiation.---We find also among the Poles rather considerable internal differences; but these are not reasons for dividing the nation into various nationalities. Moreover, the question has not been studied sufficiently, and not enough attention has been paid to it to enable one to distinguish from a scientific point of view the various Polish groups. Much material has been gathered together, especially, from the point of view of folklore, by Oscar Kolberg, more recently by Jan Karlowicz and others, in the review Wisla (The Vistula), and from an anthropological viewpoint by J. Majer, K. Kopernicki, I. Talko-Hrynczewicz, W. Olechnowicz, L. Rutkowski, A. Zakrzewski. The field of linguistics has been studied in recent times /83/ by St. Dobrzycki, J. Karlowicz and K. Nitsch, but up until the present these researches have not been gathered together and digested in a single study. The customary division into large and small groups is above all based upon historic tradition; a more scientific division will be a task for the future. The Polish nation is generally divided into the following groups:

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1. The Great-Polish group occupies Silesia, Poznan, and Prussia;
2. The Mazovian group lives to the east of the preceding one in the basins of the Vistula, of the Narew, and of the Bug;
3. The Little-Polish group is settled to the south on the upper Vistula, as far as the Carpathians and the San;
4. A fourth group is formed by the Kashub on the shore of the Baltic.

The Great-Polish group was the first to serve as a rallying point for the ancient tribes, evidently under the pressure of the German race, and its language has become dominant; it is the one which constitutes the local idiom.

On the contrary, Mazovia and Little-Poland, regions which were forested and less accessible, have retained more originality and local character.

Taking into account the names by which the people distinguish the tribes and the regions, the Polish ethnographers--Karlowicz, for example--distinguished particularly the following tribes:

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V

Foundations of Russian Culture

175* Russia makes a relatively late appearance on the stage of
177 European civilization. A specifically Russian culture does not even begin until nearly 1000 A.D. with the conversion of Prince Vladimir I of Kiev in 989. In Western Europe, since the fall of the Roman Empire, a new civilization had by that time evolved from a fusion of Christian ideals with the survivals of classical culture. But medieval Russia derived its faith from Byzantium and from the Eastern branch of the church in which purely Latin culture played a subordinate role, since the dominant elements of Byzantine civilization were Hellenistic and oriental. The tradition of classical Latin culture, the influence of which never died out in Western Europe, was but one of the intellectual factors to which Russia was not exposed until its contact with the West was intensified by Peter the Great at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

178 Another vital agent in Western civilization which never
● 814 touched Russia directly was the complex of humanistic and renaissance ideals both in life and in literature. During the fourteenth century when the rising tide of humanism in Western Europe had revived the study of philosophy, politics, and science on the basis of classical sources, and when a fresh aesthetic pleasure was found not only in the imitation and the study of the ancients but also in the creation of new and popu-

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lar forms in vernacular letters, Russia was just recovering from the economically destructive and intellectually paralyzing effects of the Tartar conquest which had weighed the nation down since 1240. Medieval Moscow had nothing of the thirst for knowledge and the ambition for culture that inspired the foundation of German universities during the last half of the fourteenth century. It lacked the close contacts with Italy of the sixteenth which meant for Western Europe the infusion of art into literature and bore fruit in France in the works of Ronsard and the Pléiade or in England in the brilliance of Spenser and Sidney. This heritage was transmitted to Russia only in the eighteenth century as an element in the literary models and traditions then taken over bodily from the West.

Apart from the classical tradition of the Middle Ages and the revival of intellectual and artistic creative fervor during the Renaissance, there was a third important element in Western culture to which Russia was not directly exposed: the spirit of the Protestant Reformation. Russia had received the Christian faith from Byzantium. But the Eastern Orthodox and the Western Roman Catholic Churches were split by the schism of 1054, sixty-five years after the conversion of Kiev. The Eastern Church intensified its emphasis on mysticism and asceticism without the balance of social and cultural interests which fertilized the labors of the Roman Church in Western Europe. Then, after the contacts between the Russian Church and Constantinople became difficult because of precarious communication, and still more after the fall of the Byzantine Empire fifty years before Columbus discovered America, the church in Russia became petrified in dogma and sunk in debased formalism. It maintained no such tradition of learning, no such cult of scholastic philosophy as made the Roman Church a nucleus of productive thought even in those periods of European political history in which popular culture was at its lowest ebb. It was incapable of producing such bold and independent thinkers as a Wyclif, a Hus, a Luther, or a Calvin. Indeed, had such thinkers arisen, it is doubtful whether, even in the church or

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invaders as they fused with the native stocks, the Eastern Empire had grafted upon the legacy of Rome the picturesque and flamboyant features of oriental Christianity. Its autocratic sovereigns were the agents of God on earth under a system which combined in them the attributes of emperor and pope, and this factor ought especially to be borne in mind, because it not only explains the autocratic tradition later set up by the princes of Moscow but also lies at the root of the Russian tendency to attribute to all their rulers a sort of superhuman status. The superlative adulation showered on Joseph Stalin in our own day is in part a remote reflex of Byzantine influence. Then too, Constantinople before the arrival of the Crusaders was the greatest center of material civilization in the occidental world. Its buildings rivaled Rome in its prime. Its highly organized and stratified society, the splendor of its religious observances, its military prowess under the more gifted emperors, and its general atmosphere of wealth could not fail to create a lasting impression on visitors from less advanced regions.

But Byzantine civilization lacked the punch and the drive which characterized the best days of the Roman Empire or the realm of Charlemagne. In intellectual and literary matters the Eastern Empire was conservative. It studied the past without rivaling it with the products of contemporary creative imagination. It was compilatory rather than original. Byzantine scholars were the most learned men of their day, but their learning was accumulative, not productive. Byzantine historians composed voluminous chronicles without evolving a philosophy of history, while Byzantine theologians dissipated their energy on amenities of dogma argued with a bitterness which we should nowadays associate only with partisan politics. The Byzantine Church was more political than the Roman, more closely affiliated with the state, and hence less fundamentally spiritual in outlook. The literary tradition transmitted by the Byzantine Church was stiff and formalistic. and it was the misfortune of medieval Russia that the Byzantine influence was weakened by political events before it was absorbed by the

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814 younger state in a volume which might have served as a firm
829 basis for the development of a characteristic native culture.
175 The Russians before the Tartar invasion were always pupils; they originated very little that was independent of Byzantine models either in literature or in art.

177 In art, however, this imitation was productive and created
341 an architectural and a decorative tradition which lasted down into modern times. By the date of Vladimir's conversion, the basilica as a type of church architecture in Byzantium had been largely replaced by the cruciform church with one or with five cupolas. This was the type transmitted to Russia and still worthily represented by the great medieval churches of Kiev, Novgorod, Vladimir and even Moscow, though in the metropolis the more exotic forms and the onion-shaped dome derived
177 from wooden architecture prevail. The highly conventionalized
532 art of the icon dominated Russian painting until Western influences began to seep in during the seventeenth century, but this tradition was still vital enough before the first World War to influence the art of nineteenth-century religious and historical painters. For where the Byzantine tradition had taken firm root, the aesthetic appeal was long-lived and enduring.

538 In literature, along with lapidary works of religious implica-
186 tion, the Russian national spirit began to manifest itself in historical compilations during the eleventh century, and literary reflexes of folk poetry had already appeared before the Tartar conquest. But a truly national literature stems from a long educative process, and this process was interrupted in medieval Russia both by domestic politics and by nomadic inroads.

177 Where domestic disorders merely retarded the intellectual
779 advance of medieval Russia, the Tartar incursion brought it to a full stop. It has already been noticed what material impoverishment it had caused. But the Tartar domination was a far more serious factor in the deterioration of cultural and spiritual values. The church, to be sure, was treated with tolerance by the Tartars because it preached submission to

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Russian poets with more form than talent now began to celebrate official occasions and generous donors with ponderous odes. Handbooks of French pseudoclassic literary theory, like Boileau's *Art Poétique*, were translated and annotated. The Academy of Sciences, founded by Peter's widow in 1725, included not only imported German luminaries, but the first Russian natural scientist Michael Lomonosov, sometimes characterized as the Russian Franklin, but whom, on account of the universality of his talent, Pushkin, greatest of Russian poets, called "Russia's first university." He is also notable as the first proletarian in secular Russian letters, for he started his career as a poor fisherman's son far north on the White Sea. The first modern Russian history was composed during the reigns of Anna and Elizabeth by Basil Tatishchev, a former collaborator of Peter the Great. The purely intellectual progress in the thirty years after Peter's death was thus considerable, even though (with rare exceptions) it was confined to the aristocracy.

It is a matter of record that when Catherine II came to the throne in 1762 she was already familiar with the theories of the eighteenth-century French political philosophers and would have welcomed an opportunity to apply them. But her position had been won wholly by the aid of the landed gentry and the aristocratic guard regiments, who were unlikely to surrender any of their prerogatives or to consent to any mitigation of the institution of serfdom on which their economic existence was based. The great empress thus contributed little to social progress, and her educational innovations remained for the most part on paper. Yet through her interest in the satirical journal and in the drama, she stimulated the progress of Russian letters even if her social initiatives were weak. In that field others carried the torch. A Russian customs official, Alexander Radishchev, who had studied at Leipzig and digested the liberal philosophy of the day, in 1780 fired the opening gun against serfdom, and though the exploit sent him to Siberia, its echoes did not die away until the institution was abolished. At the same time, the spirit of social service inspired

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and industry by German immigrants to Bohemia and Poland 175*
require no demonstration. By virtue of its close political asso- 177
ciation with western Europe, Bohemia was speedily drawn into 648
European intellectual life, and as early as the thirteenth century Bohemian authors were reproducing in their own language the forms and content of German medieval literature. International culture was still more widely disseminated after the foundation of the University of Prague in 1348, and the Hussite movement produced a wave of intellectual activity which lasted until the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century.

Poland, because of its comparative remoteness and political 175*
instability, was not subject to the same cultural stimuli, and 177
the services rendered by the German settlers in Polish terri- 517
tory were exclusively practical and materialistic. The influence of the Polish crown was never strong enough, nor were its holders cultured enough, to exert a civilizing influence comparable to that which radiated from Prague. Only in the six- [871]
teenth century do we meet with a striking development of Polish literature, and here the productive influences were more those of the Renaissance than specifically German, especially since local education was dominated by the Jesuits and strictly limited to the classical curriculum. While German economic influence was strong in both the great western Slavic states, it was Bohemia which profited the most from the absorption of German culture, and it was not until the seventeenth century that political events halted the intellectual advance so auspiciously begun.

Yet it was in Bohemia that the first seeds of a new Slavic 182
racial consciousness sprouted early in the nineteenth century. 814
The age of enlightenment had emphasized the ideals of humanity, tolerance, and culture, and these ideals were spread throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy by the reforms of Joseph II. As a matter of fact, the principle of nationality was first formulated by a German, for it was Goethe's great friend and mentor Johann Gottfried Herder, who declared that "the

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most natural state is a state inhabited by a single nation with a single national character." This principle provoked a grateful echo in the minds of several outstanding Bohemian scholars and patriots. An ex-Jesuit, Joseph Dubrovski, the founder of Slavic philology as a discipline, was the first modern Bohemian patriot of nationalistic stamp, and his works gave to the whole Bohemian literary movement a pan-Slavist direction. He condemned Germanization, but not the Germans, and sincerely believed the Slavs destined to become the bearers of a new civilization. Through Dubrovski, the Czechs began to feel themselves a part of the great Slavic community, and expected to find support for their national aspirations in the new conception of a Slavic civilization.

Contemporary with Dubrovski (who died in 1839) was Joseph Jungmann, translator of *Paradise Lost* and of Châteaubriand's *Atala* who, by his compilation of the first Czech dictionary, revealed the wealth of the mother tongue and by his studies in literary history disclosed the richness and diversity of prior Bohemian literature. Dubrovski's work was carried on by the great antiquarian Paul Joseph Šafařík, a Slovak by birth, whose studies of the origins and expansion of the Slavs constitute a brilliant apologia for the Slavic nations. What Šafařík accomplished in the broad field of philology was duplicated in history by his younger Bohemian colleague, Francis Palacký, and these patriotic and scholarly efforts laid the foundations for a renaissance of Bohemian literature and of general Slavic intellectual life. The first models of the new literature were the products of the romantic movement in German letters, but Bohemian authors soon passed on to independent creation, and it was Joseph Kollár who, animated by his contacts at Jena with the literature of Young Germany, composed eloquent sonnets in which he called the scattered Slavs to solidarity and coöperation in the great work which he, as a disciple of Herder, believed was their destiny. In particular, Kollár preached a community of interests with the South Slavs, a principle which, had it been properly appreciated by

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the Austrian authorities, might have had incalculable consequences for the maintenance of their Empire.

The ideals preached by Palacký, who was as great a journalist as he was a historian, were first formulated in political terms just prior to the revolutionary year 1848, which signalized the end of Metternich's regime and the dawn of constitutionalism in Austria. It was thus Palacký who advocated an autonomous Bohemia including all the lands which had formerly belonged to the Bohemian crown, together with as much of Hungary as was populated by Slovaks: the principle, indeed, upon which the Czechoslovak state was subsequently erected. It is significant, moreover, that the German elements in Bohemia were inclined to support the Czechs in their agitation for autonomy. But the federal idea was never realized in Austria-Hungary before the monarchy dissolved in 1918, and Bohemian hopes in this direction were dashed by the Austrian Constitution of 1867, which gave the Hungarians a preferred position, as compared with the Slavs, by establishing the principle of dualism, by making Hungary practically autonomous, and by settling the Magyar domination upon Slovaks and Croats. This loss was to some extent offset by educational concessions to the Czechs, since in the previous twenty years Bohemian national consciousness had consolidated to an extraordinary degree through the increased use of the native language and the improved status of both peasants and the middle class. The romantic emphasis laid by Palacký on the glorious past of Bohemia thus proved an altogether healthy spur to the national ambition.

Though after 1867 there was never any real reconciliation between Prague and Vienna, the material prosperity of Bohemia advanced rapidly in the next fifty years, and the part still played by the German element in Bohemia before the war of 1914 is evidenced by the fact that, though they comprised only 37 per cent of the population, they paid 50 per cent of the taxes. But while the Czechs never lost sight of the federalist ideal, this principle was looked on with disfavor by the Viennese

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to add that, from the last quarter of the nineteenth century up to the Sarajevo outrage, Slavonic problems were localised in the Balkans, and that this did not help to facilitate their understanding, nor to procure for them an impartial judgement? 186* 829 208

European 'volcano,' or 'rheumatism,' 'nest of vipers'—day in, day out, metaphors such as these flowed from the pens of our propagandists and diplomats when they were reviewing Balkan politics, because they were not prepared to admit that the crises in which these politics involved Europe were simply the repercussions of rivalry and scheming among the Great Powers.

If we leave diplomatic and political circles and pass to the public at large, we find that the word 'Slav' aroused more distrust than curiosity. For some people, it smacked of Nihilism or of Revolution; for others (forgetting that more than a quarter of the Slavonic world is Catholic) it held a menace to the unity of the Church. Slav refugees had fought on all the barricades during the nineteenth century; their names figured largely in the police alien records. In short, this word 'Slavism' suggested a set of psychological characteristics, rather than a geographical or national reality, and these characteristics—or their interpretation—made up a picture which the average Frenchman did not find very reassuring for Latin civilisation.

Whereas the political world adopted the caricature of Slavism outlined by the diplomats of the Ballplatz, the intellectual world, in its turn, often fell under German influence when dealing with the problems of Slavonic life. There was, in France, especially after 1870, a brilliant school of Slavicisers, who had studied the question on the spot. But for a long time it was restricted to a small number of enthusiasts, who lacked a sufficiently numerous audience to popularise their teaching. [814]

Moreover, the early history of this teaching was unfortunate. The first holder of the Chair 'of Slavonic Language and Literature' at the *Collège de France* was Poland's most celebrated poet, Adam Mickiewicz. He was denounced to the Senate as a 'Panslavist'—a vague, but serious offence. For the time being, a well-chosen plural was sufficient to remove this offence: the chair changed its title and became the 'Chair of Languages and Literatures of Slavonic Origin'. Later on, however, Mickiewicz, accused of exaggerated mysticism and eccentricity, was obliged to give up lecturing altogether. The fate 186* 558

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186* 558 of his successor, Cyprien Robert, from Anjou, was scarcely less romantic. After the 1848 rising he was suspected of having left for America, with the followers of Cabet, in search of Icaria. This sufficed to give credence to the idea that Slavology tends to unbalance those who profess it.

186* 814 With Louis Léger, it is true, this science found its equilibrium and its discipline. But under Léger's guidance, Slavonic research tended to centre around Philology, and this orientation seems to have been permanent. The instruction gained in solidity what it lost in breadth; its beneficiaries, necessarily restricted in number, have never succeeded in forming a political team of Slavicisers such as would have given our diplomacy the orientation it lacked at the time of the two great crises of the present century.

Apart from what we may call Germanic interference, the Slavs have done a great deal towards helping to obscure or to emphasise their own characteristic features. What chance was there, in the past, of forming impartial ideas about the Russians from Polish testimony, or vice versa? About the Czechs, from Russian testimony? Or about the Catholic Slavs, from the testimony of the Orthodox? Outside an *élite* of thinkers, poets, scholars, who were the promoters and leading spirits of Slavonic Congresses, there was, between these nations, presumed to be of the same stock, nothing but rivalry, quarrels, and mistrust—piously encouraged, moreover, by their powerful neighbours. Denominational differences were stronger than race-solidarity; the Moujik felt that a Rumanian who made his sign of the cross with three fingers was nearer to him than the Slovak or the Croat who made his with his whole hand, or than the Czech philosopher, persecuted by the Austrian authorities as a 'dangerous Panslavist'.

[177] The inter-penetration of the different sections of Slavonic culture was so little developed that the great Russian poet, Pushkin, was deceived by Mérimée's literary hoax, when the latter published, under the title of *Guzla,* a so-called translation of Dalmatian songs.

186* 538 When Russian literature was revealed to the West, the latter greeted it with a defiant, or perverse, curiosity. *Monstrum invenimus.* French scholars saw in it less a new philosophy of life than an intellectual or sentimental pathology. De Voguë, who introduced the Russian novel into France, warned his readers

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186* Russia to the Court of Versailles. This belongs to the prolific family of apocryphal documents in which the presumed projects of deceased monarchs have found an imaginary embodiment. But this forgery has often been invoked as an argument in favour of the existence of 'Panslavism'. Now, it does contain a programme of Russian expansion, and allusions to the Balkan Christians, but nothing more specifically affecting the Slavs. Which proves, at the very least, that his own contemporaries did not regard the founder of Modern Russia as the instigator of a policy of Slav solidarity.

186* 175 648 Under Catharine, every war against the Ottoman Empire was the occasion of levies of Slav contingents. After the failure of their risings, large bodies of Slavs took refuge in the South of Russia, where vast districts were allotted to them. During the Napoleonic wars, Admiral Seniavin's fleet, at the Cattaro Delta, assisted the combined Montenegrins and Serbs. But, at the Congress of Vienna, a failure on the part of Russian diplomacy caused the Cattaro Delta to be handed back to the Austrians. It was alleged that Alexander I had agreed to this betrayal of the Slavs, as the price of a night spent with the beautiful Madame de Metternich. Notwithstanding, Suvorov's victories prepared the way for the Serbian insurrection; when this broke out, the Russian general, O'Rurck, joined Karageorge, to beat the Turkish army at Varvarino, to the north of Nish.

Up to the nineteenth century, the Empire of the Tsars remained aloof from the European concert. When it did join in, through the expedient of the Holy Alliance, it espoused interests which were not its own, and for which, moreover, it showed little concern, by backing up the Balkan risings. In this way it tried its utmost to sponsor solidarity among the absolutist régimes, while at the same time supporting the Orthodox minorities.

186* 178 814 But the movement whose watchword was defence of 'brothers in race', did not arise in official circles. It was a creation of the 'intelligentsia'. It received its first impetus from the immense work of the German historical school in the second third of the nineteenth century. 'Sanctus amor patriae dat animum', the epigraph to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, inspired Chafarik's *Slavonic Antiquities* in 1837, and Palatsky's *History of Bohemia*. The Slavs threw themselves passionately into these

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studies, and allowed themselves to be infected with that racial pride which German science displayed, with a tremendous orgy of texts and compilations. 186* 178 814

Kollár, a Slovak, Koukouljevich, a Croat, Kopitar and Stanko Vraz, two Slovenes, with Vuk Karajich, a Serb, formed the pleiad of romantic scholars and men of letters who revealed to the Slav peoples the common basis of their culture and their traditions. Their scientific offensive, which Renan was to call, somewhat disdainfully, 'Comparative Philology transplanted to the political domain', was the prelude to an era of ferment, when far-seeing minds could foretell the catastrophe which would abolish the work of the Congress of Vienna. Never had pure learning let loose such a storm. It was destined to pile up, under the throne of the Habsburgs, the explosive forces whose work of destruction has been completed under our eyes.

The movement was precipitated by the recrudescence of racial antagonism in Hungary. The 1848 Revolution had scattered powder-trails throughout Europe. Austria-Hungary found herself, in the years that followed, a prey to two opposing currents, representing the different life-aspirations, rather than political conceptions, of two enemy groups among the nations of this heterogeneous Empire. While the Liberals of Vienna, in revolt against absolute power, marched in unison with the Frankfurt Parliament, and included in their ranks the Germans of Austria; while the Magyar Liberals broke with the Habsburgs and bore Kossuth to power, the Slavs of Cis-Leithania and Trans-Leithania, by a repercussion natural to oppressed races, rebelled against tendencies aiming at the strengthening of the two hegemonies, Germanic and Magyar. The ethnical crisis attained its peak in Hungary, where the Croats marched to the defence of the throne under the leadership of the Ban of Croatia, Jellachich, while the Slavs of Hungary (Slovaks and Serbs) kicked against the persecutions of a régime which Western journalism confused with Parliamentary Liberalism. Russia intervened in 1849 not only, as was long believed, to save the monarchical principle, but also under moral obligation not to let the Slavs of Hungary succumb. By the victory of Vilagos, the Russian armies restored to the Habsburgs Hungary, which they were on the point of losing. Six years later Austria, by her anti-Russian attitude in the Crimean War, was, according to a famous 186* 175 648 668

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186* In Russia, this same year 1942 saw an unprecedented output
• 814 of works on Slavonic history and philology. Nicolas Derjavin studied Slavonic palæology, Russo-Bulgarian intellectual relations, the origin and history of the Slavs up to the eleventh century. The literature and history of the Slavonic nations were included in the syllabus of the High Schools; a chair of Slavonic Philology was created in the University of Leningrad; in May, 1942 the chair of Slavistic in the University of Moscow became a 'centre of studies in the history of the Slavonic peoples and of their role in intellectual evolution and in progress'.

186 The Ethnographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences
608 undertook a huge investigation into the origin of the Slavonic
829 settlements. A Tass Agency communication of July 4, 1943, announced the first results of this inquiry; the Slavs were aboriginals, not invaders. Professor Gudaltov proved that they descended from tribes settled between the Elbe and the Vistula. He pointed out the direct relationship between the Scythians of the Dnieper and the Polanes who played a decisive role in the formation of the State of Kiev.

186 Literature, the theatre, the arts, vied with each other in
533 contributing to this revival of Slavonic spiritual life. An
536 exhibition of the theatrical art of the Slavonic nations was held in Moscow in July, 1942. Chebalin's *Slavonic Quartet* obtained the Stalin Prize in 1943. The Musicians' Congress, which met in Moscow in January, 1943, praised Victor Belyi's 'Slavonic Suite' (Hymn of Anger, Serbian Guerrilla, To Arms!), the libretto of which, borrowed from Serbian folklore literature, is the work of the Montenegrin poet, Radoul Stiyensky.

186* But the essential task remained a political one. Five com-
575 mittees were formed, for liaison with sympathisers in the allied
668 countries—Panslav Committee, Youth Committee, Committee of Savants, Feminine Committee, Jewish Committee. The Panslav Committee launched message after message to oppressed Slavs, insurgent Slavs, Slavs in exile. They received from the Yugoslav Vetché—a political organisation struggling with Tito for independence—a telegram thanking them for their assistance with a view to the establishment of a 'Democratic Yugoslavia, federal and equal in rights', which concluded as follows: 'Long live the fraternal solidarity of all the Slavs in the struggle against German Fascism!'

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 829 The final conclusion is that the "immense Russian power pushes ahead, it cannot be quieted, it constantly must look to new arenas for its activity. The Slavic conscience strongly awakens in Russia . . . and it can not longer allow its relative tribes to remain in serfdom and shame. . . . To make of the whole of Slavdom a base is the only natural goal of Russian policy."[24]

4. Danilevsky (1822-1885)

The most radical Russian formulation of the Panslavistic program in its two directions—Constantinople and the Western Slavs—unified by a violent anti-Europeanism, was given by N. Ya. Danilevsky whose book *Russia and Europe* appeared in its first edition in 1871 and in its second in 1888 with a preface by another Panslavist, N. Strakhov. I cannot quote here the five hundred pages of this book in which the most fantastic idealization of the Russian past is married to the most vehement disdain and hatred for Western Europe and finally organized into a cynical political theory whose aim is to elaborate a system which would secure to Russia
186* a permanent political supremacy in the world. Danilesvky's starting
829 point is the denial of the conception of humanity and civilization
814 as a whole, to which he opposes a conception of struggle between different cultural historical types based mainly on language groupings.

This conception of cultural historical types deserves special
[177 .81] attention. Danilevsky combined the theme of Hegel, according to which various nations appear in succession on the historical stage as consecutive and ever more complete incarnations of the universal spirit, with the idea of the German historian Rückert about the existence of separate cultural historical types. "For Danilevsky such a cultural historical type is realized by every tribe or every family of peoples characterized by a separate language or group of languages sufficiently near to each other . . . if that tribe or family of peoples is in general, by its spiritual disposition, capa-

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

ble of historical development and has already risen from infancy. 186*
However, not all nations are equally capable of historical de- 829
velopment. There are some whose destiny is to serve as ethno- 814
graphical material to other stronger and more stabilized nations. Those others are God's whips whose mission is to smash from the face of the earth the outlived cultures and nations. Danilevsky gives a series of historical cultural types: Egyptian, Chinese, Assyrian-Babylonian-Phoenician, Indian, Iranian, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, New Semitic, German-Roman or European, and finally Slavic with Russia at its head. Each of these types works out its own culture, and the principles of the civilization of one type are not transferred to another. Various types differ by the degree of versatility of their culture. Danilevsky sees four spheres of cultural-historical activity: the religious, the strictly cultural, the political, and the social-economic. No one of the listed cultural-historical types developed all of these four spheres of activity at once, with the exception of the Slavs and Russians, whose mission will be to accomplish a complete 'four-principled' culture."[25]

The road to that Russian predominance is a purely nationalistic 186*
one; and, neglecting any declamation on Russian religiosity and 829
other well known features of the Russian character as presented 668
in the writings of the Slavophils and abandoning all ideas about brotherhood and universal love, he brutally opens the door into the great future of Russia. Russia is destined for that future, but the road to it leads first of all to Constantinople and secondly to the emancipation of the Slavic nations. I shall not bring to the fore all his violent criticism applied to "rotten Europe." The Russian anti-Westernism here reached its climax. The book is supported by quasi-scientific arguments taken from anthropology, zoology, geology, geography, and the social sciences. It might be considered one of the most important scientific manifestos or rationalistic Panslavic theories. However, the most important implications of the book are, of course, the political ones. "Being

[25] Danilevsky, *op cit.*, and article by V. Myakotin on Danilevsky in *the Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'*, T-A Granat, vol. 17, pp. 552-557.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 829 538 "An immense plain—the Scythian plain which you didn't like on my relief map, where it spreads out like an enormous spot, is not more pleasant in reality."[38]

186* 829 ●814 Not less striking than his *Russian Geography* are his historical views and the formulation of the Russian mission which we find in his two French articles *Russia and Revolution* and *Rome and the Roman Question*, and in a large work which he was preparing — *Russia and the West*. In all these writings he draws an apocalyptic picture of the destruction of the Europe of Charlemagne, of the Europe of the Treaties of 1815, of the destruction of the Papacy, Catholicism, and Protestantism. He demands a definitive formation of a great Orthodox empire, "the legitimate empire of the East, which will be realized by the absorption of Austria by Russia and the 'return' (*sic!*) of Constantinople to Russia and by the union of the two churches." The conclusion of these events will be symbolized by the Russian tsar as the Orthodox emperor in Constantinople, as the master and protector of Italy and Rome, and by an Orthodox pope in Rome as a subject of the emperor.[39] In his article *Papacy and the Roman Question* he constantly attacks all kinds of "usurpatory" tendencies of Western thought and seems completely unaware of the fact that his own conception represents the most fantastic historical usurpation—although not at all unreal in the light of our days. This is the way in which he ends his article: "Permit me to recall in conclusion, an incident connected with the visit which the Emperor of Russia made to Rome in 1846. One may still remember perhaps the general emotion with which the Emperor was received upon his appearance in the Church of St. Peter,—this was the appearance of the Orthodox Emperor who returned to Rome after several centuries of absence—and the electric flash which went through the crowd when it saw him going to pray at the tombs of the apostles. This emotion was legitimate. The prostrated Emperor was not alone; all Russia was prostrated with him.

[38] Leshnev, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[39] Pigarev, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
[Tyutchev--Analyst]

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

Let us hope that he did not pray in vain before the holy relics!"[40] 186* The *Revue des Deux Mondes* published this article and prefaced 829 it with a small and rather melancholic note: "Charlemagne is no 814 longer in Paris or in Aix-la-Chapelle, he is in Moscow or in St. Petersburg. And one must above all keep in mind the fact that the new Charlemagne coming to Rome clearly pretends to bring, as the former one, a great material power, but he has no intention of coming there to find a spiritual, a moral consecration of his power. Far from that; it is he who, so to say, comes to consecrate the papacy. . . ." "One might make many other reflections upon this subject, and give some peculiar details on the march of ideas in one part of Russian society, and show how the school which formerly had Monsieur de Maistre as its chief and which made its gospel from the doctrines of *Du Pape* arrived gradually, by a kind of national logic, to find that the real pope was the tsar."[41]

But what is especially striking here is that Tyutchev appeared 186* able to marry in his thought and in his heart this conception of a 829 Russian Charlemagne in Constantinople and Rome with his own formula of Russia, a land of "officers, barracks, *chin* and *knut*." Justly asks Lezhnev: "In the name of what is the 'humble Russia' to obtain 'the thunder of earth and sword of heaven?' . . ." "Tsarist Russia spreads like an enormous spot over the map of the world—this is Tyutchev's 'Russian geography'. . . . What is Russia promising to those innumerable nations which she intends to subdue? Nothing but the quietness of the cemetery or of a northern desert."[42] Indeed this whole transformation of "barracks" into St. Sophia and St. Peter is a terrible fairy tale and on this occasion Lezhnev says that the theocratic tiara suits Nicholas I as "a saddle a cow."[43] As we know there are some other candidates for the same saddle. In his poems launched against the Vatican Tyutchev attacks the Pope because of his "fatal word": "the freedom of conscience is delirium." And this was written by

[40] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1, 1850, p. 133.
[41] *Op. cit.*, p. 118.
[42] A. Lezhnev, *Due Poets* . . . Con. Ind., 1934, pp. 13-14.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* Almost at the same time there reappeared in Russia a spiritual,
575 idealistic, mystic approach to the Slavophil conceptions. It was a kind of continuation of neo-Slavic trends. One may find in the writings of distinguished and honest politicians, poets and writers such as V. I. Ivanov, S. N. Bulgakov, and Prince E. N. Trubetskoy items connected with this idealism and mysticism. These trends reappeared during the War of 1914. They were preceded by the old Muscovite "Society of Slavic Reciprocity" which was a quite honorable institution and by the subsequent "Society of Slavic Culture" in which the progressive elements among Russian and Polish politicians and scholars met, such as Professor Korsh, Prince E. N. Trubetskoy, Alexander Lednicki, and some others. The aim of this society was to pacify inter-Slavic relations primarily by the help of cultural activities.[65]

186* Some of the Czechs belonging to the period preceding neo-Slavism, however, remained faithful to their pro-Russian feelings in face of the opposition of Palacký and Havlíček. So Kollár, who even in his *Slávy Dcera* excluded Emilia Plater, the Polish heroine of 1830-31, from paradise "because this sister fought against brothers, a Slav girl against Slavs," and yet, as Kucharzewski observes, granted a place in that paradise to Suvorov and Nicholas I, behaved quite disgustingly at the Slavic Congress in Moscow in 1867, where in the absence of the Poles he did his best to please their Russian persecutors.[66]

186* Thus the Bohemian Panslavism found practically no expression
● 814 in the nineteenth century other than a purely scientific one—in the fields of Slavic archaeology, Slavic ethnography, Slavic philology, and Slavic history. I can devote no space to Slavic philology here, but I should like to stress the enormous achievements in this field of, besides the Czechs, Polish, Russian, and Serbian scholars, to whom should be added German, French, Italian, Eng-

[65] Details connected with neo-Slavism, with events preceding the First World War, the policy of Izvolsky, the activities of Count Bobrinskoy on one hand—and on the other, activities of people such as Dmowski among the Poles the attitude of the Ukrainians, and the situation in the Balkans preceding the War of 1914 may be found in Dr. Alfred Fischel's *Der Panslavismus bis zum Weltkrieg*, Berlin, 1919.

[66] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, Warsaw, 1925, p. 303.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
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lish, and recently American scholars.[67] From this point of view the Czechs might be considered those who prepared weapons for Panslavism. And even in our days the Czech scholars remain faithful to their conceptions of Slavic cultural unity. It should be stressed, however, that the most prominent advocate among the Western Slavs (with the exception of some Poles) was, as mentioned before, the Slovak Štur, who represents an integral Panslavism practically degenerating into Panrussianism.

10. Polish Reactions

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The fate of the Slavophil and Panslavistic conceptions among the Poles has not been simple. Without going too far into the past or refering to Boleslaw the Great in whose policy one may find some elements connected with our subject, I shall abandon the effort to find some manifestations of interest for the Slavs in early polish historians, such as Jan Dlugosz (fifteenth century), and leave aside some Polish plans for political union with Russia in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

A forecast of the full growth of Polish Slavophilism was contained in the interesting "Manifesto" of the Sandomierz confederation or "An Address to the Russian Nation," which was published about 1733, at the time when Poland's political power during the Northern War had begun to decline and Russia's to increase. In this manifesto the Poles, expressing in warm words their sympathy for the Russian nation's "yearning for liberty and freedom, and waiting for a favorable moment to abolish serfdom" "frankly encouraged" Russians "to rouse their knightly spirit." The manifesto stressed that the Polish country "wishes for nothing more than your progress and the freedom of the Russian nation."

[67] This information may be found in the studies on Slavic Philology of Jagić, Alexander Brückner, Frantsev, Mazon, Máchal, Lehr-Splawiński, W. Lednicki, A. P. Coleman, in different reviews such as *Archiv fur slawische Philologie, Revue des Etudes Slaves, Le Monde Slave, Swiat Slowiański, Przegląd Slowiański, Slavia, Slawische Rundschau, The Slavonic and East European Review,* and *The American Slavic and East European Review.*

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

Russian poets with more form than talent now began to celebrate official occasions and generous donors with ponderous odes. Handbooks of French pseudoclassic literary theory, like Boileau's *Art Poétique*, were translated and annotated. The Academy of Sciences, founded by Peter's widow in 1725, included not only imported German luminaries, but the first Russian natural scientist Michael Lomonosov, sometimes characterized as the Russian Franklin, but whom, on account of the universality of his talent, Pushkin, greatest of Russian poets, called "Russia's first university." He is also notable as the first proletarian in secular Russian letters, for he started his career as a poor fisherman's son far north on the White Sea. The first modern Russian history was composed during the reigns of Anna and Elizabeth by Basil Tatishchev, a former collaborator of Peter the Great. The purely intellectual progress in the thirty years after Peter's death was thus considerable, even though (with rare exceptions) it was confined to the aristocracy.

It is a matter of record that when Catherine II came to the throne in 1762 she was already familiar with the theories of the eighteenth-century French political philosophers and would have welcomed an opportunity to apply them. But her position had been won wholly by the aid of the landed gentry and the aristocratic guard regiments, who were unlikely to surrender any of their prerogatives or to consent to any mitigation of the institution of serfdom on which their economic existence was based. The great empress thus contributed little to social progress, and her educational innovations remained for the most part on paper. Yet through her interest in the satirical journal and in the drama, she stimulated the progress of Russian letters even if her social initiatives were weak. In that field others carried the torch. A Russian customs official, Alexander Radishchev, who had studied at Leipzig and digested the liberal philosophy of the day, in 1780 fired the opening gun against serfdom, and though the exploit sent him to Siberia, its echoes did not die away until the institution was abolished. At the same time, the spirit of social service inspired

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

movement in favour of a Green International of Slavonic Peasants yet merits a place in the chronology of inter-Slav relations. 186* 668

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At the same period (June 4–8, 1924) a Congress of Slav Geographers and Ethnologists was held in Prague. This too, awakened aspirations, either latent or at least dormant since the era of the great assemblies of the nineteenth century. The very choice of Prague was a reminder that Bohemia had been the 'laboratory' of the Slavonic idea. And it was the occasion of a spectacular return of Bulgaria into the community of peoples inspired by that idea. 186 815

But, when the totalitarian States had proclaimed their intention of attacking the 1919–1920 treaties, it was once more to Russia that all these peoples turned. From Moscow alone could come the watchword capable of rallying their energies—on condition that it should not look like an appeal to a Proletarian Dictatorship. 186* 829

Just as the exaltation of Teutonism, in the first half of the nineteenth century, had had as a reaction the awakening of the Slav conscience, so the National-Socialist drive, a century later, was to bring in its wake a defensive reaction tending to align, if not to regroup, the Slavonic forces.

The essentially anti-Marxist notion of race had been repudiated by Lenin. In internal affairs, it could not but hinder the work of 'mixing' undertaken by the Moscow government. In foreign affairs it had no *raison d'être,* so long as Russian diplomacy practised a Eurasiatic policy, and guided the country's destinies towards the East. But, after fifteen years, the problem of the allogeneous inhabitants had passed the crisis. The Soviet régime was firmly established. German imperialism obliged them to turn their attention towards the West: the repetition of the recurrent drama of which Europe had been the theatre since the era of Wilhelm II once more reminded the Russian world of its destiny.

The first check to Hitlerian arrogance on the part of the Kremlin was the signing in London, on July 2, 3, and 4, 1933, of agreements for the common acceptance of the definition of the aggressor, as formulated by Nicholas Politis. The U.S.S.R. signature appears at the foot of this document, side by side with 186* 648 829

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

178 contemporary material and intellectual culture which culmi-
439 nates in their conversion to Christianity under Roman or Byzantine auspices. It likewise witnessed an expansion of trade both in Central Europe and in the Orient, and in this commercial expansion the Slavs in general had a definite stake.

764 Though a combined evaluation of linguistic, source, and archaeological data permits a tolerably accurate and convincing appraisal of the material culture of the Slavs during the pagan period, there is no such coherent mass of evidence upon which any wholly satisfactory statement of their religious beliefs, demonology, and eschatology may be predicted. The early Slavs cremated their dead, sharing this custom with their other Indo-European neighbors (Lithuanians, Germans, Celts). Burial was adopted through foreign influence, and before the
774 various conversions both customs existed side by side. The
776 primitive pagan Slavs were animists and attributed a soul to
775 the natural elements in which they lived. They honored a su-
[782] preme deity and also believed in the existence of wood, water, and household spirits to which they offered sacrifices. Beside these nature spirits, they also honored the spirits of their an-
•821 cestors and thus believed in a future life. They deified the heavenly bodies and the great phenomena of nature (thunder, lightning, wind, rain, fire).

776 Beside these animistic and manistic beliefs, the pagan Slavs also venerated a limited number of gods, some of which were of alien origin. The organization of a veritable pantheon was carried farthest by the Western Slavs who lived along the Baltic coast, a phenomenon perhaps not unconnected with Germanic influences of early date. It is reasonably clear that all the primitive Slavs possessed a god of the thunder and lightning, though this deity, Perun, took on special importance among the Russian Slavs because of special Scandinavian influences and the importance of Thor in the Scandinavian pantheon. Among the Western Slavs, however, Perun was less dominant than the god of the shining sun, Svarog, a name apparently connected with the indo-European base **svar*, signifying "heat,

[THE PERIOD FROM 700 to 1000 A.D. -- ANALYST]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

The veneration of the oak tree does not save it from fire; that of the cherry tree makes it a sin to burn its wood or even to cut its branches: the yew is powerful, and may not be burned, but it can be hewn and carved and made into useful objects, dishes, handles, ploughs, boxes, spindles, trays, as well as crosses and amulets, which are then particularly safe or lucky. The blackthorn is used for magical purposes, such as impaling a vampire; it is recommended to use it in making wooden implements for the sake of its magical properties, but the tree itself can be regarded almost with dread, and may not be injured or cut down or uprooted. Nearly everywhere the grafting of fruit-tree slips on wild trees, particularly on wild pears and cherries, is thought to be a virtuous act, amounting to a form of charity. I have heard of a peasant doing so as an act of expiation, a desire to obtain merit (*zadužbina*), in a district which knows little nowadays of particular tree cults. Where a ritual-agricultural calendar is followed in the traditional manner, all grafting is reserved for special days, sometimes with a special local etiology. Individuals sometimes mark the birth of a child or an animal by fertilising a tree in this way.[1] Further, I have seen over and over again in remote and isolated places, that a wild tree has been ennobled, apparently for no sound economic purpose. While I know that almost a sentimental element is

[1] At Rakljansko Polje a pine tree was said to have sprung from a branch stuck in the ground by the Empress Milica when Car Lazar was born. Cf. J. Pančić, *Iz Prirode*, p. 52. Similar acts of commemoration are, of course, well known in other parts of the world.

S.P. T.R. 578 186 centuries. However, formerly the conflict between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, did not exist in its present day sense. On the contrary, the two parts had a sense of kinship, or even of unity, as may be seen in an examination of the motives for which Bohdan Khmelnitskyj gave himself to Moscow and to Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (in 1653), after detaching the Ukraine from Poland.

S.P. T.R. 578 168 The conflict[1] between the two Russian nations did not in fact break out until the Nineteenth Century.

Its basic causes were:

1. The efforts of the Ukrainians to create or to revive a language and a literature of their own.

2. A whole series of scientific discussions upon the question as to what were the connections between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians, especially from a linguistic and an anthropological viewpoint.

Finally and above all:

3. The actual political and social status of the Ukrainians in the Empire and the general development in these latter years of social and democratic ideas.

/53/ Thus today the conflict is moving more and more from the literary and scientific field into the political field.

S.P. T.R. 578 168 538 The conflict began in 1798, when J.P. Kotljarevs'kji published in Ukrainian his Aeneid. From that date on there has been a great effort to create an indigenous literature. But these tendencies were quickly opposed by the government, which feared that this literary separatism might be prejudicial to national unity. And upon various occasions, especially in 1847, 1863, and 1876, it was forbidden to print or publish, save for a few rare exceptions, books in Ukrainian. But the result of these prohibitions was completely opposite from that which was intended. The tendencies toward literary emancipation asserted themselves so much the more strongly as they were more rigorously suppressed, and they found favorable soil in eastern Galicia, which belongs, as we know, to Austria.

S.P. T.R. 197 814 829 On the other hand, the conflict,[1] strengthened by the scientific discussions concerning the ties between the two nations, became aggravated. There were arguments about the antiquity of the Ukrainian idiom, especially in the Kiyev region, about the question of

1 [Between Great Russians and Ukrainians, cf. ed. 116, pp. 35-37. Ann. -]

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determining who had produced the earliest Russian annals and the first Russian literature in the State of Kiyev. These polemics took place especially between 1850 and 1860; they were marked by the works of Sreznevskii, of Lavrovskii, and particularly of Pogodin, who pretended to demonstrate that up to the fourteenth century /54/ Kiyev had been occupied by the Great Russians, the initiators of the history and the literature of the region, and that the Ukrainians had not come from the Carpathians until after the Tatar conquest. This theory found opponents among the historians of the Ukraine; it was revived later with much greater energy (in 1883) from a linguistic point of view by Sobolevskii, and refuted with no less vigor by the historians Dashkevich, Antonovitch, Grouchevsky, A. Iablononskii, and the philologists V. Jagić, A. Shakhmatov, A. Krymskyj, A. Kolessa, A. Loboda, etc.

Naturally, no one limited himself to the question of discovering when the Ukrainians first settled in Kiyev. They also studied the degrees of kinship of the two idioms. Was there only a single Russian language with two dialects, or must two different languages be recognized? These debates, in which the principal Russian and Slavic philologists participated, oddly favored the theory which tended to separate the two groups and to widen the chasm which was being dug between them.

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But these theoretical polemics were not confined to the linguistics with which they dealt more and more frequently, and with a constant recourse to scholarly apparatus. Maksimovich had already declared that not only two languages, but two national types must be recognized in Russia; but he did not clearly formulate his doctrine. It was Kostomarov who ventured to do this and /55/ who produced a veritable revolution. He was followed by an entire series of anthropologists.

Maksimovich had not succeeded in formulating a precise distinction: Kostomarov succeeded in this in the article entitled: "The two Russian nationalities" published by the review Osnova (the Basis) in 1861. In this he pointed out the differences of history, of language, of customs, of character, of physical appearance, and he laid down this theory: that there are not only two Russian languages, but also two nationalities which differ completely the one from the other, and which history alone has united into a single unit.

This theory of Kostomarov had great success; it was developed

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and led to the following conclusion: Of the two nationalities only one, that of the Ukrainians, is purely Slav; the peoples who live to the north and to the east of the Dvina and the Dnepr are not Slavs, but Finns, Tatars, or Turani more or less affected by Slavic influences, whose entire organization, and whose absolutist government in particular, are Asiatic in origin and character.

This conclusion, which the inventors of the theory of the two nationalities had scarcely suspected, found favorable soil, in particular among the Polish victims of the ill-omened revolution of 1863. And it was through their emigration that the doctrine of the two Russias, the one Slavic, the other Turanian, was propagated. Among the propagators of this doctrine, let us mention only the /56/ names of Dushinskii and of his wife Severina Duchinska, of Buszczynski and of the French historian Henri Martin. (1)

1. Several times I have had the opportunity of expressing myself on these theories and on the misuse which Dushinskii and his disciples claim has been made of them. See especially La Revue des Cours letteraires (year 1868) and my Souvenirs d'um Slavophile (pp. 20-25, Paris, Hachette, 1905). Translator.

This theory did not find as favorable soil among the Ukrainians; but it has been accepted in various ways, and it explains to us the epithet, Khazars, (2) which is sometimes given to the Great Russians;

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2. The Khazars, formerly Kozares, a Scythian people according to the Russian Chronicle said to be by Nestor. See my translation of this chronicle (page 325). Translator.

this epithet apparently came from completely inaccurate ideas as to the origin of the Great Russians. The anthropologists have treated the question in a more scientific manner by indicating the considerable differences which exist between the Great Russians and the Ukrainians. The Ukrainians are for the most part brachycephalic and of dark complexion, while the Great Russians are generally of light complexion; at the same time it is demonstrated that dark brachycephalic type is the pure Slavic type (Volkov, Taylor). But this theory, although it has a certain amount of data in its favor, cannot be considered as proven. There is another one, which considers the Belorussian and Great Russian type as the true type of the Slavs; and this theory has in its favor at least as many arguments to /57/ make it worthy of belief. And the differences that arise within each of the two groups

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are frequently greater than those which exist between them. (1)

1. Furthermore, I am quite willing to admit the existence of two pre-European types in various localities within primitive Slavia. In the period when these two types were pure, there were not yet any Slavs in Europe. When the Slavs appeared, the two types had already crossed with each other; one of them predominated in a certain region the other, in another region. But the original one remained predominant; new arguments are constantly supporting this theory. (Note of the author).

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These, then, are the conditions in, and the influences under which, the conflict burst forth, the result of which we see today. The intellectuals of the Ukraine flatly declare that they make up a distinct Slavic nation: and for this "Ukrainian" nation they demand all of the natural rights which may insure its preservation and development. For them the exercise of these rights should not be confined to securing schools in which the teaching is conducted in Ukrainian, or to the free expansion of their literature, but should extend to the recognition of their political autonomy. The moderate and practical patriots, bearing in mind the existing conditions, are content to demand autonomy within the Empire. The radicals are naturally more exigrent. They think that the present organization of the Russian State will not last. They count upon a dismemberment, they dream of the creation of an independent Ukraine, organized upon democratic and socialistic principles.

000 /58/ Should I venture to express frankly my opinion upon this conflict and upon the probable outcome of these tendencies? I am among those who believe it natural and equitable that the Russian government should satisfy the legitimate demands of the Ukrainians. But I do not hesitate in declaring that, despite the differences which have been exaggerated, there are so many common features in the history, the tradition, the faith, the language, and the culture of the two peoples--not to mention their common origin--that, to a distant and impartial observer, they are only two segments of a single and unique Russian people.

From the Slavic point of view, and even from the Russian point of view, we hope that this unity may be preserved in relation to outsiders and as far as possible in the political, literary, and linguistic life, while at the same time the needs and political demands of the two parties may be respected. We wish this at least in the field of fine literature. Until the close of the eighteenth century the language was a common one and the greatest writers of the nineteenth century have brought honor to the two groups.

[Great Russian - Ukrainian conflict, cf. cat. 116, pp. 35-39 - Analyst]

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invaders as they fused with the native stocks, the Eastern Empire had grafted upon the legacy of Rome the picturesque and flamboyant features of oriental Christianity. Its autocratic sovereigns were the agents of God on earth under a system which combined in them the attributes of emperor and pope, and this factor ought especially to be borne in mind, because it not only explains the autocratic tradition later set up by the princes of Moscow but also lies at the root of the Russian tendency to attribute to all their rulers a sort of superhuman status. The superlative adulation showered on Joseph Stalin in our own day is in part a remote reflex of Byzantine influence. Then too, Constantinople before the arrival of the Crusaders was the greatest center of material civilization in the occidental world. Its buildings rivaled Rome in its prime. Its highly organized and stratified society, the splendor of its religious observances, its military prowess under the more gifted emperors, and its general atmosphere of wealth could not fail to create a lasting impression on visitors from less advanced regions.

But Byzantine civilization lacked the punch and the drive which characterized the best days of the Roman Empire or the realm of Charlemagne. In intellectual and literary matters the Eastern Empire was conservative. It studied the past without rivaling it with the products of contemporary creative imagination. It was compilatory rather than original. Byzantine scholars were the most learned men of their day, but their learning was accumulative, not productive. Byzantine historians composed voluminous chronicles without evolving a philosophy of history, while Byzantine theologians dissipated their energy on amenities of dogma argued with a bitterness which we should nowadays associate only with partisan politics. The Byzantine Church was more political than the Roman, more closely affiliated with the state, and hence less fundamentally spiritual in outlook. The literary tradition transmitted by the Byzantine Church was stiff and formalistic. and it was the misfortune of medieval Russia that the Byzantine influence was weakened by political events before it was absorbed by the

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younger state in a volume which might have served as a firm basis for the development of a characteristic native culture. The Russians before the Tartar invasion were always pupils; they originated very little that was independent of Byzantine models either in literature or in art.

In art, however, this imitation was productive and created an architectural and a decorative tradition which lasted down into modern times. By the date of Vladimir's conversion, the basilica as a type of church architecture in Byzantium had been largely replaced by the cruciform church with one or with five cupolas. This was the type transmitted to Russia and still worthily represented by the great medieval churches of Kiev, Novgorod, Vladimir and even Moscow, though in the metropolis the more exotic forms and the onion-shaped dome derived from wooden architecture prevail. The highly conventionalized art of the icon dominated Russian painting until Western influences began to seep in during the seventeenth century, but this tradition was still vital enough before the first World War to influence the art of nineteenth-century religious and historical painters. For where the Byzantine tradition had taken firm root, the aesthetic appeal was long-lived and enduring.

In literature, along with lapidary works of religious implication, the Russian national spirit began to manifest itself in historical compilations during the eleventh century, and literary reflexes of folk poetry had already appeared before the Tartar conquest. But a truly national literature stems from a long educative process, and this process was interrupted in medieval Russia both by domestic politics and by nomadic inroads.

Where domestic disorders merely retarded the intellectual advance of medieval Russia, the Tartar incursion brought it to a full stop. It has already been noticed what material impoverishment it had caused. But the Tartar domination was a far more serious factor in the deterioration of cultural and spiritual values. The church, to be sure, was treated with tolerance by the Tartars because it preached submission to

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pictures of the decaying landed gentry. Goncharov composed 538
the classic of Russian imagination paralyzed by inertia. Tolstoi 829
studied the peasant problem, painted the first twenty years of the century on the magnificent canvas of his *War and Peace,* and returned to contemporary agrarian and urban problems with *Anna Karenina.* Dostoevski, after poignantly describing the bitter life of the humble in *Poor People,* acquired still deeper sympathy in his exile, and having expounded his doctrine of atonement through suffering in *Crime and Punishment,* attacked the radicals in *The Possessed,* and revealed the whole scope of his psychological penetration and the breadth of his religious philosophy in *The Brothers Karamazov.* With other authors of scarcely less merit describing contemporary life, these three decades constitute an outburst of brilliance unequaled in any world literature. Russian verse of the period was no less meritorious, and even Russian painters chose subjects which reflected the contemporary state of mind.

While the aims of political and social thinkers expanded, 668
the tempo of the reforms gradually slowed down with danger- 175*
ous results. Active revolutionary groups had begun to take shape even in the heyday of reform, and strove for rapid democratization in the public interest. Even in the fifties, literature had ceased to be an exclusive perquisite of the aristocracy and was professionally practiced by many young men from the new middle class who were impatient at the slowness of change. Some of the young radicals made unfruitful efforts to form a community of interest with the peasantry. Others attempted to force the hand of the government by acts of violence. Marxist socialism became known in Russia during the seventies and, while it supplied the young radicals with a more aggressive program, it suggested a transfer of their missionary efforts from the peasants to the urban industrial workers who were expanding in numbers with the progressive industrialization of the country.

The rising tide of radicalism stimulated repressive measures 175*
by the government, which gradually lost much of the sympathy 656
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175* which it had previously enjoyed in more moderate spheres,
652 and even rejected loyal proposals for conservative reforms ad-
668 vanced in order to discourage the repeated outrages of the terrorists. In 1880 the situation came to a head with an explosion in the Winter Palace itself at St. Petersburg in which the whole imperial family narrowly escaped a violent death. Alexander II then called liberal statesmen who enjoyed the public confidence to work out a series of innovations which, though not aiming at a constitution, were at least conciliatory and progressive. These reforms were viewed with apprehension by the radicals, who not only feared to lose their public but also believed (mistakenly, as it proved) that the elimination of the tsar would be the prelude to a great popular uprising. They thus assassinated Alexander II on March 13, 1881.

The results were devastating. Moderate opinion was profoundly shocked, the government relapsed into a reactionary policy which endured until 1917, only briefly interrupted by the revolution of 1905. Political freedom and even political thought were discouraged, and many conscientious liberals were reduced to disillusion and despair by the bitter conviction that progress was impossible. The situation was not helped by the economic crisis of the eighties which followed an inflationary period of hasty industrial overexpansion.

●829 This disillusion is most clearly reflected in the dramas of
538 Chekhov, those twilight pictures of a class which vegetates without hope of change, without faith in its capacity to influence events. To this situation the accession of Nicholas II in 1894 brought no cure; since he was largely surrounded by ministers who deprecated even local self-government as only a step toward constitutionalism. But beneath the surface a new
175* spirit was about to break ground. Some of the younger genera-
668 tion could no longer accept the resignation which Chekhov's characters practiced. For them, failure, however tragic, was not an everlasting stop-signal. Marxism gave them a program and a method. It warned them not to expect salvation from the middle class, and preached the virtues and strength of the so

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175* 668 642 reconciliation with society. The new parliament was never allowed to function efficiently, and excessive parcellation of parties within it also prevented the formation of a workable united front against the government, though the fundamental tone was one of hostility.

The first World War began in this atmosphere of mutual distrust between government and society, and only a brief interval of patriotic *entente cordiale* intervened before official incompetence as revealed by repeated military defeats once more opened the breach, which was further widened by a complete collapse of transportation and economic life. General resentment was intensified by evidence of a total lack of comprehension of the situation by the tsar and his advisers, and culminated in the events of March, 1917, by which the tsar was forced to abdicate and a democratic regime was set up. The vacillations of successive moderate provisional governments played into the hands of the Bolshevik leaders, who could always bank on the support of the urban factory workers and certain sections of the army, and on November 7 they were masters of Petrograd. The subsequent fortunes of the Soviets are so close to our own times as to be matters of common knowledge.

175* 829 538 517 The chasm which existed between government and society between 1894 and the first World War did not prevent simultaneous developments in Russian intellectual life. In spite of government surveillance and occasional restriction of educational facilities, a highly educated and talented middle class had evolved in Russia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Though literature declined in some degree after the death of Dostoevski, Tolstoi lived on to combine moral philosophy and creative letters until 1910. Chekhov's later plays expressed his own prevision that an epoch was about to end. A younger generation of prose writers revived traditional Russian realism in a more individualistic spirit without regard to the political and social aims that had inspired their predecessors. In poetry, symbolism sought to penetrate and express deeper

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A CENTURY OF A PHANTOM
PANSLAVISM AND THE WESTERN SLAVS

by S. Harrison Thomson

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AMONG the gorgeous phantoms of history, none has had a more rich or variously enticing story than Panslavism. It may well be that more literate Europeans have enjoyed the thrill of frightening themselves by it and more designing political manipulators have used it as a stage illusion than would be true of any other fiction. On the other hand there have been published several serious histories of the spectre.

By 1848 Panslavism was already an old and ripe story. To go back to the empire of Samo in the early seventh century is perhaps to be too inventive, but we can certainly trace the idea of Slavic reciprocity in the plans of Bolesław Chrobry (the Hardy) of Poland, who, around the year 1000, planned a western Slavic empire comprising the Poles, the Czechs, the Moravians, the Elbian Slavs and the western Ukrainians. His obvious purpose was to block further German expansion eastward.[1] Whatever their motivation, those grandiose plans proved ephemeral, as did others conceived by Polish or Czech rulers for centuries thereafter. There is no discernible difference, so far as we can judge, between the territorial and dynastic maneuvering that went on among Slavic princes and that of Austrian, Hungarian and Wallachian rulers in these centuries of the formation of national states. One Slavic people was as likely to be antipathetic to a neighboring Slavic people as to a neighbor who was Germanic or Turco-Ugric. Territorial nationalism or dynastic combination were already the prevailing patterns.

But from the seventeenth century on concepts of a common ethnic and linguistic background begin to grow and take shape. From the Croat Juraj Križanić in the seventeenth century,[2] who spent fifteen years in Siberian exile after proclaiming his Panslav ideas in Russia, to the great Slovak poet, Jan Kollár, in the early nineteenth century, we can trace an unwavering line of western Slavic intellectuals who formulated and reformulated the idea of a glorious Slav race which should of right be united in heart and body, preferably under one paternal Slav ruler.

Somewhat ironically a Baltic German, Johann Gottfried Herder, had contributed much to the most recent upsurge of this Slav feeling by glori-

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[1] On whom the classic study is St. Zakrzewski, *Bolesław Chrobry Wielki* (Cracow, 1925); and cf. more recently, Z. Wojciechowski, "Bolesław Chrobry i kryzys stosunków polsko-niemieckich" in *Przegląd Zachodni* IV (1948), 369-383.

[2] Smurlo, E., "From Križanić to the Slavophiles," *Slavonic Review* VI (1928), 321-335; cf. A. Fischel, *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1919), p. 20ff.; P. G. Scilardi, *Krijanich, messager de l'unité des chrétiens et ère du panslavisme* (Paris, 1947).

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fying the Slavic race and treating it as one, from the Moldau to the Urals. He would doubtless have been disturbed to be credited with partial parenthood of both Pangermanism and Panslavism. Early in the nineteenth century most western Slavs were of necessity romantics. Romanticism was the only recourse left them: Poland tragically partitioned, the Slavs of the Austrian Empire barely existing under Metternich, the South Slavs predominantly under the Ottoman Turk. Any voice even faintly suggesting a prouder past, and by implication a comparable future, would be welcome. Their history was their refuge and their hope in time of troubled humiliation.[3]

Philology, poetry and letters, history and the trend of international events in the forties of the nineteenth century all combined to deepen and broaden the feelings but dimly and sporadically aroused a half century before by the wildfire spread of the ideas of the French Revolution. There was now, after decades of scholarship, scientific and historical ground for the concept of Slavic community. The ferment of the Slav Revival, however, romantic it may have been in a technical sense, was a psychological fact of great moment to all the western Slavs, whether living under Magyar repression in Slovakia or Croatia, clumsy Austrian Biedermeier in Bohemia, or awkward Hapsburg pampering in Galicia. The springs of hope and confidence were filling. The single great Slavic state to the east—Mother Russia—was still victoriously radiant from defeating Napoleon, and her very glamor drew irresistibly the yearnings of the Slavic millions enslaved by alien peoples. In many quarters among the western Slavs there was talk of the all-Slavic Tsar, while in Russia there was not infrequently an expression of interest among scholars and publicists as well as among reflective politicians in the possibility of strengthening the natural bonds between Mother Russia and her temporarily estranged children in the west. Pushkin's lines, written after the Polish revolution of 1830-31

> Will the Slavic rivulets pour into the Russian sea,
> Or will it dry up? That is the question.

reflected current Russian thought.[4] A. S. Chomyakov, the Slavophil poet,

[3] See the illuminating discussion of Panslavism by Wacław Lednicki in *European Ideologies* (New York, 1948), pp. 808-951, particularly rich in literary background. His earlier study, "Poland and the Slavophil Idea," *Slavonic Review* VII (1928-29), 128-140, 649-662, can also be consulted with great profit. It is significant that this study of Polish Slavophilism ends about the middle of the nineteenth century. See also W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej w okresie przewrotowym*, I (Lwów, 1913) *passim*. For the echoes of this current of thought in Polish literature, and an explanation of how and why it took a line divergent from that in othe. Western and Southern Slavic countries see Zofja Klarnerowna, *Słowianofilstwo w literaturze polskiej lat 1800 do 1848* (Warszawa, 1926), *passim*.

[4] See Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 168ff., and Lednicki *passim*. The literature on Russian

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in the next year spoke dramatically of "the brothers in fetters, who wait yearningly for thy call and thy protective embrace." There was much more, a good deal of it more effusive, and all of it tinged with theology, from poets, essayists and even historians, but mostly urging the western Slavs, and particularly the Poles, to recognize their divinely appointed lot as part of a great Slavic nation, naturally under Russian leadership. The Slovak Kollár's "On Slavic Reciprocity" was first published in German in 1837, then appeared in Russian in 1838 and a second time in 1840, but the concept of reciprocity was interpreted by the Russian editor and Russian readers in a Russian sense.[5] It would be difficult to determine whether the Russian espousal of Slavophilism was more or less enthusiastic than that of the western Slavs in the period before 1848, but it is certain that Russian Slavophilism could, even at this early date, be more properly called Panrussism than Panslavism.

We can indeed thus early discern a fairly clear and perhaps radical split in the aims of those who supported Slavic unity. On the one hand the western Slavs thought in terms of reciprocal aid, comfort and support, implicitly and explicitly favoring the independent existence of the several Slavic peoples. On the other hand the Russian Slavophils, from their proud vantage-point of an independent state existence, regarded the lesser Slavic peoples beyond their borders as strayed, lost or stolen children who should return to the mother's heart and hearth, the mother of course being Russia. Their principal concern, indeed, was that Russia herself should perceive her providential mission to carry on the torch of the true Christian faith which was visibly falling from the hand of the weakening West. It was taken for granted that the errant western and southern Slav brethren would accept the new situation with appreciation and even enthusiasm.

Decades of Romanticism, the European enlightenment followed by three-quarters of a century of Slavic renaissance in philology, poetry, ethnography, history and science, has made the dispersed Slavic peoples very sensible of their similarities and their differences, and eager to grasp and hold their own future. The events of February 1848 in western Europe only precipitated these feelings into action. German nationalism had found its voice in the Frankfurt Parliament. It was only natural that the western Slavs should answer with a Slavic assembly. In April the Slovak Ljudevit Štur was agitating in Prague for a meeting of representatives of the Slavic

Slavophilism is tremendous. Of the more recent literature in western languages, see Charles Quénet, *Tchaadaev et les lettres philosophiques* (Paris, 1931); A. Gratieux, *A. S. Khomiakov et le mouvement slavophile*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939); Alexander von Schelting, *Russland und Europa* (Bern, 1948); and Bernhard Schultze, *Russische Denker* (Vienna, 1950).

[5] Clementis, Vl., *Panslavism Past and Present* (London, 1943), p. 38.

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peoples, and Dr. Fr. Brauner received a letter from Ondrzej Moraczewski in Poznań, dated April 23, inviting the Czechs to initiate a Slavic congress.[6] But the first public suggestion to this effect came from the Croat Ivan Kukuljević in the April 20 issue of the *Narodni Noviny*, and a revised call to meet was published on April 30 in the same paper over the signature of Palacký and 19 other leading Czechs.[7] A public statement was issued on May 5 to "our brothers of the Austrian Empire" inviting them to convene in Prague on May 31, in order "to deliberate on our common interests ... We are resolved to remain faithful to the hereditary house of Habsburg-Lorraine ... and to maintain the integrity and independence of the Empire by all means in our power. We therefore reject all accusations of separatism, of Panslavism, of Russianism, which might be brought against us by ill-intentioned accusers.... Our undertaking is essentially conservative in nature and should in no wise disturb our liberal and justice-loving non-Slavic fellow-citizens." This was the voice of Austro-Slavism.

Of the 340 participants, 237 were Czechs and Slovaks, 42 South Slavs, 60 Poles and Ruthenians, and one Russian. Of the Poles several were from Prussian Poland, and the Russian—Bakunin—did not officially represent Tsarist Russia. The very thought of revolution of any sort was uncongenial to Tsar Nicholas I. The Poles would have preferred to have the Congress declare for a restitution of all of Poland, but there was little support for so revolutionary a concept.[8] The ruling motivation was anti-German and anti-Magyar. It was certainly not pro-Russian. Bakunin, the sole Russian present, a voluble guest, was quite un-Russian in his advocacy of Slavic federation.[9] The enthusiasm was tearful and tremendous, the speeches were moving, the parades, dinners and celebrations were elaborate and mystic. Palacký's speech of June 12, resuming the conclusions of the several commissions, specifically demanded a federalized Empire, with Slavs enjoying equal rights and privileges with the Germans and the

[6] Tobolka, Zd., *Politické dějiny československého národa od r. 1848 až do dnešní doby*, I (Prague, 1931), 77.

[7] Published in J.M. Cerny, *Boj za pravo* I (Prague, 1893), 183 and F. Palacký, *Spisy z oboru politiky* (Prague, 1898), p. 24f. See also F. Roubík, *Český rok 1848* (Prague, 1948), p. 199, and K. Kazbunda, *České hnutí roku 1848* (Prague, 1929), p. 182ff.; Albert Pražák, "Slavonic Congress of 1848 and the Slovaks" in *Slavonic Review* VII (1928-29), 141-159.

[8] Batowski, Henryk, *Współpraca słowiańska* (Warsaw, 1946), p. 33. See also W. Feldman, *Dzieje polskiej myśli politycznej* I (Lwów, 1913) 288-291.

[9] *Bakuninová Zpověď* (Prague, 1926), p. 72ff.; see also B. P. Hepner, *Bakounine et le panslavisme révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1950), pp. 236-284; and on Bakunin's Panslavism and his participation in the Prague Congress see V. Cejchan, *Bakunin v Čechách* (Prague, 1928), pp. 14-30. It seems quite clear that Bakunin had little or no understanding of the orientation of the Slavs of the Hapsburg monarchy.

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Magyars.[10] This was the last plenary session of the Congress. Tumultuous events in Prague, not directly connected with the Slav Congress, made further meetings impossible, and on June 28 it was adjourned *sine die*.[11] An attempt was made to carry on the work of the Congress through a society bearing the name *Lipa slovanská* (the Slavic linden tree), but it did not survive the reaction that set in the next year. There remained, however, for a few years, one insistently free voice. Karel Havlíček, one of Palacký's adjutants at the Congress, refused to be quiet, and through his journal *Slowan* continued, for the two years he was relatively unsilenced, to defend the rights of the Slavs in the Hapsburg Empire, and went so far as to warn Vienna: "If they will not allow the lesser Panslavism in Central Europe they should take care lest the greater crash on their necks."[12] This is especially suggestive in view of the fact that Havlíček had but recently returned from a trip to Poland and Russia completely cured of any pro-Russian sentiments.[13] There was no western Slav who spoke more frankly than this in the early fifties.

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Thus as of 1849, Austro-Slavism had apparently had its day within the Hapsburg Empire, and Tsar Nicholas I, after reading the statements written out by Ivan Aksakov in answer to a police questionnaire, wrote in the margin of Aksakov's plaidoyer two comments: "Under the guise of compassion for the pseudo-persecution of Slavic tribes there is hidden a criminal thought about an uprising against the constituted authority of neighboring and partly allied states and about a general unification, which is expected, not from God's will, but from a revolution, which is perilous to Russia." "Only God can determine what is being prepared in the distant future, but if an accumulation of circumstances would indeed lead to such

10 Palacký, Fr., *Spisy z oboru politiky*, p. 46ff.

11 Roubík, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

12 Quoted in Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 307f. See Karel Tuma, *Karel Havlíček Borovský* (Prague, 1883) who follows the development of Havlíček's thought in these years with extensive quotations from his letters and editorials. In addition to T. G. Masaryk's classic work, *Karel Havlíček* (Prague, 1896), see the more recent work of Jaromír Bělič, *Karel Havlíček Borovský a slovanstvo* (Prague, 1947), especially pp. 27ff. and 180ff. This latter section is particularly illuminating in its analysis of the changes of attitude Havlíček went through toward the Poles, the Russians and Slavism in general.

13 Jirásek, J., *Rusko a my* II (Prague, 1946), 161f.; Tuma, *op. cit.*, pp. 71ff., 92ff. Havlíček saw no reason to modify his unfavorable opinion of Russia even after the failure of the Congress and the onset of reaction. He wrote in the August 30, 1848 issue of his ilsue of his *Narodni Noviny* (quoted by Tuma, *op. cit.*, p. 234f.): "If Russia were a free constitutional country the Austrian Slavs (in case Austria were to be broken up), could consider a union with their blood brethren like the Germans, the Magyars or the Wallachs. They would then be a part of one of the most honorable, and perhaps leading countries of the world. But Russia is a land of despotism, and the rest of us free Slavs must, unfortunately, consider this our brother as our worst enemy."

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unification, it would be for the peril of Russia."[14] Not only did the Tsar disapprove of Slavophilism, but the presence of Russian armies in Slovakia as allies of Habsburg repression in the same year did not encourage Slavophilism among the western Slavs.

For the better part of a decade, both among the western Slavs and within Russia little is heard of Panslavism or even of Slavophilism. The interest of the Russian intellectuals was taken up, in these years, by the polemics focussed around the question of the relations of the Orthodox to the Roman church. The encyclical of Pius IX to the Eastern Christians set off the sharp dispute.[15] In the Empire the reaction of Bach was severely anti-Slav,[16] and Tsar Nicholas would not hear any talk of Slav federation. But the end of the Crimean war, coinciding with the death of Nicholas I and the end of his absolutism, heralded a change in the Russian attitude toward the lesser Slavic breeds beyond the pale. Russia defeated was more receptive to ideas of Slavic reciprocity than before. But to the western Slavs, for a time at least, the shock of Russia's military vulnerability was a bitter disillusionment.[17] This feeling of despair lasted for a number of years until Austria herself was humbled on the plains of Lombardy. Then hope welled anew. Bach's régime was through and Vienna was a suitor for the support of her Slavic peoples. It is not without interest that at about the same time, 1857 and 1858, a Slavic Benevolent Committee was organized in Moscow,[18] and the Foreign Minister, Prince Gorchakov, gave it his blessing. Its benevolence was preeminently directed toward strengthening cultural and ecclesiastical ties with the southern Slavs, particularly the Bulgars. The Tsarevitch was the patron. The list of the founders of the Committee included all the living Slavophils, of both currents—the romantic Panslavists and those we must henceforth call Panrussians. The significance of the junction of these two currents cannot be missed. This date may in fact be taken as a convenient dividing line between the earlier theoretical, romantic, Muscovite Slavophilism, best represented by the poet Chomyakov, the two Kireyevskys, Samarin and Konstantin Aksakov, and the later political Panslavism which should properly be called Panrussism.[19]

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[14] *Ivan Sergeyevich Aksakov v yego pismakh* I, ii (Moscow, 1888), 154-55, 160. I am indebted to Professor Leonid I. Strakhovsky for this quotation.

[15] von Schelting, A., *op. cit.*, p. 147ff.

[16] Denis, Edouard, *La Bohême depuis la Montagne Blanche* II (Paris, 1903), 353ff.; Tobolka, *op. cit.*, I, 187ff.

[17] See chapter VI, "Polonia fará da se (1857-1863)" of W. Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen (1795-1914)*, (Berlin, 1917). This German work is not identical with the previously noticed Polish work of the same author

[18] Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 367ff.; cf. also B. H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans* (Oxford, 1937), p. 60ff.

[19] Bezel, *Umsky o Slovanstvi* (Prague, 1947), p. 79ff. C. Oulmet, *Tchaadaev* etc., p.

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Theoretical Slavophilism was influenced by poorly understood western thought—Rousseau, Hegel, and Fichte—into paths of unrealistic and unhistorical grotesquerie and then grafted onto Uvarov's threefold motto of nationality, orthodoxy and autocracy.[20]

It is a simple axiom of diplomatic history that a great and powerful state does not interest itself "benevolently" in other and lesser peoples unless it either needs their help or hopes to profit from that "benevolence." The change in the momentum of Russian Slavophilism in the late fifties of the nineteenth century clearly illustrates this axiom. Before 1855 Russia was too strong to need the support or loyalty of the western Slavs, and her leadership reasoned that her strength lay in the centralized autocratic system. As the system was regarded as good *per se* it was proper to support it elsewhere, in Prussia, in the Hapsburg Empire and, with qualifications, even in Turkey. But the Crimean War revealed considerable weaknesses in her state structure, and Vienna's affections had shifted to the enemies of Russia. Under these circumstances help, psychological at least, was welcome. Panslavism, it was obviously reasoned, might actually have its points, particularly since most of the western Slavs were in the Hapsburg Empire anyway, and a little discreet discontent there might pay diplomatic dividends. This period is thus a decisive period in the history of the theatrical property known as Panslavism.[21]

The Benevolent Committee actively wooed the South Slavs with appeals to their Orthodoxy, developing the thesis that West and East were irrevocably separate, that Slav, Eastern and Orthodox were and of right ought to be synonymous with Russia. Then came the January 1863 revolution of the Poles, put down by the butcher Muraviev with brutal ruthlessness. The Benevolent Slavic Committee was able to convince Russian opinion that it was all the Poles' fault, that their Catholicism blinded them to the truth of their Slavic heritage and made them guilty of the "great betrayal,"[22] but after Muraviev the western and southern Slavs were farther than ever from accepting the doctrines of Muscovite Slavophilism.[23]

408, would call this movement "the second slavophilism." See also M. Prelog, *Poss Slovanu do Moskvy r. 1867* (Prague, 1951), p. 4.

20 See T. G. Masaryk, *Rusko a Evropa* I (Prague, 1930), 406ff. The English edition, *The Spirit of Russia* (London, 1919), was based on the German text which Masaryk revised for the 1930 Czech edition.

21 P. N. Milioukov has a chapter in his *Le Mouvement intellectuel russe* (Paris, 1918) p. 377ff., entitled "La décomposition du slavophilisme" in which his explanation of the processes of Russian thought from *ca.* 1848 to the publication of Danilevsky's *Russland und Europa* is treated mystically. Any resemblance between his discussion and the realities of Russia's changed position in European politics after 1855-56 is not even coincidental.

22 Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

23 Feldman, *Geschichte der politischen Ideen*, p. 223ff., and contemporary literature there cited.

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175 Among the South Slavs a considerable element of enlightened opinion,
186 particularly the younger generation,[24] supported the Polish revolutionaries,
and among the leaders there was much openly pro-British and anti-Russian
668 expression. Nevertheless the dominant sentiment, both among Serbs and
829 Croats in the sixties was one of nationalist aspirations and, as between other Slavic peoples, benevolent neutrality.[25]

Palacký remarked in 1863 that "Russian Tsardom was not based on Slavic principles but upon an amalgam of Mongolian and German principles."[26] The fact that European opinion had largely turned against Russia finally came home to many of the Russian Slavophils and a natural desire to repair the damage by allaying the suspicions of non-Russian Slavs soon made its appearance. In line with this feeling the Slavic Committee and the recently founded (1863) Society of Friends of the Natural Sciences projected an Ethnographic Congress to meet in Moscow in the summer of 1867.[27] Invitations were broadcast to learned societies throughout the Slavic world. Between the invitation in 1866 and the following summer several events transpired to give the Congress more potential significance. Austria had lost another war—this time to Prussia—and, within the Empire, the Compromise *(Ausgleich)* which divided the Empire into two parts, Hungary and Austria, had become law. The Slavs of the Empire were thus not only split, but put under their enemies, Magyars and Germans. Their long-standing aspirations for an equal share in a federative Empire were roughly dashed.[28] The outlook was black for the western Slavic peoples and it is not surprising that, with the exception of the Poles, the invitations to the Ethnographic Congress at Moscow were eagerly accepted.

In the meantime Ivan Aksakov, enthusiastic over the implications of the visit of so many leading personalities among the western Slavs to the Congress, constituted himself the propagandist of the Exposition, and many editorials in his journal *Den*, beginning with February 1867, concerned the Slav question. He emphasized the bonds between the Russians and other Slavic peoples, and expressed confidence that they had only to know each other to reject foreign, non-Slav control and join forces with

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24 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 13ff.

25 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 13ff.

26 Palacký, *Politisches Vermächtnis* (Prague, 1872), p. 26, quoting himself in 1863.

27 Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 27ff.

28 Louis Léger recounts the opinion he met on a trip among the South Slavs in 1868, when their participation and hopes in the Moscow Congress were frankly explained to him. See his *Le Panslavisme et l'intérêt français* (Paris, 1917), p. 232ff., reprinted from *La revue moderne* of April, 1868.

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their motherland.[29] His line was followed by most of the Moscow journalists.

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In Prague the *Národní Noviny*, the organ of the Young Czech party, avowed openly the political aims in the minds of the Czech representatives:

> "We make not effort to conceal the fact that the Moscow Exhibition has for us who are going not only philological or ethnographic interest, but a significance deeply political. We are not responsible for that significance; rather those who have inaugurated dualism in Austria and have endangered the independence of the Czech crown and even of the Czech people... those who have turned the Slovak nation over to the mercies of the Magyars, those finally who are recklessly sacrificing the heroic Croatian people to the greed of the Magyar magnates."[30]

The majority of the Czech delegates, though men of intellectual and often scientific attainments, were yet men active in political life. The delegates of the South Slavs were exclusively non-political. Bishop Strossmayer and Franji Rački, who were especially invited, did not join the delegation, though the Bishop gave the expedition his active support. Ljudevit Gaj, the leading Croat nationalist journalist, went to Moscow, but was unaccountably quiet.[31]

In the realization that the Poles would not be represented, Palacký and Rieger were anxious to show their consideration of Polish sensitiveness and went to Paris to explain their reasons for making the trip when the Poles refused to go. Prince Adam Czartoryski and Andrew Zamojski urged the Czechs not to go, and the son of Adam Mickiewicz wrote them an impassioned letter begging them not to attend the Congress. Another special delegation of representative Polish emigrés waited on them to the same intent.[32]

Opened by the Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich on April 23, the Congress was ostensibly an academic and scientific meeting, but railway passes had been given the foreign guests. The western Slavs, on their way to the Congress, crossed the Russian frontier at Granice (i. e. in Polish Silesia) on May 16 and on the 20th reached St. Petersburg.[33] On the way receptions and entertainment were provided by a number of municipalities, though the government took no official action in the matter. Enthusiasm was unbounded. The Czechs and the Serbs were received by Gorchakov

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[29] Aksakov, I. S., *Slavyanskii vopros* (Moscow, 1886), pp. 117-122.

[30] *Národní Noviny*, 1867, no. 11, quoted by Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[31] Fric, J. W., *Die Kehrseite der slavischen Wallfahrt nach Russland* (Prague, 1867), *passim*.

[32] A considerable literature has accumulated on Gaj's trip and activities. See Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 43ff. and literature there cited.

[33] Prelog, *op. cit.*, p. 68ff.

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in separate audiences and greeted with honeyed and unintelligible words. The Tsar received 20 of the leaders of the various delegations in Tsarskoe Selo on May 26. He is reported to have said to them: "May God hearken soon to all your prayers," a hope which thus relieved the Tsar of any further need for action or hearkening. But he called them his "blood brothers here on native Slav soil" and thereby caused a sensation in western Slav capitals.[34] There were copious banquets and eloquent speeches by learned professors and publicists that left no room for doubt that the messianic hope of close Slavic collaboration was well on the way to realization.[35] They were so busy collaborating that there was barely time to visit the elaborate ethnographic and archeological exhibits for which the Congress had been called. The ghost of absent Poland did discreetly appear at several of the more formal occasions, but it was almost dispelled by confident and urbane diplomacy, which naturally deceived no one. The meeting made a deep impression upon everyone present. The Benevolent Committee was profusely congratulated for its felicitous initiative. But very few felt that much had been accomplished. Gorchakov apologetically stayed aloof, save to opine that the Czechs were apparently working for the King of Prussia. General Peter Suvalov acidly remarked that the pilgrims were pursuing a phantom, and the Austrian minister, Revertera, was told that the Russian court regarded the whole spectacle as foolish.[36] In the western Slavic press reports were, in a slight majority, critical and skeptical. The Moscow Congress may have been the high point in public tribute to the numerous concepts in the center and at the periphery of Slavophilism, but it left much disillusionment in its wake. The Poles were disgruntled at the Czechs for participating against their expressed wishes. The Austrian government had, or affected to have, more than grave doubts of the sincerity of the Czech leaders in their devotion to Austro-Slavism, and even the Catholic clergy saw in the expedition a leaning to Orthodoxy and a defection from Catholicism. Within the Austrian Empire the large Slavic public had lost confidence in the political sagacity of their leaders. There was, of course, after the Congress, not the slightest trace of implementation of all the high-sounding resolutions calling for increased cultural reciprocity between the general Slavic peoples.

About 1870 the vaguely variegated sensitivities and aspirations fo-

[34] Kazbunda, K., *Pouť Čechů do Moskvy 1867 a rakouská diplomacie* (Prague, 1924), p. 63, and M. D. Miličević, Etnografska izložba a slovenska sastanak u Moskvi 1867 (Belgrade, 1884), p. 18ff.

[35] The classically bitter report on the Congress is that by Julian Klaczko, "Le Congrès de Moscou et la propagande panslaviste" in *Revue des deux mondes* LXI (1867), 132-181. Klaczko, a native of Wilno, had been the editor of the Paris *Wiadomości Polskie*, which ceased publication in 1861. A much more valid short account is that of Louis Léger in *Le Panslavisme et l'intérêt français* (Paris, 1917), pp. 211-249.

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cussing around the two general concepts of Slavism and Russian expansionism began to coalesce and crystallize. In that year there appeared a small book by General Rostislav A. Fadeyev under the title: *Thoughts on the Eastern Question.*[37] It had passed the censor in 1869. Fadeyev, as a soldier, was primarily interested in strengthening Russia's strategic position and in pointing the way to achieving her natural strategic aims—the control of the Straits. To him the Hapsburg Empire was the principal enemy, and not England and France. As the peoples of the polyglot Empire were mostly Slav, Russia should obviously take them under her wing, and eventually head an all-Slav state. This was Panslavism, clearly put, for Russia's political benefit.

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A much more radical and thorough treatment appeared by separate chapters in the periodical *Tsarja* in 1869 and, revised, in book form in 1871: Nikolai J. Danilevski's *Russia and Europe.* He was a trained botanist and geographer, and his broad approach covered questions of race, religion, climate, politics, and strategy. Because of its thoroughness and easily comprehensible conclusions, it became immediately the Bible of Panslavism.[38] Danilevski posited a deep-rooted antagonism between West, that is the Latin and the German, Catholicism and Protestantism, commercialism and pointless diversity, and East, that is the Slav, the orthodox and the ordered universal. Russia had a destiny to realize. She should save the smaller and weaker Slavic peoples from the curse of europeanization. The Poles had indeed gone farthest in that sinister direction, hence the great tension between Russia and the Poles. In their case Russia had had to be severe, but it was properly not with their Slavic nature but with its europeanized, Catholic perversion. The Poles should realize that Russia had had to discipline them for their own salvation. To Danilevski Panslavism, so far as it was good, was Panrussism.

It would be difficult to say which of these two works, Fadeyev on the Eastern Question or Danilevski's *Russia and Europe* had the more in-

[36] Reverterra, on the other hand, had been instructed by Beust in May to give the whole matter no unnecessary notice. The two governments affected not to count it as of any political significance. See Kazbunda, *Pouť Čechů do Moskvy,* p. 57. Reverterra was recalled the next year by Beust and the Tsar told his successor, Albin Vetsera, that he disliked the whole incident and regretted that it had occurred. "Russia is large enough for me; I want nothing from my neighbor" and disavowed any slightest desire to entice away from the Emperor any of his Slav subjects. See Kazbunda, *op. cit.,* p. 121f.

[37] English translation by T. Michell (London, 1871), *Opinion on the Eastern Question.* See also Fischel, *op. cit.,* p. 400ff.

[38] German translation by Karl Nötsch (Berlin, 1920), somewhat abridged, *Russland und Europa.* See further Benel, *Uvahy,* pp. 98-107, and the recent study of Alexander von Schelting, *Russland und Europa,* where the focus is on the relation of Danilevski to the church. On p. 238 he calls Danilevski "der eigentliche Systematiker der panslavistischen Weltanschauung."

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fluence. Their arguments were so dynamic in their implications that together they are a landmark in European psycho-political history. Panrussism now had a divinely appointed mission and a program for political implementation.[39] Those whose interests lay in cultural exchange with their western Slav brothers no longer felt unsupported, and those who had before been politically Pan-Russian could not rejoice in the moral support of the intelligentsia. It was a perfect coalescence of ideals and interests. There is no wonder that Gorchakov, the foreign minister, felt very gratified about the jelling of enlightened public opinion. He had shared the distrust felt by the court at cultural Slavophilism, so vocal at the Moscow Congress. It implied equality among the various Slavic peoples. Russian policy would be much happier if Russia's "leadership" and of course "benevolent" hegemony were generally accepted. It is hardly necessary to mention that the acceptance of Russian Orthodoxy—no longer Greek Orthodoxy—was by now assumed as a *sine qua non* of the whole Slavic program. It is not difficult to see how the atmosphere created by the wide circulation of these two sensational books may have convinced Gorchakov and the court that Ignatyev's reports and suggestions from Constantinople correctly represented the proper policy to be pursued—at least in the interests of Russia.[40] We are here far removed from any semblance of the Panslav sentiments of Kollár, or the Austro-Slavism of the Prague Congress of 1848 or even from the implications of Slav cultural reciprocity so fervently expressed by most of the leaders at the Moscow Congress of 1867. We are dealing with realistic political opportunism which makes use of the slogans and stage illusions evoked by romantic or even philosophical Panslavism. Gorchakov and Ignatyev and certainly—and indeed avowedly—Fadeyev, were quite aware of the political semantics fluttering around the words Slavophilism, Panslavism, Slavic solidarity. The fact that the words sent shivers up and down the spines of western diplomats and at the same time thrilled the Russian people and some western Slavs could only please the anti-western party at the Tsar's court.

In 1874 an Archeological Congress was held in Kiev under the auspices of the Moscow Archeological Society. It was sparsely attended by non-Russian Slavs, about a dozen in all, out of a total of 206 delegates. Several unpleasant incidents at this Congress showed that the resentments and tensions between, particularly, Poles, Russians and Ukrainians, were

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[39] See Lednicki, *art. cit.*, p. 845ff., and Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 75ff. Feldman, *op. cit.*, says bluntly: "Unter den Russen vollzieht sich nach dem Jahre 1870 eine Umwandlung der alten slavophilenBewegung in einen selbstbewussten politischen Imperialismus."

[40] On Ignatyev see Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 73ff., and his article in *Slavic Review* XI (1952), 343- , 369-

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deep and lasting. Slavic solidarity was certainly not advanced by this meeting.[41]

It is true that the Bulgarian atrocities precipitated a resurgence, in Russia herself, of the emotional index of the Panslav idea, but basic political realities were not thereby at stake. The participation of Russian soldiers as volunteers in the Serbian army could not obscure the fact that Russia already saw clearly that Turkey was no longer a major antagonist. Indeed the Balkan wars of 1876-78 were only an incident which, if anything, confirmed the political Panslavists (*lege* Panrussians) of the necessity to consolidate their political program and its psychological and moral bases for use in a coming struggle with enemies much stronger than the Ottoman Empire. The Russian campaign of 1877-78 could have been lifted bodily from Fadeyev or Danilevski.

The fact that Gorchakov and Ignatyev had to retire from public life after the Treaty of Berlin has several interesting if not ironic aspects. What must have played a large part in their downfall was the fact that their aggressive Panslavism or Pan-Russism or Russian nationalism had gained less for Russia at Berlin than was popularly expected.[42] Yet they themselves, and here lies the irony, were substantially responsible for inducing Russian opinion to expect so much. The significant fact is the generality of the adoption of the Russian nationalistic thesis, and, in retrospect, the large-scale perversion of the thesis of Slav reciprocity. What, less than a half century before, seen from Paris or London, had been a cloud, small as a man's hand, on the eastern horizon, now seemed a swirling thunderhead, about to loose a torrent and a tempest. This menace bore the label Panslavism. No wonder the west shivered at the word. Yet it was by this time in no sense Panslav but pure Russian expansionism.

It would be of interest to examine the trends of thought among the western Slavs in these years. It was among them that the ideas of Slav reciprocity had first arisen. The great Croat leader, Bishop Strossmayer, had not modified his stand in favor of a South Slav federation and cultural reciprocity with the lands of Orthodoxy. Professor Jaroslav Jagić and George Daničić, the renowned South Slav philologists, both advocated a union of the Croats, Serbs and Bulgars. Nowhere among these leaders do we detect any desire to join a larger Slavic world led by Russia, or any urge to make Orthodoxy the common Slav faith.[43] Their insistence on their cultural and political independence constitutes an emphatic rejection of the

41 Léger, *Le Panslavisme . . .*, pp. 242-249. Léger was present at the Congress.

42 Gorchakov's last years have been frequently discussed. See in brief B. Nolde, *L'Alliance franco-russe* (Paris, 1936), pp. 199ff. and 209ff.

43 Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 347ff.; see also R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question* (London, 1911), p. 126ff.

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175 so-called Panslavism emanating from Moscow in these decades. The fact
186 that, under Magyar rule, any move by South Slavs or Slovaks to cultivate
●829 their native language or culture was proceeded against as "Panslavism"
668 and conseqently regarded as high treason[44] is obviously irrelevant, because erroneous in its factual bases. Palacký in his *Politisches Vermächtnis* observed that he had come to the conclusion that a Russian universal monarchy would mean "violent compulsion, absolute subjugation and enslavement of all civilized Europe, the suppression and suffocation of every free and noble thought and aspiration of the human race." He added that he thought that the enlightened minds of Russia would likewise regard the expansion of Russia westward as a misfortune.[45] He might not have counted Dostoyevski among the enlightened minds of Russia.

The Poles, crushed between Russian and Prussian calculated oppression, sought solace from their dire despair in their own literature and art. It was all that was left them. Memories of the Russian soldiery of Muraviev certainly estopped any warmth of feeling toward the Slavs they knew the most about from personal experience.[46] The less they had to do with the Russians the better. Orthodoxy was Russian and therefore they clung to their Roman Catholicism with deepening gratitude. The Poles were grateful also to Austria for the relative freedom they enjoyed in Cracow and Galicia, and used it to fortify their nationalism in literature and science.[47]

By the end of the century, whether because of absorption into a more potent and definitely programmatic Russian expansionism, or because its vagaries had repelled the western and more rational Slavs, or because the anti-Panslav campaign from Berlin, Paris and London had been effective, or because Russian imperialism was not too successful, the Panslavism of the Prague Congress of 1848, of the Moscow Slavophils, or the Moscow Congress of 1867 or even of Ignatyev, was dead. It might be more exact to say that the ghost had been laid.

The subsidence of the noble sentiments of Slavic reciprocity, of "interslavism," did not mean, however, that the scarecrow of Panslavism was not still usable. Eduard Beneš recently put these developments in urbane terms:

[44] Cf. the Vakanović memorandum of 1872, quoted by Palacký, *Politisches Vermächtnis* ,p. 13; cf. also Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 353f. It would appear that the Magyars were the most consistently fervent believers in Panslavism. At any rate they thought every Slovak was a Panslav. The record contains many instances of such fantasy almost too ludicrous to believe. The most fantastic aspect of this complex is its literal truth. See, e. g. Thomas Capek, *The Slovaks of Hungary: Slavs and Panslavism* (New York, 1906), pp. 47-52.

[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

[46] Kucharzewski, Jan, *Origins of Modern Russia* (New York, 1948), p. 349ff.

[47] Chlebowski, Bronislas, *La Literature polonaise au XIXe siecle* (Paris, 1933), chs. XXVIII and XXIX; and see Feldman, *op. cit.*, chapter IX, "Aufleben der Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen im Zusammenhange mit modernen sozialen Ideen."

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"Panslavism then, up to 1905, solved no question fully, it failed to attain its aims, and could not be transferred into the field of politics in any concrete form. Finally it became a synonym for Tsarist Russian nationalism and as such, in the form of a political doctrine, could only be prejudicial to all concerned: to the Russians, to the other Slavs, to Europe and to the world. It was harmful to the Slavs because, above and beyond the fact that it was in political fact in great measure a fantasy, it was used and misused against them by their opponents to such an extent that not only the Magyars and the Germans but all of western Europe saw in it a real danger and frequently, because of it, opposed them even where the Slavs were in the right. Against us Czechoslovaks it was for instance used during the first world war and here and there one heard echoes of it even during the second."[48]

The year 1905 brought a marked change, not only in Russia's external prestige and her internal constitutional structure, but also in the attitude of the western and southern Slavs toward the whole question of their own future and the relations between them and Tsarist Russia. Whereas for over a half century, since at least the Prague Slavic Congress of 1848, they had consciously or unconsciously looked to powerful Russia for moral or physical support, now, that Russia had been militarily humbled and they found their own strength growing and their interests in their western connections in a more satisfactory perspective, the prospect of a future independent of Russia was not unpleasing. The vestiges of admiration for Russia that remained clouded but did not basically alter the vision of the future that opened out before them.

As for the Poles, who had never accepted the thesis of Russian leadership, the harsh campaign for russification under Alexander III only increased their hatred of everything Russia stood for and their determination to maintain their separate polonism.[49] Among the Czechs and the Slovaks the "realism" of Masaryk, by which he had meant simply that they should trust in their own moral strength and the logic of national development in order to win out over an already corrupt, artificial and doomed monarchy, had made much headway and was destined to capture the dominant place in the people's thought. The South Slavs had not forgotten the disillusionment brought by the Congress of Berlin and had quickly adjusted themselves to the thesis that they should and could make substantial gains in cultural and political autonomy on their own initiative in the Balkan ambit.[50] The coup of 1903 in Belgrade furthermore opened vistas of actual independence from the Hapsburg monarchy. All the western Slavs had sensed vividly for a full quarter century that Russia had been increasingly

[48] Beneš, *Úvahy o Slovanstvu*, p. 127f.
[49] Cf. M. Zdziechowski, *Wpływy rosyjskie na duszę polską* (Cracow, 1920), p. 33ff.
[50] Cf. E. Denis, *La Grande Serbie* (Paris, 1920), p. 121ff.

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disinterested, indeed bored, with them and their problems. What fleeting political *rapprochements* took place at top levels did not touch real public opinion save to confirm the general belief that arrangements between dynasts, foreign ministers and such like were cynical and opportunistic. In this case at least it would have been difficult to prove this instinctive judgment erroneous.

On a basis of these psycho-political developments among the Slavs within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and along her borders the decade between 1905 and the outbreak of the war of 1914 witnessed the rise to dominance of what is usually described as Neo-Slavism.[51] The leading and best known exponent and expositor of this short-lived but significant movement was the Czech politician, Dr. Karel Kramář. The essence of this movement, fundamentally indigenous and unconnected with Russia or the accidental fact that Russia was largely Slavic, was an effort to counterweight Central Europe and the Balkans against the aggressive expansion of Germany in every field of political, economic and social life in that area. Seeing that Austria-Hungary was weakening in the face of the steady pressure from the north, the Neo-Slavs even advocated support of the Empire on condition that it be federalized. If Austria-Hungary could be weaned away from Germany and the Triple Alliance broken up, Russia and Austria-Hungary could draw closer together. Pan-Germanism would then be blocked and the western Slavs could move and have their being in this larger atmosphere. Along these lines there was even, *mirabile dictu*, talk of a Polish-Russian *rapprochement*. Late in 1905 Swiatkowski, an energetic Russian journalist, proclaimed that the German danger made Slavic cooperation absolutely necessary,[52] and he proceeded to beat the drums for a broad-gauged campaign to bring it about—among the Sokols, in the press, by congresses, by cultural and social relations on every level. He envisaged a political union of some sort, but specifically an economic and customs union to which the non-Slavic states of Central Europe should also be invited. In the next two years the idea grew that it was time for all the Slavs to get together again, as in 1848 and 1867, to further their mutual interests. The leader of the movement in Russia was Lt. Gen. Volodimirov, whose recent retirement left him with time on his hands. He enlisted some publicists and men of letters of a poetic cast of mind, travelled to Warsaw, Cracow and Prague, where he found other optimists.

The second Slavic Congress of Prague, which met in July, 1908, was the result of this agitation. It was attended by represenatives of most, though

[51] Benel, *op. cit.*, p. 134ff. The most complete discussion of this movement is the collaborative work, *Slovanstvo. Obraz jeho minulosti a přítomnosti* (Prague, 1912), with a foreword by Dr. Kramář.

[52] Fischel, *op. cit.*, p. 507f.

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not all, of the Slavic peoples in Russia, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans.[53] The slogans were unity, solidarity, reciprocity, equality and unification, though few if any of the delegates knew precisely what they meant. Roman Dmowski, the leader of the Polish delegation, ostentatiously shook hands with Krasowski, the head of the Russian delegation,[54] and the whole Congress echoed for days with the miracle that had been wrought. It all sounded like the ominous approach of peace and good will. But the fact is that the whole idea behind the Congress was based on a completely untenable assumption: that the interests of Russia and Austria-Hungary did not conflict.[55] It can only be charitably said that the organizers of the Congress had, in a greater degree and with even less excuse than their predecessors of 1848 and 1867, failed to think through their program, its logic and its practicability. Questions which the literate man on the street in Prague, Belgrade or Warsaw knew had to be faced either did not appear on the agenda or were greeted by bland smiles and silence. Two further facts highlight the absurdity of the meeting. The old Panrussians, now benignly veneered with liberalism, were in control of the Russian delegation and there is not the slightest reason to doubt that all their vocal support of the new Slavism was utterly cynical. Neo-Slavism in general and the Prague Congress in particular never aroused any enthusiasm among the Serbs. Roman Dmowski told Beneš in 1917 that his aims at the Congress of 1908 were solely the independence of Poland, and in no sense Slav.[56]

The roseate aura of Slavic amity and hope engendered by the Congress lasted less than three months. Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina and the hopes of the western Slavs for an acceptable *modus vivendi* within the then political framework were rudely dashed. The next year it became evident that the promises made to the Poles in Russia in 1905 of modest recognition of their nationalistic feelings were valueless and that reaction was again in the saddle in St. Petersburg.[57]

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[53] Léger, *Le Panslavisme . . .*, p. 271ff.; Beneš, *op. cit.*, 139ff. A rich source of documentation is the printed (but not published) record of the trial of Kramář, Alois Rašín, V. Červinka and Josef Žamazal, which went on from Dec. 6, 1915, to June 3, 1916. Letters, documents and testimony of all sorts on the whole movement, including the various congresses, are printed *in extenso*. See further Paul Milyukov, "World War and Slavonic Policy" in *Slavonic Review* VI (1927-28), 268-290, particularly interesting in its critique of Kramář's ideas and Beneš' opposition to them.

[54] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 149. Dmowski published this same year his *Niemcy, Rosja i Kwestja Polska* (Lwów) in which he argued that Poland's principal enemy was Germany and that it was to the interest of the Poles and the other western Slavs to support Russia.

[55] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 155f.

[56] Beneš, *op. cit.*, p. 154f.

[57] One of the resolutions passed at the Prague congress to which most weight was

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Yet there were still pleasantly optimistic souls among the Slavic intellectuals. Another Congress was called for Sofia in 1910. It makes even more fantastic reading than those that preceded it. Dr. Kramář was frequently eloquent. No Pole was present as a delegate. The Russian delegation was almost exclusively conservative. No Ukrainian representative came and the Bulgarian Tsar was ostentatiously absent from Sofia during the Congress. This was the last Slavic Congress before the outbreak of hostilities in 1914.[58] Almost everybody save the leading Czech slavophil Dr. Kramář left Sofia fully aware that he had witnessed the *rigor mortis* of an ailing phantom—indeed a cooling thought. The Neo-Slav movement had had a short life and an inglorious end. If it accomplished anything it proved that Slavism as a gospel, so long at least as there was an Austro-Hungarian Empire, had insufficient grounding in the tissues of international relations to have the slightest influence upon the trend of events in Central and Eastern Europe.

It is a commonplace among German historians and analysts of the origins of the first world war that it was essentially a defensive struggle by Germandom against Slavdom. Bethmann-Hollweg made the statement early, and so weighty a study as Fischel's *Der Panslawismus bis zum Weltkrieg* is avowedly devoted to this thesis. But it will hardly bear careful examination. There were Germans on one side—there was a majority of Slavs on the other. But that is more accidental than essential. Along with many Slavic-German issues there was in fact a greater number of issues completely unrelated to the Slavic-German question which in the inevitable logic of history would have had to be decided completely regardless of ethnics and culture. After the war, out of which arose three new or revised west Slavic states, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the principal inter-Slav questions were solved and there was hardly a whisper of Panslavism. Bolshevik Russia, emphasizing its multinationality and its supranational foundations, in the early years at least, had no interest in Slavic countries *per se*, and Panslavism, Slavophilism, Neo-Slavism and even Pan-Russism became historical curiosities, objects of antiquarian research.

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attached was to the effect that St. Petersburg should be the meeting place of the next Pan-Slav conference the following year. Léger (*op. cit.*, p. 278) says: "l'on se sépara en se donnant rendez-vous pour l'année suivante à St. Petersbourg. Ce rendez-vous ne devait pas se réaliser." S. B. Fay, *Origins of the World War* (New York, 1929), 401, and B. E. Schmitt, *Annexation of Bosnia 1908-1909* (Cambridge, 1937), p. 248, mention the congress in the summer of 1909 and the circular letter sent to Slav organizations in the Balkans. The contradiction is only apparent. There was such a conference and such a secret circular, but very few South Slavs attended the meeting. See dispatch from Count Brockdorff-Rantzau (German chargé d'affaires in Vienna) to Bethmann-Hollweg of July 25, 1909, in *Die Grosse Politik*, XXVI, 844f.

[58] See the *Kramář-Prozess*, pp. 402-407, for interesting sidelights on the meeting.

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175 This should cause no surprise. Whenever in the past these national groups
186 had existed as independent states there had not been any discernible urge
for exceptional collaboration on a basis of their consanguinity. They had
829 pursued their particular needs, in the same way as France, Italy and Spain,
668 also related by history, language, religion and ethnic bonds, had, throughout their history, tended toward particularism and strenuously rejected any centripetal pressures. It would seem reasonable to allow Slavic peoples to act according to a pattern assumed to be rational and even enlightened farther west.

The Little Enente was, quite accidentally, two-thirds Slav. Its collapse was precipitated by the early defection of Yugoslavia, one of the Slav thirds. The Balkan Entente followed no noticeable Slavic pattern.

The aggressive war of 1939 was variously advertised. It was directed against any people that objected to being nazified, Slav, Teuton, Baltic or Latin. The fourth partition of Poland, shared in equally by Russia and Germany, made it abundantly clear that it was not a war against Bolshevism or of German against Slav. It would have been difficult to arouse among western Slavs any enthusiasm for the Slav idea from August 23, 1939 to June 22, 1941.

At this point it is possible to draw some deductions from the history of the variations in Slav feeling. The sense of Slavic community weakened, or perhaps more accurately shuffled into the unrealistic or academic empyrean, in times of peace. Under stress and strain or in times of crisis Slavophilism became again, with the limitations of the moment, an active force.[59] But all wars, the ultimate in national interest, have acted as rapid solvents of these fond dreams. This failure of the idea to stand any real test will explain why we use the term phantom or illusion of the whole concept.

From 1941 on one heard much of Slavic solidarity. There were All-Slav congresses at Moscow in August 1941, April 1942 and May 1943. The Russian speakers emphatically repudiated the political Panslavism and Pan-Russism of the nineteenth century and appealed "for the union of all Slav strength in the struggle against Hitlerism."[60] There was to be a unity of equals with equals, all bound together in a happy family of democratic peoples. Thereafter Slavic committees sprang up and Slavic congresses were held in London, Detroit and Pittsburgh, and in 1945 and following years, in Sofia, Belgrade, Bratislava, Prague and Warsaw. The themes of all these meetings followed the same lines: rejoicing in new Slav unity

[59] Cf. A. Mousset, *Le Monde Slave* (2nd. ed., Paris, 1947), p. 385.

[60] Vl. Osmanin, Secretary of All Slav Committee, in May, 1943, quoted by Mousset *op. cit.*

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under the leadership of Soviet Russia. Whereas the pre-1914 congresses were usually gatherings of professors and publicists, and the realist politicians generally abstained, the post-1941 gatherings were almost exclusively made up of politicians and poets. The trained professorate was in a noticeable minority. It would perhaps be superfluous to quote many of these political leaders on the subject of Slav unity, but it would not be difficult to discover a marvelous, perhaps inspired, unanimity.

There were numerous speeches in all the western Slav capitals which emphasized "the Slavic bloc, directed by the great Russian people"[61] "for the protection of their freedom and democracy."[62] There is no room for question as to what was meant. The signing of every new treaty, of commerce, mutual defense or cultural friendship, was accompanied by headlines, radio propaganda and ministerial banquets, in all of which inter-Slavic devotion was lauded with profound conviction. Ceremonial visits of chiefs of state were exchanged, there were many elaborate parades and happy reunions. In between, naturally, there were visits to Moscow. M. Georgiev, the Bulgarian President, remarked, on landing in Moscow on Jan. 7, 1946: "I am happy to be in the fortress of the Slavic peoples which, thanks to the wise direction of Generalissimo Stalin, has become the hope of all democratic humanity." M. Vishinsky then visited Sofia.

The years 1946 and 1947 brought electoral and diplomatic victories to Russia. As all the Slavs were now safely enjoying their Slavic solidarity, it was no longer necessary to emphasize Slavism. Marxian Socialism was a more comprehensive concept into which Magyars, Rumanians, Austrians, Germans and Balts could conveniently be made to fit. We have therefore to remark upon the relative silence of western Slavic spokesmen on the subject of Slavic solidarity in the years 1947 and 1948. That stage illusion was no longer necessary, at least in so urgent a fashion as before. On the other hand it would be incorrect to say that it had been completely withdrawn from circulation. The enforcement of Russian language instruction in the schools, the extended tours of Russian artists, authors, scientists and athletes throughout all the Slavic countries, the dominant place in areas of cultural expression, education, science, press, radio, screen and stage, given to the products of Russia, all reveal the underlying plan. It should not be overlooked, furthermore, that the Orthodox Church has, with the support of the Kremlin, been incorporated into the program of implementation of the plan with considerable success in at least Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the Ukraine. Whereas under Tsarist rule the trilogy of

[61] Quoted by Mousset, *op. cit.*, p. 257, from Zdeněk Nejedlý, Czechoslovak Minister of Education.

[62] Nikolov, President of Slav Committee, at Sofia, quoted by Mousset, *op. cit.*, p 262f.

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nationalism, orthodoxy and autocracy was the slogan reserved for Russia herself, one is justified in remarking that Russian nationalism has now become Slavic nationalism or Slavic unity, Orthodoxy is being encouraged outside Russia, and of autocracy throughout the western Slavic states there appears to be quite adequate evidence. We have, on the other hand, little positive proof that thus far the various Slavic peoples love each other more than they did, say in 1860, 1890 or 1935. Titoism rather speaks for itself, and the great popularity of Gomulka in Poland would indicate, if there were any need, the continuity of Polish separatism from time immemorial. A thousand years of determined and consistent western orientation and nationalism are not obliterated in a decade of government by loud speakers, force and fear.

As we look back over the last century of Slav thought, interaction and political mutuality, several broad lines of change strike our notice. In 1848 Slavophil enthusiasm stemmed mostly from within the polyglot Hapsburg monarchy. A century later, not only has this Empire, officially a bulwark of Germanism with all its westward leanings, disappeared, but its place and much more has been taken by the heirs of the Tsars. In 1848 Slavic thought was largely centered on cultural and moral reciprocity. A century later the Slavic nations, under the direction of Russia (excepting, for the moment, Yugoslavia), constitute a solid and ruthlessly integrated political, economic and military unity, more tightly welded with each passing day. But nothing seemed more sure, and indeed necessary, in 1848 than the Hapsburg Empire. Yet that imperial idea was in actuality soon after 1848 rejected by those who had theretofore felt it to be necessary. Under similar circumstances there is every reason to think that the present, stronger than imperial, concept will be rejected. Of their own volition the western Slavs have never in their long history shown any general desire to become part of an inclusive Slav empire. They have at various times experienced the imperial idea only to repudiate it. Nor, in spite of present conditions, is there any evidence that the people of these nations have lost their historic particularism. All the verifiable evidence is in the opposite direction. These peoples have lived long and are wise from bitter experience, a teacher whose lessons last longer than those of ministers of propaganda. Nowhere is the common man more anxious to claim citizenship of the world than in Central Europe, where the western Slavs for much more than this past century have been exposed to the repeated appearances of, only to reject, the phantom of Panslavism.

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186* than that of France, Germany or England. And even the
178 Serbs and Bulgars, while they were affected by Russian influence, yet preferred to go to Western Europe in quest of models for their civilisation and institutions.

Moreover, when their political interests were at variance, the Slavs did not hesitate to make war on each other. Not until the last World War were they to be found in the same camp, during a European conflagration.

That was what gave the Soviet Union an ideal pretext for posing as the animator and leader of Slav solidarity—considered, not as an end in itself, but as the means of creating, in the Slav masses, a wave of feeling favourable to Russian imperialism.

Whilst reviving historical memories well calculated to exalt Russian patriotism, the Moscow Government organised Slav congresses, with united resistance to German oppression as their chief theme: upon the Soviet Union had devolved the role of liberator of the Slavs.

That, again, was only a diplomatic move. Panslav propaganda was the rule from 1942 to 1945. Then Moscow perceived the danger attendant on maintaining a scale of preferential treatment among the various peoples placed under Soviet influence—some of which, such as Hungary, Rumania and Eastern Germany had, in the course of their history, lived in a state of permanent hostility to the Slavs. 'Panslav' slogans disappeared from official oratory. And the 'Titoist' diversion, setting Belgrade in opposition both to Moscow and to Sofia, once more broke Slav solidarity.

[829] With the exception of Poland, all the Slav peoples had desired greatness for Russia, but within certain limits: that of their own independence. When, from being a liberator, Russia became a dominator, the notion of Slav solidarity was purged of its political content, and the ties binding the countries of Eastern Europe to Moscow then depended entirely on Marx-Leninist unity.

[656] The Slav peoples saw the Russians at work in their own countries, replacing the *mystique* of emancipation by a policy of assimilation and force. The progress of 'Titoism' in Bulgaria and in Czechoslovakia is really nothing but a manifestation of the old Slav individualism, rising once more against imperialist hegemonies.

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Chapter One

SLAVISM MENACES THE WEST

178 THE collapse of Germany inaugurated a revolutionary era in Europe. In the political domain, it was the prelude to transfers of strength whose full consequences cannot yet be gauged, although we can say definitely that it is the Slavs—and primarily the Russians—who will benefit by them.

[162] In this connection, the war has simply hastened a process to which a relentless impulse had already been given by the demographic rhythm of modern Europe. To-day, out of every three Europeans, one is a Slav. In three-quarters of a century from now, with the differing birth-rates in Western and in Eastern Europe, we shall find this ratio reversed.

563 [161] On the eve of the war, our continent had 454,400,000 inhabitants. The Slavs numbered 145,072,000, distributed as follows: Poland, 27,181,000; Czechoslovakia, 13,611,000; Yugoslavia, 12,017,000; Bulgaria (a Slavicised rather than a Slav country), 6,080,000; Great Russia, 55,548,000; Little Russia, 27,664,000; White Russia, 4,204,000.[1] It should be mentioned, in passing, that Russia, which common opinion (by metonymy) considers as the 'Slav country' *par excellence*, is on the contrary the only one which, within its State frontiers, includes at least an equal proportion of inhabitants of other races. For this reason it is also, whatever its political structure, the country where the national problem is at least easily reducible to a concept of ethnical homogeneity. It is as well not to forget this.

As far as any biological factor can do so, this prospect of demographic superiority in Europe gives stability and solidity to the political advantages which the Slavonic world may derive from the collapse of its age-long enemy—Germanism.

563 • 829 We shall use the term 'Slavonic world' or 'Slavonic community', rather than 'Slavonic race'. It was at the time when science was abandoning its convictions regarding race-discrimina-

[161] [1] Between 1930 and 1939 the population of Russia rose from 158 to 192 million, i.e. an annual increase of 3,700,000 persons—which constitutes a world record.

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tion that Hitlerite Germany adopted this discrimination as a creed. We have seen whither this folly led. A less dangerous, but more general, illusion leads historians to falsify the time-perspectives of the events they record by giving to the words 'national conscience' a racial import which is, more often than not, simply a gross anachronism. The most one can concede is that 'race' intervened as a disturbing element in international life at a time when the latter had, to all appearances, lost its homogeneity and its original authentication marks. The case of the Slavs is, in this respect, irrefutably eloquent. If we accept what the learned Genevan anthropologist, Professor Eugène Pittard,[2] has written, we lack precise information, and even clarity, regarding the original populations of the Slav countries; the data are too scanty for us to write their history on an anthropological basis and to establish definite relationships. Great Russians, White Russians and Little Russians present rather widely differing morphological characteristics. Neither does the Polish nation constitute a pure race. The Czechs of Bohemia and those of Moravia cannot be placed on the same level as the Russians and the Poles; on the other hand, Lusatians, Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks *do* seem to be the offshoots of one single ethnical stock. According to M. Pittard, the Slovenes would appear to be only Slavicised; a large proportion of them can be attached to the Adriatic or Dinaric race. The Croats and the Serbs used to form one single group; many of them must belong to this same Dinaric race: they are, again, Slavicised people, anthropologically far removed from the Slavs of the North, that is to say, of the districts today considered as the most specifically Slavonic. The same can probably be said of the Bosnians and the Montenegrins. The Bulgars do not represent a pure race, and different origins are attributed to them: Thracian, Tartar, and others; they too are Slavicised. In short, and without forgetting the reserves with which M. Pittard surrounds conclusions which he is very careful not to put forward as final—the Slavs of the South are probably not related to the Slavs of the North, and the identity of race of the former is apparently itself unconfirmed. Comparing this picture with the emotive manifestations of Slavonic solidarity which

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[2] *Les Races et l'Histoire*, in the collection "L'Evolution de l'Humanité," pp. 273 *sqq.*

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Europe has witnessed during the past century, one is tempted to wonder whether the modern nations are not groups of human beings, mainly united by a common illusion as to their origins and an identical aversion to their neighbours. 563 829• 144

But history is often only a distortion of the legend concerning the lives of nations. It matters comparatively little if scholars criticise and refute theories which human societies, wittingly or otherwise, have turned into living realities. Up to the sixteenth century the French believed in their Trojan origin, and even today they place an exaggerated faith in their 'Latinity'. 000

Consequently, as far as the Slavonic community is concerned, we will keep to the idea of it which is held by its component nations, without discussing its basis. Now it is evident that the feeling of this community, existing in embryo in former centuries, has gone on intensifying during the past hundred years, and to-day constitutes a fundamental factor in European life.

* * *

'The first nation to impose its virile will on the invaders, and decree the destruction of the enemy, was a Slavonic nation', said the German novelist, Heinrich Mann, in a letter he addressed to the Association of Soviet Authors, in May, 1942. It was, indeed, the Russian armies which, at the cost of never-to-be-forgotten steadfastness and unheard-of sacrifices, annihilated the most formidable military organisation the world has ever seen.

This victory represents more than the physical balance-sheet of a trial of strength, the settlement of an account, outstanding for a thousand years, between two nations. Regarded from the angle of European destinies, it is an event of quite different magnitude. It is the prelude to a reintegration of the Slavonic world, hitherto split up among the powers and interests which speculated on its division. For a century, the Western Chancelleries used and abused the word 'Panslavism'. We shall see, later, what to think of this word, which is unknown in the Russian language. But it was nothing more than a diplomatic slogan, a scarecrow utilised by the Habsburg monarchy in times of crisis, with a view to mobilising the West against Tsarist diplomacy. It is only today that we can speak of a Slav 186* 829 648

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186* solidarity capable of disturbing the balance of power in Europe.
• 829 And even so, we have to give an objective definition of this
648 solidarity—a task rendered difficult by the traditional prejudices, the historical misinterpretations which, in the minds of many Westerners, have falsified the laws and motives which govern the expansion of Slavism.

563 No need to go far afield to see the effects of this ignorance
829 of Slavonic realities, even when it is not reinforced by a feeling of animosity. In witness, I will simply cite this passage from a speech pronounced in the Tribunal of the French Senate on May 4, 1933, by the Chairman of the Committee for the Budget on Foreign Affairs:—

> 'That is a point to be noted, *viz.*, the awakening of the Slavonic race. . . . The objection is raised that Rumania is not essentially Slavonic; agreed. But there is Poland, there are the Baltic States, and, farther off still, the wholly Slavonic U.S.S.R., which is, so to speak, the mother of all the Slavonic nations of Central and Eastern Europe'.[3]

These few sentences, from the mouth of an authoritative speaker, contain as many errors as there are words. Rumania is not Slavonic, either essentially or in appearance. Still less the Baltic States. Far from being entirely Slavonic, the Soviet Union is hardly more than fifty per cent so. As for considering it the original habitation of the Slavonic tribes of Central and Eastern Europe, to do this is to settle, with an enviable assurance, a problem whose solution the most eminent ethnologists are still seeking.

Such was, however, the idea current in our official circles, on the eve of this War, concerning one of the determining factors of European peace.

186* Even so, the honourable Parliamentarian who pronounced
829 these gross untruths before his colleagues of the Senate was not
208 prompted by malevolence when he spoke of an awakening of the Slavonic nations. This was not always the case with our journalists and their supporters. It would be possible to compile an anthology of ill-disposed or apprehensive judgements on the Slavonic world, from the pens of French intellectuals, or of men responsible for pronouncements on foreign policy. Is it necessary

[3] *Journal Officiel* of May 5 (1933), p. 791, col. 1.

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to add that, from the last quarter of the nineteenth century up to the Sarajevo outrage, Slavonic problems were localised in the Balkans, and that this did not help to facilitate their understanding, nor to procure for them an impartial judgement? 186* 829 • 208

European 'volcano,' or 'rheumatism,' 'nest of vipers'—day in, day out, metaphors such as these flowed from the pens of our propagandists and diplomats when they were reviewing Balkan politics, because they were not prepared to admit that the crises in which these politics involved Europe were simply the repercussions of rivalry and scheming among the Great Powers.

If we leave diplomatic and political circles and pass to the public at large, we find that the word 'Slav' aroused more distrust than curiosity. For some people, it smacked of Nihilism or of Revolution; for others (forgetting that more than a quarter of the Slavonic world is Catholic) it held a menace to the unity of the Church. Slav refugees had fought on all the barricades during the nineteenth century; their names figured largely in the police alien records. In short, this word 'Slavism' suggested a set of psychological characteristics, rather than a geographical or national reality, and these characteristics—or their interpretation—made up a picture which the average Frenchman did not find very reassuring for Latin civilisation.

Whereas the political world adopted the caricature of Slavism outlined by the diplomats of the Ballplatz, the intellectual world, in its turn, often fell under German influence when dealing with the problems of Slavonic life. There was, in France, especially after 1870, a brilliant school of Slavicisers, who had studied the question on the spot. But for a long time it was restricted to a small number of enthusiasts, who lacked a sufficiently numerous audience to popularise their teaching. [814]

Moreover, the early history of this teaching was unfortunate. The first holder of the Chair 'of Slavonic Language and Literature' at the *Collège de France* was Poland's most celebrated poet, Adam Mickiewicz. He was denounced to the Senate as a 'Panslavist'—a vague, but serious offence. For the time being, a well-chosen plural was sufficient to remove this offence: the chair changed its title and became the 'Chair of Languages and Literatures of Slavonic Origin'. Later on, however, Mickiewicz, accused of exaggerated mysticism and eccentricity, was obliged to give up lecturing altogether. The fate 186* 558

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that 'The floating soul of Russia drifts about among all philosophies and errors'. He thought he was speaking as a Cartesian and a Catholic. But he added that this soul was redeemed by charity, humility, and that preoccupation with the universal mystery which haunts Dostoyevsky's heroes. He introduced *The Idiot* as a sort of clinical novel, the reading of which would be more beneficial to doctors and psychiatrists than to scholars. On the contrary, Jules Lemaître maintained that, in the Russian authors, there was nothing we could not find in our own. No doubt his temperament, imbued with the clarity characteristic of Touraine, made him ill-prepared to explore the twilight regions, so attractive to Russian thought. Yet Lemaître was nearer the truth than de Vogüé, in feeling that Russian literature would not impose itself by its 'Dantesque' aspects but by its note of sincerity and by its more faithful rendering of human inconsequence.

But, while awaiting a balanced judgement, which was to come only from the pen of André Gide, the picture of the Russian nation which the French gathered from Dostoievsky's novels was in the form of a fresco of grimacing figures leaning over abysmal depths, and of this picture they retained only the disturbed or less desirable aspects. 'Russia, Sir', says Lebiadkin, one of Dostoievsky's heroes, 'is a freak of nature—nothing more'. The well-read Frenchman's judgement on Russia would have been quite different if our nineteenth century had made contact with that country through the medium of Pushkin instead of through Dostoievsky and Tolstoy. The work of Pushkin, the most national of the Russian poets, would have created heroic, romantic stereotypes, which would have appealed to the popular imagination more than the Nihilist gospel of Tolstoy or the anti-Westernism of Dostoievsky. The 'discovery' of Gorky, translations of whose works were first published by *Humanité Nouvelle* in 1899, emphasised the revolutionary aspect, the reflected glare of incendiarism, through which Russian thought appeared to us; 'right-thinking people', and the conventionalists, followed its intrusion with increasing anxiety; for them, Russian influence or Slav influence meant one and the same thing, the revival, through ideas, of the tendency to 'bogging' under which Asia had submerged medieval Europe.

Russian art, on the other hand, cast around the Eastern world

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• 829 a nostalgic halo. It was no doubt the manifestation of Russian spiritual life which was responsible for the wildest craze in [535] France. At the beginning of this century, Serge Daghilev's ballets had a pronounced effect, not only on choreography, but [533] also on the decorative arts. Music and the dance were, for a decade or two, the messengers of Russian civilisation which met with the best reception. This means that they reached only an *élite*. Naturally, this is not the place to trace the history of the penetration of the Russian genius into France; we can only note those of its revelations in which, according to current opinion, a specifically Slavonic character could be recognised.

As for the political manifestations, they awakened more curiosity than understanding. The visit of the Russian sovereigns to Paris in 1896 aroused the enthusiasm of a crowd which seems to have seen mainly its exotic aspect. Amusing as it may seem, moreover, what little popularity Imperial Russia enjoyed in France was due to Jules Verne's novel, *Michel Strogoff*. An anthology could be made of the works of pure imagination which have moulded the images under which nations see each other. (*Carmen*, for instance, still sums up all that many French people know of Spain.) The figure which, to the Russians, has long represented the average Frenchman, is borrowed from the younger Dumas and from . . . Paul de Kock, whose novels enjoyed, in Russia, a vogue we have never suspected.

186* Of the other Slav countries—except Poland, the cult of which was kept alive by romanticism and sacred eloquence—we knew practically nothing. It is in the *Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux* that we find particulars of the two dynasties which disputed the throne in Serbia—just as though these were events taking place in the Antipodes! It was not only the political scene that Russia monopolised; her spiritual brilliance threw into the shade the other Slavonic peoples, whose aspirations—whose very existence even—were revealed to the average Frenchman by the 1914–1918 War. These peoples occupied an as yet unexplored suburb of Europe. To which of them did the famous 'Slavonic charm', discussed in French society, refer? Most certainly, not to the hard-working, rather reserved Czechs, nor to the Bulgars, distrustful and positive. Perhaps to a certain section of Polish society—but, more probably, to refugees who had long since lost all contact with their native soil.

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Enamoured of simple concepts and inclined, from his own experience, to envisage nationality only within the framework of the State, the attention the Frenchman paid to the Slavonic element was never proportional to its importance. At a time when the eyes of the Slavonic peoples were turned towards Paris and they were considering our humanism as the complement of their own culture, we were paying scarcely more attention to the latter than to the civilisations of Central Asia. For us it was a distant, inconsistent world, turbulent and archaic, decked with charms and blemishes which it never really possessed. How were we to recognise, under this airy, fanciful image, lacking both geographical contours and historical dimensions, that Cinderella of Europe, whom a calvary of ten centuries' duration had not yet brought to emancipation, and for whom history had meant simply a regular recurrence of injustice and humiliation? Impossible to imagine a more complete misunderstanding between two Christian worlds, separated by a few hundred miles!

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Congresses and Assemblies of the time, void of ideas, and absurd'.[1] 186 668

The poet and precursor of the Russian Slavophile current had been the Muscovite, Alexis Khomyakov, who was born in 1804, and died of cholera in 1860. Although a man of very wide and varied general culture (he invented a gun, and a new type of shell), he was deeply attached to national and religious traditions. Moving in literary and philosophical circles, which looked to the West for their standards, he felt a frenzied need for reaction. To the cosmopolitanism of ideas and to the philosophy of Schelling, with whom his contemporaries were infatuated, he opposed a new system, based on the obligation, for any nation wishing to attain its full development, to preserve its original atmosphere of faith, manners, and traditions. Thus, while the Czechs, the Croats, the Slovenes, had at first perceived in Slavism an instrument of joint solidarity and of liberation, Russia began by regarding it as a rampart against the intrusion of Western thought. 186* 156 829

The fundamental idea of the so-called Slavophile school was this: the West was in full decay; it was up to Russia to keep herself free of all contaminations, in order to play the regenerating role assigned to her by Providence. In the history of the universe, it was the destiny of each nation to realise one aspect of human genius and to carry this realisation to its point of perfection. Ancient Greece expressed plastic beauty, Rome's mission was to realise the conception of the State, and of Law. The Christian peoples of Western Europe had developed Rationalism and its applications to actual life by giving special prominence to individualist doctrines; witness Luther's doctrine, English political Liberalism, French equalitarianism. 186* 812

The late-comers in history, Russia and the other Slavonic peoples, still had a decisive role to play in the evolution of humanity—to define the social value of love and brotherhood. The Slavonic race would find, in its mentality and institutions, the necessary conditions for fulfilling this mission. All it had to do was to foster and develop its original characteristics.

That was the psychological and providential aspect of the Slavophile thesis, in which we find unconscious reminiscences of

[1] *Confession*, p. 105 *sqq.*

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A folk-lore, and an historical myth, are not sufficient to create a community of political interests. Nor, even, is a 'Cultural Front'. As Pypine, a Russian Westernist, remarked: 'Before imposing a Slavonic civilisation, this would first have had to be created'. 186*

For, in Russia itself, there were two opposing currents regarding the problem of the destinies of the Slavonic world. One, with Tchadaiev, saw Russia's past merely as a chaos of historical misunderstandings, and events devoid of meaning. Such was the doctrine of the Westernists, whose chiefs, moving in aristocratic or liberal circles, considered Europeanism as the measure of good and evil. The other, with the Slavophile school, refused to acknowledge the European culture as universal, and maintained that the country's future lay entirely in the development of her own values. 181 829

Between the two schools, Danilevsky, a biologist hostile to the Darwinian theories, about 1860 formulated the problem of the relations between 'Russia and Europe', with all its implications.

He began by stressing the anomaly represented by the notion of Europe—a survival of the *orbis romanus*. There was no real separation between the European and Asiatic continents; the Urals were not a frontier. Now the question of a distinction between Europe and Asia was of prime importance to Russia, placed as she was, like a hinge between these two worlds. 181 829 177

This distinction, although a geographical anachronism, nevertheless corresponded to indisputable facts in the domains of history and civilisation—facts which sufficed to demonstrate that Russia had no decisive bonds with Europe. Danilevsky summed them up as follows:—

The Romance and Germanic peoples had a certain number of features in common, none of which was found in Russia's past.

They divided up the heritage of the Roman Empire, in which Russia had no part.

They were influenced by Germanic institutions, around which crystallised the notion of the State. The West was the patrimony of the countries who succeeded to the Empire of Charlemagne. Now Russia remained outside this community, which the Middle Ages designated under the name of 'Christendom'.

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181 Russia knew nothing of Feudalism. She remained aloof from
•829 the intellectual current which began with Scholasticism and
177 ended with scientific investigation. She was untouched by the Reformation. Whenever she entered into conflict with the Holy See, it was simply as a foreign power.

In short, Russia did not belong to the European family. If she was connected with it, said Danilevsky, it was by adoption, in the manner of a wild stock, on which an exotic branch has been grafted.

181 But had not religion, at least, engendered a spiritual solidarity
829 between her and the West? Was not Orthodoxy a disruption of
771 the Christian community and had not six centuries of Œcumenism forged indissoluble bonds between the Germano-Roman and the Slavo-Greek worlds?

No, replied Danilevsky. The Western Church was the triumph of Rationalism, differentiated by a positive sign among the Catholics, a negative one among the Protestants. Rome sacrificed internal to external unity, the Reformation sacrificed true liberty to the idea of external liberty. The Eastern Church was neither a system nor a hardened doctrine; it was all love and renunciation. Much more than dogmatic opposition was involved—these were two concepts of the spiritual life which were poles apart. That explained why the Orthodox Christians had come to regard Islam as the involuntary and unwitting saviour of Slavism. By tolerating independent churches under her sway, Islam protected them against the assimilating or unifying ascendency of Latin Catholicism. A Patriarch of Constantinople had said that *Providence had chosen the Osmanlis to defend Orthodoxy against the Western heresy.*

186* So that Russia, according to Danilevsky, saw in Europe
829 nothing to give her a feeling of historical or spiritual solidarity. Such was, moreover, the point of view of the great Russian novelist, Dostoievsky; to show oneself a true Russian was, for him, *to place oneself on the battleground of all European hostilities.* It was to constitute a unity, not *in* Europe, but opposed to it.

The thesis of the biologist met that of the novelist. A harmful policy (said Danilevsky in his turn), during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, associated Russia with the European balance of power. Now this balance of power affected only the

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heirs of Charlemagne. It had no meaning for Russians, who must reject any permanent agreement with the States of the Continent, and keep her hands free, paying no attention to the doctrines by which other governments are inspired. 186 829

These ideas found fuller development in the well-known speculations of the Slavophile schools on the decadence of the West. Each civilisation, said Danilevsky, slowly exhausted the sap which had nourished it. There was the time of flower and the time of fruit, and Europe had flowered two centuries ago. She had then passed her maturity, and could but degenerate—so the Russian nation had nothing to expect from her. History, added Danilevsky, showed that spiritual supremacy tends to function 'spirally'; to pass from one human group to another; China, India, Egypt, Greece . . . Europe's mission was completed, he concluded.

These long quotations were necessary, in order to establish the starting-point of the Slavophile movement, and its anti-European aspect, manifesting itself at the very time when one section of Russian thought, and the whole of the other Slavonic peoples, were expecting 'light' from the West alone.

The word 'Slavophile' itself, to designate this specific form of Russian nationalism, was originally a derogatory nickname, given to Chichkov and his partisans, who were taxed with Obscurantism. In fashionable society, it was always to have an unpleasant ring about it. When Dostoievsky makes the hero of his novel, *The Idiot*, enter a drawing-room, people excuse his strange behaviour by saying, 'He's a Slavophile, or something very like it, but not a dangerous case'. [196]

This movement did not monopolise all the appeals to collaboration among Slavs. There existed a counterpart, of opposite and revolutionary tendency. In the Polish section of the Congress of 1848, Bakunin had denounced the illusions fostered by Tsarist propaganda. 'I have no doubt they anticipate the time, in a distant, very far distant future, when all the Slavonic peoples will form part of the Russian Empire. Before that happens, all the Slavonic peoples will have fallen into decrepitude. . . . Without Russia, Slavonic unity is incomplete; without her, Slavonic strength is non-existent. But it would be madness to expect help for the Slavs and their salvation from contemporary Russia. . . . Be the liberators of the Russian people 186 668

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186* people, who protested vigorously against Kramár's attitude.
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648 The latter alienated, in turn, the Croats and the Slovenes, by opposing 'Trialism'; in other words, the union of Bosnia-Herzegovina with Croatia-Slavonia, considered as a step towards the transformation of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy into an Austro-Hungarian-Jugoslav Triple Monarchy—a transformation which, by an entirely unsupported legend, was said to be favoured by Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian Empire. A memorable verbal passage of arms took place in the Reichsrat on this question, between Kramár and the Jugoslav deputy, Tresich Pavitchich. 'One is surprised', M. Benes was later on to say, 'to see how little effectiveness Neo-Slavism had, and how the governments concerned neglected to make use of it during the critical years between 1906 and 1914. This complete lack of influence was fully illustrated by the documents taken from the Foreign Affairs archives of the three Imperial powers'.

In any case, it is certain that the Czechs derived no benefit from it. In February, 1914, Scheiner, the President of the Czech Sokols, went to Russia to sound the intentions of officialdom. 'You are of no interest to us', said Sazonov. 'Do not count on us, you play no part in our plans of campaign'.

In Serbia, Russian Slavophilia found a very different climate in which to survive. The Jugoslav countries constituted an area in which Orthodox propaganda modified the interests of Tsarist
186* diplomacy. The latter, at the beginning of the century, con-
• 829 sidered the Poles as 'traitors', the Czechs as the fire-brands of democracy in Eastern Europe, the Slovaks, the Slovenes, and the Croats as the outposts of Papism. Out of the fifty million non-Russian Slavs, they were interested in only ten million—the Balkan Slavs. Indeed, the policy of the Romanovs considered the Balkan Peninsula as:—

(1) The approach which should, one fine day, enable Russia to make herself independent of the whim of the 'porter' of the Dardanelles.

(2) A field of competition with Austria-Hungary; in other words, the means of exerting counter-pressure on the Vienna Cabinet when the latter encouraged agitation on the borders of the Empire, in the form of Uniatism, Austro-Polonism, or Ukrainism.

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(3) A basis of reaction against Western culture and the influence of Catholicism. 186* 829

(4) More generally, a card of introduction to main European politics.

To ensure for herself the mastery of the Balkan Peninsula, St. Petersburg played the Serbian and the Bulgarian cards alternately, without considering the emancipation movements in those two countries as anything more than a trump card for Russian diplomacy in its struggle with Austria. With naïve egoism, Tsarism looked upon the Orthodox Slavs as the natural defenders of its interests, even at the expense of their own!

To tell the truth, none of these nations was blind to this political exploitation of a sentimental bond. In their collaboration with Russia they accepted what was capable of forwarding their aspirations but declined to play the rôle of clients. That explains the diplomatic games of general post in the Balkans. The end of last century saw the Serbs relying upon Austria against the Bulgarians backed by Russia; on the eve of the First World War, it was the reverse. Bismarck used to say, 'I am an Austrian in Belgrade, and a Russian in Sofia'. About 1890, the *Videlo*, a Serbian newspaper, expressed what many Balkan statesmen were thinking, but were careful not to admit: 'We have carefully studied the writings of the champions of the Slavonic idea in Russia and among the other Slav nations. These writings contain many phrases about the 'liberty' and the 'unity' of the Slavonic peoples. And amongst us there have been those who, in the inexperience of youth and the enthusiasm of poetry, have believed that Slavonic fraternity was a common temple, in which each of our peoples had the altar of its liberty. . . . The matter would not be very serious, if the Slavonic idea were merely a chimera, but, in actual fact, it is also the unexpected instrument which enables a powerful Slav State to oppress its 'brothers'. The weaker a nation is, the more removed from the form of a State, the more it is attached to the Slavonic idea. It is highly significant that the nation which is most faithful to this idea should also be the one which is the most isolated and the most powerless—the Slovak nation'. 186* 648

The movement of the nationalities was indeed drawing the Slavonic peoples towards far less abstract aims. The age of the bards and the philologists was over. They were no longer con- 186* 641 829

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186* 641 •829 cerned with taking the census of a common patrimony, but with working out their own destiny. It was the question of their future State, and of its frontiers, which demanded a solution, and was becoming yearly more imperative.

Now, if there were two ideas which were foreign to Russian Slavism, they were those two, State and frontiers. Born in an atmosphere of romanticism, the Slavophile school had no constructive views. The forces it had more or less unconsciously set in action were, above all, anti-State. The State meant Austria for the Czechs, Hungary for the Croats, Turkey for the Southern Serbs. And for the Poles it was Russia herself, or else Prussia.

As for what the possible frontiers of the liberated Slav States might one day be, Russian officialdom had not the slightest idea. In the *Memoirs* of President Masaryk, we read a suggestive anecdote. During the War he had a conversation with General Alexeiev, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army, regarding Russia's war aims. He was astounded to hear the general express the hope that the victory of the Allies would carry the Czechs to Fiume and the Serbs to Uzhorod (Carpatho-Ukraine). Seventy-five years of 'Slavonic fraternity' and Slavophile demonstrations culminated in the formulation of such an enormity!

* * *

186* 829 648 Thus Tsarist Russia left the Balkan Slavs a joint heritage of good and bad memories. She had, by turns, favoured or restricted their emancipation, according to the state of her relations first with the Turks, then with the Central Empires.

The Bulgarians are commonly considered to have been her spoilt children. They speak, with tender recollection, of the 'Liberating Tsar', Alexander II, whose monument stands in front of the Parliament House in Sofia. In 1915, when Bulgaria went to war with Russia, his statue was veiled. But would the 'Great Bulgaria' (still-born of the Treaty of San Stefano) have satisfied the longings of the patriots? Would she not have been converted, by the Imperial diplomacy, into a 'Trans-Danubian Province', such as the Kaulbars government endeavoured to set up? The Russians, it is true, obtained from the Porte the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, which, freed from obedience to the Œcumenical Patriarch of Constantinople,

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favoured Bulgaria's Macedonian claim. Yet they refused to associate themselves with the efforts of the Serbian Government to restore the former Patriarchate of Petch. But, if their preference went to Bulgaria, it was because the latter was one day to open to them the route to Constantinople. So the realism of the Sofia Cabinet practised an intermittent Russophilia. Two-thirds of the governing classes of the Bulgarian nation were pupils of Russia, but their number also included some Russophobes—Stambulov, Marinov, Chanadiev (except at the end of his life), Radoslavov and his associates. The Slavonic idea found an indefatigable apostle in the person of Stevan Bobtchev, a volunteer of the 1877 War, a jurist, professor, and diplomat, who presided over the Slav Congress at Sofia in 1910, when the Neo-Slavism of Kramár and Miloukov triumphed. But currents of dissension appeared on various occasions, especially in the reactions in favour of Catholicism at the time of Marinov, and in the reminder of the Tartar or Finno-ugrian origins of the Bulgarian nation, every time they entered into conflict with Russia.

The Russophilia of the Serbs often took on the aspect of a quasi-religious veneration. But it did not cause them to forget that the Tsarist government had abandoned them on several occasions. Apart from the pro-Bulgarian attitude it maintained in the Macedonian question, it agreed to the annexation of Bosnia at the time of the Isvolsky-Aehrenthal interview in Buchlau (Sept. 16, 1908) and, later on, its ambassador, Benckendorff, signed the secret agreements in London (April 26, 1915) which, by ceding to Italy the eastern coasts of the Adriatic, bade fair to ruin the plans for Jugoslav unity.

Now this unity had been a fixed idea with all Serbian statesmen since the Battle of Sadowa, which had awakened as many hopes in Serbia as in Italy. As long ago as July 30, 1866, Garachanin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, said to Botmiliau, France's representative in Belgrade, 'No matter what efforts diplomacy may make, in reality, the Austrian Empire no longer exists. Three nationalities will arise in its place, the Hungarian, Bohemian, and Slav (Yugoslav). Sooner or later, the Austrian Germans will join the other German peoples. . . . The Turkish Empire will fall, as the Austrian Empire has done. The Yugoslav State will be founded—not without warfare, perhaps, but it

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186* will be founded—because it is in the force of events, because
• 829 the peoples long for it, because it is the best possible solution to
648 the present difficulties, and because, if it were not founded, these countries would fall a sure prey to Russia; Panslavism would be established in their place'. These few sentences—prophetic ones, moreover—provide the clue to all Serbian diplomatic thought, whether declared or understood, up to the 1914 War. The majority of the statesmen in Belgrade were partisans of a Russophile policy, with the exception of the old-time Progressists, and even so, one of their leaders, Stefan Novakovich, kept his confidence in the Tsarist Government. But, with these men, a Russophile policy never meant a Russian policy. We shall have defined the historical 'Russophilia' of the Balkan States, if we say that it always postulated the greatness of Russia, and was bounded by the determination to eliminate that country from internal affairs of the Peninsula.

186* Yugoslav Catholics were inclined to be prejudiced in favour
829 of Russia; this was due, on the one hand, to their geographical
795 situation, beyond the reach of Russian ambitions, and, on the other, to the fact that their Catholicism was much less exclusivist than that of Poland, for instance. No doubt this intellectual liberty must be attributed to an instinctive reaction against the policy of the Vatican, which was then axed on Austria-Hungary, *i.e.*, on the two countries whose yoke the Yugoslavs aspired to shake off. The majority of the Croat and Slovene thinkers and poets of the nineteenth century were inspired by Slav traditions; the Illyrian movement was, in their countries, the starting-point
[793] of the national Renaissance. But the role of the Catholic clergy in this renaissance, and its connections with Orthodox Russia, is certainly one of the most decisive manifestations of that 'Slavonic conscience' which the politicians of St. Petersburg believed to be the attribute of the Orthodox Slavs. In Slovenia the priest, Jean Krek, the instigator of the Co-operative movement, and later on, Abbé Anton Korochets; in Croatia Bishop Strossmayer and Canon Ratski, were not only apostles of Slav solidarity, they had frequent contacts with the Russians. Strossmayer, who was one of the contrivers of Yugoslav unity, had not only been one of the opponents of the Vatican Council; he protested vigorously against the Holy See's anti-Russian attitude at the time of the 1877 War.

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Thus, at the beginning of this century, the Slavonic idea had permeated all the currents of spiritual life of the nations whose historic personality it exalted. In Russia, after having arisen among the intellectual *élite,* it had been relegated to the rank of diplomatic accessories. But it had been rejuvenated by allying itself with Czech Agnosticism, with Croatian and Slovene Catholicism, with the positive sense of the Bulgars, the legendary spirit of independence of the Serbs. It had been an aspect, a 'phase' of the march of the nationalities towards emancipation. From the minutes of meetings of learned societies, it had advanced to the domain of direct action. After having taken stock (academically) of the injustices which formed landmarks in the history of the Slavonic world, it was preparing to achieve reparation for these injustices by conspiracies, acts of violence, war.

While Russia had given the emotional impetus to this movement, and the Czechs had demonstrated the educative elements in a Slavonic science and conscience, it was left to the Yugoslavs to set the ruthless pace which was to precipitate events. It was under their influence that Slavism entered upon its revolutionary phase. In Hungary it found the oppressive atmosphere which provoked this evolution; the beginning of the twentieth century is marked, in Croatia, by a series of trials and acts of violence which revealed to the world the progress of Yugoslav militancy. It was in fact in Bosnia, from a centre of Yugoslav irredentism, that sprang the spark which was to set the continent afire. Starting from the speculative heights of the learned world, the Slavonic idea culminated in shots, fired point blank, by a Herzegovine student, at the heir to the Austrian Empire, in a Sarajevo street. When the President of the Tribunal interrogated the authors of the crime as to the motives for their action, they repeated, with dogged fatalism, 'Francis Ferdinand was the enemy of the Slavs'.

Russian officialdom took fright at this effervescence. It sought excuses for its passive attitude. To explain why they had abandoned the Serbs at the time of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Stolypin stated that Imperial diplomacy had simply had an eye to the future. 'Give the peasants of Kostroma ten more years at the plough'. A second humiliation was inflicted on Russia in April, 1913, when, to please Austria, she

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186* was obliged to join the European concert which forced
• 829 Montenegro to raise the siege of Scutari.
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Russian society took no interest in these questions. Its members were frequently heard to say, 'God bless these "bratouchki"! Wouldn't it be better to live without them? Shan't we be happier when we have abandoned the Slavonic chimera and the dream of providential vocation, and think only of our own immediate interests?'

With the crisis of July, 1914, Russia was, for the third time, faced with the possibility of a renunciation. This time she pulled herself together. Austria was imposing on her a trial of strength in which her rank as a Great Power was at stake. On learning of the ultimatum from the Ballplatz to the Belgrade Cabinet, Nicholas II telegraphed to his minister, 'Tell the Serbs they can count on me'. With this historic sentence, another cycle in the history of the Slavonic world was closed.

186* In fact, under a common denominator of origin, of sufferings
578 and reflexes, the Slavonic peoples were inspired by different aims —independence, territorial expansion, and the acquisition of sovereign rights. Consequently, every event which brought them nearer to their respective goals had, as its first result, the relaxation or removal of their connecting bonds. It was the negative aspect of Slavism, which, having reached the stage of realisation, animated ideals which involved neither the same aims nor the same volitional power. This had been proved during the Balkan War of 1912–1913, when Serbs and Bulgarians fell upon each other, after having jointly waged war on the Turks. It was to be seen even more clearly during the World War of 1914–1918, when, some fighting under the flags of the Entente, others under those of the Central Empires, the Slavs exhausted each other in fratricidal conflict.

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the Slavs were to split up between the two camps into which Europe would be divided. So that, except in congresses, where ethnography and philology were discussed, this solidarity remained a myth. Russian egoism bore heavily upon the little 'Pravoslav' countries, in which the Tsarist policy affected to take an interest. Much more than that; certain territories, caught between two Slavonic currents—such as Macedonia, the Ukrainian Marches, the Teschen district of Silesia—kept alive the spirit of dissidence within the Slavonic family.

What remained of von Moltke's declarations was the obsession of an inevitable reckoning between the two races. Germany, who, from age to age, had extended her sphere of domination at the expense of the Slavs, dimly felt that, one fine day, the latter would grow tired of the role of 'fertilisers' (*Düngervolk*) to which the Pan-Germanic school condemned them. In Merovingian times, a slow but continuous migration, by easy stages, peopled the Eastern Teutonic states with Slavs. These tribes had reached the Elbe and the Oder by the fourth century. To designate the Teutonic peoples, they forged the collective appellation, *Niemtse,* which has remained in the modern vocabulary of the Slavonic peoples, and signifies 'dumb ones', *i.e.*, speaking a language unintelligible to Slavs. But, little by little, the ebb of the Teutonic tribes pushed them back. With the exception of a few descendants of the Pomeranians (the Kachoubes and the Slovinces) and of the Sorabes (Lusatians), the vast group of Western Slavs of the Elbe and the Baltic disappeared in the struggle waged against them by the Germans in the four centuries from the time of Charlemagne to the twelfth century.

This withdrawal is explained by the state of dissension—a hereditary defect with the Slavs—in which these populations lived. An Austrian historian of this century, J. Peisker,[1] was so struck by such a large-scale backward drive, that he sought a different explanation for it. The past, he said, shows such a succession of conquests, and establishments of Teutonism in Slavonic territory, that we cannot attribute it to the fortune of war. We are obliged to suppose the existence of some factor which paralysed the resistance of the Slavs. This factor must

[1] *Die Alteren Beziehungen der Slawen zu Turkotataren und Germanien.* Berlin, 1905.

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be sought in the most remote centuries, in the contact of the Slavs 829
with the Turanian peoples of the Steppes, who were the founda- 167
tion of the so-called 'Scythic' Iranian population. From time 181
immemorial, the Turko-tartar peoples, by their pillaging raids, have borne heavily on the Iranians, their immediate neighbours, and, through them, on the Slavonic peoples. The Iranians have been the victims of the Turkomans of the salt Steppes—and the Slavs, by repercussion, have shared their fate. Having thus exhausted their political and social strength, they have become the chronic prey of the conquerors.

This thesis of an original curse, whatever its scientific value, should be borne in mind, for it justifies a conviction that is widespread among the Germans, *viz.* the inferiority of the Slavonic race, and its presumed incapacity to develop from the notion of a clan to that of a State. There have been published anthologies of German thinkers and propagandists on this theme, which is summed up in the well-known witticism *Gute Nacht, Russen, nach Asien!*—which the Germans have invoked, even down to our own times, to justify considering Eastern Europe merely as a contemptible suburb of Teutonism.

Such is the background of history on which was projected 829
the 'reckoning' on which Bethmann-Hollweg and von Moltke 721
had banked. Must we, however, go so far as to say that the War 178
of 1914 was a Teuto-Slavonic war? M. Benes considers this thesis as attractive as it is untenable. He regards this war as a struggle between two political and philosophical conceptions, the logical development of the European evolution which, beginning at the Renaissance, culminated in the triumph of political individualism, of parliamentary and constitutional law. The war, he says, was not Teuto-Slavonic in character, nor in aims, nor in results.

Limited to the strict sequence of facts, this judgement is admissible. While Austria-Hungary threw herself into the war to prevent a rupture of her interior balance to the advantage of the Slavs, deeper and more decisive causes armed the Great Powers one against the other.

If, however, we consider the atmosphere that reigned in 186*
Europe in 1914, when the war found so many inflammable 721
substances in a state of suspense, M. Benes's point of view seems more contestable. The interests of the Slavs were neither

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Anglo-Saxon, or Latin nations. The treaties of the earlier war had thus sanctioned a traditional exclusiveness in this respect. 728 131 175

On the other hand, Slavism scored a point—the only one—in an acquisition of territory. This was achieved by the clauses which allocated to the Czechs Sub-Carpathian Russia—an ethnical mosaic, with predominant Russian or Ukrainian elements, which was to form an autonomous unit within the framework of the Czechoslovak Republic. This allocation, demanded by the Ruthenians of America, was decided upon chiefly because the signatories to the treaties considered the Prague government as the best mentor they could give to a dangerously backward Slavonic population. Indeed, Czechoslovakia was, within a few years, to improve Sub-Carpathia, that Cinderella of the Slavonic world; at the cost of heavy budgetary sacrifices, she turned this territory entrusted to her into a real 'Civilisation Front'. [186]

As is well known, at the Peace Conference the Czechoslovaks intervened—another gesture of pure Slavonic inspiration—to try to secure for the Serbs of Lusatia the benefit of the protection accorded to minorities. These Lusatians are the remnant of a powerful tribe who people a corner of Saxony and Brandenburg, with its centre at Bautzen. Theirs was for long the *terra incognita* of the Slavonic world; they were discovered by the learned circles of Czechoslovakia and Poland in the nineteenth century. [563]

The return of Poland to an independent life, and the Sovietisation of the Russian State, modified the nature of the relations between the two peoples. Immediately after the earlier war and the Treaty of Riga, one could not say that these relations had been clarified. It is certain that the Government of Moscow was then pursuing a Eurasiatic policy, which drew it away from European affairs. But no one could imagine that this disinterestedness would last very long. In Moscow they still, as under the Tsars, spoke of the 'Jesuitism' and the 'Jagellonism' of the Poles; in Warsaw, they talked about the hegemonic appetite of Russia, and her propaganda. 'Atheism' and 'Marxism' had replaced 'Orthodoxy' and 'Panslavism' as passwords. 648 829

The Polish-Sovietic War of 1920 complicated inter-Slav relations. The Poles bitterly reproached the Czechs with having refused 648 578

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648 578 to allow the passage through their territory of reinforcements which the Poles were expecting from abroad. They complained no less bitterly at seeing the Czechs, like the Yugoslavs, model their attitude towards them on their own behaviour towards Moscow. It is true that Prague and Belgrade had enthusiastically greeted the resurrection of Poland, following the Allies' victory—a very different result from the changes in 1916, which, for the Poles, had substituted the duty to fight beside the Central Empires, for the right to do so. But in 1920, in these same capitals, they were wondering whether Poland was fighting Bolshevism or the Russian nation, and this differentiation, which inspired many newspapers, was regarded in Warsaw as definitely unfriendly. The ex-Minister of Poland in Yugoslavia, Erasmus Piltz, felt it necessary to address this warning to the Yugoslavs: 'Nothing separates us: on the contrary, everything unites us. . . . There is not a Pole who does not consider the alliance with Yugoslavia as a most highly fruitful and desirable achievement. But, if one of the most popular Serbian propagandists does not hesitate to claim that Polish-Yugoslav relations must depend on our relations with Russia, then I feel I may say, without fear of contradiction, that no Polish government, no Polish party, will accept such reservations, or such a presentation of the question'.

The leader-writer of *Przeglad Wisczorny* mournfully summed-up the origins of this misunderstanding: 'In Warsaw, we have been in the habit of viewing Serbia through Viennese or Budapest spectacles, whilst the Serbs have observed us through Russian spectacles. And the result is that each side has a false picture of the other'.[3]

[829] Finally, a conception of their own greatness, dear to the Poles, helped to foster a feeling of friction between them and the sister nations, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia—which the Poles considered as being on a lower hierarchical plane than themselves—for were they not a Great Power? Perhaps we shall not be far wrong in affirming that between the two wars the Poles maintained more regular, if not more cordial, relations with the Rumanians and the Hungarians than with the other Slavonic states.

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[3] Of May 22, 1920.

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Nothing is more interesting, more decisive perhaps, for the history of Slavism than to recall the attitude adopted by the Czechs and the Yugoslavs respectively with regard to Russia, immediately after the establishment of Bolshevism.

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The Yugoslavs maintained an unshakeable fidelity to the Russian nation. In Belgrade the state of things arising from the 1919–1920 treaties was considered somewhat precarious, owing to Russia's non-participation in these treaties. It was not that the Government welcomed the coming of the Soviets. The hailing of Trotsky by their representative, Spalaïkovich, with the words: 'I spit in your face!' shows the hostility felt, and that hostility was fomented and kept alive by grievances of a dynastic order. But, side by side with this official behaviour, there were numerous manifestations which revealed the instinctive repugnance of Yugoslav opinion to allow the Russian people to suffer the consequences of being black-listed. The Belgrade Government was obliged to take this into account; they bluntly rejected the requests of the Great Allies, who were pressing them to co-operate in Wrangel's campaign against the Red Army. These negotiations and the support given by the Entente to Poland against the Russians, aroused, in part of the Yugoslav press,[4] reactions whose echo never reached France, but which were eminently symptomatic. 'Russia', declared the *Balkan*, 'whether she be Tsarist or Bolshevist, is for the Serbian people, for all Croats and Slovenes, "Holy Russia", the country of our Slav brothers. Where is the Serb who would raise his hand against a Russian soldier?' Or this, from *Progress*: 'It is clear that our future policy will be Slavonic. Russia will gradually abandon both extremes, and become a democratic State. This Russia will be the centre of the Slavonic world, and the Slavonic world will, in the future, make war impossible'. The same note was struck in Zagreb, where the newspaper *Rietch* raised its voice against the possibility of a clash between Russians and Yugoslavs. 'Our people have always believed in Russia. We believed in Tsarist Russia, we still believe in the Russia of today, not because she is Bolshevist, but simply because she is Russia. . . . The West has disappointed us, whereas the Russia of today seems to us more and more Slavonic. . . . We cannot have worse than what the West gave us'.

[4] Of July 26 and 27, 1920.

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186* 829 There was then, in Belgrade as well as in Zagreb, a passing attack of 'Ententophobia'. A Belgrade newspaper which enjoyed a certain authority in foreign policy, the *Epoha*,[5] declared: 'We must see things as they are, and not hide from ourselves the fact that events in Eastern Europe are of capital importance for us, at a time when our Western friends have completely abandoned us.[6] . . . If a fresh policy of eastward trend is to be automatically imposed on us tomorrow, as a logical result of our international situation, we fail to see why it would not be wiser to choose it today'.

186* 668 The semi-official (radical) press had to react in fairly stiff terms against these appeals for a change in foreign policy. The Serbian municipal elections and the constituent elections of 1920 brought appreciable gains to the Communists. The Government suppressed this movement by the 'Decree' of December 30, prohibiting all Communist organisations and activity. It is superfluous to add that they accused Moscow of fomenting this activity, and submitted any person or propaganda coming from Russia to a still more rigorous quarantine.

But they showed themselves no less unshakeably determined to refuse any assistance, direct or indirect, to anti-Sovietic action. They were to be the last Government to recognise the *de jure* independence of the Baltic States, in whose existence they saw an intolerable dismemberment of Russian power. They were to take part in the campaign of assistance organised at the time of the great famine in Russia, in 1921–1922. Inversely, at the time of the earthquake in Herzegovina and Dalmatia in 1927, they were to refuse all aid from abroad, except (out of a spirit of Slav solidarity) that of the Soviet Red Cross.

186* 829 It is true that they were to defer for a long time—until the eve of the Second World War—recognition of the Soviets. But, in the case of Yugoslavia as in that of Bulgaria, this negative attitude, on closer examination, will be seen to be an indirect homage to the sympathies which Russia enjoyed among the common people. In Belgrade, as in Sofia, it was feared that a Soviet mission would find, among the masses, a support which would be dangerous for the security of the régime. The truth is

[5] Of July 26, 1920.
[6] Allusion to the attitude adopted by the Peace Conference in the Adriatic dispute and the reparations question.

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that in neither of these capitals did they suspect that the big Slav brother would one day re-awaken from the dead, and become once more a factor of prime importance in world politics.

Already, at the Genoa Conference, Chicherin and the Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nintchich, had, unknown to their colleagues, held conferences *in camera*, discussing the international situation, not as plenipotentiaries, but, according to Chicherin's own expression, 'among Slavs'.

The question of official relations with Russia was brought forward for the first time in July, 1924, by the ephemeral government presided over by the democratic leader, Davidovich. In his ministerial declaration the latter alluded to the expediency of contact 'with Sister Russia' (*bratska Rusija*). But it was then only a pious hope. This question was complicated by the presence in Belgrade of a powerful 'white' emigration (to which Wrangel belonged),[7] and of a 'legation', directed by Strandtman (the former Chargé d'Affaires of Tsarist Russia), in his capacity as 'General Delegate of Russian Emigration'.

A few months later, on the orders of Moscow, the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in Warsaw, Bessiedovsky, approached Simich, the Yugoslav Minister in that capital. These overtures seem to have been the result of the visit which Stiepan Radich, the Croat agrarian leader, made to Moscow during the summer of 1924. The Muscovites had visualised Radich as the possible artisan of a peasant revolution in Yugoslavia, but he disappointed them by his muddle-headed fluency of speech and his absence of positive views. They dubbed him a 'little Leftist Bourgeois, hopping all over the place'. Nor did they derive more benefit from the Simich-Bessiedovsky discussions, revived shortly afterwards by the Soviet Ambassador in Berlin with Balougdjich, the representative of Yugoslavia. Nothing came of these private talks. It needed the Hitlerian nightmare and the Czech drama to restore—too late—the official relations between Belgrade and Moscow to their historical setting.

On the Slavonic side Czechoslovakia was the State most ready to give prompt recognition to the Soviet State. In this

[7] Generals, Slavophiles, prelates like the ex-Metropolitan of Kiev, Mgr. Antoine, had fled to Belgrade, where rest the ashes of General Alexeiev and of Wrangel. Philosophers and scholars sought shelter, for preference, in Czechoslovakia.

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829 connection, the Czech Government had to reckon with the influence of the Socialists, the sympathies brought back from Russia by numerous legionaries, the fact that the Russian emigration in Bohemia was composed of elements with much greater Leftist tendencies than those who had sought refuge in Yugoslavia, and, finally, the needs of a reviving industry in quest of external outlets.

829 648 But these influences were countered by the National-Democrat Party of Dr. Karel Kramár. The latter, married to a Russian, had preserved an inflexible attachment to Imperial Russia. He prevented the acceptance of the proposal for official recognition which had been suggested in the spring of 1922, at the time of the Genoa Conference, during an interview between Benes and Chicherin. On the other hand, economic relations between the two countries were multiplied, despite the ill-will of the Zivnostenska Banka, the banking stronghold of the Kramár Party, which controlled powerful undertakings.

186* 648 And now for the curious phenomenon which differentiates the evolution of Slavism among the *membra disjecta* of the former Austria-Hungary. Just as the Yugoslavs endeavoured to maintain, on a plane of Slav solidarity, their relations with a Russia whose régime their Government persisted in ignoring, so the Czechs endeavoured to clear of all Slavonic ideology the relations they sought to establish with that régime. 'Slavism', in Prague, still had a reactionary sound, whereas in Belgrade they maintained their faith in its emancipating virtue. The contradiction is worth pondering over.

186* 'The fact', says Masaryk, 'that the Slavonic peoples are henceforth liberated and are reorganising themselves politically, involves no increased influence for political Panslavism. Each Slavonic nation receives, in virtue of its liberation, a task which is proper to it and in whose realisation the other Slav states can only be of incidental assistance'. Analysing, with the serenity of the historian, the progress of the Slavonic idea through the centuries, Masaryk discovers in it no constructive virtue; it is a sentimental *leit-motiv* which, while it has inspired the poets with moving strains, has ceased to have any place in the political realities of international life. 'Czech civilisation is founded on the Reformation and on learning; the Yugoslav Messianists, too, are the product of the age of learning (*i.e.*, of the West); the

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186* the immanence of the traditional values connected with the Slav ideology. M. Krofta, Joint Minister of Foreign Affairs for Czechoslovakia and intimate collaborator of Edward Benes, reviving the latter's ideas in articles published by the *Prager Presse* on May 6, 1933 and June 9, 1935, declares any positive action by the Slavonic peoples tending to a regroupment to be out of the question, 'unless it should be necessary for them to erect a wall of defence against foreign imperialism'.

186* 668 829 From Belgrade, a former minister and propagandist, M. Lazare Markovich, retorted with a certain vivacity. In his view, Slavism clung to its prospect of action. 'Our attachment to the Russian people and to Russia', he said, 'must positively exclude any intimate liaison between Yugoslavia and Germany. Hitler's speech of May 21, 1935 has so categorically stated Germany's attitude that there is no hope of any Russo-German agreement. . . . Unlike our Czech confrères, we do not hesitate to say that we ardently desire, and will work with all our strength to reconstitute in Europe, a Slav policy based on joint action by the Slavonic peoples'.[10]

So, while MM. Benes and Krofta considered any political construction of Slav solidarity as romantic and out-of-date, M. Markovich considered 'that there can be no real European entente without the participation of the Slavonic peoples, with Russia at the head'. And, when the Four-Party Pact was signed, M. Markovich advocated the drawing-up of a similar pact among Slavonic peoples, 'in order to place the latter on a footing of absolute parity with the Latins and the Teutons'.[11]

This controversy, perhaps, reflects less the opposition of two principles than the contrast between two temperaments, Czech realism and Yugoslav emotiveness. Events appear to have given the lie to M. Markovich's thesis (German-Yugoslav *rapprochement*, Moscow Pact). But what we must look at in international life is not the episodes, but the constants; is it not in forecasting the imminent that one runs the greatest risk of going astray?

186* The truth seems to us to lie between the two positions. Slavism is neither a force nor a leading principle of international

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[10] Lazare Markovich, *Yugoslavia's External Policy*, p. 343 *et seq.*; *Spirit of Belgrade* of May 14, 1933.
[11] *Spirit of Belgrade* of June 11, 1933.

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Then there is the 'Balkan fact', with all that it implies of suspicion and particularities. It is commonly explained by the geographic configuration of the Peninsula, furrowed by valleys which have no inter-communication. No doubt the physical relief tends to perpetuate the clan spirit throughout all the various changes of sovereignty. But the ethnical variety does not give an exhaustive image of the Balkan mentality. Nor does the long practice of the *Divide ut imperes* principle, which was the Alpha and Omega of the Habsburg policy in the Balkans. These States, before becoming the successors to Austria-Hungary, were the heirs of Byzantium, and we may wonder whether the passion-charged atmosphere, the complex of distrust and turbulence which characterise them, are not a survival of Byzantine influence, in opposition to that Roman continuity and that tendency to universalism whose determining effects on Western civilisation have been analysed by Fustel de Coulanges, Dopsch and Pirenne.

* * *

An event of incalculable significance for the Slavonic world occurred about the year 1933: the reappearance of Moscow on the European diplomatic stage—coinciding, if not tallying, with the rehabilitation by the Soviets of national values in Russian history.

In its critical years, the Bolshevist régime had relegated the racial idea to the status of romantic nonsense. 'Slavophilia', frowned upon as it was by the last Tsarist governments, still had about it an odour of reactionary and religious mysticism which would have been sufficient to keep it on the black-list, even had the idea of ethnical solidarity found a place in Marxist terminology. On the other hand, the policy of nationalities pursued by the U.S.S.R. had breathed new life into hitherto inorganic or unrecognised ethnical groups. In the time of the Tsars, who would have dreamed that Russia comprised no less than fifty nationalities or ethnical groups? It would have been ill-timed to give these people the impression that there existed in the U.S.S.R. a privileged race, whose traditions or ambitions dominated the life of the country, relegating the allogeneous republics to the condition of satellites. Decentralisation diluted Russian Slavism, and the plurality of tongues favoured by the Socialist Revolution deprived it of its trump card.

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movement in favour of a Green International of Slavonic Peasants yet merits a place in the chronology of inter-Slav relations. 186* 668

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At the same period (June 4–8, 1924) a Congress of Slav Geographers and Ethnologists was held in Prague. This too, awakened aspirations, either latent or at least dormant since the era of the great assemblies of the nineteenth century. The very choice of Prague was a reminder that Bohemia had been the 'laboratory' of the Slavonic idea. And it was the occasion of a spectacular return of Bulgaria into the community of peoples inspired by that idea. 186 815

But, when the totalitarian States had proclaimed their intention of attacking the 1919–1920 treaties, it was once more to Russia that all these peoples turned. From Moscow alone could come the watchword capable of rallying their energies—on condition that it should not look like an appeal to a Proletarian Dictatorship. 186* 829

Just as the exaltation of Teutonism, in the first half of the nineteenth century, had had as a reaction the awakening of the Slav conscience, so the National-Socialist drive, a century later, was to bring in its wake a defensive reaction tending to align, if not to regroup, the Slavonic forces.

The essentially anti-Marxist notion of race had been repudiated by Lenin. In internal affairs, it could not but hinder the work of 'mixing' undertaken by the Moscow government. In foreign affairs it had no *raison d'être,* so long as Russian diplomacy practised a Eurasiatic policy, and guided the country's destinies towards the East. But, after fifteen years, the problem of the allogeneous inhabitants had passed the crisis. The Soviet régime was firmly established. German imperialism obliged them to turn their attention towards the West: the repetition of the recurrent drama of which Europe had been the theatre since the era of Wilhelm II once more reminded the Russian world of its destiny.

The first check to Hitlerian arrogance on the part of the Kremlin was the signing in London, on July 2, 3, and 4, 1933, of agreements for the common acceptance of the definition of the aggressor, as formulated by Nicholas Politis. The U.S.S.R. signature appears at the foot of this document, side by side with 186* 648 829

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186* 648 829 those of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia—although the two latter had not yet recognised the Soviets. The new undertakings marked an advance on the part of Soviet Russia towards a policy of interest, if not of action, in Europe. Western opinion, then entirely occupied with the Economic Conference, gave the matter only casual attention; it did no more than manifest its satisfaction at seeing the question of Bessarabia disappear from the list of outstanding disputes. But the importance of the event lay elsewhere; it represented nothing less than an attempt to regroup forces in Eastern Europe. The territorial statute arising out of the treaties was consolidated by the backing of a power, the U.S.S.R., which hitherto had not been thought to be very favourable to it. Henceforth the Slavs of Central and Southern Europe felt morally obliged to consider recognising the Soviets. The defensive reflexes of the Slavonic instinct came [665] into play. At the seventeenth Assembly of the Communist Party, in January, 1934—the first to take place after the offensive on the part of Russian diplomacy in Europe—Stalin declared: 'Some people think that war must be prepared by the *superior race, i.e.*, the Germanic race, against the *inferior races*, and, especially, against the Slavs . . .'. This language aroused a world of memories, and an ideology which was believed to have lapsed. It was understood far beyond the frontiers of the U.S.S.R.

There was, however, one obstacle which prevented the Slavonic peoples from seeing in it more than a diplomatic gesture. They had hitherto looked to France for security guarantees. In Prague, as in Belgrade, they were anxious, at all costs, to prevent the development of a situation which might put the country under the obligation of choosing between Paris and Moscow. This was the constant, though unacknowledged, preoccupation of all the Little Entente Conferences. The policy of Louis Barthou, which prepared the way for a Franco-Sovietic *rapprochement*, did away with this possibility, and so the Czech Government recognised the Soviets on June 9, 1934. That summer of 1934 was a period of intense diplomatic activity for the Slavonic nations. In Bulgaria, on May 19, a *coup d'état* carried to power Kimon Gheorgiev with his National Union Cabinet. The first item on his programme was the *entente* with the Yugoslavs, the second the resumption of relations with the Soviets. It was on July 23 that the recognition was made official; it was the work

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of the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, Batolov. 'A century-old friendship has existed between the Bulgarian and the Russian peoples', declared the *Zaria*. 'Russia liberated the Bulgarian people, and it is no fault of the Russian people that our country was split up. Bulgaria, like the Soviet Union, desires to develop in peace'. On September 3, Benes met Litvinov at Marianske Lazne (Marienbad). On September 27, the Yugoslav sovereigns paid an official visit to Sofia. King Alexander was to fall, twelve days later, shot down by an assassin. His death was not to interrupt the movement of attraction among the various Slavonic nations. It is true that any reference to racial affinities was still avoided. But there was no denying the evidence: it was chiefly the Slavs who were menaced by the Hitlerian expansion. In March, 1934, an article by von Papen lifted the veil of German foreign policy; it showed that the revision of the treaties, and the struggle against the Slavs, were still the basis of that policy. 'Nobody', remarked the *Slovenets* of Ljubljana, 'can henceforth believe that the Germans have in any way modified their opinion of the Slavs; the latter are still, in their eyes, a fallow territory, awaiting Germanic sowers and Germanic seed'.

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This observation on the part of the Slovene newspaper turned up again, a few months later, in the mouth of Litvinov himself, who, addressing the Czechs on January 3, 1935, made use of a suggestive pretermission: 'I will not speak of the ties of race and of language which exist between the most important peoples of our Union and the Czechoslovak people. The reason I will not speak of them is that, in the past, these motives have more than once been exploited for imperialist ends, and further, even at the present time, racial theories sometimes serve to cover barbarian ideologies and régimes. Nevertheless, these affinities do exist . . .'.

Unexpected, and moderate as it was, this reminder of family ties had much greater resonance and efficacy than the 'Panslavism' of which the old diplomacies had made a bogy, although it was only an attempt at hierarchised solidarity between Slavs of the Orthodox Faith. For it was inspired neither by a spirit of conquest nor by a desire for hegemony, but by a doctrine of equilibrium. It contained at the same time more authority, and more disinterestedness.

That same year, 1935, saw the visit of Benes to Moscow (June 8–16) and the conclusion of a Soviet-Czech treaty, parallel

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with the Franco-Soviet treaty, and subject to the application of the latter. 'The Russian question', said the Czech statesman, 'will always play a large part in our destiny, if only on account of our geographical situation. That is why our conception of foreign policy will never be definitely elaborated until Russia has become an active factor in Central European politics'.

But, in Prague as in Moscow, scrupulous efforts were made to clear the new pact of any Slav ideology. The Czech newspapers insisted on the two events which had rendered possible the conclusion of this treaty—the entry of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations, and the Franco-Soviet agreement, the beginning of a Paris-Prague-Moscow axis. They reminded their readers that, since the beginning of her history, the Czech nation had developed within the framework of the Western civilisation and had, in modern times, bound up its destiny with that of the democracies. 'Nothing inclines us' (said the *Lidove Noviny,* 'to a collaboration with the Soviets which recalls, even distantly, the old romantic Panslavism, the smug dream of the union of all Slavs and the naïve faith in the possibility of a common international policy, peculiar to all the Slavonic peoples, a specifically Slavonic policy, different from that of the non-Slavonic peoples, even directed against the latter'. At the other political extreme, the *Bohemia* affirmed that 'the new Paris-Prague-Moscow policy is European, and not Panslav'. All the newspapers agreed on this point. Would they have needed to be so insistent, had they not foreseen that Czech opinion would naturally be inclined to see in the pact a manifestation of Slav solidarity? When the Soviet journalists visited Czechoslovakia, they were shown round the whole country, except Sub-Carpathian Russia, where they would have found a population speaking Russian and using the same alphabet as they did. . . . Nothing bears more eloquent witness to the Slavophilia of the Czech people, than the care which their Government and their press took to forestall manifestations of it.

France, who had just made an advance in the direction of Moscow, took fright at her own audacity, and thereafter endeavoured to minimise the extent of the steps she had taken. The Yugoslav Minister in Paris, summoned before Pierre Laval, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, bore a note summarising the arguments which his Government opposed to immediate recognition of the Soviets. He expected a sort of ultimatum on the

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part of the Quay d'Orsay. How great was his surprise at not hearing, during his audience, any reference to the Franco-Soviet pact! On the point of taking leave of Laval, he ventured to congratulate the latter on the results of his journey to Moscow. Laval cut in: 'Don't talk of it! I wish I could cut off the hand that signed the pact. Take great care you don't do the same!'

* * *

But, still more than the Western policy of the Soviets, it was their work of 're-nationalisation' which impressed the Slavonic world. The brilliance with which the commemoration of the death of Pushkin was celebrated, in 1937, was the first manifestation of this 'Russian drive' abroad. No poet was more 'national' than Pushkin, despite his African blood. He re-created three centuries of Russian life in a profusion of dazzling images. He rendered, more expressively than any writer, the escapist fever of the men of his time and the nostalgic tonalities of the steppes of his country. Great Russian Literature begins with him, and one of his compatriots wrote: 'In Pushkin lies our whole patrimony'. The *Izvestia* declared that it was only with Sovietisation that the masses of the people got to know the true figure of the poet and the meaning of his work. This paper heaped scorn alike on the 'vulgar sociologists' who made of him a wild revolutionary, and the 'ignoramuses' who found nothing useful for Socialist culture in his poetry. And the Government had his works translated into all the languages of the Union.

The extent of this homage was a prelude to a general policy of rehabilitation of Russian values. In the first Bolshevist ideology, Russia was represented as the nonchalant and sub-lunary being typified by Oblomov, the dressing-gowned hero of a celebrated novel by Gontcharov. Oblomov is a sort of Russian 'Triplepatte',* incapable of taking any decision, and established in the lazy, useless life of a country proprietor. We may say in passing that this picture of the Russian people is not a very true one: it confuses the 'moon-struck' state with inertia. Left to themselves, these people do sometimes lack application, or steadfastness, but if well directed, they are capable of prodigies of energy. For having dared to evoke this classical type, and the mentality to which it has given its name, 'oblomovtchina', Bukharin was accused of having borrowed 'a poisoned arrow

* 'Triplepatte' is the hero of a comedy of the same name, by Tristan Bernard and André Godfernaux. (Trans. note.)

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William II for never having acquired new lands in the east. It was not, at that time, a question of fighting Communism, but of 'living space'—a theory which, in Nazi ideology, was directed at the States bordering Eastern Germany and, beyond them, the 'fabulous resources' (*unerhörte Möglichkeiten*) of the Ukraine. Once more the Teuton resumed his age-long vocation of 'consumer of Slavs'. 175 648 721

But, looking closer into the matter, this was not, any more than in 1914, the essential cause of the Pan-Germanic explosion. Hitler's Germany was aiming higher, and farther. Actuated by what she considered to be a prime necessity of her geographical situation and of her 'racial pre-eminence', she regarded herself as the providential elaborator of new syntheses calculated to regenerate the world—but which were, in reality, simply the oldest of hegemonic appetites. It was not upon the Slavs that she declared war; it was upon a form of civilisation made up of Humanism and Christianity which the centuries had identified with the habitable world. The Slavs were the first victims of the *Wehrmacht,* simply because they were considered to be the easiest obstacle to overcome, owing to the inferiority complex which, from time immemorial, the German school had attributed to them. Their geographical position condemned them to be the target for the first onslaught. But the Slavonic world was subjected to unprecedented trials in all the different phases of the war—Czech, Polish, Balkan, Russian. Therein lay the real, the only 'Slavonic' aspect of this war—the recurrence of the periodic catastrophe which crushes these nations as soon as Europe is unleashed against herself. 186* 829 721

So March 15, 1939—the date of the occupation of Prague by Hitler's troops—aroused deep emotion among the Southern Slavs, who realised that the dyke which had hitherto held back the German drive on Eastern Europe had collapsed. There were manifestations of sympathy in Belgrade and in Sofia, especially among the students; messages flowed into Prague from all the Slavonic regions in the Balkans. 186*

Germany herself seems to have had some obscure realisation of her crime. A curious article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of April 23, 1939—an article whose author foresaw the opprobrium that this 'operation' was to cast upon his country—endeavoured to reconcile the policy of the 'Protectorate' of Bohemia with the 186* 829

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186* conceptions of romantic Germany, and with Herder's 'Slavo-
• 829 philia'. He made every effort to show that a nation's interest does not necessarily lie in its elevation to the rank of a sovereign State, but that it may find its development in a subordination of national aspirations to political necessities. 'Geographical and historical facts, and political realities', he said, 'today play their part on an equal footing with the principle of nationalities'.

What the author meant by 'political realities' was to be judged in the light of the volleys of firing which mowed down the students of the University of Prague, guilty of having manifested their attachment to the Czech fatherland.

648 The subsequent course of events is too recent to need recal-
175 ling here. The whole edifice of guarantees, built up to support peace, collapsed like a house of cards; twenty years of vague conceptions of security were swallowed up into the abyss that was to engulf the ruins of a world built up by ten centuries of patience and human genius. The Pacts of the Little Entente, gradually voided of their contents,[1] remained inoperative; Article 16 of the Pact of the League of Nations—rendered optional at the request of Poland—did not have to be put into operation; the Polish-Soviet Pact of non-aggression of July 25, 1932, extended in 1934 to December 31, 1945, and reaffirmed on November 26, 1938, remained a dead letter; the 'constant peace and eternal friendship' stipulated in the first clause of the Hungarian-Yugoslav pact concluded on December 12, 1940, and ratified on February 27, 1941, lasted five weeks; as for the 'perpetual friendship' sworn between Bulgarians and Yugoslavs on January 24, 1937, it lasted fifty months, to say nothing of the Salonica Pact concluded on July 31, 1938, between Bulgaria and the Balkan Entente. The multiplication of security-pacts ended in making them completely ineffective. *In corruptissima republica leges plurimae.*

If Germany's designs on Bohemia and Poland were clear—too clear—the same could not be said of her position in the Balkans. At the most she claimed to put an end to what she called 'the state of anarchy created by the 1919–1920 treaties in the Balkan-Danubian region'.

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[1] In February, 1940, the minutes of the Balkan Conference contained no reference to the territorial *status quo*.

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numerous Soviet militants, including the composer, Dmitry Chostakovich, member of the Panslav Committee, who, opposing the Pan-Germanic theories, vindicated Slavonic culture. 'I am proud to be a Russian, I boast of being a Slav. . . . If we must speak of "superior" and "inferior" representatives of humanity, then we can class the German Fascists in the category of the basest! Have they not profaned Yasnaia Poliana (Leo Tolstoy's house), the most sacred treasure of the Russian nation; trodden underfoot Tchaikovsky's scripts at Klin; destroyed at Tikhvina the house where Rimsky Korsakov was born; demolished immortal monuments of Russian architecture at Novgorod and Istra? . . . May all the spiritual forces, all the intellectuals of the glorious family of the Slavonic nations intrepidly fulfil the great mission entrusted to them by history!' 186* 668

The philosophy of this Congress was summed up in an article in the form of a programme, from the pen of the Russian writer, Alexis Tolstoy, and published by the *Pravda* of Moscow:

'We must revise the whole history of the Slavonic peoples. Our contribution to European civilisation has not been less than that of other peoples. During the space of a thousand years, our young blood gave life to Byzantium in its decrepitude. It was thanks to the Slavs that Byzantium preserved ancient civilisation, and transmitted it to feudal Europe. The Slavonic peoples, hard-working, lovers of liberty, peace, and culture had as their neighbours, on the east, nomadic Empires which always cherished the chimerical design of conquering the world, and, on the west, medieval emperors whose imposing cavalcades were no less vain. These aggressions from the east and from the west broke against the intrepid resistance of the Slavonic world. The role of the Slavonic peoples in the formation of European Humanism has not yet been appreciated at its true value. . . . Slavs, to arms! Up, for our mutual relentless struggle!' [544] [829]

Would you not take this—except for the religious note—for a page from one of the Slavophiles of the forties, or a speech by the historian, Pogodin, at the 1867 Congress?

Anticipating Tolstoy's hopes, the Congress had decided on the publication of a monthly review (*The Slavs*), the aim of which was to make known the services rendered to humanity by the Slav civilisation and to tighten the bonds uniting its present representatives. 186* 203

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186* 814 In Russia, this same year 1942 saw an unprecedented output of works on Slavonic history and philology. Nicolas Derjavin studied Slavonic palæology, Russo-Bulgarian intellectual relations, the origin and history of the Slavs up to the eleventh century. The literature and history of the Slavonic nations were included in the syllabus of the High Schools; a chair of Slavonic Philology was created in the University of Leningrad; in May, 1942 the chair of Slavistic in the University of Moscow became a 'centre of studies in the history of the Slavonic peoples and of their role in intellectual evolution and in progress'.

186 608 829 The Ethnographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences undertook a huge investigation into the origin of the Slavonic settlements. A Tass Agency communication of July 4, 1943, announced the first results of this inquiry; the Slavs were aboriginals, not invaders. Professor Gudaltov proved that they descended from tribes settled between the Elbe and the Vistula. He pointed out the direct relationship between the Scythians of the Dnieper and the Polanes who played a decisive role in the formation of the State of Kiev.

186 533 536 Literature, the theatre, the arts, vied with each other in contributing to this revival of Slavonic spiritual life. An exhibition of the theatrical art of the Slavonic nations was held in Moscow in July, 1942. Chebalin's *Slavonic Quartet* obtained the Stalin Prize in 1943. The Musicians' Congress, which met in Moscow in January, 1943, praised Victor Belyi's 'Slavonic Suite' (Hymn of Anger, Serbian Guerrilla, To Arms!), the libretto of which, borrowed from Serbian folklore literature, is the work of the Montenegrin poet, Radoul Stiyensky.

186* 575 668 But the essential task remained a political one. Five committees were formed, for liaison with sympathisers in the allied countries—Panslav Committee, Youth Committee, Committee of Savants, Feminine Committee, Jewish Committee. The Panslav Committee launched message after message to oppressed Slavs, insurgent Slavs, Slavs in exile. They received from the Yugoslav Vetché—a political organisation struggling with Tito for independence—a telegram thanking them for their assistance with a view to the establishment of a 'Democratic Yugoslavia, federal and equal in rights', which concluded as follows: 'Long live the fraternal solidarity of all the Slavs in the struggle against German Fascism!'

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Macedonian, Vlakhov; the Slovenes Goustinchich and Ivan Regent; a Bulgarian, Tchernevov. 186 668

Benes, subtle and realistic as usual, in an English newspaper expressed his approval of this propaganda, and the value of this approval lay, not in the personality of the writer, but in the attitude he was long known to have held concerning the problem of Slav solidarity. M. Benes recalled that, 'without the establishment of the Soviet régime in Russia, Poland would never have recovered her independence'. 'The present war', he added, 'is favourable to the settlement of differences outstanding between Poland and the U.S.S.R. as well as between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Whilst preserving their independence and their social institutions, the democratised Slavonic nations—they are democratic by nature—must unite and collaborate in all fields. This union of Slavonic peoples will alone be capable, in future, of neutralising the cruel racial policy consistently pursued by Germany, and thus guaranteeing future peace in Europe and in the world'. * 186 829

In London, the Slavs in exile also banded together, with a view to common action. Early in 1943, the refugee Slavonic Governments (Polish, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav) formed a 'cultural committee'. Seton Watson, the specialist in the problems of South-East Europe, in a public lecture given in London[7] thus defined the importance of the conflagration: 'It is the greatest Slavonic war in history. It may well prove decisive for the fate of all the Slavonic nations and their future relations with the Germanic world. . . . The absorption of these nations by Germany would establish that country's hegemony on the continent of Europe; it is therefore as much in the interest of Great Britain as of Russia to go to their assistance'. 186* 668

A Congress of Slavonic nations met in London on May 25, 1944. The next day a message was read to the Congress from the Slav Committee of Moscow, in which the latter pointed out that Polish troops and Czech military formations were fighting side by side with the Red Army, whilst a Yugoslav unit, trained in Russia, was preparing to join them. They added that the attempts of German propaganda to make the Czechs fall out with the Russians when the latter appeared on their frontiers

[7] January 12, 1944.

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186* Negroids, and of Jews, and that this degeneracy warrants our
648 suspecting American morals'. Remarks which were not very
723 flattering for the Slovaks, the Croats, and the Bulgars, whose Governments were still allies of the Axis. 'Naturally', Radoslavov, a Bulgarian minister was to say, 'we belong to the Slavonic race. But we are, first and foremost, Bulgars. We act in accordance with our own interests and not with the interests of the Slavonic peoples in general'. And the *Zora,* of Sofia, went one farther, reproaching Stalin, a Georgian, who had always rejected racial concepts, for posing as the head of the Slavs, and for rallying to racial theories. 'With God's help', this paper concluded, 'the Soviets will never be able to overthrow the Eastern front'.

Other objections kept polemical discussions alive. M. Benes one day expressed to the Czechoslovak Council his desire to see Poland 'independent, democratic, and friendly', joining the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement. 'This', he said, 'would mean the definite settlement of all the differences outstanding between our three countries and would assure their future by guaranteeing peace in this part of the globe; Germany would never again dare to start a world war'.

186* This declaration aroused unfriendly or sceptical comments
• 829 in part of the Turkish press. For a long time that press had been
204 watching the development of the Slavonic orientation in Soviet policy. 'The new Panslav movement', the officially-inspired *Ulus* had said, 'will be followed with the greatest attention, especially by those non-Slavonic nations which were formerly the object of that policy'.[9]

This time it was the *Tanin* which asked why, since the expression 'Pangermanic Imperialism' applied to the union of Germans, that of 'Panslavonic Imperialism' should not describe the union of Slavs? An article in *Pravda,*[10] an obvious reflection of Moscow's ideas on Slav solidarity, refuted this assertion at great length. The Soviet leader-writer recalled that, for a thousand years, the history of Eastern Europe had been that of the defence of the Slavonic peoples against the German invader. 'The historical atmosphere has changed', he said, 'but the object of the German conquerors is unchangeable—to separate the Slavs by force'. There were, he added (for the benefit of the

[9] August 13, 1941.
[10] February 19, 1944.

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Turkish journalist) some people in Eastern Europe who would like to return to the old policy of oppression of the Slavonic peoples. . . . The new friendship among these peoples, related to each other and bound by century-old ties of a common culture, was being tempered in the crucible of the war of liberation. . . . Their *rapprochement* would displease none but those who dreamed of seeing them dominated once again'. 186* 829 204

* * *

The Orlemanski affair has shown us an attempt at Slav solidarity in the domain of religious tolerance. In the same order of things, but this time in connection with the Orthodox Slavs, we cannot omit to mention the deep impression produced by the restoration of juridical personality to the Russian Orthodox Church (September, 1943) and the elevation of the Metropolitan Serge to the office of Patriarch, abolished in 1721 by Peter the Great and which enjoyed a brief restoration in 1917. With its hundred and fifty million followers, the Orthodox community, placed at the cross-roads of the war, was undergoing one of the most tragic crises in its history. Its suffering was all the more serious, inasmuch as the Orthodox Churches are organised on national lines, in contrast to the hierarchical unity of Roman Catholicism. These churches are bound together by identical doctrine and canons. But, in the course of the centuries, they have progressively relaxed the bonds of dependence which used to attach them to the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. Religious autonomy has advanced side by side with the emancipation of the nationalities. In restoring the rights of the Church, Stalin not only indicated his desire to reawaken the traditions of Russian national life, within the framework of a social renovation; he also tightened the historic bonds between his country and the Balkan nations of the Orthodox religion, thus reinforcing, by new spiritual affinities, sympathies founded on community of race, of oppression, and of destiny. 186* 659 795

Germany tried to foil this policy by summoning to Vienna, on November 5, under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Belgrade, the Orthodox prelates adhering to the Axis cause, and especially the Metropolitans of Berlin and of Paris, who declared the election of the new Patriarch to be null and void. This demonstration was of no effect; the vast majority of the Serbian, Rumanian, Greek and Bulgarian hierarchies either had nothing 648 793 795

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'Young Brigade', and by the predominance of the 'social' over the 'political' and even over the 'national'. 177 .64

This revolution was in the logic of events; was there any need to invoke the ascendancy or the presence of Russia to explain it? On emerging from an upheaval unprecedented in their history, the little nations, stupefied by the blow and completely helpless, saw their recent past only as error or treason. 177 118 181

We cannot even reproach Russia with having bound up her action with a policy of patronage or aimed at an ideological synchronisation of the régimes born on the territories she had liberated. In Hungary, for example, she was very careful not to recreate the atmosphere of the time of Bela Kun, whose sinister memory, she found, was still alive.

But, in the Slavonic countries, the parties of the extreme Left, almost everywhere identified with the Resistance, took advantage of the presence and the prestige of Russia in order to get into power and stay there. This led to a misunderstanding which, by associating the Russian authorities with the Governments which they were believed to favour, risked one day exposing the popularity of the Soviet Union in these countries to a turn in the tide of internal politics. 662

Obliged henceforth to gravitate in the orbit of the powerful Russian State, the Slavonic nations could not consider the future from the same angle as they had done in 1918. At the conclusion of a devastating war, Russia would never again allow neighbouring States to serve as a diplomatic or military jumping-off ground for a possible adversary. She regarded them as her security ramp. 186* 829

One might be tempted to see in this Muscovite hold over Eastern Europe a revolution of an international order. In truth it was a revolution only in relation to an abnormal state of affairs—that of the 1920–1940 period, which rested on Russia's inertia in Europe. It could not reasonably be expected that this state of affairs would last indefinitely. The Europe of 1945 was more logical than that of 1918—at any rate, more in conformity with the classic play of international forces. 648

The slogan of Slav solidarity, which formed the *leit-motiv* of the Moscow Congresses of 1942–1944, had galvanised and co-ordinated the movements for resistance to the invader. In 186* 648 000

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mediatisation. In the past, Slavism had mobilised more feeling than will-power, animated more Congresses than Crusades. It now reassumed the academic, 'poet and professor' form it had exhibited a hundred years earlier. 186* 668

So that Russia's first acts as a liberating power were not particularly Slavonic. In virtue of the ethnical principle, exercised in her own favour, she annexed to the Ukraine Carpatho-Ruthenia, which had been a Civilisation Front for another Slavonic power—Czechoslovakia. As far as Poland was concerned Russia drew the logical advantages of her victory. Poland's annexation of Prussia's Eastern Marches was simply compensation for the amputations she suffered in favour of the Ukraine and of White Russia. The support discreetly given by Moscow to the Bulgaro-Yugoslav claims on Aegean Macedonia reflected less concern for Slav solidarity than the desire to liberate the outlet from the Straits. 186* 668 723

The award of the Teschen Basin, once more disputed between Poland and Czechoslovakia, provided Russia with a very delicate arbitration task, in which the necessity for compensating the sacrifices demanded of the Poles weighed more heavily than the memory of Czech fidelity; had not Czechoslovakia, for ten years, been considered as the 'aircraft-carrier' of Soviet military power?

In reality—and a large dose of ingenuousness was required in order to believe that it could ever be otherwise—the territorial changes over which the Russians presided were all inspired by Russian interests, in the historical and traditional sense of the word.

* * *

Let us briefly recall the evolution of the Slavonic peoples immediately after their liberation. 648 175

Poland was, during the war, represented by a Government-in-exile in London, which negotiated with the Allies, to whom they gave valuable military assistance. In Moscow this Government was regarded as 'reactionary' and incompatible with a policy of good Polish-Sovietic relations. So it was constantly attacked by the Russian leaders and the Russian press. [329]

As long as the war was conducted outside Polish territory, London and Washington classed this dispute with those that are

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The English press greeted this news philosophically, emphasising the fact that recognition was subject to the promise of free elections as soon as Poland's material situation would allow. 208 829

Isolated protests were made; as, for example, that of William John Rose, Professor at the School of Slavonic Studies in London, who wrote to *The Spectator*:—

'The solution adopted is the very one which was rejected by our House of Commons—the co-option of a minority of Poles from London and from Poland to a majority of Lublin Poles, the latter occupying all the chief posts.

'Great Britain and the United States have recognised this Government without any precise information having been given regarding the elections and their nature, though they were the condition on which recognition was granted.

'The renouncing of the principles for which the Allies fought for six years is deplorable. Whatever may be its significance for Poland, it is humiliating for the Western democracies. Obviously, we have an excuse; we are busy with our own elections. Unfortunately, however, while we were inactive others were not. What has become of the anger shown by Mr. Eden and M. Stettinius when M. Molotov exploded the "bombshell" (to use the expression of nearly all the journalists) concerning the fate of the Polish politicians?'

In Washington Senator Vandenberg declared to Mr. Grew, interim Secretary of State, that the settlement of the Polish question was inadequate and unsatisfactory for millions of citizens, himself included. 'This settlement does not appear to give a clear assurance that the Polish people will be able to express themselves freely under this Government, which is imposed on them by the Big Three, within the limits of frontiers likewise fixed by these same powers'.

In Moscow, on the contrary, the solution of the Polish crisis was considered as a victory for the democracies and a guarantee of European peace. The Soviet Government hastened to regularise its relations with the new State. On July 9[1] it signed a commercial treaty with Warsaw, in order to 'develop and consolidate to the utmost the economic relations between the two countries, in a spirit of friendship and collaboration'. 648 175

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

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648 175 666 The sudden volte-face on the part of the Sofia Cabinet was very easy to explain. Trusting entirely to Russian support, the Bulgarians had never for a moment doubted that Russia would consider the Anglo-American attitude as negligible. They therefore contented themselves with invoking the necessity of consulting the Inter-allied Control Commission, in which the Soviet representative's influence was predominant. Judge of the Government's surprise on learning, from the mouth of that representative (General Birousov), that the Commission had been unanimous in recommending the postponement of the elections!

They had been put off until November 18. The day before, the Washington Government renewed its warning of the month of August, to the effect that the conditions under which the election promised to be held would no doubt prevent it from considering the resulting Government as being the authentic expression of the 'popular will'.

It was difficult to know whether the American attitude arose from the conviction that the Bulgarian electoral law was less 'correct' than the Yugoslav electoral law, or whether the discrimination followed from the fact that Yugoslavia was an allied, and Bulgaria a vanquished, country.

But this time the Sofia Cabinet held out and the elections took place on the date fixed. They gave 75–85 per cent of the votes cast to the Patriotic Front, the Opposition parties having decided to abstain.

However, the Government wisely refrained from giving to this poll the appearance of a retort to the American veto. On the contrary, it advised Washington of its intention to enlarge the basis of the Government on democratic lines.

• [829] It is certain that the rivalry between the Agrarians and the Communists offers prospects of internal crises. But, from the external point of view, Bulgaria's policy is fixed *ne varietur*. It will depend on Moscow's goodwill. The Bulgarian people, profoundly Russophile, will find little difficulty in accepting this new state of affairs. There is more doubt as to whether the same thing will be true of the leaders, who will always find it difficult to resign themselves to having only one card in their diplomatic game.

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186* The Slavonic problem presents quite a different appearance

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725 with 'Great Serbian' and 'reactionary' tendencies. Subsequently
648 a much more serious charge was made against him; carried away
175 by his struggle against the Communist elements, he was said to have parlied with the Occupying Authorites and with the agents of Nedich, the Serbian 'Quisling'. General Mihaïlovich was nevertheless the War Minister *in partibus* to the London Cabinet, where the accusations brought against him were never seriously considered until Churchill[1] echoed them. They were the basis of the case brought against his partisans in July, 1945, and the severe sentence passed against them.

• [829] Then there was, between the London Government and the 'Tito Movement', the psychological opposition between the exiled politicians (except those of Czechoslovakia) and the insurgents, who, remaining within the country, risked their lives day in and day out. The latter were inclined to see the 'London people' as theorists, if not profiteers of the Resistance, who, in assured comfort and relative security, carried out a paid task with the pen or by radio.

[668] Finally, Tito's partisans merged, in many cases, with the Communist or extremist elements, for whom the old Yugoslav political formations and their staffs embodied a régime of despotism, patronage, and reaction, whose return to power would have constituted an historical retrogression.

643 However, the break did not come immediately. Although
661 King Peter agreed, under pressure from the Allies and especially
648 from Russia, to disown Mihaïlovich, he showed greater hesitation
175 in negotiating with Tito, whose republican trend and attachment to the Soviet régime were well known.

On June 16, 1944, he resigned himself, rather against his convictions, to authorising Choubachich to sign an agreement with Tito, which provisionally safeguarded the rights of the Crown. On the following November 1 he agreed to the formation of a National Union Government in liberated Yugoslavia. But he reserved his approval as to the nomination of a Regency and the exercise of political power by one single party, the National Liberation Front, until a Constituent Assembly should have met. On this point he even entered into conflict with his

[1] 'General Mihaïlovich, I regret to say, has gradually adopted a changed attitude, and certain of his leaders have parlied with Italian or German troops'. (Speech in the House of Commons on February 22, 1944.)

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founded on despotism and personal power? The law of August 25, 1945 on the control of the press banned not only the ex-'collaborators', but also the publishers of 'alarmist' news or of news 'contrary to the general interest'—as conceived by the Government, naturally. A well-informed police organisation, modelled on Russian methods, ceaselessly exercised a very close watch over public opinion and, naturally, indulged in arbitrary arrests and acts of violence. 656 204 625

This policy led to dissension within the Government. The leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, Milan Grol, resigned on August 19[1]; on October 8[1] he was followed into retirement by Dr. Ivan Choubachich and the Minister Choutei, both Croat Agrarians. 578 175

Choubachich's resignation was serious, for it upset a ministerial equilibrium which had been agreed upon among the Allies. Yet what was this agreement worth, since Tito, repudiating the terms of the compromise which had sanctioned his authority, had pronounced against the monarchy? 'Not one of our combatants thought that anything new could be created under the leadership of the King, especially as the Nediches and Mihailoviches committed their crimes in his name. . . . The point is, whether the monarchy is compatible with the new system of Yugoslav Federal Democracy. . . . For several reasons, I think it is not'.

The next day (August 8, 1945) King Peter replied to this declaration by withdrawing from the Regents the power they held from him.

Tito was not intimidated by this retort. He declared that the Government acted in agreement with all the creative and constructive forces of the country, with all sincerely democratic parties. The masses of the populace had acquired, during the war, firmly-rooted political knowledge which had nothing in common with the electoral catchwords with which they previously used to be taken in.

The Opposition replied that free elections would prove the truth of this assertion, whereas those to which the country had been called were not free. The Americans and the English repeatedly emphasised the reserves they made regarding their attitude towards the régime which would result from this poll. 666 829 175

The elections took place on November 11.[1] They gave to the

1 [1945 -- Analyst]

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666 National Front 80–90 per cent of the votes cast.[4] It is true that
• 829 the Opposition abstained from voting (its Belgrade organ,
175 *Demokratia,* was suspended) and that the electoral system favoured the Coalition Government. But the Anglo-Americans took no action. They declared the results of the poll to be 'acceptable'. On these results were based the two Assemblies (Union Assembly and Assembly of the Nationalities) which, following Russian lines, were to control the country's constitutional life.

578 In short, both at home and abroad, Tito was master of the
643 situation. He had armed forces, the levers of control, fanatical partisans, a 'Youth' following, attached to a régime which had radically reorganised the whole staffing of the army, the administrative services, and diplomacy. But certain large sections of opinion were not with him. In the provinces the old parties were still solidly rooted. Those circles criticised the 'personal' and 'plebiscite' character of the régime, which was an unprecedented innovation in Serbian political life. Against the Marshal were the Monarchists, the old army, Serbian nationalism, Croat par-
[659] ticularism, Slovene 'Clericalism'. For a long time he alienated the Catholic clergy; on October 18, Radio-Vatican broadcast a letter from the Yugoslav bishops to the Belgrade Government, accusing the latter of systematically persecuting the Roman Church.

And this was only criticism of internal affairs. Tito was further reproached with having reorganised relations between the Yugoslav populations on anachronistic bases. How would this State turn out—a State of twelve million inhabitants, with six autonomous Governments, capped with a Federal Government? Where would the frontiers of Croatia and Serbia be? And those of Serbia and Macedonia? Could the Macedonian question be considered as settled by the granting of autonomy? And would not the Bulgaro-Yugoslav *entente,* advertised as a victory for the régime, be submitted to a severe test when autonomy gave rise to political disputes in this country which, for a century, had been torn by undercurrents of passion and foreign intrigue? Was

666 [4] According to official statistics, out of 8,383,455 electors and 7,413,214 votes cast, 6,574,975 went to the National Front. The franchise had been given to women; the electoral age had been lowered to 18, and even lower for those who had fought in the liberation.

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Marshal Stalin sent his congratulations to Tito and his good wishes to the 'sister nation' of Yugoslavia. The establishment of the republic was greeted everywhere as a victory for the spirit of democracy. In actual fact it is hard to believe that there is more 'democracy' in the Balkan republics than in the Scandinavian or British monarchies.

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The real question still remains to be seen—whether Tito's régime ensures a new lease of life for Yugoslav unity or whether it portends, sooner or later, a disruption of that unity, which might this time be irreparable. It is by no means impossible that in the next few years, even months, the evolution of Yugoslav life may be characterised by a gradual weakening of the ties between the Serbs and the Croats and a correlative strengthening of solidarity between Serbs and Bulgars—in other words, by an end of the union of Southern Slavs, and an attraction of part to the East.

On the international scale, the future of Yugoslavia is at the mercy of the super-powers who are the arbiters of peace. So that all depends on the importance which the Balkan world holds in the policy of Russia who, in Central Europe and in Asia, is occupied with interests of far wider scope. And here it is as well not to forget that, during the time of the Tsars, the Balkan peoples always bore the brunt of all efforts at *rapprochement* between Russia and Austria-Hungary. Will they, tomorrow, form the medium of exchange between the U.S.S.R. and the Anglo-American democracies, without whose capital it would be difficult for them to exploit their natural resources?

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Of all the liberated Slav States, it was, as might be expected, Czechoslovakia which showed most practical sense. She managed her return to liberty without any unnecessary clashes or violence.

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No serious difficulty arose between the London Government-in-exile and the Resistance. On May 8, 1944, Benes signed an agreement with Moscow concerning the administration of the liberated territories. On the following October 29 he declared that, after the war, the affairs of the Republic would be so organised as to avoid a repetition of the events of 1938. 'Czechoslovakia will be a fully decentralised Republic, organised

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648 sent to London a military mission under General Svoboda, the
186 Commander-in-Chief, to renew contacts with the British General
175 Staff, and to ask the latter to co-operate in the reconstitution of
643 the Czechoslovak Army.

In short, of all the liberated Slav nations, Czechoslovakia was the one which had most clearly marked out the contours of her independence in the New Europe. She accepted neither 'synchronisation' nor enfeoffment. Without disavowing either her Slavonic affinities or her traditional attachment to Russia, she restored her relations with the West to their 1938 footing.

• [829] An intermediary State, Czechoslovakia is carving out her path between the Russian and the Anglo-Roman worlds; nearer to the former by her security reflexes and her views on the future of Europe, she is nearer to the latter by her spiritual unrest, her philosophy of life and her conception of progress.

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186* The rapid tour which has taken us from Warsaw to Sofia and
829 from Belgrade to Prague is sufficient to clarify speculations founded on the birth of a Slavonic 'Imperialism'.

Once again, it is official eloquence which has nourished these speculations. There was not a Polish, Czech, Yugoslav, or Bulgarian statesman who did not see, in the issue of the Second World War, the end of the curse which, for a thousand years, paralysed the expansion of the Slavonic world. Not one who did not celebrate the establishment and the benefits of an inter-Slav *entente*. Let us quote a few of these heroic declamations at random.

In the first rank was Poland—no doubt because this was the nation which, from the Slavonic point of view, had the worst memories to atone for. Commenting on the signature of the Polish-Sovietic agreement, the head of the Government of the Polish Republic regretted that his country had not, at the time of the German aggression, frankly taken her stand beside the Soviet Union, in order to form a 'Slavonic bloc'. 'This grave political error', he declared, 'caused a great deal of suffering to the Slavonic peoples and, most of all, to Poland'.[6]

[6] When, on July 15th, the new Polish Ambassador handed his credentials to the Regent of Yugoslavia, he alluded to 'Germany, the eternal enemy of the Slavs'. This was an undeniable historical truth; but how fail to recall, on hearing it invoked, the importunate shadows of Beck and Stoyadinovich?

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To this act of contrition, the Polish Premier added a profession of Slavophile faith that, 'Eternal friendship and mutual and complete assistance among all the Slavonic peoples not only ensure a happy existence and future for these peoples, but also forge the guarantee of peace in Europe'. 186* 829 •

This was the 'bloc of the Slavonic nations' as it had been formulated, on the preceding July 4, at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Polish Socialist Party, of which the Premier was the leader.

More expressive and more balanced was the opinion published in *Dziennik Ludowy* of October 2, by General Zeligowski, who emphasised the historical significance of the return of the Slavs to the Oder and the Elbe, after a thousand years of flux and reflux. 'The Oder frontier is not only a Polish, but also a Slavonic frontier. Its loss is a menace for all Slavs'.

There we have, indeed, the cartographic aspect of the Slavonic problem. It should be completed by the judgement of Count Sforza, who, in *Foreign Affairs,* advocated establishing the new League of Nations at Fiume, because that Adriatic city was 'the hinge uniting the Roman and the Slavonic worlds'.

In Prague it was, as we have said, M. Nejedly who, in more or less measured terms, made himself the apostle of the unity of the Slavonic world. 'We have to opt for the West or for the East. I believe that the Czech nation knows what it must do. We all know that we belong to the great Slavonic bloc, controlled by the Russian nation. Around us there is nothing but ruin. What can the Hungarians, the Rumanians, the Germans do? None of these nations has a future before it. They will be only too pleased to allow themselves to be controlled by us'.[7] On July 15 M. Nejedly presided over a meeting of Slav Committees held in Prague; on that occasion he elaborated a programme for inter-Slav solidarity 'under the direction of the great Russian nation'.

In Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito owed it to his Soviet affiliations to plead passionately the cause of the Russo-Yugoslav *entente.* 'Yugoslavia has, as her chief ally, the Soviet Union, to whom she is bound by a treaty. She maintains close relations with all the other Slavonic nations. . . . Those relations will, in the end,

[7] Quoted by the *Manchester Guardian* of June 8, 1945.

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186* create an indissoluble union of Slavs which will be a bulwark
•829 against the repetition of catastrophes similar to that of 1941'.[8]

On October 2, addressing a group of Polish journalists, Tito used the expression 'Slavonic era'. But this expression must be understood in a constructive, not an imperialist sense. 'United spiritually, the Slavs form a barrier against medieval [*sic*] ideas directed against culture and humanity. . . . The Slavs will bring peace and security to Europe'.

There were the same oratorical outpourings among the Bulgars. Kimon Gheorgiev's programme included 'a cordial friendship with the Soviet Union and an eternal friendship with the sister nation of Russia'. Nikolov, President of the Slav Committee in Sofia, also protested against the legend of Slavonic imperialism, but announced a 'union of the Slavonic peoples for the protection of their liberty and of their independence'.

[795] In the same spirit the Bulgars, walking hand in hand with Tito's Yugoslavia, affected an ostentatiously detached attitude to the question of Macedonia. They abolished the schism caused by the Exarchate, which had been created solely for the purpose of propaganda on behalf of annexation. Formerly the Macedonians were divided into Orthodox (Serbs) and Exarchists (Bulgars). Once this distinction was abolished, Bulgaria could, according to international circumstances, proclaim her disinterestedness or extend her claims to Macedonia.

[648] The Slavonic Governments backed one anothers' reciprocal claims. Marshal Tito approved the Czech policy with regard to the Hungarian minorities; Poland and Czechoslovakia handed to the London Conference notes supporting the Yugoslav territorial claims, which ran counter to those of Italy. Bulgars and Yugoslavs conducted a joint campaign against Greece regarding Aegean Macedonia.

[668] There was another manifestation of this general fraternisation. A Slav Congress was held in Bratislava in July, 1945. It passed a motion favouring the conclusion of a regional pact of friendship and mutual aid among all the Slavonic nations. The speakers indulged in striking forecasts of the possible effect, in international life, of a bloc of 205 million Slavs, *i.e.*, one-third of the total population of Europe, covering two-thirds of its surface.

[8] Speech made at Bela Tsrkva on July 8.

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But had not the geographical dispersion of the Little Entente been its congenital weakness, and was it not obvious that there would never be solidarity or concordance between the interests of, say, Poland and Yugoslavia? Russia had planned to get Poland to adhere to the pact concluded between Russia and Czechoslovakia; this plan was washed away in the undercurrent set up by the Teschen dispute. Bulgars and Yugoslavs were inclined to signify that their future lay in the creation of a Southern Slav federation—and this is, in fact, one of the rare conceptions of Slavonic solidarity that is realisable on the national plane. But it has never passed beyond the stage of a 'pious hope'.

Is it possible to see in these effusions anything more than oratorical outbursts inspired by circumstances? Do they not tend, in the majority of cases, to drown in a vague, ideological Panslavism the too concrete reality of Russian control over the small Slav nations? Is not Slavism losing its original disinterestedness, to become, in spite of official ramblings, the common denominator of their connection with Muscovite preponderance? Do not assertions of economic and cultural ties overlook the fact that no common interest, apart from that which results from the possession of a common frontier, binds these nations, and that, from the intellectual point of view, it is much more from their contact with Western spirituality than from their common basis that their own culture has blossomed?

What is new in the situation is this. Hitherto, allusions to 'Slavism' were acts of boldness, if not of imprudence, tolerated only at congresses of philologists and folklorists. Diplomats and statesmen were careful not to make them, even if they did not disavow them.

Today the situation is reversed. Slavonic solidarity is an official element in political eloquence. But, in passing from the plane of ideology to that of positive values, this solidarity has lost the clarity and sincerity of its outlines, to become a slogan for toasts, and for ministerial meetings. Slavism has met with the adverse fate of ideals which, after great difficulties, find a suitable ground for their realisation; they are liable to turn into historical myths, academic themes which contact with reality has voided of substance.

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'In liberating the Slavonic peoples, the Red Army has accomplished a mission of great historic import, for if they were not freed from the German yoke there could be no question of lasting peace in Europe. The relations between the U.S.S.R. and the Slavonic countries are based on common interests of defence against the revival of the German forces of aggression which have caused such prejudice to these peoples. And it is beyond doubt that their development on truly democratic bases constitutes the best pledge for peace in Europe'. 186* 648 728

On various occasions moreover, Russia, unwilling to place her cards on the table before her great Allies did so, was known to have her views on the German problem put forward by the Poles or the Czechs, while Yugoslavia, more combative or less wary, launched, now against the English now against the Americans, offensives calculated to put them on a false scent, diverting attention from the real objectives of the diplomatic moves.

In all the discussions raised by the peace treaties, at all the meetings of the United Nations and their Commissions, the Slav delegates voted with the Soviet Union or with its Republics, whether in matters concerning general problems (such as the right of veto or disarmament) or in national 'cases', such as the ban on Franco or the Greek question; so much so that it was always possible to forecast, as soon as a debate opened, which way these delegates would vote.

Conversely, where Russia did not herself inspire the claims put forward by the small Slav States, she supported them. She backed the Yugoslavs in the dispute between Rome and Belgrade regarding the fate of Trieste and Julian Venetia, the maintenance of the Polish-Germanic frontiers on the Oder and the Neisse, and the Bulgarian-Yugoslav offensive against the Athens Government.

Ideologically, the joint attitude of the Slav Governments rested on the theory that they alone were imbued with the real democratic spirit and that the Western Powers represented a survival of reaction and of *bourgeois* Liberalism. 186* 829

This naïve attitude is evident in the speeches of nearly all the Slav diplomats during this period of European reconstruction.

A Polish newspaper, *Robotnik* (of April 14, 1946), took a census of Slavonic strength on the continent of Europe:— 186* 162

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645 175 Communists, then rejoined the partisans in Bosnia and was elected President of the National Liberation Front.

687 175 The chief event of this period was the trial of General Draja Mihaïlovich, who had organised the earliest resistance to the invader, but was subsequently accused of collaboration with the Germans and the Italians. Arrested on the borders of Bosnia and Serbia, he was court-martialled on June 10, 1946, by the Military Tribunal of Belgrade, which condemned him to death on July 15. He was shot. Some American airmen had vainly asked to bear witness in his favour. The Belgrade Government had documents published establishing his 'treason'; they reveal undeniable complicity with the enemy in the lower ranks, and, especially, the implacable intention of eliminating the Communists from the Resistance; the role of Mihaïlovich himself is less clearly shown—which explains the emotion his condemnation aroused in England and in America.

• [829] The *Daily Telegraph* thus expressed itself on this condemnation: 'The long perspective of history will enable the truth about the much-discussed figure of Mihaïlovich to be more clearly perceived. His contemporaries can do no more than think that, caught up in the whirlwind of events beyond his control, he was a victim of Fate'.

In the same connection the British statesman, Noel Baker, declared that the decision to suspend aid to Mihaïlovich during the war had been taken as the result of numerous denunciations from various sources, alleging that he was no longer adequately contributing to the war effort. 'Subsequently', he said, 'it became evident that certain of his lieutenants were actively collaborating with the Germans'.

793 687 175 657 No less sensational was the trial of the Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb, Mgr. Aloysius Stepinac. This followed proceedings against numerous members of his clergy, notably that involving some Slovene priests, in December, 1945, at Ljubljana. The bishop of that town, Mgr. Rozman, a refugee in Italy, was condemned to eighteen years' imprisonment.

[208] The action against the Croatian priests accused of collaboration was prepared in January, 1946, by a violent press and radio campaign, denouncing the Archbishop's relations with the *Oustachi* of Pavelich, by whom he had been decorated (in

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common with the Croatian Orthodox Metropolitan, Hermogene Maximov, and the German Lutheran bishop, Popov).

Arrested on September 18, 1946, Mgr. Stepinac was tried, on the 30th of the same month, not only on the charge of intelligence with the enemy, but also of having, after the liberation, worked with the opponents of the régime. These charges (as well as that of having forcibly converted Orthodox Christians to Catholicism) were upheld by the judges, who condemned the prelate (on October 11) to sixteen years' hard labour, to the loss of his civic rights for a period of five years, and to the confiscation of all his possessions. In vain had the defence recalled the fact that Mgr. Stepinac had protested against the racial laws and collective reprisals, and that the allied press had, while the war was actually in progress, rendered homage to his courageous stand.[3]

Pope Pius XII, in a public speech, protested against this verdict, denying the compulsory conversions—which, moreover, are contrary to canon law. And, although Tito had declared that the proceedings were by no means the prelude to a campaign against the Church in Czechoslovakia, Christian circles throughout the world protested against what they called a 'religious trial'. The 115 Catholic archbishops and bishops of the United States, assembled in Washington for their annual Assembly, described the verdict as 'an outrage on justice'. The Archbishop of Westminster declared that, during the war, 'in Croatia the only voice raised against Nazism and its works had been that of Archbishop Stepinac'.

The Vatican, in an unofficial note, recalled the Church's sanctions against members of the laity sitting in judgement on a bishop, or guilty of any act of violence upon his person; it nevertheless continued to maintain its Nuncio in Belgrade—Mgr. Patrick Hurley, a priest of American nationality, who had entered upon his office at the beginning of the year. In October, 1946, it appointed a co-adjutor to the Bishop of Maribor and another to the Bishop of Ljubljana. (In the absence of a

[3] A Catholic Agency announced, at the end of February 1947, that the President of the Croatian Government, Dr. Bakarich, was said to have invited the prelate to sign his appeal, giving him reason to hope that he might be liberated and, with American support, go abroad. Mgr. Stepinac refused, not wishing to leave either his people or his diocese.

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These periodical misunderstandings revealed, rather than created, an unfriendly atmosphere. The truth is that the United States had never ceased to regard the established régime in Yugoslavia as a totalitarian organisation, on Russian lines, in which no civil rights or individual liberty existed. And this impression made itself felt in the peace negotiations, without—let us repeat—Tito's diplomacy making any serious effort to dispel it, thereby taking its share in responsibility for the failure of Yugoslav claims on Trieste.

648 175 [829]

The diplomatic tension between Belgrade and Washington was reflected in the recall (in March, 1947) of Mr. Patterson, United States Ambassador in Yugoslavia, when America rejected the demand for cereals formulated by Marshal Tito's Government. Mr. Patterson was replaced, but his severe judgements on the Yugoslav régime fixed the policy of the State Department towards Tito.

Although less full of incident, relations between London and Belgrade were scarcely more gracious. An English note of May 20 protested against the attitude of the Yugoslavs in Julian Venetia and the 'unfriendly policy' of their Government. British newspapers did not conceal their bitterness on finding that, despite Anglo-American sacrifices made in order to assist the populations of the new Yugoslavia to get on their feet again, the press of that country had nothing but suspicious or damaging comments to make on the Western Democracies.

Yugoslavia refused, for instance, to take part in the Victory Parade held in London on June 8, 1946, bluntly stating that the relations between the two countries did not justify such participation.

The attitude of the Yugoslav delegation at international conferences or Commissions, and in the United Nations, was not calculated to dissipate prejudice. This was fostered by exchanges of subacid notes—particularly those of January 10, 1947, in which the Yugoslav Government protested at the slowness of the British authorities in handing over war criminals of Italian nationality, and of January 29 regarding the murder of the Yugoslav consul, who had, on 25th of the same month, visited a *tchetnitsi* camp in the Naples district.

On the other hand, relations between Belgrade and the other Slav States gave rise to demonstrations of confidence and

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claim with more zeal than skill, threatening at one time not to attend meetings, at others, not to sign, and finally submitting to the *fait accompli,* having presumably over-estimated Russian support, or having forgotten that, for Moscow, Trieste was only one card in a game covering the whole world. It was at one time thought that Yugoslavs and Italians were going to come to a direct arrangement after the visit to Belgrade of Togliatti, the chief of the Communist Party, on November 3, 1946, and his talks with Tito. It would appear that the latter suggested exchanging Trieste (in reality already lost) for Gorizia—a proposal which the Italian Government promptly rejected. Since no arrangement was reached, the Great Powers had to arbitrate; general agreement was concluded between them on November 27.

In reality, it was not a question of deciding whether the Yugoslavs or the Italians should prevail in Trieste; the Russians feared that the Western Democracies would use the town as an economic and political bridge-head for their action in Eastern Europe, while the Anglo-Americans feared that the Stalin-controlled 'Slavonic bloc' would make Trieste the basis for its expansion in the Mediterranean. Such were the real factors in the dispute, notwithstanding the flux of historical, ethnographical, and economic arguments under which they seemed to be submerged.

Yugoslavia abandoned Trieste, but she nevertheless obtained an important part of Istria and Julian Venetia (except the part that was to form the Free Territory of Trieste), as well as Zara and the Isles of Pelagosa and Lagosta. On the other hand, her claims to the Slovene part of Carinthia (which she had lost in the plebiscite of October 18, 1920), as well as to the 'Canalthal' to the north of Gorizia (region of Tarvisio) were rejected.

On January 14, 1946, she was elected a member of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

* * *

Bulgaria, during the pre-constitutional period, was a prey to the objurgations of the English and the Americans, who reproached her with disregarding the political conditions laid down by the Conference of Moscow in December, 1945, by refusing to call two members of the Opposition to power. Gheorgiev's Government was prepared to accept these representatives, but wanted first to see them adhere to its internal and external policy

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were unwilling to go would not be forced to return to Poland, but their right to remain in England would be considered individually.

It goes without saying that the 'Polish Government in London' protested against this decision, on which they had not been consulted. On June 1 General Anders bade farewell to his troops. 'We must', he said, 'leave Italy on the eve of the peace treaties. We have traversed this country from South to North, waging against Germany a battle for the liberty of the nations. Polish hearts will never forget that we have fought also for the liberty of the Church. . . . Tomorrow, by an unknown road, we shall go to Poland—to a Poland for which we have fought, and which no Polish heart can imagine without Lwow and Wilno'. At the end of October he left Italy for England, where he joined the unarmed Resettlement Corps.[16] Shortly before (on September 28) and as the result of this incorporation, a decree of the Council of Polish Ministers had withdrawn his nationality, as well as that of seventy-four other officers, of or above the rank of general.

The exact figures of those who were voluntarily repatriated have never been given. But it is certain that a large number of Poles, especially among those whose home district had passed under Soviet control, preferred the risks and the misfortunes of exile to returning to their birthplace.

Relations between Warsaw and Moscow were maintained on the lines laid down for them by the Polish-Sovietic pact of August 18, 1945—of which instruments of ratification were exchanged on February 7, 1946.

But, as M. Cyrankiewicz himself had remarked, 'Many Poles still suffered from an anti-Russian complex'. This persistence of hostility towards Russia was, according to him, attributable to the memory of the Tsarist oppression and the anti-Bolshevist propaganda which had been ceaselessly carried out between the two wars.

The visit of President Bierut and the Polish statesmen to

[16] A British M.P. having asked (on February 18, 1947) why the general's salary figured on the army budget, Richard Stokes, a Labour M.P., divulged that the military authorities admitted that, without the collaboration of the Anders Army, the Italian campaign might have ended in disaster.

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concerned, and executive agents for Prague for Czechoslovak affairs. This was the solution found for the dualism previously existing in Czechoslovakia. 642 175

In virtue of this system the Slovaks have institutions which enable them to settle their own problems, while at the same time participating in the general control of the country. Hence the current joke about the 'Slovakisation of Czechoslovakia'.

Thus did President Benes succeed in adapting the spiritual heritage of Masaryk, and his own tendencies, to an internal and external situation very different from that which, in 1918, had shaped the rebirth of the Czech nation. And yet Benes took pains to safeguard signs of independence, and to maintain bonds of spiritual solidarity with the West, in order to attest his faith in his country's mission as a mediatrix, her role as a stabilising factor between the East and the West of the Continent. But the new Czechoslovakia no longer reflected the image that Masaryk had popularised—that of a European Slavism formed in the school of the Liberal Democracies. [186] [829]

The first elections carried out after the liberation—those of May 26, 1946—gave a slight majority to the Marxists, who had 153 seats out of the 300 of which the National Assembly was composed.[19] 666 175

This shift in the majority had little practical effect. The internal policy, based on nationalisation,[20] and the realisation of a very advanced social programme, underwent the fewer modifications, inasmuch as the Communists, anticipating their electoral victory, had already secured possession of the principal control levers.

[19] The results were as follows:—

	Votes	Percentage
Bohemia-Moravia		
Communists	2,205,658	40.17
National-Socialists	1,298,967	23.66
Populars	1,010,920	20.23
Social-Democrats	855,771	15.59
Slovakia		
Democrats (Christian)	988,275	61.43
Communists	490,257	30.48
Liberty Party	67,575	4.20
Labour Party	49,983	3.11

As will be seen, the majority was reversed in Bohemia and in Slovakia. 471

[20] The nationalisation programme which took effect on March 13, 1946, placed the majority of the key-industries under State control. Commenting on this event, the Minister of Industry declared: 'This day marks a date in the history of the world's industry'. 175

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the Prague Government that the sufferings inflicted on the Hungarians did not compensate for those the Slovaks had endured; they simply increased the total amount of suffering. 648 563 728 175

Negotiations between the two Governments were resumed in January, 1947, following the visit of the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Gyöngyösy, to Bratislava, where he met the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, M. Clementis, and had with him a preliminary discussion in view of a general settlement of the problem. At that time a total of 11,655 Slovaks (as against the agreed figure of 40,000) had returned to Slovakia from Hungary; of these 3,535 had not been officially transferred, but had simply fled.

Exchanges of population were resumed from April 11 to 18, but on a very small scale, while settlement was taking place, in Bratislava, of the financial problems raised by these operations.

In the whole matter, Czechoslovakia had had Russia behind her. 'We have the support of the Soviet Union in the question of the minorities', said M. Gottwald. But we should fall short of the truth were we to omit to mention that Czechoslovakia's conduct was rather severely judged in the Anglo-American countries, where people were not very familiar with minority disputes, and attached too much importance to respect for the individual, to approve of these mass exoduses—at least in Europe. [829]

The case of the German minority had been the object of Czechoslovak declarations, even before the end of the war, and on this point the Potsdam agreements had merely had to sanction the decision taken by M. Benes and his Ministers to create a homogeneous national State. Consequently, the expulsion of the Germans from the Sudetenland did not give rise to any disputes —eliciting, at the most, humanitarian recommendations on the part of the Western Allies. The 'ceiling' for the expulsions had been fixed at 2,500,000 by the Potsdam agreements; in October, 1946, 750,000 had been sent into the Russian zone, 1,415,135 into the American zone, and 310,000 were authorised to remain on Czech territory; these were skilled workmen, miners, anti-Fascists, relatives of Czechs, old or sick people.[24] There is no

[24] It should be noted that Czechoslovakia adopted a special treatment for Germans of Austrian nationality residing or temporarily domiciled in her territory. She did not class them with the Sudeten Germans as necessarily to be expulsed, unless they had been members of the Nazi Party.

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influence in Eastern Europe. President Truman's resounding message to Congress on March 12, 1947, marked, in this respect, a decisive attitude in connection with American politics in Europe. This message announced material and moral assistance to the two Balkan countries which eluded Moscow's ascendancy.

This simple outline of the new situation in the Balkans shows that the peninsula has, in fact, again fallen under the régime of spheres of influence which was its customary status between the Peace of Berlin and the Treaty of Versailles.

Between the Balkan nations and the Slavs of the West, Hungary and Austria gravitate in the political orbit of Russia (Hungary's neighbour for the first time in modern history), but nevertheless see the West as the supreme defence of their historic and cultural individuality, not to mention the opposition movements discernible among the Croats, in whose ears still ring the words of Sufflay, one of their political philosophers—*Occidentem appello!*

But it is not from this territorial reshuffling that there emerges the real physiognomy of the Europe of tomorrow.

This results essentially from the division of the Continent into three sectors—the Western world, the Teutonic world, the Slavonic world; the second being doomed to oscillate between the first and the third until it feels it has attained the conditions of its own development.

Assuredly, all the official manifestations of the Slavonic world avoid the words 'race' and 'bloc'. But facts speak more eloquently than men. On the diplomatic plane Slav solidarity is a reality of international life, though on the psychological plane its outline is less clearly defined. In Yugoslavia, the official press regards the new state of affairs as a complete emancipation, and the very role of France in the Balkans, so long considered as liberating and humane, is often referred to simply under the aspect of a defunct 'colonising' enterprise. Yet in Czechoslovakia they take pains to maintain, with the West, those spiritual connections calculated to preserve for the country its role of intermediary between two civilisations. Poland remains bound to the West by powerful historical and sentimental affinities, strengthened by the desire to safeguard her ancient faith. Bulgaria, more subtle in her politics than Yugoslavia, likewise takes great care not to give the impression of a definite rupture with the West.

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Being unable too openly to call itself 'racial' (owing to the discredit that Germany has brought upon this term), Slav solidarity entrenches itself on another plane—that of social progress. The nations grouped under the Soviet ægis see Western Europe as the bulwark of reaction, the survival of an outmoded capitalistic world. The Slav nations of today oppose the spiritual and political primacy which, until the last few years, was the almost undisputed privilege of the West, the social primacy of Russia, the proletarian hegemony, the system of governments set up on the strength of a 98 per cent plebiscite, the sychronisation of politics, culture, and economy, and a Pan-State *mystique*. To re-read the accounts of journeys in the Balkans a century ago is to measure the distance travelled in the opinion held by the Balkan peoples concerning the stage of civilisation which they have reached.

186x 829.

There lies the real cleavage in the New Europe—a cleavage comparable to that which, during the early Middle Ages, opposed the pagan to the Christian world. The rest is accident, episode, or, as the philosophers say, phenomena.

But this dividing line could be more distinctly marked on the map if, between these two new worlds, Germany did not constitute the terrible unknown quantity which might very well, one day, reunite them, by herself deriving advantage and power from their rivalry.

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186* 659 with Bulgarian national life to be neglected by the new régime, which will continue to subsidise it, and counts upon its co-operation in rallying the masses; in which, moreover, it is assured of the goodwill of Mgr. Stephan and his clergy. On August 28, at the Bachkovo pilgrimage, Mgr. Cyrille, Metropolitan of Plovdiv, made a speech urging the faithful to vote, at the referendum, for the Republic and against 'the abhorred monarchy, whose role', he said, 'has been as fatal in the history of the country as in that of the Church'.

* * *

185 Whereas, in the Balkan countries, the religious problem lay in getting the clergy to forget that they had, for some centuries, been the support of the monarchical institution, it had a quite different aspect among the Western Slavs, where the problem was, first and foremost, the liquidation of Uniatism.

175 795 648 As the reader will know, the 'Act of Union' (hence the word 'Uniat') was concluded three and a half centuries ago, in 1596, at Brest-Litowsk, where the Metropolitan of Kiev acclaimed the renewal with Rome of the Union of Florence. As a result, since that date there had been flourishing communities 'of the Oriental rite', which recognised Papal supremacy while keeping their national liturgy and their discipline—which, among other regulations, permits (as the Orthodox Church does) the clergy to marry. These communities today number in all about two million followers, especially in territories formerly incorporated in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

[829] Uniatism had always been regarded by the Russians as a 'turning movement' on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, supported first by Poland, then by Austria-Hungary, to detach the Orthodox from their traditional faith. Urban VII's apostrophe: 'Ruthenians, the East will be conquered by you!' has obsessed the Muscovite Church, which has never ceased to endeavour to recapture its positions.

After the fall of the Tsarist régime this Church's efforts were paralysed by the crisis she was herself experiencing, and by the official atheism professed by the Soviet State. The Holy See sought to take advantage of this crisis to restore the 'seamless robe of Christ'. It gave repeated proofs of solicitude, placing the Uniats on a footing of complete equality with their brethren of the Latin rite. It cherished the hope, thanks to these Uniats,

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pursued on parallel lines, in Slav and non-Slav countries alike. 177

On the instigation of Moscow, these countries entered into 118 186 treaties of friendship and mutual assistance. These were so 648 worded as to give the impression, at first, of being designed to 175 wipe out long-standing heritages of hatred or distrust between peoples hitherto antagonistic to one another. Passed for a period of twenty years, and all on the same lines, these treaties were signed on the following dates:—

November 27, 1947: between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.
December 8: between Hungary and Yugoslavia.
December 16: between Bulgaria and Albania.
December 19: between Yugoslavia and Rumania.
January 16, 1948: between Bulgaria and Rumania.
January 24: between Hungary and Rumania.
February 4: between the Soviet Union and Rumania.
March 18: between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.
April 23: between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

The commentaries which accompanied the signing of these [829] • agreements spoke, with ever-growing emphasis, of the 'peril' to the peace of Europe involved in the attitude of the Western powers. Centred at first on the German menace, they subsequently referred to fresh risks, clearly indicated. Thus the Soviet radio declared that the pact between Bulgaria and Moscow acquired significance from the fact that 'certain Western powers have, under the patronage of the United States, taken the creation of military blocs as the basis of their policy'.

Even the idea of a 'Balkan Federation', which in 1944 had found partisans in Moscow, was gradually pushed into the background, for fear that the essential core of this federation, the Bulgarian-Yugoslav bloc, might create a Slav community, which should one day grow strong enough to adopt an attitude of independence in regard to the Soviet Union. So, although it was originally inspired by Russia, this project for a union was later to be denounced by the Kremlin as a ruse of 'Western imperialism', and Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Premier, was to be disavowed by Moscow, in January, 1948, for having made an untimely allusion to it.

* * *

177 The standardisation of Soviet policy in Europe was to take 648 its definite shape in the conference held in Warsaw in September, 665 175

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In a motion published on June 28, 1948, the Kominform, which met in Bucharest from June 16–24, approved the sensational resolution of the U.S.S.R. Communist Party, denouncing the policy of the Yugoslav Communists and the errors of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovitch, 'who have embarked on a road leading to treachery towards the international solidarity of the working classes'. 186* 665 648 175

Thereupon began the struggle between Moscow and Belgrade, which was to grow more acute as the months went by. And the organisation of the offensive against Tito and the progress of 'Titoism'—in other words, 'national Marxism'—in the popular democracies, headed the agenda of all the meetings of the Kominform, especially the one held in Hungary in November, 1949, when a resolution passed at the conference invited even the Yugoslav Communist Party to get rid of the 'spies' and the 'assassins' who were governing the country.

One of the consequences of the Soviet-Yugoslav rupture has been the revival of the old Bulgaro-Serbian quarrel over Macedonia: the Balkans are again being plunged into hatred and irredentism, as we saw them at the end of the nineteenth century, during the Balkan Wars, and in the First World War.

Such were the events which, between 1946 and 1948, transformed the general physiognomy of the Slavonic world. A rapid review of the internal policies of the different countries concerned will show how they evolved.

* * *

Until 1947 the Belgrade Government's policy remained based on complete solidarity with the Soviet Union. The agreements reached on June 10, 1946, during the Stalin-Tito interview, formed the basis for the commercial agreements of July 25, 1947. 648 175

The starting-point of the rupture between Stalin and Tito is to be found in an exchange of letters (in March, 1948), between the (Russian) Bolchevik Party and the Yugoslav Communist Party, regarding the conduct of Soviet officers in Yugoslavia. [665]

But that was only a pretext. In reality, the Soviets could not forgive Tito for being the only head of an Eastern European Government to pride himself on having been an armed leader 186* 648 829 175

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186* 648 829 175 in the fight for liberation, at a time when Russia could not intervene. His dictatorial attitude, his personal prestige, aroused distrust on the part of the Kremlin. On the Yugoslav side, they were shocked by the conceit of the Russians, who lavished instructions and counsel on a nation which considered its own political experience superior to that of the Russians, and who, in the course of history, had won and rewon its independence entirely by its own efforts. Serbian pride, wounded by the demands made by Moscow, precipitated the rupture.

565 423 175 On the other hand, Yugoslavia is peopled by an emancipated peasantry; it has made its own agrarian reforms, and has not had to suffer the yoke of political dynasties (as has been the case with Rumania), nor (like Hungary) that of a landed aristocracy. Communism could not get a footing there, either in the same form or at the same speed, as in the other 'popular democracies'.

Finally, the systematic enslaving of the economy of Yugoslavia to Russian interests was bound, one way or another, to provoke violent reaction in Belgrade.

186* 665 648 175 687 It was nevertheless a surprise for the world when, on June 28, 1948, the Kominform communiqué pronounced the condemnation of Tito and his collaborators, accused of desiring to establish themselves by a régime of terror, of over-estimating the possibility for their country of safeguarding its independence without the assistance of the other Communist Parties; finally, of seeking the support of the capitalist States.

Dr. Pijade, the theoretician of Tito's régime, felt able to reveal[1] that the Kominform's resolution simply reproduced a text prepared in Moscow: he stated that the hands of waverers had been forced by a lying assurance that the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party contained spies on behalf of England and the United States.

175 648 [439] Then began a diplomatic battle between Moscow and Belgrade: at first it took the form of a criss-cross exchange of notes, then that of an economic boycott and, finally, of a vast scheme to detach Yugoslavia from the other popular democracies and reduce her to isolation.

The diplomatic notes at first (July-August, 1948) dealt with the fate of Soviet citizens in Yugoslavia; then (August-

[1] Speech made on July 8, 1949, at Novi Sad.

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September) the role played by the Soviet Union in international conferences regarding Yugoslav claims to Southern Carinthia. In one of these notes (August 11) Moscow accused the Belgrade Government of acting 'not as an ally, but as an enemy of the Soviet Union'.

'We can establish Socialism without the U.S.S.R.', Tito had declared.

For a few months the Belgrade press attacked the Kominform, without going so far as to mention its real promoters. On May 30, 1949, for the first time, *Borba*, the organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party, openly attacked the Soviet Union, which it accused of seeking to foment the Yugoslav people against the Government. And Pijade denounced 'Russian nationalism', cloaked under the mantle of Marxist orthodoxy, 'which does not allow any other Communist Party to consider itself the equal of the Bolchevik Party, or any other State to raise itself above the level fixed for it by Moscow'. He accused the Soviet Union of recruiting traitors to form a 'pro-Stalin, anti-Tito front' in Yugoslavia.

The friendship and mutual assistance pacts concluded by the other popular democracies with the Belgrade Government were denounced during the same week: on September 28, 1949, the Kremlin gave the signal for these notices of termination. On October 1 Bulgaria annulled the pact of November 27, 1947, and was followed by Rumania in respect of the pact of December 19, 1947, and by Czechoslovakia (on October 4) in respect of the treaty of friendship of May 9, 1946, and the cultural agreement of April 27, 1947. The Warsaw Government had anticipated matters by declaring, as far back as September 8, 1949, that Tito's Government had 'trampled on and destroyed' the Polish-Yugoslav pact of March 18, 1946.

The heads of the Yugoslav diplomatic mission in Moscow, and of the Soviet mission in Belgrade, were recalled during the autumn of 1949, and the majority of their collaborators declared 'undesirable', on charges of espionage or sabotage. The cases brought, in Hungary and Bulgaria respectively, against Rajk, ex-minister (September) and Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council (December)—cases involving Yugoslavs—were so arranged as to bolster up the Soviet accusations against Tito and his role in the Balkans.

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tions due for the exactions made by Bulgarian troops who occupied Serbian Macedonia during the war. 648 175

Yugoslavia's relations with the other Slav States followed the same lines as her relations with the Soviet Union. In June, 1949, negotiations in view of commercial exchanges with Czechoslovakia came to a standstill. In July, the two Governments exchanged subacid notes: Belgrade accused the Czechs of inspiring a campaign of press hostility towards Tito; Prague replied that any criticism tending to unmask Titoist treachery was 'a mark of appreciation and friendship towards the Yugoslav people'. Such arguments prepared the way for the formal denunciation of the pact of friendship and assistance. The Czechs, like the Poles, accused the Yugoslav diplomats of carrying on subversive activities: there were numerous recalls of diplomatic or consular agents, on the now customary charge of espionage on behalf of the 'capitalist powers'.

On the other hand, Yugoslavia endeavoured to renew commercial ties with the West. Her negotiations with Washington resulted in the agreement of July 19, 1947, liberating 47,000,000 gold-dollars and 220,000 dollars accruing from other Yugoslav credits in America, subject to the settlement of various arrears and repayments under Lend-Lease. The United States granted Yugoslavia the necessary licences for the delivery of materials destined for the equipment of a steel-plate factory; on November 3 they removed the prohibition on the supply of military equipment to that country. 648 457 439 175

And, on December 22, 1949, President Truman, confirming an assurance given by George Allen, his ambassador in Belgrade, declared: 'An act of aggression against Marshal Tito and Yugoslavia would be regarded by the Government of the United States as being just as serious as any act of aggression elsewhere'. [829] •

This change of attitude shows the road travelled in Washington since the declarations made, on November 1, 1945, by Secretary of State James Byrne, recognising 'the special security interests' of Russia in Eastern Europe, and affirming that the United States 'would never associate themselves with an intrigue directed against the Soviet Union . . .'.

Indeed, the United States and Great Britain decided to grant economic aid to Communist countries which were 'really independent', and resolved to fight the Kominform. In London,

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in August, 1947, a Yugoslav delegation opened negotiations for a commercial agreement. These negotiations were prolonged, but in September, 1949, the British Cabinet decided to open a credit of £9,000,000 for Yugoslavia.[2]

A parallel change of attitude was shown in the relations between Belgrade and Rome: after rather lively incidents in Julian Venetia, the two Governments drafted, in December, 1948, a reconciliation, which was to be recognised by the commercial agreement of August 4, 1949, in which press commentators saw a political significance. The question of Trieste, which had been settled by the agreement of April 27, 1947, between France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, henceforth became of secondary importance, although Yugoslav claims to the Trieste zone (as to Slovene Carpathia) were never formally renounced.

On October 20, 1949, Yugoslavia was admitted to the Security Council by thirty-nine votes (out of fifty-eight voters) to nineteen for Czechoslovakia.

To sum up: Yugoslavia is seeking to reconcile her fidelity to Marxism with economic collaboration, on a footing of equality, with the Western States. Her attitude is defined in these two declarations made by Tito: 'While remaining solidly in the Socialist camp, Yugoslavia will regard as her enemy any one who interferes with her Socialist construction'. 'With the East we maintain economic relations, without any political set-off. When we sell copper to buy machinery, it is the copper we sell, not our conscience'.

* * *

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As for Bulgaria, she has maintained with the Soviet Union ties which the Soviet-Yugoslav crisis only served to strengthen. The Government dealt the opposition a mortal blow by condemning to death the Agrarian leader, Nicolas Petkov, who was executed on September 23, 1947. This execution called forth a declaration of disapproval from the American State Department; on September 29 a speaker on behalf of the Foreign Office

[2] On July 2, 1949, General Ivan Gochniak, Vice-Minister for Defence, affirmed that, in 1944, Great Britain and the Soviet Union had agreed upon their respective spheres of influence in the Balkans: the Russians were to have a 75 per cent predominance in Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania; in Yugoslavia they were to be on an equal footing with the English, in whose sphere of influence Greece was left.

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described it as a 'crime against European civilisation', and on October 1 it was brought up at the Security Council by the French delegate, Parodi, during a discussion on Bulgaria's candidature for the United Nations. 648 696 829 175

In January, 1948, on the occasion of the signing of a treaty of mutual assistance with Rumania, the Bulgarian Premier, Dimitrov, risked an allusion to a project for the federation of the Balkan States, but this was immediately disavowed by the Kremlin. [185]

Dimitrov died on July 1, 1949; he was replaced as leader of the Government by Kolarov, and at the head of the Bulgarian Communist Party by his brother-in-law, Valko Tchervenkov.

The sentencing (March 8, 1949) of four Protestant pastors, accused of espionage, to life imprisonment, and the imprisonment of eleven others for a term of years, called forth vehement protests in the Christian world, and justified the sending of a diplomatic note by Great Britain, on March 12, in which these proceedings were described as a violation of Art. 2 of the peace treaty concerning 'fundamental liberties'.

The year 1949 was marked by progressive tension in the relations between Belgrade and Sofia. In September the Bulgarian Government denounced the treaty of friendship and, on October 6, the frontier agreement with Yugoslavia. This antagonism, which revived the Macedonian Question, reached a crisis at the trial of Traitcho Kostov, ex-Vice-President of the Council. Accused in March, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, of 'flagrant errors' (the most serious accusation being that of having invoked the principle of State secrecy in order to withhold information of a commercial nature from representatives of the Soviet Union), Kostov found the charges gradually extended, until he was involved in a plot against the safety of the State, with the complicity of the Anglo-Americans and the agents of Tito. He was condemned to death, and executed on December 16. The Yugoslav press considered this charge as having been trumped up entirely with a view to compromising and discrediting Tito. 648 687 175 [208]

The municipal elections of May 15, 1949, gave the Communist-controlled Government of the 'Homeland Front' 92.1 per cent of the votes cast (370,000 blank votes); the legislative elections of December 18 raised this percentage to 666 175

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Congregation of the Holy Office, forbidding the publication and diffusion of Communist doctrine.

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So the *Kulturkampf* was waged, now energetically, now quietly. The Prague Government was accused by the American Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, of violating 'human dignity and civilisation'; once more the conflict passed from the national to the international level, symbolising the ideological antagonism which exists between the Soviet world and the Western democracies. Neither the Government nor the clergy showed any signs of weakening. On November 17 the bishops again asked the civil power to abandon the laws relating to religious teaching, as conceived by the State, and the interference of lay authorities in the nomination of priests and the administration of Church property.

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The end of the year 1949 was marked by waves of purges in Communist circles, and by fresh trials on charges of treason, incriminating, like those of Budapest and Sofia, Tito's 'agents' or 'accomplices'.

* * *

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During this period politics in Poland were somewhat less sensational than in the other Slav countries. There again, however, the régime of 'popular democracy' evolved in the direction of Stalin-Marxism. The struggle against the Church was less open, and did not, as in Czechoslovakia, go to the length of making the clergy civil servants. The Government concentrated its efforts particularly on increasing exports, on economic reconstruction, and on exploiting the German lands brought under its control—and these efforts, it must be admitted, were attended with remarkable results.

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The German Question was its chief external problem; in its view, it was France's policy in respect of the Reich which prevented the renewal of the Franco-Polish treaty of alliance. What Warsaw particularly feared was lest a change of attitude on the part of the Allies towards Germany should reopen the question of the Oder-Neisse frontier, which the Poles considered sacrosanct, but which transferred to them territories whose final allocation was, legally, postponed until the making of the peace treaty for the Reich.

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The most sensational event was the nomination (on November 7) of Rokossovsky, the Soviet Marshal (of Polish

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XXII

PANSLAVISM

By

WACLAW LEDNICKI

1. The Slavophils

IN CONNECTION WITH the Panslavistic trends which appear within the frames of modern Soviet foreign policy it seems justifiable to begin this study with the definition of Panslavism found in the works of Engels and Marx. This is the indeed striking formulation of the Panslavic doctrine, if this word may be applied, which Engels gives: "In the works of several Slavic dilettantes in the field of history there arose an absurd anti-historical current the aim of which was to subordinate the civilized West to the barbarian East, the city to the village, trade, industry and education to the primitive agriculture of Slavic serfs. But behind this comical theory there stood the terrible reality of the *Russian Empire*,—of that Empire which by every movement manifested a pretension to consider the whole of Europe the property of the Slavic tribe and, in particular, of its only energetic part—Russia. That Empire which, with two such capitals as Petersburg and Moscow, is unable to find its center of gravity until the *City of the Tsar* (Constantinople is called in Russian *Tsargrad*), in which every Russian peasant sees the true focus of his religion and nation, becomes the residence of the Russian emperor. . . . The intrigues by which Russian diplomacy supported the recently invented Pan-

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slavism are well-known in central Europe—a doctrine which could not better have corresponded to its aims."[1]

Engels and Marx, to whom I shall have occasion to refer later, fought against this doctrine, led by a clear knowledge of problems connected with international policy. And indeed the time of the Crimean War—the period when Marx wrote his brilliant articles devoted to the Eastern Question—was a time when the Panslavic conceptions became particularly timely. In the definition quoted above one finds the most important characteristics of the Panslavic doctrine. However, this definition does not exhaust the whole of it, and simply in order to be faithful to what we call an objective approach I should like, before showing the actuality of Engels' and Marx's opinions in the light of the Panslavistic trends of our days, to present the genealogy of this movement and some of its most important aspects.

Without going as far as Thucydides who, when speaking about the Slavs, whom he designated generally under the name of Scythians, said that "if these peoples ever unite under one chief and one idea, no power neither of Europe nor of Asia will be able to resist them," one may say that, in general, the historians of Panslavism consider the Croatian Jury Križanić (1617-1683) the creator of this doctrine. Whether or not this genealogy is correct is a question in itself, but what remains doubtless is the fact that the Križanić episode has its special picturesqueness and flavor. Indeed that zealous Catholic, carried away by his Slavic sympathies, by the idea of the re-establishment of religious unity, and by admiration for the power of the Muscovite tsar, made his way from Italy via Poland to Moscow. There he tried in vain to organize the Muscovite tsardom against two foreign influences—Greek and German—and to incite Moscow to a struggle for the liberation of the Slavs from under a foreign yoke—a struggle which would unite the Slavic nations under the Muscovite scepter. The enthusiastic propaganda of the learned Croatian did not

[1] Quoted by Vasily Gippius: cf. F. E. Tyutchev, *Polnoe Sobranie Stikhotvorenii*, Leningrad, 1939, pp. 10-11.

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same problem—she was to become eventually *the* liberator, *the* protector, *the* unifier. For this reason these two expressions of the Panslavistic idea differ not only in their aims but also in their historical origins.

From the modern point of view—from the point of view of the political implications which the Panslavistic doctrine contains—the Russian aspect is, of course, much more important. Let us, therefore, devote our attention first of all to Russian Panslavism.

The direct ancestor of the Russian Panslavistic conceptions belonging to the second part of the nineteenth century is to be found in the famous school of the Muscovite Slavophils and Messianists. The formation of this school resulted from different sources, and here again one finds interweaving ramifications of Slavic and Western European thought.

If one were to enumerate the different germs of ideas, programs, currents of thought, sometimes divergent and contradictory, which brought about the actual birth of the Slavophil idea in different Slavic countries, one would be obliged first of all to stress the fact that it took place in the nineteenth century and that it was in harmony with the political atmosphere of the rest of Europe. We find its ultimate sources in a variety of places. There was, for instance, the tenet of universal brotherhood which the Masonic Societies in particular had spread at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. To the same period belong the works of the German-Russian scholar August L. von Schloezer, the philosophies of Herder, Rousseau, and the Romantics. From the Christian standpoint a kind of Messianism came to the fore with the sentimental attachment of the Romantics to the Bible and with Bossuet's reliance upon the Hebrew prophets. Mention must also be made of the German philosophers Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel. Along with the conception of the unity of the Slav world which arose out of the studies of the European ethnographers and philologists, went the demand for the freedom of the oppressed nations—a demand proclaimed and strengthened by the French Revolution. The movement toward

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186* a Slavophil philosophy was fostered by the propaganda of Czechs
829 like Dobrovský, Kollár, and others who championed the claims of
812 freedom for people of good will—propaganda based on affection for the national past and on Catholic conservatism which saw in the Slav world, and particularly in Orthodox Russia, a bulwark against Western Jacobinism. Finally there were many political factors to be taken into account: on one hand, the role of Russia in the Napoleonic Wars and the growing political power of Russia, which was held to be the only power able to win freedom for the Slavic nations; and on the other, the anti-Russian tendencies voiced in the Polish risings, the leaders of which considered the enemy a nest of political reactionaries and a stronghold of violence. All these elements, various and even contradictory though they were, contributed to the establishment of the Slavophil doctrine and at the same time indicated the goal which it might ultimately attain.[3] As far as the purely Russian Slavophil and hence Panslavistic doctrine is concerned, some other factors must also be taken into consideration.

186* I must start *ab ovo*. For several very important historical rea-
175 sons the Byzantine political influence in Moscow, in the Muscovite ideology, became particularly potent. I have in mind the fall of Byzantium and some other events bound up with this great
[648] catastrophe. In connection with the more and more imminent Turkish menace, in order to save Byzantium, in order to organize a coalition against the Turks, men in the Roman Church began to consider with even more urgency the already existing concept of a possible union of the two churches; and at the Council of Florence in 1439 the union of the churches was accomplished. The whole Greek world accepted this union. The representative of the Muscovite Church at the Council, the Metropolitan Isidor, also adhered to the union; but unfortunately his adherence did not conform to sentiments at home. And when he reached Moscow, after celebrating masses in Cracow, he was confronted by com-

[3] This follows my articles, "Poland and the Slavophil Idea" published in the *Slavonic and East European Review*. London. 1928 29.

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175 centuries passed during which these lands were living in completely different political and social conditions. The regime of freedom, religious tolerance, and local autonomy became so strongly and solidly established in the Polish-Ruthenian-Lithuanian commonwealth that even Pskov and Novgorod, those peculiar republics accustomed to their freedom, menaced by the Muscovite despotism, made efforts to join the commonwealth. They paid very dearly for these desires; Ivan III and later Ivan IV uprooted these political dreams by the most terrific terroristic acts.[5]

186* 829 Returning now to the Muscovite Slavophils, one thing must be stressed—that the first period of their activity was connected with more or less Russian historical problems. According to Herzen the moment of the precise formulation of the Muscovite Slavophil doctrine was the year 1836, when the famous *Philosophical Letter* of Chaadaev appeared. Of course it would be possible to find ties between the Muscovite Slavophils and the Shishkovists of the beginning of the nineteenth century, but Chaadaev's Western doctrine, Catholic in its conception, became a kind of catalyzer which crystallized the Slavophil program.

However, it would be difficult to give a precise analysis of the Russian Slavophil doctrine without taking into consideration the so-called *ofitsial'naya narodnost'* (official nationality). This term was originated, I believe, by the famous historian of Russian literature Pypin and applied by him to the official Russian ideology elaborated at the beginning of the reign of Nicholas I by certain high dignitaries, among whom the most prominent was S. S. Uvarov, minister of education. His system was based on three principles: autocracy, orthodoxy, and nationality. Although it is possible that the first two elements of this system may raise no doubts, the third appears less clear. But for Uvarov and his followers it was not so. The concrete significance of the word "nationality" for Uvarov was "reduced," as justly stated by Pro-

[5] Cf. W. Lednicki, *Life and Culture of Poland*, New York, 1944, p. 41.

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fessor P. N. Sakulin[6] "to the conservation of serfdom and of forms of life tied with it. Besides, Uvarov realized very well this spiritual relationship between serfdom and absolutism, and he definitely expressed the view that autocracy and serfdom, having the same historical source, must have the same historical fate." When the Chaadaev scandal exploded, Count Benckendorff, head of the Russian police and the closest collaborator of Nicholas I, expressed the following opinion: "*Le passé de la Russie a été admirable; son présent est plus que magnifique; quant à son avenir il est au delà de tout ce que l'imagination la plus hardie se peut figurer.*"[7]

The establishment of this ideology was not confined merely to official interviews, proclamations, and manifestos. The government had in its hands powerful means with which to imprison the thought of the country within its official ideology. The most efficient weapon was censorship and interdiction of foreign travel. The aim was not only to impose respect for the "three whales" of that ideology but also to eliminate any disaggregating Western influence. I need not mention the fact that in the eyes of the representatives of the *ofitsial'naya narodnost'* the West was considered a source of all kinds of mischievous and dangerous ideas. Strong echos of slogans launched by the official ideology often resounded in the writings of people who from a certain point of view might be considered independent. The most striking example is to be found in the works of a man who, by the way, was one of the closest friends of the Russian Slavophils—I have in mind Nicholas Gogol.

One remembers certainly Chichikov's troika "flying like a whirlwind" on the last pages of the first volume of *Dead Souls*, and one recalls perhaps that the writer compares that troika to a Russia "flying onwards like a spirited troika that nothing can overtake." "The road is smoking under thee," writes Gogol. "The bridges rumble, everything falls back and is left behind. . . .

[6] *Istoriya Rossii v xix Veke*, Ind. A. I. Granata, vol. II, p. 445.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 445.

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186* What mysterious force is hidden in this troika, never seen be-
● 829 fore? . . . Russia, whither fliest thou? Answer! She gives no
538 answer. The ringing of the bells melts into music. The air, torn to shreds, whirs and rushes like the wind, everything there is on earth is flying by, and the other states and nations, with looks askance, make way for her and draw aside." Is it possible to read this astonishing "lyrical digression" without being indeed profoundly amazed, especially when one remembers whom Gogol's troika is carrying—Chichikov, Selifan, and Petrushka? This is the Russia for which "other states and nations" must "make way" and "draw aside!" From this point of view Gogol's passage is very characteristic and representative not only as far as the official ideology is concerned, but also the Slavophil. One cannot without amazement see cultivated Muscovite Slavophils like the brothers Aksakov, Khomyakov, Samarin, and many others absorbed in their idealization of the primitive Muscovite institutions and in their disdain for Western civilization.

The Russian philosopher, Vladimir Solov'ev, when criticizing this unjustified Russian messianism and pretension to obtain a privileged situation in the world, asked what benefits Russia might be able to secure to the world. Gogol, of course, had no doubts about this. His *Selected Passages from Correspondence with Friends* gives a very eloquent answer: only the Russian Church "like a chaste virgin has been preserved since the times of the Apostles" in her original immaculate purity, and this Church, "changing nothing in the state," might give power to Russia and become a leader of other nations because of the inefficiency of the Western Church. The tsar is the image of God on the earth; the organization of the Russian State awaits the same state of grace: "The more one scrutinizes the organization of the administration of the provinces, the more one is amazed by the wisdom of the founders: one feels that God himself was invisibly building with the hands of the monarchs."

It is true that some of Gogol's assertions were too strong even for Slavophils, and his book awoke consternation not only among

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people like Belinsky but even among some of the Slavophils. However, some of their own texts, which I shall quote later, and texts of writers close to them are not less eloquent. This, for instance, is the case with Nadezhdin.

We may find very similar items in a treatise written immediately after the scandal provoked by Chaadaev's famous *Philosophical Letter*. True enough, Nadezhdin wrote his treatise in order to rehabilitate himself after the unfortunate Chaadaev adventure; nevertheless the text remains striking. Here the author stresses particularly the power of Russian unity under the tsar's leadership, Russian health compared to Western disease, and the patience of the Russian people, which brought to their historical development a special character. "Who was the only one who thought and worked exclusively for us? The tsar! When did we write even one line in our history without the order of the tsar? . . . Our history must not be divided into periods of the life of the nation as Europeans divide their history, but into reigns which represent an unbroken stairway of beneficent activity of the tsars and religious humility of the nation. . . . Our spiritual life is not our achievement but the achievement of our wise and protective monarchs. . . . We have populated a space on which there would be room enough for ten and more Europes. Not in vain have we long been separated from the small corner called Europe. Our destiny is not to be the echo of the decrepit dying civilization whose death convulsions we witness, but to develop among ourselves a new, young, powerful, truly Russian civilization which will renew the old Europe." "The tsar is a father and Russians his children." "We are children, and childhood comprises our happiness. Our history has until now been a great poem in which there is only one hero, only one acting character. . . . Remember with religious humility and with noble pride that your existence is concentrated in your holy master. Without him you are only a line of zeros—with that monarchical 'one' these zeros make a billion."[8]

[8] Lemke, *Nikolaevskie Zhandarmy*, quoted by Jan Kucharzewski, *Od Białego Caratu do Czerwonego*, vol. I, Warsaw, 1923, pp. 301-302.

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186* What is particularly striking is the arrogance of this constant comparison of Muscovite Russia with not only Europeanized ●829 Russia, but the whole of Europe. The later Panslavists such as 538 Tyutchev and Dostoevsky will continue to drive in a Gogolian troika. Gogol himself knew Europe and was, I think, very fond of it—especially of Italy. In his *Dead Souls* he showed even a kind of Ukrainian hatred for Muscovite life; yet in his lyrical digressions he sang his peans to the greatness of Russia. There is an element of duplicity and insincerity in this attitude. The same, as I have said, will appear in the case of Tyutchev, for instance, a highly cultivated and profoundly Westernized man. Similar will be the case of Dostoevsky. Both knew the Russian reality, and in spite of that both constantly sought to announce, proclaim, and greet the "coming" of Russia into Europe.

186* Equally characteristic is another fact—that all these Russian nationalists fought with foreign weapons in their hands. This is a 829 trait which appears continually in Russian nationalistic and imperialistic doctrines. Such was the case of the famous doctrine of "Moscow the Third Rome" and also of the Slavophils and their successors the Panslavists. It is well known that all of them were students and pupils of German philosophy—of Schelling, Fichte, and Hegel. They readily accepted and applied to Russia the German teaching that in different periods of history the universal life reaches its culmination now in one nation, now in another. In their opinion the historical moment for Russia's mission was about to arrive. The teachings of Schiller's *German Greatness*, which may be considered a kind of preamble of Fichte's speech to the German nation, could not but impress the Muscovite dreamers. Schiller explained that the greatness of the German nation is based only on its cultural and moral character. The German spirit is the only one for which "holy things exist." This spirit alone communicates with the spirit of the universe, which has elected the German spirit to work at the imperishable task of culture. "The English look only for riches," says Schiller, "the

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French are imbued only with their vain glory, the Germans were called to realize an integral humanity."[9] 186* 829

The dizzying speech of Fichte in which he launched the metaphysics of Germanism and the identity of Germanism and universalist messianism became, of course, a source of particularly appealing inspiration for the Slavophils. But here again some reservations should be made. Fichte's speech, absurd as it was, was a reaction against Jena—the defeated nation was looking for an ideological compensation. The Slavophils did not need any compensation, but they very quickly used the whole German armament of arguments in their fight against Western Europe and for holy Russia. German philosophical imperialism was directed primarily against the Roman nations. The Muscovite Slavophils expanded that aggression and mobilized themselves against the whole of Europe. Very soon their slogans began to appear. Kireevsky in 1829 compared Europe to a dammed up river which transformed a fertile land into mud. Prince V. F. Odoevsky came to the conclusion characteristic for a Slavophil—that the West needed a Peter the Great who should "innoculate it with the powerful juices of the Slavic East."

The main arguments of the Slavophil program were as follows: the world is divided into two contrasting civilizations: the Eastern—Greek-Slavic, and the Western—Latin-Roman. The Western civilization is a product of the Catholic Church, of the traditions of ancient Rome, and of conquest—the Western states were based on the law of conquest. In the opinion of the Muscovite Slavophils these three factors represent the three original sins of Western civilization. The Roman Catholic Church fell away from the Eastern Ecumenic Church, and since that time it lost its true faith. Rationalism which found its expression in Western Protestantism and atheism developed, the Church lost its universal freedom because of the papal supremacy, and conquest brought the struggle of the classes, political parties, and revolutions.

[9] J. E. Spenlé, *La pensée allemande de Luther à Nietzsche*, Paris, 1934, p. 85.

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186* Quite different was the development of the Eastern civilization. 829 Orthodoxy preserved the purity of Christian faith and teaching, which is established and confirmed by ecumenic councils. The Orthodox theology is the true Christian theology because it is based not on reason but on the revelation of the superior truth. The Russian state originated not by violence and conquest but by a voluntary invitation of the rulers by the people. Russia did not know feudalism, the Russian land never belonged to a feudal aristocracy but to the community, and the Russian people never knew inequality. The tsar was bound to the people by a union of love, and the *Veche* (Popular Assembly) expressed the will of the people. Providentialism and national exclusiveness were at the base of this doctrine.

It would be impossible within the frames of this article to enter into all details of this system, but what was particularly characteristic in the teachings of Khomyakov and the Aksakovs was their conception of freedom which needed no guarantees. They considered treaties, contracts, agreements—in other words any legally established guarantee—evil. In their opinion the Russian people were repelled by juridical norms, and the Russian laws represented an inner truth. They did not care for any external usefulness or formalism. "All classes and groups of the population are penetrated by one spirit, by one faith, by the same opinions, by similar ideas, and by the same need or desire for common happiness." (Constantine Aksakov). Another trait was the complete reduction of the role of the individual which appears in their conception of the Russian land community. The agricultural character of the Russian civilization brought the Russian people to an humble subordination, which, by the way, the Slavophils praised enormously. That choral, primitive, and purely Christian character of the old Russian civilization was what they wanted to preserve. Connected with this was the argument of Russian simplicity. The same Constantine Aksakov stresses the fact that neither did Russian history have any theatrical episode nor did the Russian people like beautiful poses. "Nothing dis-

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tinguishing in that history," says Aksakov, no "beautiful effects," "bright array," no role for the individual; and because of that, no pride and no memory for individual deeds. Every calamity is considered a punishment of God—every triumph an act of the grace of God. Thus "they do not erect monuments to their heroes, as there are none; but they build churches. . . ." "The history of the Russian people is the unique history in the whole world of a Christian nation which is Christian not only by religion but by its life—at least by the tendencies of its life."[10]

This was the idyllic picture of the Russian past as depicted by the Muscovite Slavophils. They considered that Peter the Great had ruined that beautiful past and brought Russia onto false roads of historical development. They were false first because they betrayed Russian national tradition, and secondly because they brought Russia to the West, which was in a state of decadence. I need not enter into too many details connected with the famous legend about the "rotten West"—a few examples will suffice. One of the leading Slavophils, Shevyrev, compared the West to a man spreading by his breath a terrible contagious disease. For Constantine Aksakov "West" meant violence, hatred, and enslavement; Russia—union, freedom, and peace. In his opinion even Russian paganism had been superior. This was why Russia, deserving it, had obtained a better Christianity; the Russian pagans had a *chayanie* (hope, expectation) of Christianity. The Russians accepted Christianization easily, without any struggle, like a child.

Now and then the Slavophils failed to confine themselves to Russia. They were looking for regeneration, for the restoration of that shining, luminous past, but they were generous enough to spread the benefits of this regeneration outside of Russia too. These benefits should be shared first of all by the blood relatives of Russia, the Slavic nations—and after them by the whole West-

[10] S. A. Vengerov, *Ocherki po Istorii Russkoi Literatury*, St. Petersburg, 1907: chapter on "Peredovoi Boets Slavyanofilstva Konstantin Aksakov," especially pp. 465-469, 470, etc.

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186* ern world. The Slavs, organized around the holy Orthodox faith
● 829 and under the leadership of Russian autocracy, based on the strong
177 foundations of the Russian land community, would become a
.18 powerful political organization strong enough to bring the Western world to the Russian pale.

186* Here we are already in the center of the Russian Panslavistic
178 doctrine. And this is, by the way, the picture of the whole He-
829 gelian road of the Slavophil philosophy of history: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Chicherin in his profoundly interesting memoirs, mocking the Slavophils and especially Constantine Aksakov, says: "He (Aksakov) conceived Russian history according to all the rules of Hegel's logic; the old Russia represented the statement, the new—the negation, and the future announced by the Slavophils was to be the restoration in a superior form of the original statement. This formula could be successfully applied perhaps only to the beard: the beard existed in old Russia, in the new it was shaved, in the future it would be restored."[11]

As long as the Slavophils were busy with their national costumes, traditions, orthodox theology, and glorification of the Russian past, they might be considered more or less independent, distinguished, and inoffensive satellites or offshoots of the official national ideology—but satellites and offshoots who confined themselves to the worship of what they considered Russian national
186* traditions. But when they extended their love to other people and
829 their hatred embraced not only Peter the Great but the West, they
668 became involved in political problems. And at this point some of them degenerated into Panslavism; besides, some new adherents, acting in the purely political field, joined the Slavophil group. Here again we must take into consideration certain other sources of influence and tradition—this time purely political.

Some of the political conceptions adopted by the Slavophils appeared earlier—even at the time of Peter the Great and Elizabeth. From time to time conceptions of the liberation of the "Slavic brothers" emerged, but they developed especially strongly,

[11] *Vospominaniya B. N. Chicherina*, Moscow, 1926, p. 236.

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of course, at the time of Catherine II when Russia began the "liberation" of White Ruthenians and Ruthenians from the Poles through the partitions of Poland and finally "liberated" the Poles from themselves. At the time of Alexander I the same conceptions reappeared. V. N. Karazin, a well known liberal of the times of Alexander I, wrote in a memorandum: "Is it possible that the sovereign ruler of free Slavs, the unique protector of the Orthodox Church, can look indifferently upon the sorrow of nations close to them by blood and by religion?" "It is true," says Pypin through whom I quote Karazin, "that Karazin suggested cautious action in order not to offend Austria. But his dreams went very far: he dreamed of the establishment of a 'Slavic Empire' with one of the brothers of Alexander at its head: this empire was, with time, to be extended to the Adriatic Sea in Albania and Macedonia, and on the other side to embrace the southern 'Serbo-Croatian' lands of Austria. . . . This Empire, which would very soon develop and organize, would be bound to the Russian Empire by ties of religion, blood, and thankfulness, and would become Russia's 'storehouse' and natural base for all her activities and relations with Europe and Africa."

The same were the conceptions of other political writers of that time—Bronevsky and General Chichagov. (cf. Pypin, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-79). These conceptions were also discussed in Masonic lodges and even in several lodges of Slavic Unity which had been established in Kiev and in Petersburg. The Russo-Turkish War of 1828 again galvanized these feelings of Slavic solidarity, but this was the time when there began in Russia the great discussions between the Slavophils and the Westerners—in other words, the time when the Slavophil doctrine started its period of crystallization.

I should like to stress the fact that we must have in mind several important historical dates around which the Panslavistic discussion became especially animated. These historical events and dates are: first of all, the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31, the Cracow Insurrection of 1846, the Slavic Congress in Prague in

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186* poet over the heads of Russian politicians, writers, and poets.
668 From this point of view it would be difficult to evaluate the enor-
648 mity of the moral disaster achieved by Pushkin. And, as I men-
538 tioned before, the fact that it was just the great European Russian who assumed the responsibility for this makes it particularly painful. One has the right to say that had Pushkin taken a different attitude, the fate of Russian-Polish relations and therefore partly of Russian-European relations could have been different. It is possible, however, that my point of view is too idealistic and that I evaluate too highly the importance of poetical texts in the life of nations; nevertheless I am not at all certain that I am wrong. When examining the works of the Russian Slavophils and Panslavists—the Aksakovs, Khomyakov, Samarin, Pogodin, Leont'ev, Katkov, Danilevsky, Dostoevsky, and even Vladimir Solov'ev (whose opinions were in many respects opposite to those of the Slavophils and especially the Panslavists), whose views are so actual for our own day, one sees how completely Pushkin's poems were in accord with the basic tendencies of Russian nationalistic historical and political thought, and particularly with its anti-Polish aspects. As a matter of fact, the sources of the historic, philosophic, and religious inspirations of the Slavophils were quite different; Pushkin had nothing to tell the Slavophils in this sphere. Yet it is sometimes difficult to resist the impression that they had him in mind and that his "anti-Polish trilogy" was a sort of poetical noose cast over Russian political thought, the coils of which bound even the most courageous and the most spirited.[13] It appeared that the Muscovite Slavophil system was unable to find any solution for the Russian-Polish problem which would harmon-
186* ize with the general conception of Slavic unity. The Slavophil
668 systems, both Russian and Polish (to which I shall come later),
648 failed to produce anything positive and creative: the Russo-Polish
829 antagonism in these systems could be dissipated only at the expense of either Russia or Poland; there was no other alternative. This applies especially to the Russian side—to Aksakov, who in

[13] Cf. my article "Poland and the Slavophil Idea," as mentioned above.

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the presence of foreigners preferred not to speak of this "family quarrel," and to Pogodin, who, forgetting the ethnographic frontiers of Great Russia, attempted to enclose Poland within ethnographic and "democratic" lines. In Pogodin's opinion the latter boundaries were soon destined to disappear, since the only obstacle to an alliance with Russia lay in the Polish gentry, of "mixed Celtic and Latin origin," which should be destroyed by the Russian government with all possible speed. Aksakov used similar arguments in regard to the old Polish frontiers, while both Strakhov and Katkov attacked these frontiers even more vehemently.[14] Samarin saw in "Latin and Catholic Poland" "not only a historical contradiction of Russia but of all the Slav world." According to him Poland, "having become a poisoned sword and an instrument of destruction in alien hands, has received the same poison into her own flesh and blood." Her only salvation lay in union with Russia, which should become "the historical representative of the Orthodox and Slavic element." This would, in Samarin's view, be the triumph of the one cultural view over the other, although he admitted the possibility of Poland's separation from Russia. Aksakov admitted this separation in the same way, prophesying that in such case Poland would be eaten by Germany. But even here we see the break of the Slavophil conception: the Slavophils indeed did not know what to do with Poland. However, the most characteristic speculations were connected with the analysis of possibilities as to how a real union between Russia and Poland might be realized. The Slavophils were sure that the only obstacle between Poland and Russia was the Polish Latinism and Catholicism—in other words the Polish Western civilization. They thought that this civilization did not penetrate to the masses and that only the Polish inelligentsia—the gentry—represented that civilization. Consistently enough, they advocated the liquidation of this class—a liquidation which would bring into the Russian pale the amorphous masses of the Polish peasantry. This was

[14] The case of Strakhov, however, was less simple in this circumstance. Cf. my article "Russian Polish Cultural Relations," *New Europe*, New York, 1944.

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186* the liberation and regeneration which the Muscovite Slavophils
668 were trying to secure to the enslaved Polish nation. The whole
648 armament of their arguments and weapons may be found in the
829 writings of Aksakov, Pogodin, Samarin, Leskov, Danilevsky, and Dostoevsky. In the light of the present Slav movements organized by Soviet Russia and in the light of the present extermination of the Polish intelligentsia under Russia's "liberating protection" one may see that the most audacious dreams of the Slavophils and Panslavists of the nineteenth century are now being realized. The Russian autocracy was not able to use all means of extermination against the Polish spiritual culture because some of the elements of it were attached to a social regime which the Russian autocracy was bound to protect and preserve in Russia itself. From this point of view Stalin's hands are more free, and his policy of Russification might become more efficient in its destructiveness. However, even at the time of Alexander II and Alexander III, in accordance with the plans of the Muscovite Slavophils and Panslavists the Russian government began certain reforms aiming at the gradual liquidation of the Polish landed gentry through the emancipation of the peasants and through measures favoring the latter at the expense of the former. These reforms would have been entirely justifiable if they had not followed the principle *divide et impera.* Russia was usurping the role of a liberator of the peasants, because the Polish revolutionary national government of 1863 proclaimed the emancipation of the peasants and promised them land without any compensation for the landlords. At this time the Slavophil school became indeed a political one.

And here something very important should be stressed: the Russian democratic and radical groupings were sympathetic to the Poles just because of the democratic character of this insurrection. Such was the attitude of the society *Zemlya i Volya* and of Herzen in his *Kolokol.* They were even trying to prevent the Russian soldiers and officers from fighting against Poles. Herzen at that time published eloquent articles in which he attacked the

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"patriotic syphilis" which was raging in Russia. The whole of reactionary and nationalistic Russia launched its offensive precisely at this point—the slogan was that the Polish Insurrection was not a national one and that presumably the Polish masses had nothing in common with it. This point of view became the leitmotif of all Katkov's writings, but very soon Aksakov's *Den'* (the organ of the Slavophils) joined Katkov's *Moskovskiya Vedomosti*. The Slavophil phraseology followed that of the government, and Aksakov as well as Samarin explained the Russian-Polish War of 1863 as a war of Slavs against Latinism, as a war of Russia against the Polish landlords. We may see that history indeed repeats itself. The same slogans were used during this war when it was necessary to abolish the legitimate Polish government in London. Herzen understood this situation very well. On January 1, 1864 he wrote in his *Kolokol* as follows: "Having grasped here and there some vague ideas about the social mission of Russia and about her lack of any solid aristocratic principle, our sweet dreamers preach that Russia represents some sort of democratic empire, some sort of kingdom of *equality* and masses, that *she* fights with Poland in the name of the freedom of the peasants against the landlords, etc. Do not be mistaken. . . ."[15]

Sumner in his excellent book *Russia and the Balkans* (Oxford, 1937) brings very correct comments to this development: "The Polish revolt of 1863 unleashed century-old hatred and fears. In the years which followed, the old 'Congress Poland' was mercilessly dragooned within the framework of the administration common to Russia proper while the 'Western Lands' Lithuania, White Russia, and the Western Ukraine were subjected to every measure of Russianism. Meanwhile a campaign was initiated of the same nature in the Baltic provinces and Bessarabia; and, to show without mistaking that Russian meant Great Russian alone, the Little Russian or Ukrainian cultural revival of that time was successfully attacked by Moscow, above all by the prohibition in 1876 of the use of the Ukrainian 'dialect' for any academic or

[15] *Istoriya Rossii v xix Veke*, vol. 3, Z. Lensky, "Polskoe Vosstanie," p. 322.

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186* Russian people" as a guarantee against the dangers of European
812 rationalism.

3. Goldmann, Pogodin, Stur

181* The above mentioned remarks of Sumner about the role of
829 men like Samarin and Cherkassky illustrate the fact that although in the beginning the Slavophils were not always in *odore sanctitatis* in the official quarters in Petersburg, that situation changed; the government appeared ready to use some of their conceptions. However, similar arguments and weapons for the fight against Poland—sometimes even sharpened ones—were offered to the government from other sides also. We may find a fascinating example of this in the Goldmann episode.

Charles Edward Goldmann, a German and a paid agent of the Russian government, wrote two books: *Die Europäische Pentarchie*, published in 1839 and *Europa's Cabinette und Allianzen*, published in 1862, and several memoirs which he presented to the Russian government. In his writings he tried to prove that the original religion of the Poles was the eastern Greek religion, that this religion had been uprooted by the Latin priests, that the oldest Polish Christian cathedral in Gniezno had been transformed from a Greek into a Catholic one. He attacked and derided the Polish emigration: "Polish emigration?—Does not England hang it *en masse* in Canada, while it dies from starvation in the hospitable England and the French throw it as a prey to the Bedouins, to the roulette, or to the *rouge et noir?* Russia knows very well that England and France in their nobleness and magnanimity would put the emigration next to the lackeys in their state carriage."

Goldmann also gives very valuable advice to the Russian government on how to eradicate the Polish spirit. First of all, Poland must be cut from the West, and Polish scholarship must be submerged in the Russian, the Latin traditions must be uprooted, and above all the Napoleonic Codex which rules Poland must be liquidated; the other Latin institution which must be destroyed is the

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Catholic church. Goldmann elaborated a very systematic plan for 186* a consistent and gradual weakening of the Catholic church and 829 its prestige in Poland. I have no space to enter into the striking details of that program which Kucharzewski revealed in his book; enough to say that it was indeed a diabolic program of systematic spoliation of faith through, first of all, confusion of the minds of the faithful. His aim was not only the Catholic Church but also the Uniate Church. Poles, White Ruthenians, and Ukrain- [795] ians were to become, as Russian subjects, members of the dominant church of the Russian state. In his cautiously elaborated strategy not a single weapon has been forgotten: the building of Orthodox churches, the substitution of Orthodox crosses in the countryside for the Cahotlic ones, the institution of the Greek calendar, the organization of a press of Orthodox propaganda for the people, the appointment of only Orthodox directors and inspectors in the schools, etc. The Catholic priesthood must be weakened by the favoring of sectarianism and material spoliation. "It is difficult," he says, "to secularize one monastery; but the annihilation of 194 monasteries and the refusal of any noviciates in order to create from the unused wealth larger funds for the clergy will find many advocates among the clergy themselves. In general, the state should not hinder but help the clergy to surely and freely ruin and prostitute itself."[17]

This was, in broad lines, the program for eradication of all Polish ties with the West. One is justified in asking if this system which was adopted by the Russian government in Poland was not very close to the main ideas of the Slavophils and Panslavists as far as the problem of Russian-Polish relations is concerned. As was mentioned before, at the time when Cherkassky and Samarin were active in Poland Slavophilism degenerated into Panrussianism. Parallel to this there developed, especially during the time of the Slavic Congress in Moscow in 1867, Panslavic conceptions of the Slavs united under Russian leadership. The most complete and consistently developed program for the sub-

[17] Kucharzewski, *op cit.*, vol. II, pp. 281-297.

1 [Charles Edward Goldmann ---Analyst]

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jugation of Slavs to Russia was formulated in 1867 by the Slovak, Ludevit Štur, in his book *Slavdom and the World of the Future.* His book, which was republished in 1909 by such modern Russian scholars in Slavic as Lamansky, Grot and Florinsky, who, primarily because of their Slavophil and Panslavist tendencies, considered Štur a "genius of his nation," represents indeed a quite exceptional tribute to the cultural, moral, and political forces of the Russian empire. Štur had, however, predecessors not only in the above mentioned Slavophils but chiefly in the person of the famous Russian historian, politician, and journalist M. Pogodin, who himself represents a bridge between Slavophilism, Panrussianism, and Panslavism. I shall not enter into an analysis of all the voluminous works of Pogodin; sufficient will be his memorandum written in 1838, in which we find items already known to us from Nadezhdin and Gogol and which will reappear in almost similar phrasing in Stur's apology of Russia.

Pogodin writes: "Russia! What a wonderful phenomenon on the world arena. . . . Russia is a population of sixty million people whom it was possible to count in addition to those of whom there is yet no account, a population which increases by a million every year and will soon reach a hundred million. . . . And let us add thirty millions of our brothers and first cousins, the Slavs scattered throughout all Europe from Constantinople to Venice and from Morea to the Baltic and the North Sea, the Slavs in whom flows the same blood as our own, who speak the same language and therefore, by the laws of nature are sympathetic with us, who in spite of geographic and political separation, form one moral unity with us, by origin and by language! Let us *subtract* this amount from neighboring Austria and Turkey, and later from the whole of Europe, and let us add it to ourselves. What will remain with them, and how much shall we represent? One's thought and breath are stopped! A ninth part of the entire inhabited earth, and almost a ninth part of mankind! Half of the equator, a quarter of a meridian! Russia is a state which includes all soils, all climates and is rich in all indispensable

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products. . . ." Further he enumerates gold and silver, which Europe no longer has, mountains, bread with which they will feed Europe, and forests with which they will rebuild Europe should it be destroyed; they will clothe Europe. He stresses the fact that because of the cheapness of labor and the moderate needs of the workers there is no other place where trade might develop so successfully as in Russia. But all these physical powers of Russia are nothing in comparison with her moral powers. These are common sense, daring, intelligence, patience, military virtues. All these powers form "one enormous machine, organized in the most simple and successful manner, ruled by the hand of one man, by the hand of the Russian tsar, who at any moment, by one gesture may put it in movement and give to it any direction and produce any speed." "I ask, is there anyone who would be able to compete with us and whom we would not be able to bring to obedience? Is not the political fate of Europe and therefore the *fate of the world* in our hands if only *we desire to decide it?*"[18]

The first part of Štur's books is a ferocious attack against Western Europe. He throws himself against Catholicism with Lutheran violence, against Protestantism with perhaps less ardor; he vehemently criticizes European political life, European aristocracy, European bourgeoisie, the spoliations of morals, luxury, demoralization, and economic structure and comes quickly to the Slavic village community, which in his eyes appears to be the magic secret of historical success, prosperity, and happiness. Another factor guaranteeing success and prosperity is a strong government, the lack of which seems to him to be the essential vice of Slavic states other than Russia. Russia represents a glorious exception: "Having taken away from the nobility all political rights, the Russian government by its autocracy rendered an immeasurable service in its time not only to Russia but to all Slavdom"[19] I

[18] A. N. Pypin, *Panslavism v Proshlom i Nastoyashchem*, 1878, "Knigoizdatelstvo Kolos," 1913, pp. 87-88.

[19] *Slavyanstvo i Mir Budushchago, L. Stur*, St. Petersburg, 1909, p. 192.

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186* can not quote all his declamations spread over many pages about
● 829 the *tsar batyushka* and the love of the Russian people for him.

After these statements he turns his attacks against Austria and destroys the conceptions of Austroslavism. He also demonstrates that Slavs, because of their geographical situation, their religious differentiation, cultural differences, and so on are unable to organize any federation. They are weak, they are simply fragments of one nation, and because of that "the concept of federative states has no sense."[20]

The conclusion is obvious: "There remains a third road, the only one which is sure and has a future—the union of all Slavs with Russia."[21] Then come all kinds of apologetic epithets, comparisons, in which Russia appears as a lighthouse in the dark night, assertions that the Slavs must not start their new life with the declining West but with rising Russia. "Russia . . . is the mother and the leader of all our national family." He is aware, however, of some difficulties as far as the attitude of other Slavs toward Russia is concerned. But he solves them easily according to his assertion that the only Slavs who hate Russia are Poles. By their whole civilization they are opposed to Russia. Poles did not want, as did the Russians, to subordinate themselves to one monarchical will. They did not know how to organize their life, and they had been defeated by Russia, to the great and lasting benefit of all of the Slavs. Had Poland resisted, Russia would have been far away from Europe and would not be able to help the Slavs; and of course the Poles never had any qualifications for leadership among the Slavs.

186* With the Czechs the situation is less complicated: "In their
829 present prosaic conditions they only weakly attract other Slavs.
517 Although literature is diligently developed, in higher learning, in philosophy and history, nothing outstanding appears, with the exception of Palacký's *History of Bohemia*. And in arts and poetry the Czechs do not possess, with the exception of Mácha, a single

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

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creative talent . . . material prosperity is the idol toward which the whole nation tends."[22] The Czechs cannot remain in their seclusion or create anything great—therefore they must join a greater entity. The so-called Illyrians and Catholic Croatians—"flabby," "seduced by Austria," "coaxed by Czechs," will be "inspired by the Slavic idea as soon as they rightly understand it." Of course Serbia and Bulgaria will agree. The end of the book is a kind of glorious finale. He brings an enumeration of all the great battles in Russian history. He stresses the fact that the main power of Russia is in the union of the people with the tsar, that the learned people are work-loving and conscious of the greatness of Russia; that the army is deeply devoted to the tsar and to the fatherland; the clergy, "pious and zealous"; the people, "kind, strong and obedient."

Then comes the "Russian Geography"—"Russia represents nine Turkish empires, twenty-eight Scandinavias, twenty-nine Austrias, thirty Germanies, and thirty-six Frances. The power of Russia is spread from the north-eastern corner of Asia, from Kamchatka, to the distant north of America, from the distant European North almost to the Carpathians, Danube, Black Sea, and farther to Ararat itself." Then follow figures concernings export and import, enumerations of Great Russian names, and so on. He concludes that everything works to the advantage of Russia—"Friend and enemy, war and peace, revolts and quietness;—Russia cast off the whole of Europe. She had the decisive voice at the Vienna Congress. . . . With one arm she embraces Asia, the second extends to America; inaccessible to Europe, she is a neighbor of the rotten Austria and the dead Turkish corps." Russia is the agglomeration of great and small things, of things divided and united; she is full of contradictions—Christianity, paganism, Islam, Byzantine churches, mosques, Catholic cathedrals. "She combines Europe with Asia, East with West, the dawn with the sunset, in other words, in the Russian kingdom the sun never sets."[23]

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 146-150.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-152.

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186* The final conclusion is that the "immense Russian power pushes
829 ahead, it cannot be quieted, it constantly must look to new arenas for its activity. The Slavic conscience strongly awakens in Russia . . . and it can not longer allow its relative tribes to remain in serfdom and shame. . . . To make of the whole of Slavdom a base is the only natural goal of Russian policy."[24]

4. Danilevsky (1822-1885)

The most radical Russian formulation of the Panslavistic program in its two directions—Constantinople and the Western Slavs—unified by a violent anti-Europeanism, was given by N. Ya. Danilevsky whose book *Russia and Europe* appeared in its first edition in 1871 and in its second in 1888 with a preface by another Panslavist, N. Strakhov. I cannot quote here the five hundred pages of this book in which the most fantastic idealization of the Russian past is married to the most vehement disdain and hatred for Western Europe and finally organized into a cynical political theory whose aim is to elaborate a system which would secure to Russia
186* a permanent political supremacy in the world. Danilesvky's starting
829 point is the denial of the conception of humanity and civilization
814 as a whole, to which he opposes a conception of struggle between different cultural historical types based mainly on language groupings.

This conception of cultural historical types deserves special
[177 attention. Danilevsky combined the theme of Hegel, according to
81] which various nations appear in succession on the historical stage as consecutive and ever more complete incarnations of the universal spirit, with the idea of the German historian Rückert about the existence of separate cultural historical types. "For Danilevsky such a cultural historical type is realized by every tribe or every family of peoples characterized by a separate language or group of languages sufficiently near to each other . . . if that tribe or family of peoples is in general, by its spiritual disposition, capa-

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

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ble of historical development and has already risen from infancy. 186*
However, not all nations are equally capable of historical de- 829
velopment. There are some whose destiny is to serve as ethno- 814
graphical material to other stronger and more stabilized nations. Those others are God's whips whose mission is to smash from the face of the earth the outlived cultures and nations. Danilevsky gives a series of historical cultural types: Egyptian, Chinese, Assyrian-Babylonian-Phoenician, Indian, Iranian, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, New Semitic, German-Roman or European, and finally Slavic with Russia at its head. Each of these types works out its own culture, and the principles of the civilization of one type are not transferred to another. Various types differ by the degree of versatility of their culture. Danilevsky sees four spheres of cultural-historical activity: the religious, the strictly cultural, the political, and the social-economic. No one of the listed cultural-historical types developed all of these four spheres of activity at once, with the exception of the Slavs and Russians, whose mission will be to accomplish a complete 'four-principled' culture."[25]

The road to that Russian predominance is a purely nationalistic 186*
one; and, neglecting any declamation on Russian religiosity and 829
other well known features of the Russian character as presented 668
in the writings of the Slavophils and abandoning all ideas about brotherhood and universal love, he brutally opens the door into the great future of Russia. Russia is destined for that future, but the road to it leads first of all to Constantinople and secondly to the emancipation of the Slavic nations. I shall not bring to the fore all his violent criticism applied to "rotten Europe." The Russian anti-Westernism here reached its climax. The book is supported by quasi-scientific arguments taken from anthropology, zoology, geology, geography, and the social sciences. It might be considered one of the most important scientific manifestos or rationalistic Panslavic theories. However, the most important implications of the book are, of course, the political ones. "Being

[25] Danilevsky, *op cit.*, and article by V. Myakotin on Danilevsky in *the Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'*, T-A Granat, vol. 17, pp. 552-557.

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foreign to the European world because of its internal structure, and in addition being too strong and powerful to occupy the place of one of the members of the European family, to be one of the great European powers, Russia cannot occupy a place worthy of herself and of Slavdom in history other than by becoming the chief figure of an independent political system of states and by being a counter balance to Europe in its entirety. These are the advantages: the utility and the significance of the Panslavic alliance in its relationship to Russia."[26] And this is another programatic assertion: "Sooner or later, whether we want it or not, the fight with Europe (or at least with the greater part of it) is inevitable, and it will be a fight because of the eastern question, that is, for the freedom and independence of the Slavs, for the possession of Tsargrad—for everything which in the opinion of Europe represents an object of illegitimate Russian ambition and which in the opinion of every Russian worthy of that name represents the inevitable demand of Russia's historical mission."[27]

Of course, on his road, Danilevsky fatally met Poland. His fight in this case was very simple. He liquidated Poland with the help of all kinds of historical accusations and political insinuations. In the same way he destroyed every spiritual cultural tie between Russia and Europe. His formula was not at all complicated, and one cannot really deny that this formula is the key to Stalin's present policy. When referring to the theory of political balance he says: "It is not at all difficult to be convinced that between Europe and Russia in this as well as in other respects there exists a direct and complete contradiction. It is precisely the balance of political forces in Europe that is harmful and even fatal for Russia; and the disturbance of this balance, from what ever side it may come, is advantageous and beneficent."[28]

After several historical examples, Danilevsky gives the following formula: "At every disturbance of balance Europe is naturally

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 437.
[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 474.
[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 486.

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divided into two parties—one, the disturbant with those who *volens nolens* are on his side, and the victims of the disturbants who seek to restore the balance. Both parties naturally try to bring to their side the only one strong neighbor who is, by the nature of things (whatever, by the way, might be the forms, words, and appellations applied), outside of their family, outside their system. Therefore both parties flatter Russia. One seeks help from her for the conservation of the obtained predominance; the other one for liberation from the power, influence, and danger coming from the side of the disturbant. Russia may choose of her own will. On the contrary, during the existence of balance the political activity of Europe is directed outside, and its hostility against Russia is given free march: here, instead of two parties one after the other flattering Russia, Europe flows into one entity openly or secretly hostile to Russia. We must therefore abandon the thought of any solidarity with European interests, of any ties with one or the other political combination of European powers, and first of all acquire a complete freedom of action, complete possibility to unite with every European state, on only one condition—that such an alliance should be advantageous for us without any consideration as to what kind of political principle is represented at a given time by this or that state."[29]

186* 829

It would not be arbitrary to assert that if for the contemporaries of Danilevsky his book was a "catechism" or codex of "Slavophilism" (words of N. N. Strakhov), for us it might be considered the bible of Stalin's present foreign policy. In the light of Russia's present play with England, America, and France, not to mention Germany and China, the guiding ideas of Danilevsky become particularly significant.

From the historical and moral point of view this book cannot resist any critique. Danilevsky followed the Slavophils in their fanatic admiration for the Russia of the Muscovite period. Even from the point of view of Russian imperialism that Slavophil pre-

[29] *Op. cit.*, pp. 488-89.

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186* dilection for the Ivans of Moscow and hatred for Peter the Great
829 were not justifiable. As far as the territorial expansion of Russia is concerned, the Russia of the Petersburgian period did not acquire or "liberate" fewer nations and lands than the tsars of Moscow.[30]

177 Besides, for every unprejudiced historian one thing is quite
53 clear—that the universal achievements of Russia in the field of
538 spiritual culture were genuinely connected with her collaboration with Western Europe. The Russian national genius was silent or inarticulate for centuries, and only when the magic wand of the West touched the Russian soul did the voice of Avvakum become the melody of Pushkin's poetry. How can we imagine all the great accomplishments of Turgenev, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Tschaikowsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov—in other words the Russian culture of the nineteenth century—without Europe and her inspiration? This point of view has been strongly stressed on many occasions by Russians themselves, first of all by Vladimir Solov'ev.

186* From the moral point of view the ideology of Danilevsky is es-
829 sentially immoral. Where messianistic arguments are adduced in support love changes quickly and easily into hatred. Danilevsky pays some official tribute to the slogans of "brotherhood" and "Slavic reciprocity" brought to the fore by the first Russian and non-Russian Slavophils. But the essence of his doctrine is pure national selfishness. "Life and theory," says Solov'ev, "somehow very easily and unnoticeably replace the just and human formula of the national idea by the formula of violence and national murder. Not by any means do all the advocates of this idea directly preach subdual and destruction of foreign nations; but there exist roundabout means, softer in appearance although just as murderous in spirit. 'Our nation, by its historical march and by the natural succession of national culture, replaces all other nations who have passed away and are passing away.' This 'replacement' also is not without a cruel, bloody struggle and various national murders, but the final result is attained as if by itself. Such a

[30] This point, by the way, was stressed by Pypin and by Sumner.

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softened formula of national selfishness was taken from the Germans by our Slavophils, who applied to Russia that which their teachers applied to Germanism; this view was systematically worked out among us by the author of *Russia and Europe*. Between him and the former Slavophils there is, however, a difference which he himself points out although he does not always observe it. The latter affirm that the Russian nation has a universal historical calling, as the bearer of the final international enlightenment; Danilevsky, rejecting every international task, considers Russia and Slavdom only a special cultural-historic type,—however, the most perfect and complete (four-principled in his terminology), containing within itself the advantages of former types. Difference of opinion, therefore, appears only in abstract terms which do not change the essence of the matter. It must be noted, however, that the orthodox Slavophils (Khomyakov, Kireevsky, the Aksakovs, Samarin), not rejecting universal history and admitting, although only in abstract principle, the solidarity of all mankind, were nearer than Danilevsky to the Christian idea and could affirm it without falling into obvious external contradiction."[31]

186* 829

I think that there is nothing to be added to this essentially correct critique of Danilevsky's system. One must indeed recognize that from a certain point of view Danilevsky finds himself very far from the first generation of the Muscovite Slavophils who were trying to marry their Russian nationalism and Slavophilism with universal humanitarianism. They had a mystic idea of the nation and a respect for it as for a person, a religious entity. (True enough only for the Russian nation.) Danilevsky lost all these things. There is no spiritualism, no idealism in his approach—just as in the case of another man, Constantine Leont'ev, who was very close to Danilevsky's conceptions and who might be considered the ultramontane of the whole school. Without any great enthusiasm or admiration for the Slavs, but simply guided by a fanatical fear of revolution, liberalism, and Europeanism, stress-

[31] Solov'ev, *Works*, vol. v, pp. 85-86.

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186* ing the fact that Byzantinism was the most definite historical type
●829 ("for the state it means autocracy, for religion—Orthodoxy, for the moral world—contempt for earthly things, repugnance for the dreams about the earthly happiness of people, humility") and that the "Byzantine spirit with its principles and influences, like the complicated tissues of the nervous system, penetrated he whole Russian social organism," he proclaimed that: "Russia should be frozen so that she may not decay," as every living process ends in death and decomposition—the state in which Western Europe now finds itself. Although there are no universalistic elements in the Russian past, the Russian civilization must be preserved as it is.

For Leont'ev all means are good as "politics are not ethics." He calls for courage, for people who will not fear the words "reaction" and "reactionary," who will understand "that nothing can be achieved without violence" and that in order to stop the "defrosting" of Russia "retrogressive reforms" are indispensable, first of all "the fight against public education because if Russia has succeeded in her resistance against the spirit of the times, she owes it to the ignorance of the Russian people."[32]

5. Tyutchev (1803-1873)

186* Perhaps from the purely chronological point of view Tyutchev
648 should have been discussed before Danilevsky. Indeed some of Danilevsky's most essential views were first brought to public opinion in 1869 in the review *Zarya*, in which he said that: "Europe not accidentally but in her very essence is hostile to us. Therefor only when she is in conflict with herself might she be safe for us."[33] In a letter to Aksakov on the second of October, 1867, Tyutchev said: "Civil war in the West is our best political ally."

[32] K. Leont'ev, *Vostok, Rossiya i Slavyanstvo*, vol. I, vol. II, Moscow, 1885-1886; vol. I, p. 81; vol. II pp. 86, 109-120, 78-152, 180, 24-27; quoted by P. N. Milyukov (Milioukov), *Le mouvement intellectuel russe*, Paris, 1918, pp. 400-410.

[33] K. Pigarev, F. I. "Tyutchev i problemy vneshnei politiki Rosii" in *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, vol. 19-21, Moscow, 1935, p. 206.

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the poem of 1831 gives a rather peculiar consolation to the Poles —this is what Tyutchev says to them: "Believe the word of the Russian nation: we shall sacredly preserve your ashes, and our common freedom as a Phoenix will find its birth in them." 186* 649

In the recent works devoted to Tyutchev such as those of Pigarev, Gippius, Stremoukhov, Lezhnev, one important detail has been revealed. Both the Slavophils and Tyutchev representing the landed Russian nobility, were deeply impressed by the revolutionary movements in Europe. Tyutchev in his anti-revolutionism, became a kind of Russian Joseph de Maistre and he very soon came to the conception that in Europe there existed two powers: Revolution and Russia. He developed this conception in his articles and poems and for many years he was busy with the organization of Russian propaganda in Europe for the spreading of his political ideas.

One of his[1] most significant poems in this respect was the poem *The Sea and the Rock*, in which he gives a picture of how the gigantic foot of the rock will appease the stormy waves of the sea. The idea which was symbolically presented in this poem was developed in a political language in his article *Russia and Revolution* written in 1848.[37] His conception of the greatness of Russia developed as a function of the mission which he attributed to Russia; and here his imagination becomes boundless. In his famous poem *Russian Geography* he mentions Moscow, Petersburg, and Constantinople as the *capitals* of the Russian empire, in which he sees "seven interior seas and seven great rivers from the Nile to the Neva, from the Elbe to China, from the Volga to the Euphrates, from the Ganges to the Danube—this is the Russian empire." 186* 829 538

This was written by a poet who, although he revealed in his lyrical poetry his tenderness for the "original charm" of the "poor villages," "humble nakedness," "boring nature," of the "land of everlasting patience," did not himself care at all for the Russian landscape. This is what he wrote in a letter to his wife:

[37] Pigarev, *op. cit.*, *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, pp. 195-196.

1 [Tyutchev's ---Analyst]

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186* 829 838 "An immense plain—the Scythian plain which you didn't like on my relief map, where it spreads out like an enormous spot, is not more pleasant in reality."[28]

186* 829 814 Not less striking than his *Russian Geography* are his historical views and the formulation of the Russian mission which we find in his two French articles *Russia and Revolution* and *Rome and the Roman Question*, and in a large work which he was preparing — *Russia and the West*. In all these writings he draws an apocalyptic picture of the destruction of the Europe of Charlemagne, of the Europe of the Treaties of 1815, of the destruction of the Papacy, Catholicism, and Protestantism. He demands a definitive formation of a great Orthodox empire, "the legitimate empire of the East, which will be realized by the absorption of Austria by Russia and the 'return' (*sic!*) of Constantinople to Russia and by the union of the two churches." The conclusion of these events will be symbolized by the Russian tsar as the Orthodox emperor in Constantinople, as the master and protector of Italy and Rome, and by an Orthodox pope in Rome as a subject of the emperor.[29] In his article *Papacy and the Roman Question* he constantly attacks all kinds of "usurpatory" tendencies of Western thought and seems completely unaware of the fact that his own conception represents the most fantastic historical usurpation—although not at all unreal in the light of our days. This is the way in which he ends his article: "Permit me to recall in conclusion, an incident connected with the visit which the Emperor of Russia made to Rome in 1846. One may still remember perhaps the general emotion with which the Emperor was received upon his appearance in the Church of St. Peter,—this was the appearance of the Orthodox Emperor who returned to Rome after several centuries of absence—and the electric flash which went through the crowd when it saw him going to pray at the tombs of the apostles. This emotion was legitimate. The prostrated Emperor was not alone; all Russia was prostrated with him.

[28] Leskinev, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[29] Pigarev, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
* [Tyutchev--Analyst]

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Let us hope that he did not pray in vain before the holy relics!"[40] 186*
The *Revue des Deux Mondes* published this article and prefaced 829
it with a small and rather melancholic note: "Charlemagne is no 814
longer in Paris or in Aix-la-Chapelle, he is in Moscow or in St. Petersburg. And one must above all keep in mind the fact that the new Charlemagne coming to Rome clearly pretends to bring, as the former one, a great material power, but he has no intention of coming there to find a spiritual, a moral consecration of his power. Far from that; it is he who, so to say, comes to consecrate the papacy. . . ." "One might make many other reflections upon this subject, and give some peculiar details on the march of ideas in one part of Russian society, and show how the school which formerly had Monsieur de Maistre as its chief and which made its gospel from the doctrines of *Du Pape* arrived gradually, by a kind of national logic, to find that the real pope was the tsar."[41]

But what is especially striking here is that Tyutchev appeared 186*
able to marry in his thought and in his heart this conception of a 829
Russian Charlemagne in Constantinople and Rome with his own formula of Russia, a land of "officers, barracks, *chin* and *knut*." Justly asks Lezhnev: "In the name of what is the 'humble Russia' to obtain 'the thunder of earth and sword of heaven?' . . ." "Tsarist Russia spreads like an enormous spot over the map of the world—this is Tyutchev's 'Russian geography'. . . . What is Russia promising to those innumerable nations which she intends to subdue? Nothing but the quietness of the cemetery or of a northern desert."[42] Indeed this whole transformation of "barracks" into St. Sophia and St. Peter is a terrible fairy tale and on this occasion Lezhnev says that the theocratic tiara suits Nicholas I as "a saddle a cow."[43] As we know there are some other candidates for the same saddle. In his poems launched against the Vatican Tyutchev attacks the Pope because of his "fatal word": "the freedom of conscience is delirium." And this was written by

[40] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1, 1850, p. 133.
[41] *Op. cit.*, p. 118.
[42] A. Lezhnev, *Due Poets* . . . Gos. Isd., 1934, pp. 13-14.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

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186* a Russian of the time of Nicholas! Certainly the most deceiving
● 329 trait in the whole Tyutchev episode is his hypocrisy—that play of his with love and hatred. Repulsive indeed is this Tartuffe who so much resembles Saltykov's Yudushka Golovlev, constantly spreading around him his ointment of sacred hatred. The starting point of all his conceptions, as I showed before, was his fear of European revolution. This also explains in part his attitude toward the Polish insurrections and toward the Hungarian Insurrection of 1848. Russia had to be strong in order to be able to save the world from the catastrophe. We see here the presence of his former altruistic conceptions—Europe is in a state of ideological disaster, the world is in danger—the "Russian rock" of legitimism will save it! However, this was not quite so. Russia's tragic days during the Crimean campaign brought our political Tartuffe to some different views. He consoled himself by the following significant consideration: "In this ultimate fight we should perish if the West were one, but it is two: the red one and the one which must be absorbed by it. We have been opposing it for forty years, and now here we are on the border of the precipice. And now the red one in its turn will save us."[44] This is the best revelation of Tyutchev's universal historiosophic conceptions.

Merezhkovsky once justly observed that "one" of the traits of Russian Slavophilism was its "softbodiness," bonelessness and inability, lack of desire to carry its thought to the end. And Tyutchev "puts bones into the body and dots the *i's;* his logic is merciless." . . . "Tyutchev is clever, and his politics are not stupid; but as far as his conscience is concerned it enters least of all with his politics."[45] Not only hypocrisy but really a complete lack of human loyalty characterized him. During the whole of the life of Nicholas I this "bishop of Russian imperialism" did nothing but spread incense around Nicholas. But as soon as the latter died, after the Crimean War, Tyutchev shouted: "Thou wert not

[44] Pigarev, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
[45] Leshnev, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

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a tsar but an actor" and expressed his indignation about "the monstrous stupidity of this ill-fated man." 186* 829

This was one missionary of holy Russia, a prophet who appeared before the world with "a crucifix and a dagger" in his hands. Let us now meet one who for the triumph of his Russian truth was ready to change his crucifix into a dagger.

6. Dostoevsky (1821-1881)

Without entering into a detailed description of Dostoevsky's well-known messianic conceptions about the "God-bearing nation" and all his speculations about Russia and Europe, which he develops in his novels and short stories as well as in his *Diary of a Writer*, I shall confine myself to his general philosophy of history. The first thing I should like to stress is that the book of Dostoevsky is a book almost as much about Europe as about Russia—if not even more about Europe. His "Russian boys" are constantly busy with the Russian God—but even more with the Catholic God—with the Inquisition, with socialism, European rationalism, atheism, revolutionism, and so on. And this is so in spite of the fact that in his novels we remain in Russia, constantly in Russian monasteries, taverns, St. Petersburg apartments or streets, or in some provincial Russian towns. Another thing which should be remembered is that Dostoevsky from his very childhood and youth was a pupil first of all of European literature. If one should try to discover in the texts of Dostoevsky any proof of genuine and real sympathy for that European civilization which formed his art and thought, one would undoubtedly be unsuccessful. He very often declaims his enthusiastic love for Europe, but that love is addressed only to the "holy stones" of the "European cemetery." On the other hand the types of Europeans who appear in his novels—French, Italians, Poles—as well as the pictures of Europe taken either from the gambling casinos, London streets, French railways, or Parisian department stores, are deeply repulsive—with some few exceptions: Mr. Astlee in *The Gambler* and 186* 538 829

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186* Dostoevsky's feeling for Germany, especially for Bismarck.
538 This obvious antipathy, if not hatred, appeared in Dostoevsky
●829 after his Siberian exile. One would be willing to explain this by the negative impression which Europe made upon Dostoevsky when he visited it. However, I think that the motives of his feel-
186* ings were of a different nature. Dostoevsky was sent to Siberia
829 because of his European infatuations. We know how deeply he suffered during his exile and indeed how unpleasantly he denied his former opinions and appeared ready to embrace less dangerous and less politically compromising roads of thought, although in his situation it was difficult to be heroic to the end. Dostoevsky suffered because of Europe, and I think that this personal motive has to be taken into consideration. It would be useless here to quote all Dostoevsky's astonishing and fantastic conceptions of what he thought to be the real historical relationship beween Russia and Europe. We know that Dostoevsky was always ready to say that "to be a real Russian means to be a real European," and that some of his heroes felt when abroad that they were the unique Europeans among Europeans, that French were French, English English, Germans German, but only Russians besides being Russians were also Europeans, and have I to recall his really incredible and almost absurd speculations about the "Russian seekers"—Onegin and Aleko—in his Pushkin speech? Only an aberration of mind could bring one to assert that Onegin killed his friend and Aleko his wife perhaps because of their longing for universalistic ideals. Dostoevsky's deep belief was that only the Russian thought was able to embrace universalistic goals. By these trends of his beliefs he certainly closely approached the Slavophils and later the Russian *narodniki* as well as the Panslavists; and in his political articles he very often waved the banners of Slavic brotherhood, of a Panslav union under Russian leadership. And one easily remembers his piercing and hysterical shouts: "Constantinople must be ours!" But not all these slogans which, after all, in Dostoevsky's time had become trivial clichés, should interest us here. More significant, as I mentioned before, is Dostoev-

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sky's general philosophy of history, and this has been brilliantly studied and presented by L. Grossman in his study *Dostoevsky and Europe*. Dostoevsky likes to hide the horrible truth about man and mankind with the help of a Russian ikon which miraculously allows him to escape from responsibility. His heroes very often act in the same way, and Dostoevsky usually insinuates that their monstrous moral degradations are due to Western European influences. He constantly uses the method of substitution, attaching European labels to the most ferocious manifestations of his own thought. He very freely uses the author's privilege of disclaiming responsibility for the opinions of his heroes. Shestov, however, seized Dostoevsky in his elusive jumps of thought and brought him to trial. As far as the purely political historiosophic conceptions of Dostoevsky are concerned, Grossman did the same. These are the general conclusions which the "complex philosophy of Dostoevsky" implies: "The mission of the Slavs is to decide and finish the thousand-year old internal conflict of the Roman-German world to the advantage of the Germans and to the mutual domination of the Slavs and the Germans in Europe."[46] Ancient Rome was the source of European civilization; gradually losing its pagan character the Roman idea of universal monarchy was transformed into the European ideal of universal union in Christ. With centuries this great historical conception split— in the East appeared the Slavic idea of union based on the gospel, in the West—the Roman Catholic idea of a universal monarchy with the Pope at its head. The Papacy yielded to the third temptation of the devil and "sold Christ for earthly domination." The next phase of the development of the Catholic idea, and this means the next deformation of Christian ideals, is to be found in France which created Socialism. In this period the definite triumph of materialism over spiritualism was achieved.

To this extreme historical formulation of Western conceptions was opposed the German idea which, from the time of Arminius

[46] L. Grossman, *Tvorchestvo Dostoevskogo*, Moscow, 1928, p. 198. All of Dostoevsky's political system is to be found in the *Diary of a Writer* and in novels like *The Possessed* and in his letters. I follow Grossman for lack of space.

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186* to Bismarck, represented only a negative idea of protest against
● 829 Rome. This negative "idealism" was the main source of national German inspiration. But at the moment of the final German victory Germany, lacking its object, will be also lacking inspiration, and this will bring her to spiritual death. The final course of this worldly struggle will take on an apocalyptical character. The Pope, having lost his allies in the persons of emperors and kings, will throw himself into the arms of the proletariat, trying to become a socialistic vicar of St. Peter. Against this will rise Germany for the ultimate battle. But the last word will be said by the united East. In alliance with Germany, Russia will destroy the "two-headed monster" of Catholicism and Socialism, and then will be established the domination of the Germans, now inspired by Russia, in the West, and the domination of Russia in the East.[47] As I mentioned before (and Grossman brings many proofs of this), Dostoevsky had a great admiration for Bismarck, the "iron chancellor." He hoped that the creator of the formula of "union in blood and iron" would split Europe with his powerful sword, and that "after rivers of blood and hundreds of millions of heads" the world would accept the new word of the Slavic gospel. And this was to be what Dostoevsky called "The free Panslavic union of Europe."[48] The Franco-Prussian war became a source of inspiration for his conception. "Just like the most aggressive German professors he calls for a march against France" and "wants to enlighten Europe by the light of the gospel, by Bismarck's formula, and by the direct help of the German armies." France will be broken by "blood and iron," "Tsargrad" will be in the hands of Russia, England and France will be defeated by the Russian-German armies, and so the triumph of Russian Christianity will be achieved.[49] In other words he follows the reasonings of his Raskolnikov: *"vive la guerre eternelle*—till the new Jerusalem."

[47] Grossman, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-203.
[48] Grossman, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208.
[49] Grossman, *op. cit.*

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It is true enough that in the very last period of his life as if 186* 829
having lost his hopes for Russia to achieve that universal mission he suddenly called: "To Asia! To Asia!" "To that great mother of all religions, to the original 'neighborhood of God,' to the sacred nearness of the thousand-year-old contemplators of heavenly revelations—to India and Palestine. . . ."[50]

7. Bakunin (1814-1876)

There is a literary theory that Dostoevsky's "possessed" Stav- 000
rogin is a fictionized portrait of Bakunin. The author of this hypothesis, L. Grossman, accumulated extremely interesting proofs for his discovery. I shall not enter into an analysis of this theory, but it is quite true that the moral labyrinths of Bakunin's life and political revolutionary career lend themselves very well to this comparison. Bakunin's biographers made great efforts to explain and justify by political Machiavellianism Bakunin's rampant attitude towards Nicholas I and Alexander II, and his behavior in Siberia, which was morally paradoxical to say the least. Therefore, there is no doubt that the ideological prestige of Bakunin's political activities as well as of his writings is strongly contaminated by his very doubtful personality. His *Confession* and his letter to Alexander II surpassed the repentence of the Decembrists, the agony of Chaadaev, and the yielding of Dostoevsky. His infatuation for Murav'ev-Amursky and the role he played in the Irkutsk society are not less astonishing. However, he has his 186*
place and an important one in the development of Slavophil and Panslavistic ideas. Bakunin represents a kind of revolutionary Panslavism, but in this field of his political conceptions one may find the same inconsistency that characterized his moral attitude.

National and Slav feelings as well as feelings of sympathy for 186*
Poland had been awakened in him by Lelewel, famous Polish his- 829
torian and geographer, radical democrat and member of the Rev- 648
olutionary Government of 1830-31, during their meeting in Brus-

[50] Grossman, p. 213.

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186* sels. Lelewel "told him about the primitive democratic Polish
● 829 municipality, about the agrarian Slavic collectivity, about broth-
648 erly institutions and customs distorted later by the class structure and the enslavement of people which came from the West. At that time he conceived a new goal for himself which was "a Russian revolution and a republican federation of all Slavic lands, and the establishment of one indivisible Slavic republic, federative only as regards administration, and politically centralized."[51] At that time, under the influence of western European populism and socialism on one side and, on the other, of his intimate contacts with the Polish emigration in Paris, Bakunin started to crystallize his own Russian populist and revolutionary ideas. The first manifestation of these crystallized ideas took place in Paris in 1847 when he delivered his famous Polish speech at the commemoration of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31. In this speech he attacked Nicholas I, he asserted that the Russian and Polish nations must be reconciled, that both were paying for the discord introduced by Russian autocracy, and that the Russian revolution would bring freedom to both nations. He said that this task could be realized only through the Russian-Polish alliance: without the liberation of Poland, Russian freedom could not be born. And finally he called for the liberation of all Slavic nations in order to bring about the final collapse of despotism in Europe.

186* A little more complicated was the atmosphere of the Slavic
668 Congress in Prague, in which he took part and delivered several
[575] speeches. At that Congress, as we know, Palacký advocated the idea of a Slavic federation with Austria in which the Czechs would play the dominant role. This idea was not popular among other Slavs, and the atmosphere of the Congress was not at all encouraging.

Bakunin first of all stressed the fact that Russia, by enslaving Poland and especially by giving a part of her to the Germans—the main enemies of the Slavic race—tore herself away from Slav-

[51] J. Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 161-162; cf. also V. Polonsky, *M. A. Bakunin*, vol. I, Geo. Ind., 1925, pp. 155 156.

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nin's manifesto by saying that "Russian revolutionism is, in its consequences for Poland, similar to Russian despotism."[54] 186* 668

I shall not enter the further complication of his relations with the Poles, the details of his self-imposed activities in the Polish Insurrection of 1863, nor the mutual deceptions between himself and Poland.

After the Polish Insurrection the Panslavic conceptions played a less important role in the second part of his life with the exception of his program for the Slavic section of the International in Zürich in 1872.[55]

8. Herzen (1812-1870)

Herzen also has some ties with Dostoevsky and these ties are to be found in his critique of the West and in his enthusiasm for the Russian village community which, as we know, was one of the chief objects of admiration of the Muscovite Slavophils though they first heard of it from the German Haxthausen who in 1845 published his work on his travels in Russia. Herzen's cult of the Russian peasant, his populism, made of him a precursor of *narodnichestvo*. 186* 829 ●

That evolution was not quite simple—Herzen, before his trip to Europe and stay there, was one of the most enthusiastic Russian Westerners, and he very often opposed the Muscovite Slavophils. His stay in Europe changed his opinions, and there he became one of the most violent fighters against *l'esprit bourgeois* of the Western civilization. The conception of the dying Western civilization became a kind of obsession with him and against these constantly drawn pictures of the chaos, agony, and disease of Europe suddenly arose in the mind of this former Westerner his Russian and even Slavophil messianism. To Chaadaev's formula that the past of Russia is empty, the present unbearable, and that she has no future, Herzen replied that the "past of the Russian

[54] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 412.
[55] Cf. Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, and E. H. Carr, *M. Bakunin*, London, 1937.

7; Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* people dark; its present is terrible, but it has rights to the
●829 future." And he filled that future first of all with the hope that Russia would avoid the poison of Western Philistinism. "Philistinism—this is the last word of civilization, based on the absolute autocracy of property." Russia, by the fact that she knew only communal property, had indeed every possibility of avoiding the poisonous influences of the West.

Certainly Herzen's disgust for European Philistinism was in some degree justified, but the *esprit bourgeois* does not exhaust the content of the Western civilization. It is amazing to see how quickly that former Russian Westerner lost his psychological inclination toward Europe—toward the lights of European thought—toward the intellectual energy of Europe, its philosophy, arts, science, traditions of freedom.

In addition, Herzen had a deep belief in the essentially revolutionary mind of the Russians. "The thinking Russian is the most independent man in the world. What can stop him? Respect for the past? But what is the starting point of the history of modern Russia, if not the negation of nationality and tradition? On the other hand, the past of the Western nations has only a didactic value for us. We in no way consider ourselves the executors of their will. We share your doubts, but your faith does not warm us. We share your hatreds, but we do not understand your attachment to the heritage of your ancestors; we are too oppressed, too unhappy to be satisfied with half-freedom. You are bound by scruples, you are stopped by reservations of mind, we have no scruples, no reservations, we are lacking only in power."[26]

We have here a kind of combination of Chaadaev's pessimism
186* and the Muscovite Slavophils' optimism. The essential idea of
829 Herzen, a very Slavophil and very Russian idea, was that "the
177 western fruit will ripen in the Slavic world." Kucharzewski, whom I quote, very justly states: "The West produces thoughts, Russia utilizes them; to the West is alloted the task of creating, to

[26] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 395-396.

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Russia—the role of leadership among future mankind, with the help of the ripe fruits of the work of other nations."[57] 186* 829 177

When dealing with Herzen as well as with Tyutchev and Dostoevsky—but I think with Herzen even more than with the latter, one is really amazed to see how well and deeply he knew Europe. The more astonishing is, then, that lack of attachment and love for European tradition. They understand everything, but they love nothing.

All these thoughts were developed in Herzen's work *From the Other Shore* (1849), in his letter to Michelet, and a little later, in 1854, in his letter to Riberol, editor of the review *L'Homme*, and in his letter to Linton, editor of the *English Republic*. In this last publication he develops his Panslavic system in connection with the Crimean War. He states that Poland was the one Slavic country who preserved her independence. "Only Poland remained independent and strong, but this because she was less Slavic than the other nations, she was Catholic, and Catholicism is a flagrant contradiction of the Slavic genius. Hence Poland preserved independence by weakening her racial ties and by coming nearer to the Western states."

One must not, forget however, that in 1863 and in 1864, as I mentioned before, Herzen in his *Kolokol* published the most penetrating articles filled with great sympathy and admiration for Poland and the Poles.[58] He greets the Crimean War as "the beginning of a Slavic era, the Slavs will raise the banner of Socialism, and Constantinople will be the capital of the united Slavs. . . . Constantinople is one real capital of the united Slavs, it is the Rome of the Eastern Church, the center of all Slavo-Greeks—Byzantium, surrounded by a Slavic-Hellenic population . . . In any case this war is the *introduzione maestosa e marziale* of the Slavic world into universal history and at the same time *una marcia funebre* of the old world."[59]

[57] *Op. cit.*, p. 397.
[58] Lednicki, W.: "Russian-Polish Cultural Relations," *New Europe*, 1944.
[59] Kucharzewski, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* Yes, Herzen was certainly one of the most brilliant and pene-
829 trating singers of the Russian requiem for Europe, but even in
177 this he was a pupil of the Europeans—of the Saint-Simonists, Fourier, Cabet, and Proudhon, who violently criticized contemporary European civilization. They did for Herzen what later in the seventies Renan did for Strakhov. Strakhov filled his book *The Struggle with the West in Our Literature* with Renan's criticism. But Renan did even more—he suggested some ideas to the Russians which they didn't forget. Strakhov quotes one of them: "There still exists in the world a reserve of barbarian forces, which are almost all in the hands of Russia. As long as the civilized nations conserve their solid organization, the role of these barbarians will be almost null; but without doubt, if (from which God preserve us!) an epidemic of selfishness and anarchy brings our western states to destruction, the barbarians will accomplish their duty, which consists in raising the many forces in spoiled civilizations, in producing the vivifying current of instinct which was lost when reflection destroyed subordination, to show that readiness to sacrifice one's life for faithfulness to one's sovereign (a deed which a democrat considers low and absurd) is a source of power and leads to the possession of the world."[60]

The case of Herzen is particularly eloquent: it shows how demoralizing were the Slavophil and Panslavistic conceptions if a man of Herzen's caliber, Europeanism, and superior generosity could find himself in such a moral and spiritual impass.

186* The ultimate expression of this eastern Messianism suggested
829 by the Russian Westerners is to be found in the *Scythians*, a poet-
539 ical message which Alexander Blok addressed to the West: "Now rejoicing, now sorrowing, now flowing with black blood, she (Russia) looks at you with hatred and with love. . . . We love everything—the heat of cold numbers and the gift of divine visions; everything appeals to us—the perspicacious Gallic thought and the gloomy German genius. . . . We remember everything—the hell of Parisian streets and the refreshing coolness of Venice,

[60] Strakhov, *Bor'ba s zapadom v nashey literature*, St. Petersburg, 1882, vol. I, p. 324.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

the distant aroma of the lemon groves, and the smoky buildings in Cologne. . . . We love the body, the taste and the color of it, and its oppressive deadly odor. . . . Is it our fault if your skeleton cracks in our heavy, soft paws?"

9. Reactions Among the Slavs Toward Panslavic Conceptions

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Southern Slavs attracted no great attention from the world. However, after the Russian-Turkish wars of the time of Catherine II they began to move more distinctly on the political stage of Europe, as Pypin justly says.[61] The fight of Serbia for her independence, the fight of the Montenegrians against the Turks and their resistance against the French (I am still following Pypin), Illyria established by Napoleon—all this revealed the existence of energetic Slavic elements in the Near East. To this should be added facts as Vuk Karadžić's collection of popular songs in which the deeds of Serbian national heroes were glorified. The fights of the Croatians against the Hungarians, the Russian intervention in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, the part which Russia took in the liberation of Serbia, all created an atmosphere in which the Panslavistic conceptions could, of course, count on a sympathetic reaction. However, as far as the final results are concerned, Russian Panslavism was not at all successful even among the Southern Slavs. The Croatians, who in the forties when fighting against the Hungarians were dreaming of Slavic unity, very soon abandoned these dreams and looked more and more toward the West for help against Turkey. The Serbs in spite of their religious ties with Russia were returning closer and closer to the traditions of Obradović and of Vuk Karadžić and his reform which brought the Serbian cultural development away from Russian influences, and to conceptions of a national state, and of the building of a national culture. Russia's tactless approaches to Serbia, the Rus-

[61] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

However, the really first classical manifestation of Slavophilism in Poland, a manifestation which, by the way, preceded the Muscovite Slavophil school, is to be found in Stanislaw Staszic's *Thoughts on the Political Equilibrium of Europe*, written in 1815. It is a work in which Staszic dealt with the problem of the future of Europe, Russia and Poland. He was aware of the catastrophe threatening contemporary civilization, he saw a possibility for the regeneration of mankind through the Slavs. His views of the three main European races, the Romanic, Teutonic and Slavic, led him to the conclusion that only the last of them was destined to bring about such a regeneration; the Romanic nations had, he held, become exhausted by the controversies which originated in the separation of the state from the church. The Germans, on the other hand, had lost their moral unity owing to their sectarianism, which was based on their "excessive inclination for metaphysics." He further emphasized "their indomitable spirit of conquest and their lust for cruelty, which would always have made lasting peace impossible in the world." The Slavic races were developing intensely; owing to their primitive culture they had suffered less from calamities, their inner union was always durable and they were supported by their "religious unity, which for the most part was blended with the secular power." Among the Slavic nations he gave the first place to Russians whose geographical position rendered them more secure and impregnable than the Poles, and whose Orthodox Church enjoyed a higher type of religion, harmoniously blending, as it did, the secular and ecclesiastical forces. At the same time he attributed great importance to the War of 1812 which Russia "made into a Slavic war," thus showing to the world her inexhaustible power. Poland, in her turn, was destined to reveal that idea of unity which would have been realized by Russia had she overcome the political temptation which had beset the German emperors, for such ambitions would only result "in wars between brethren and in bloodshed." Staszic might be indeed considered the precursor of the Muscovite Slavophils; a still nearer approach to them may be found in the article published by

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* of the Slavs from foreign influence. The imperialistic Russian tendencies were only an expression of the principle of defense and of reaction against invasion. He thought that "the archangel of independence seemed to have left old Poland forever; there was, however, some future for the ancient Polish nation if it could be dissolved with no matter how great pain and suffering into Russo-Slavism." He looked with particular sympathy on the Orthodox Church, he thought it much superior to Protestantism, which was split into fragments, and to Catholicism. He considered that the Orthodox tenets depended on a sincere faith in Christ and on tradition. Gurowski considered even that the Polish language when compared to the Russian revealed its decadence and senility. He suggested substituting in Poland the Russian language for the Polish—this to be preceded by the introduction of the Slavic language in order to make the change less drastic.

The views of the second Polish Panslavist of the same period, Waclaw Jablonowski, were very similar. A disappointed monarchist, a pessimist in his views on Poland's future, a man who suffered from a nervous disease, he came to the same conclusion —that the only genuinely Slavic current was that of the East, the Russian and Asiatic, which incorporated the deepest tribal characteristics of the Slavs, who had come from Asia, and belonged to the Asiatic system by their character, their political tendencies and their commercial connections. The views show some likeness to the so-called Eurasian doctrine which appeared among the Russian emigrants between the last two World Wars. Jablonowski was very aggressive. In a French book propagating the idea of a Slavic-Russian empire under the leadership of the Tsar with a capital in Kiev, he suggests the organization of Slavic movements in the Balkans and an invasion of the West: "This movement might very easily coincide with some decisive step in the eastern question. A small army corps may cross the Danube and support movements arising on the other side. Europe, Germany and France, will utter a great cry; the latter will perhaps be obliged to break her alliance. That will be the culmination of

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slavism of a special order, which would consist of grouping the different Slavic nations under the sceptre of the Romanovs as protected powers. This thought appears from the beginning to the end in the long Panslavist epos of the Slovak poet Kollár under the title *Slávy Dcera*. The poet visualizes the peoples as united to form a sort of Colossus modeled on the Babylonian Colossus of the Bible. Russia forms its head, Poland its heart, Bohemia and Illyria are its hands and feet. It would be imprudent to contest what the ideas have of the seductive and the dangerous, one must indeed recognize the exxistence of a Russian Panslavism, only one may deny its Slavic character and that it ever could possess the eympathy of any independent Slav."

C. Robert stresses another important point when speaking about the activities of the "great protector" among the Danubian and Adriatic Slavs. He would protect them on the condition that they would never follow the example of Serbia and show any pretension for a distinct national existence. "Let one look through the history of these Russian protectorates since the protectorate has been exercised over the last kings of Poland and Georgia to those which the tsar exercises at the present time over the Serbian and Moldavian-Wallachian principalities and over the crumbling Persian empire. One will see that these various protectorates have always had and still have as a unique aim to prevent the protected nations from rising from their humiliation and being reborn to independence."[87] More than that, the same C. Robert observed that during the upheavals in Cracow and Galicia Russia constantly played the role of an ally of Germany.[88]

On the other hand from time to time, as we may see not only in the brilliant articles of Marx but also in the extremely interesting recent publications of the Soviet scholar Tarle connected with the Crimean War, the tsardom was ready to utilize the Panslavic conceptions when they appeared advantageous for it. It is quite true, for instance, that for Nicholas I it was not easy to combine his

[87] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1846, pp. 472-473.
[88] *Ibid.*, p. 479.

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186* 648 to pursue their proper course. An exit from this dilemma did, however, exist and was discovered by the Westerners. Characteristically enough, the author of the manifesto by which the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov proclaimed Poland's independence, Professor Milyukov, was one of the most brilliant critics of the Slavophil and Panslavistic doctrines. His collaborator in this field was a Pole, Alexander Lednicki, who also never had any tendencies toward the Slavophil fancies but from the beginning to the end of his life remained faithful to his European orientation.

But perhaps the most edifying Russian example of the overcoming of nationalism and chauvinism by Christianism and humanitarianism is to be found in the "Polish story" of Tolstoy —in the touching tribute paid to the Polish martyrdom which truly inspired this great Russian writer.[32]

13. "Facies hippocratica"

186* ●829 648 After this rapid course through the thoughts of so many Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovak and other writers and politicians, one unavoidable conclusion is that practically all of them, in spite of their political conflicts, ideological contradictions, and national antagonisms, agreed on one point—the recognition of the moral weakness and lack of moral dignity of Europe. Of course their approaches, motives, points of view, and goals were different. The Russians stated the moral decrepitude of Europe in a more or less speculative way. The Muscovite Slavophils could, after all, take an attitude of indifference and disinterestedness towards Europe. Russia could separate herself from the West and build a life independent from Europe. The Russian Panslavists could try to take advantage of the weakness of Europe for the realization of their Russian imperialistic views. The other Slavs, and especially the Poles, were in a different situation—for them the di-

[32] W. Lednicki, *Quelque aspects du nationalisme et du christianisme chez Tolstoï*, Cracow-Paris, 1935.

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lemma, Europe—Russia, was not a question of speculation—it was a question of life or death. What did Europe give to the Poles? Every day of their life was a day of betrayal by Europe of those ideals which Poles considered Polish ideals because of the very fact they were European. This is the main item of the Polish political texts of that period; and perhaps the most eloquent and at the same time tragic expression of these feelings is to be found in the famous message of the Polish National Government of August 15, 1831 addressed to its Western agents: "Truth, seen whole, has appeared before our eyes. We no longer count on the support of the great powers, who could and who would not, who still can and who will not, save us. We can no longer place any faith in the promises which they have made to us and which they belie by their conduct. . . . England and France, then, would not have employed us for the occasion except as an instrument fit to serve the course of their interests. England would not have lulled us with a few illusions except in order to have one more method of establishing the independence of Belgium. And France would not have made promises to us except to win a majority in the Chambers. Will faith, then be wholly banished from cabinets, and the words of a French and English minister be nothing but worthless farthings? . . . If France and England abandon us today and fail to justify the hopes that they have aroused, our ruin will have been brought about, not by the fury of Russia, or the hostility of Prussia, or the indifference of Austria, but by the self-styled sympathy shown us by France and England. . . . If the cabinets lack the courage to help us, let them at least possess enough dignity to acknowledge their barbaric indifference toward our cause. And if they have ignored the duty imposed on them by prudence, morality, and humanity, the Poles will know how to follow him who prescribes to them the sanctity of their rights and the love of their country. . . ."[88]

186* 829 648

For Poland was facing not only the loss of her independence but a complete change of her historical mission. For centuries

[88] W. Lednicki, *Life and Culture of Poland*, pp. 212-213.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* 829 648 she was considered the *antemurale christianitatis*, the rampart of Western civilization. An absorption by Russia within the frames of a Panslavistic conception would mean that Poland would become an anti-Western rampart. This is what Count Valerian Krasiński stressed already in 1848, foreseeing the present Polish catastrophe; Krasiński wrote: "If however the Poles will see that they have no chance of receiving from other nations and particularly from the Germans, the necessary assistance for the recovery of their country's independence, and that those nations in granting them some advantages, have no other object in view, than to make use of them as a bugbear to frighten Russia, in order to prevent the consolidation of the internal strength of that country by an intimate union of its Slavonic elements, being themselves ready to sacrifice the Poles as soon as their interests may demand it. If such a conviction becomes prevalent amongst the Poles, and there can be no doubt that it is rapidly spreading, what will then remain to them except cordially to unite with the Russians and to become, from a barrier between Russia and the rest of Europe, the vanguard of the Slavonic race against western Europe and Germany in particular."[94]

000 There was perhaps some consolation in the fact that the Poles, Russians, and the Slavs in general were not alone in their pessimistic critique of Europe. The Polish catastrophe, which absorbed the Poles and became a test case for all conceptions of Slavic union, was not the single factor that shook all European life in 1830-31 and in 1863. The French Revolution inaugurated a long period of upheavals and perturbations—revolutions, wars were following one after the other and the thunder of social turmoils was constantly menacing Europe during the whole 19th century. Have I to mention here the piercing voices expressing despair and "Weltschmerz," the voices of Chateaubriand, Byron, Alfred de Musset, Alfred de Vigny, and so many others as far as the "period of transition," to use Krasiński's formula, is concerned? Have I to recall the pessimism of H. Taine, the indig-

[94] Valerian Krasinski, *Panslavism and Germanism*, London, 1848, pp. 218-219.

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* ings, manifestations, and commemorations in America; in June 1942 such meetings and congresses took place in New York, in 668 Pittsburgh, in Detroit, in Kansas, in Cleveland, in San Francisco, 575 in Oakland, and also in Canada, Argentina, etc., organized by local Slavic committees. These organizations in America and in other countries represent ramifications of the Moscow center; and at each meeting they manifested this relationship by sending addresses and telegrams not only to the Panslavic committee in Moscow but to Stalin, Kalinin, Molotov, and so on. Around the Muscovite center were organized during the war all kinds of Slavic national committees and unions of patriots at the head of which one could find the members of the Panslavic committee in Moscow. These committees and unions were nuclei from which originated the "democratic governments" imposed by Russia to the Slavic and non-Slavic countries (similar committees were organized for Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria) which found themselves in the sphere of Russia's influence.

[208] For the task of propaganda of these Panslavic ideas of union and fraternity of the Slavs under the protection of Soviet Russia and under her cultural leadership there has been established a monthly review under the title *The Slavs*, published in Moscow in Russian.

186* It is paradoxical enough that if one takes different Soviet encyclopedias one may find a radical refutation of Panslavic con- 829 ceptions; the Panslavism of the 19th century has been always 651 qualified there as a bourgeois imperialistic doctrine. It would be very difficult, however, to find any salient difference between the Panslavistic imperialistic conceptions of Tsarist Russia, as far as their essence is concerned, and the Panslavistic policy of the Soviets, even though their motives and ultimate goals are not identical. In order to save appearances the official Soviet press still stresses that difference; so N. Leonidov in his articles *The New Phase in Slav History* published in *New Times* in Moscow in September, 1946, said: "The Russian people never identified themselves with the imperialistic chauvinistic Panslavism of the

7: Lednicki S-4 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

186* monarchists." "The slanderous talk about new Panslavism is part of an anti-Soviet campaign."[35]

● 829 656 Of course there are differences. The Russian tsarist government used to change from time to time its attitude toward the doctrines of the Muscovite Slavophils and those of the Panslavists. All depended on the international situation. Besides, in spite of its Machiavellian policy the tsarist government was still bound by precepts of international and public law as well as by international public opinion, and because of that its Russianizing methods and proceedings were still in a certain degree moderated. Therefore in some cases there appeared a divergence of views between the representatives of the government and the most chauvinistic, aggressive representatives of Russian Panslavism as, for instances, the famous apologist of the Russification of Poland—Katkov. Anyhow the Slavophils and Panslavists at that time represented a free, independent initiative. From time to time they even found themselves under a governmental observation that was not very benevolent to them, especially when their Panslavic enthusiasm was bringing harm to the Russian government in its relation with neighboring countries.

186* 656 It is obvious that the present situation from this point of view is completely different. Everyone knows that there is no room and no possibility for any individual free political initiative under the rule of the *Politburo*. The whole present Panslavic movement has been organized by the Soviet government, and people who are taking part in it are agents of that government. In the beginning the aim was to organize Slavic elements for the fight against Fascism and Hitlerism, against Germany; the unspeakable German atrocities greatly encouraged these activities. Such is the aspect of the first years of the publication *The Slavs*. We find there articles dealing mostly with war events, with German crimes, or with the military history of Russia, articles glorifying great Russian generals like Kutuzov, Suvorov, great Russian tsars or princes like Alexander Nevsky, Peter the Great, some articles

[35] Quoted from "Degeneration of Panslavism" by George C. Guins. The article has not yet appeared, but the author has kindly permitted me to use it.

113, 593, 831, 864, 867 Slavic Peoples E16

For information on family life, child training, and obscenity among Slavic peasants, see 11: Malinowski, OL6 Trobriands, category 116, pp. 36-38, 40-44, 51-54, 64, 105.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16

the sacra of the cult, especially the products of sacrificial offering, and, as to-day, a number of those material objects which, in the reverence of the simple person towards all that serves him, acquires a force and quasi-sacred symbolism. All things and organisms are treated with respect, and it is not so much that certain of them are picked out for veneration or as the objects of cult-worship, as that the common outlook on dynamic nature gives an individual character and hence a recognised function to each species.

The veneration of the oak tree does not save it from fire; that of the cherry tree makes it a sin to burn its wood or even to cut its branches: the yew is powerful, and may not be burned, but it can be hewn and carved and made into useful objects, dishes, handles, ploughs, boxes, spindles, trays, as well as crosses and amulets, which are then particularly safe or lucky. The blackthorn is used for magical purposes, such as impaling a vampire; it is recommended to use it in making wooden implements for the sake of its magical properties, but the tree itself can be regarded almost with dread, and may not be injured or cut down or uprooted. Nearly everywhere the grafting of fruit-tree slips on wild trees, particularly on wild pears and cherries, is thought to be a virtuous act, amounting to a form of charity. I have heard of a peasant doing so as an act of expiation, a desire to obtain merit (*zaduźbina*), in a district which knows little nowadays of particular tree cults. Where a ritual-agricultural calendar is followed in the traditional manner, all grafting is reserved for special days, sometimes with a special local etiology. Individuals sometimes mark the birth of a child or an animal by fertilising a tree in this way.[1] Further, I have seen over and over again in remote and isolated places, that a wild tree has been ennobled, apparently for no sound economic purpose. While I know that almost a sentimental element is

[1] At Rakljansko Polje a pine tree was said to have sprung from a branch stuck in the ground by the Empress Milica when Car Lazar was born. Cf. J. Pančić, *Iz Prirode*, p. 52. Similar acts of commemoration are, of course, well known in other parts of the world.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Great Russians RF2
Slavic Peoples E 16

B Y SP 795 793 756 [887]

There is little trace of shamanism in the Balkans, and few instances of the combining of the functions of priest and doctor and magician except by accident. In peasant cults these offices are adopted to meet a special occasion, unless they are the speciality of a local wise woman. Women who have ceased to menstruate or widows may have to be chosen for certain rites, but this is only a temporary priesthood. The seeress mediates between ordinary people and spirits only when she is required to do so. Young men without physical defect only may be allowed to take part in certain ritual dances, etc. Almost each cult has its own 'priest'. The fulfilment of the village 'vows' and the sacrifice at the sacred village tree is performed by householders, and the high priest of the occasion is the host for that year. The mother of twins is, it is said, considered to be specially pure, and twins themselves have special occasional functions. I hazard that this arrangement is characteristic of peasant cults; and that the institution of a monopoly of priestcraft, whether on the part of the Christian church or by the priests of organised pagan cults, meant a profound social change, to uphold which popular custom had to be discredited.

B Y SP [845]

B SP 771 171

In Russia itself, so many parallels are found that a close

feature of the religious life of South Slav Orthodox communities and has died hard among the non-Orthodox. It represents an elaboration under peculiar circumstances of a strictly domestic cult with occasional ministrants, whose sporadic priestly duties are determined by their normal social function and status. A similar Lithuanian rite was also traditionally a strictly domestic affair. The *slava* embraces ideas and ceremonial found in the earliest accounts of Slav custom and which belonged to pre-Christian ideas, but other features, and the general form as we now know it, so closely resemble the celebration of the liturgy that the institution may well have arisen from an early practice of private celebrations, or imitations of the liturgy, perhaps at a time of a Christian minority, or further encouraged by the conditions of Turkish occupation. There is still a tendency to think that anything that is not traceable to the Churches' institutions is necessarily pre-Christian in origin. The cycle of Christmas rites also shows a mixture of sources and evidence of late formation, and considerable local variety when the cycle of the whole season, which may include rites transferred from other seasons, is considered. In any case, the past is not always 'fossilised'. While a

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10: French S-4 (no date) 1951 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

793 is as it should be. If you have a bad one, that is much to be deplored. But a priest of some sort you must have, for otherwise there are no worship and no sacraments, and these are just where, most conspicuously, the other world breaks through.

771 As the Church, with its succession of festivals and fasts keeps touch with the yearly cycle of Nature, so it shepherds the individual human life from the cradle to the grave. The rites that attend his birth and his death stress the link between the two worlds, and the fact that man lives in both at the same time. Even his baptism is not the first occasion on which a 851 child of Orthodox parents will be brought into contact with the Church of which he is to become a member. On the day following the birth the priest comes to say prayers over the mother and child, and again a week later when the child is given his name. On the fortieth day from its birth the mother brings the child to Church, when prayers are said for the child, and if baptism has meanwhile been administered the priest carries the child through the church and (in the case of a male child) into the Sanctuary, reciting the *Nunc Dimittis*. But unless the child has been baptized at home, which is not infrequently the case, the latter ceremony will follow baptism. And the prayers of the eighth day are now combined with those of the first day. The rite of baptism is preceded by exorcism and a short catechism of renunciation of Satan and acceptance of Christ, which concludes with the recitation of the Nicene Creed.

The administration of the Sacrament itself begins with a Litany said by the deacon while the priest prays secretly for himself and for the one about to be baptized. This is followed by a long prayer said aloud, in the course of which the water is blessed in words which at times recall the phraseology of the Anglican rite; e.g.,

> "Grant that the person to be baptized therein may be thoroughly renewed, that he may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of him that made him; that being planted in the likeness of his death by baptism, he may be partaker of his resurrection."

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Olive oil is then blessed, the surface of the water signed with it, and the child is anointed. With his fingers dipped in the oil, the priest signs the child on the brow, saying

> "The servant of God, *N.*, is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Unto the healing of soul and body" (here the sign is made on the breast and back). "Unto hearing the faith" (on the ears). "Thy hands have made me and fashioned me" (on the palms). "That he may walk in the way of Thy commandments" (on the feet).

The child is then baptized with threefold immersion and the words, "The Servant of God, *N.*, is baptized in the Name of the Father, Amen. And of the Son, Amen. And of the Holy Ghost, Amen."

The Baptism ended, Chrism, which corresponds with the Western Confirmation, follows immediately. It begins with an ascription of praise and thanksgiving for the baptismal gift, merging into a prayer for "the seal of the gift of thy holy, and almighty, and adorable Spirit." The child is then anointed[1] in the sign of the cross on the brow, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands and feet; and at each anointing the priest says, "The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen."

A triple circuit of the font is then made with lighted tapers by the clergy and the sponsors carrying the child, the circle thus made symbolizes unbroken and eternal union with Christ. Thereafter the child is entitled, even as an infant, to receive Communion. Startling as this may be to Western minds, he may, in fact, be brought to church for this purpose once or twice a year from his baptism onwards. It emphasizes what is sometimes called the "given-ness" of the Christian religion. As the infant is capable of receiving the Grace of God in baptism, though he is totally unaware of what is happening,

[1] Not with simple olive oil again, but with chrism, which contains a large number of ingredients and is prepared with elaborate ceremonial by the chief bishop during Holy Week once every few years as required. The consecration of this chrism was from the thirteenth or fourteenth century onwards claimed by the Ecumenical Patriarch as his sole right. In modern times the claim has been contested and some of the Orthodox Churches consecrate the chrism for their own use.

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851 so he may be considered able to receive the divine gifts in Communion. His dawning consciousness is trained to accept the privilege of meeting the other world as it there breaks through into this. When he is seven years old he is expected to make his first Confession, as he learns another side to the matter—his own unworthiness and responsibilities.

755 Nor does the care of the Church for the individual cease with his physical death, though it is much concentrated upon that moment. In cases of grave sickness (though not only *in articulo mortis*) or in view of some special risk of death, the devout Orthodox may be the recipient of the Sacrament of Holy Unction, and be anointed, with prayers for his recovery or safety. The long service is abbreviated in practice.

764 When a death occurs the house will be visited, even on three successive days by the priest and the prescribed service said in the presence of the body. The actual funeral service in Church is penetrated by the sense of the pathos of this life and of hope in the life to come. It contains passages of incomparable beauty, such as the first of the *ideomela* of St. John Damascene:

> "What delight of life continueth unmixed with sorrow? What glory on earth remaineth unalterable? All things are more fleeting than a shadow, all things are more illusive than dreams; one moment, and all these things are succeeded by Death. But in the light of Thy countenance, and in the sweetness of Thy beauty, do Thou, O Christ, in mercy, give rest to *him* whom Thou hast chosen, forasmuch as Thou art the lover of mankind.[1]

765 And the Church's pastoral care for the devout believer reaches out to him beyond the grave. There are ceremonies 775 prescribed for the eighth and the fortieth day after death as well as for the anniversary. For according to popular belief the soul does not bid a final farewell to this world until forty days after death, the interval having been spent in visiting the scenes of its earthly life, and even Mt. Athos and Jerusalem.

[1] See a translation of the Burial Service published by Douglas Pepler, Ditchling, 1922, and with the above quotation *cf.* No. 360 in *The English Hymnal.*

113, 593, 831, 864, 867 Slavic Peoples E16

For information on family life, child training, and obscenity among Slavic peasants, see 11: Malinowski, OL6 Trobriands, category 116, pp. 36-38, 40-44, 51-54, 64, 105.

113, 593, 831, 864, 867 Slavic Peoples E16

For information on family life, child training, and obscenity among Slavic peasants, see 11: Malinowski, OL6 Trobriands, category 116, pp. 36-38, 40-44, 51-54, 64, 105.

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are reported. This is explained by the fact that among those individuals who declared themselves to be Poles there were 14.7% Jews. There are 1.8% Protestants. Therefore, one may consider Catholic to be synonymous with Pole.

In Russian Poland the proportion is as follows: 78.8% Catholics; 4.7% Protestants; 14.05% Jews; and 6.57% Orthodox, or "old believers" of the Orthodox Church.

The Catholics here are concentrated on the /81/ left bank of the Vistula, where they are estimated at 70 to 80%. The guberniyas of Siedlec and of Lublin are the only ones in the kingdom where as few as 66 to 62% Catholics are to be found, if one believes the census of 1897. After the edict of religious tolerance of 17 April 1905 the proportions changed noticeably (see above in S 5), but we have no strictly precise data.

With respect to the Poles of Russia, here are the latest statistical results:

Orthodox and "old believers"	0.63%
Roman Catholics	98.26%
Protestants	0.51%
Jews	0.59%
Mohammedans	0.01%

Polish is, therefore, synonymous with Catholic. But it must be noted that among the Catholics there has recently developed a sect called Mariavites to which in 1906, 59,000 persons belonged. It is in the Russian section that the Polish population provides the largest contingent in the cities and large towns, 22.1%. Among these are found 1.9% nobles and officials, 0.8% clergy, 0.14% of honorary burgeois and of merchants, 23.5% bourgeois, 72.98% farmers. Among the Poles of Austria there are 65.6% laborers, 14.8% factory workers, 11.2% tradesmen, and 8.4% officials.

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From the point of view of public education the Poles still have far to go, not only in Russia and in Prussia, where the government has placed numerous obstacles in the way of the development of the schools, but also where they have for a long time enjoyed complete liberty, namely in Galicia. In this province statistics still report 40.8% illiterate. Furthermore it must be recognized that the Poles in Russia (notably the

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Polish women), despite all of the ill will of the government, are better educated than the Russians. Among the Russians there have been found 29.50% of the men and 9.34% of the women who are literate. Among the Poles the proportions are 34.78% and 29.40%.

S.P. P. 101 814

S 14. Differentiation.---We find also among the Poles rather considerable internal differences; but these are not reasons for dividing the nation into various nationalities. Moreover, the question has not been studied sufficiently, and not enough attention has been paid to it to enable one to distinguish from a scientific point of view the various Polish groups. Much material has been gathered together, especially, from the point of view of folklore, by Oscar Kolberg, more recently by Jan Karlowicz and others, in the review Wisla (The Vistula), and from an anthropological viewpoint by J. Majer, K. Kopernicki, I. Talko-Hrynczewicz, W. Olechnowicz, L. Rutkowski, A. Zakrzewski. The field of linguistics has been studied in recent times /83/ by St. Dobrzycki, J. Karlowicz and K. Nitsch, but up until the present these researches have not been gathered together and digested in a single study. The customary division into large and small groups is above all based upon historic tradition; a more scientific division will be a task for the future. The Polish nation is generally divided into the following groups:

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1. The Great-Polish group occupies Silesia, Poznan, and Prussia;
2. The Mazovian group lives to the east of the preceding one in the basins of the Vistula, of the Narew, and of the Bug;
3. The Little-Polish group is settled to the south on the upper Vistula, as far as the Carpathians and the San;
4. A fourth group is formed by the Kashub on the shore of the Baltic.

The Great-Polish group was the first to serve as a rallying point for the ancient tribes, evidently under the pressure of the German race, and its language has become dominant; it is the one which constitutes the local idiom.

On the contrary, Mazovia and Little-Poland, regions which were forested and less accessible, have retained more originality and local character.

Taking into account the names by which the people distinguish the tribes and the regions, the Polish ethnographers--Karlowicz, for example--distinguished particularly the following tribes:

1: Niederle--127 E-5 1911 E16 Slavic Peoples E16
Bulgars E1

S.P. B. 795 101

They have settled by preference in the Rhodope (Grk., Rodope), where they constitute a rather large group between Plovdiv and Salonica. They are met with here and there to the north of the Balkans in the region of Lovech, Pleven (Plevna), especially between the Vid and Panega Rivers, to the south of Pleven. In the Kingdom of Bulgaria their number has greatly diminished; for, as a result of their Turkish sympathies, they have since 1878 been in perpetual conflict with the other Bulgars. The latest statistics numbered 20,644 of them in Bulgaria, of whom 17,055 were in the district of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and 2,837 in that of Pleven.

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From the viewpoint of education, the Bulgars are not very much advanced, which is explained by the difficult conditions in which they have lived, deprived of all the advantages of civilization. They are now making an effort to make up for lost time. According to the latest statistics the number of literate persons in the principality was an average of 28.4%. The districts may be placed in the following order:

Ruse 38.5%; Shumla 35.9%; Varna 34%; Trnovo /205/ 34%; Plovdiv (Philippopolis) 29.6%; Burgas 29.4%; Sofia 28.8%; Stara Zagora 28.3%; Pleven 23.1%; Kustendil 20.1%; Vidin 19.8%; Vratsa 19%. The highest degree of education is found naturally in the regions of the great cities: 60% at Sofia, Ruse, and Varna; 49% at Plovdiv; 47% at Kotel and at Shumla; 37% at Kazanluk. The least literate areas are those of Radomir (20%), Tsaribrod (now Dimitrovgrad) (19%), Kyzilagatch (19%), Berkovitsa (16%), Kula (14%), Belogradchik (13%), Ferdinandovo (13%).

S.P. B. 197 101

S 38. Internal Differentation.--The Bulgars are divided into three groups from the point of view of language.

1). That of the western dialect: it is bounded on the east by a line which starts from the confluence of the Vid and the Danube and runs towards Salonica across the regions of Nikopol, Pleven, Lovech, Teteven, Pirdop, Novo Selo, Panagyurishte, Ikhtiman, Chepino, Rezlog, Nevrokop, Melnik, Petrich, Demir Hissar (now Siderokastron), Seres, and Salonica.

2). The eastern group is divided into two branches:

A. That of the northeast where the people bear the general name of Zagortsi (Mountaineers), or Khertsoi*, or Poliantsi*.

B. That of the southeast, or branch of the Rhodope, whose

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

While some ingenious theories to the contrary have been expounded, the fact remains that Byzantine relations with Bulgaria were constantly hostile from Vladimir's conversion to his death in 1015. Basil II would thus hardly have attached to an enemy state the young church founded by his brother-in-law. There is therefore no motive for believing that the Russian church at its foundation was other than an eparchy of the Byzantine patriarchate, even if we admit the contention that there was no metropolitanate in Russia during Vladimir's lifetime. In the transmission of Slavic liturgical and theological texts at this period the mediation of Constantinople was inevitable, and the priests at Vladimir's disposal must have likewise been chiefly Greeks, some of whom possessed a smattering of Bulgarian from work in Bulgaria itself or, like the proto-apostles Constantine and Methodius, from their contacts in the northern and western marches of the Byzantine Empire. 175* 779 795

That Vladimir assimilated certain intellectual interests along with the faith is indicated by his insistence upon some degree of education among the children of his followers. The *Primary Chronicle* reports: 871 175*

He took the children of the best families and sent them for instruction in book learning. The mothers of these children wept bitterly over them, for they were not yet strong in faith, but mourned as for the dead.

It is not clear whether Vladimir intended that these youths should be trained as priests or as civil servants, but from the facts that within the next fifty years educated Russian priests come to the fore and that extensive reference is made in the sources to the culture of Vladimir's son and successor Yaroslav the Wise, it is fair to suppose that Vladimir had his eye on both professions. In Constantinople at the close of the tenth century interest in higher education was restricted by the general attention to military problems and conquest, so that book learning was primarily a matter of personal and private [693]

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

871 study. It is therefore unlikely that Vladimir had before him
175* any models calculated to inspire the establishment of schools in the modern or even the medieval sense of the word, but rather that he employed the priests sent from Byzantium as private teachers for the younger members of prominent families connected with his court.

871 At any rate, extant literary monuments dating from the last
538 half of the eleventh century give evidence of an expanding
175* nucleus of culture in Kiev itself which is the direct result of
779 Vladimir's concern for education. It was hardly to be expected that a tremendous outburst of literary energy would ensue as soon as the seeds of learning were sown among a younger generation sprung from illiterate Varangian and Slavic sires, but the readiness with which Byzantine hagiographical and annalistic models were assimilated and imitated even before 1100 indicates an extensive interest in reading among circles brought up in a tradition of culture to the founding of which Vladimir contributed. That the basis of this culture was mere literacy—the ability to read the Psalms, the Gospels, and such Byzantine religious or historical compilations as had been translated into old Bulgarian in the days of Boris and Simeon—by no means lessens the importance of Vladimir's zeal for intellectual progress.

175* To Vladimir also belongs the credit for initiating the con-
346 struction program which within the next century transformed
[361] Kiev into one of the most impressive medieval cities. The crowning structural exploit of Vladimir's reign was thus a stone church of the Virgin, begun in 989, for the erection and decoration of which he imported artisans from Greece. It was completed and consecrated in 996. At its dedication Vladimir endowed it with a tithe of his property and income, from which donation is derived its customary name, The Church of the Tithe, or *Desiatinnaia*. Originally a basilica, it was reconstructed with five cupolas after a fire in 1017, and collapsed under the weight of a crowd of refugees when the Tartars took

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

acterize them as well-read and good linguists for their day and time. But during the Tartar hegemony such items are totally lacking. Not only the princes but even the higher clergy were frequently illiterate. Dmitri Donskoi could hardly read, and Basil II, Ivan the Terrible's great-grandfather, could neither read nor write. At the Council of Florence in 1439, Pope Eugene IV was told that the contemporary Russian bishops had little learning, and a feeble light of culture was kept burning in the Russian Church of this period solely by the appointment of Greek metropolitan bishops in Moscow. Only at the end of the fifteenth century do we encounter new interest in the foundation of schools for training the clergy, and considerable pressure in this direction was exercised by the Greek and South Slavic scholars who emigrated to Russia to escape the yoke of the Turks.

The advancement of clerical scholarship during the reign of Ivan III (1462-1505) was accompanied by a characteristic effort to acquire foreign techniques. Here, of course, we have an early example of what was to repeat itself so often in later days whenever the advancement of Russia required new mechanical skills. Under Ivan III Italian specialists were particularly active. The Bolognese architect Rudolfo Fioravanti not only built the Cathedral of the Assumption in the Kremlin, but also cast cannon, while Alevisio Novi, of Milan, designed and built the adjacent Cathedral of Saint Michael, in which were buried all subsequent Muscovite tsars to the time of Peter the Great. Miners, silversmiths, masons, and even an organist were imported from Hungary. Ivan the Terrible settled on the outskirts of Moscow in the so-called German suburb all German metalworkers who had been captured in his Livonian wars, and in 1567 obtained from England a doctor, an apothecary, and various goldsmiths. The Tsar was interested not only in material progress but also in raising the intellectual level of priests and officials, for it had been noted in the Church Council of 1551 that the opportunities for education were as yet slight. Besides, as the principality of Moscow developed into a

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

175* selves in the cities, there was as yet no prospect for the forma-
566 tion of a growing and self-conscious middle class whose aspirations might have sown the seeds of progress. As a result, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all intellectual advance was confined to the aristocratic and ruling minority.

175* In the seventeenth century, however, the door was again
177 opened to Western influence by the need for self-defense. Foreign mercenaries entered the Russian army, which now became a professional force. New mines and arsenals were opened. The foreign colony founded at Moscow by Ivan the Terrible (the German suburb), though scattered during the upheaval of 1598-1612, was soon repopulated with merchants, technicians, and artisans, and their advanced notions of material comfort influenced those Russians who came into contact with them. Artamon Matveyev, the able foreign minister of Michael's son, the Tsar Alexis (in turn Peter the Great's father), married a Scotch lady, and was one of the first Russian nobles to set up his household on a Western scale. Through him notions of contemporary culture penetrated even to the court.
[562] Natalia Narishkina, Peter the Great's mother, was Matveyev's ward, and though Scotch on her mother's side, was probably the first Muscovite lady of her day to receive even a moderate education and to emancipate herself from the seclusion in which noblewomen had vegetated since the Tartar conquest.

177 While material progress was largely implemented by the
●871 German technicians resident in Moscow, new theological and
797 literary ideas penetrated the empire by another route. It may be recalled that Kiev and the Dnieper valley were conquered by the Lithuanians in 1363. Then by the fusion of Poland and Lithuania at the end of the fourteenth century, the whole Ukraine became exposed to Polish colonization and cultural influence. By the sixteenth century, Polish intellectual life was entirely under the control of the Jesuits, who developed an intense but largely unsuccessful proselytizing activity among the Orthodox Ukrainians. As a counterpoise against Jesuit influence, the Orthodox clergy of the Kiev area opened schools

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

which taught the late renaissance disciplines on which the Poles themselves were fed. This process culminated in the establishment of a college at Kiev which was founded in 1622 by Peter Mogila, the great Orthodox Bishop of Kiev. An alumnus of this school, Simeon Polotski, who was already known to Tsar Alexis as a scholar and poet, migrated to Moscow in 1663, where he founded a small monastery school, and in 1667 became tutor to the Tsar's eldest son. Simeon was the first influential exponent at Moscow of renaissance scholarship on a Latin basis, and from 1667, when the Ukraine was ceded by Poland to Moscow, the impact of Western influences through Kievan channels was immediately intensified. That this infusion of a new spirit did not take place without violent opposition goes without saying, but destiny was on the side of the progressives, even though progress was appallingly slow.

It is apparent, however, that increasingly broader breaches had been splitting the Chinese Wall of Muscovite self-sufficiency ever since the time of Ivan III. But Peter the Great set out to demolish it with one charge. For a prince of Moscow, his upbringing was exceptional. His education had been fragmentary, but his free contacts with foreign technicians while he lived in the country near Moscow during the regency of his sister Sophia embued him with a profound taste for military and naval science and mechanics. Essentially practical and rationalistic, he departed from Muscovite tradition in caring nothing for the church as a vessel of dogma and used it only insofar as it was adaptable to his purposes. His boundless energy strained toward goals far beyond the comprehension of any but an infinitesimal minority of his subjects, the rest of whom he undertook to reform and modernize by brute force. But he knew Russia could not become a major European power without the knowledge by which to use the fruits of modern technique. This knowledge he literally drove into the Russians at the point of the bayonet. Since his eye was permanently fixed on material progress, he cared little for abstract learning. His idea of literature was propaganda, and the for-

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

871 entrances in the old imperial days. Linguistic minorities which
658 never even had alphabets, let alone schools, now have both. Their cultural representatives are hailed as contributors to the intellectual life of the nation, which has a chance of not remaining purely Slavic or European, but may instead draw new life and inspiration from the resident Asiatic and other alien stocks. The intermediate and elementary school system has been extended into the most remote districts, and in non-Slavic areas the native tongue has an equal chance with the official Russian.

186 The pressure of doctrine which long lay heavy on literature
[656] and art, however, has been intensified in recent years. The trend of the times is naturally in favor of a somewhat romantic and dogmatic picture of reality, since it would not be in the interest of the prevailing system to admit that its present imperfections are permanent departures from the ideal which has been set up. Present-day Soviet culture is intensely patriotic, not to say nationalistic. But of the great legacy of the nineteenth century surprisingly little has been lost. The classics are the models for present-day writers. But upon the accomplishment of the past have been grafted the materialistic aims of a new society which aims at a degree of organization and technical achievement which even the great progressives of the sixties would not have deemed possible. For though the autocracy of the Soviet State echoes more than once the spirit of the Muscovite Middle Ages and sometimes applies the methods of the Tartars for its self-preservation, the fact still remains that this autocracy is inwardly devoted to a program of national service, the execution of which we may only hope will not be too seriously hampered or interrupted by international factors and power politics which divert national energy and resources from domestic growth and construction to baser military ends.

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

and industry by German immigrants to Bohemia and Poland 175*
require no demonstration. By virtue of its close political asso- 177
ciation with western Europe, Bohemia was speedily drawn into 648
European intellectual life, and as early as the thirteenth century Bohemian authors were reproducing in their own language the forms and content of German medieval literature. International culture was still more widely disseminated after the foundation of the University of Prague in 1348, and the Hussite movement produced a wave of intellectual activity which lasted until the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century.

Poland, because of its comparative remoteness and political 175*
instability, was not subject to the same cultural stimuli, and 177
the services rendered by the German settlers in Polish terri- 517
tory were exclusively practical and materialistic. The influence of the Polish crown was never strong enough, nor were its holders cultured enough, to exert a civilizing influence comparable to that which radiated from Prague. Only in the six- [871]
teenth century do we meet with a striking development of Polish literature, and here the productive influences were more those of the Renaissance than specifically German, especially since local education was dominated by the Jesuits and strictly limited to the classical curriculum. While German economic influence was strong in both the great western Slavic states, it was Bohemia which profited the most from the absorption of German culture, and it was not until the seventeenth century that political events halted the intellectual advance so auspiciously begun.

Yet it was in Bohemia that the first seeds of a new Slavic 182
racial consciousness sprouted early in the nineteenth century. 814
The age of enlightenment had emphasized the ideals of humanity, tolerance, and culture, and these ideals were spread throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy by the reforms of Joseph II. As a matter of fact, the principle of nationality was first formulated by a German, for it was Goethe's great friend and mentor Johann Gottfried Herder, who declared that "the

4: Cross L-5 (no date) 1948 E16 Slavs E16

in the Russian section, and at a slower rate under the German regime. After 1867, the Poles under Austrian sovereignty enjoyed the greatest relative degree of freedom. The local administration passed entirely into Polish hands, the universities of Cracow and Lemberg were Polonized, and Polish was admitted as the official language everywhere except in the military and the postal services. In the Prussian area, the German administration adopted a liberal policy until 1830, when German became the official language, though the local church and the school system remained Polish.

Before 1848, however, pan-Slavic ideals filtered in from Bohemia, and that year saw open revolt in the Posen area. As the middle class grew in numbers, the influence of the nobility waned, and improved educational facilities favored the dissemination of Polish culture and national ideals among the masses. As industry grew in western Germany, there was also a considerable emigration of German residents from the Polish province. German authorities estimate that this movement shifted some three million Germans out of this area during the last half of the nineteenth century. Their places in the cities, which had hitherto been predominantly German, were taken by Polish workers who came in from the country, with the result that the proportion of German population in the Polish cities under German rule declined. At the same time, the general prosperity of Germany benefited the Polish district, the wealth and productivity of which were greatly enhanced during the nineteenth century, and educational opportunities naturally far surpassed those available in either Russian Poland or Galicia.

This survey of relations between German and Slav from the earliest times to the last century demonstrates with reasonable clarity that once the barbarities of the medieval German expansion period were over, every advance in civilization which the Germans experienced was passed on to such of the Western Slavs as were ripe to receive it. Though the Bohemians lost their political independence in the sixteenth century, they had already acquired such a high degree of culture that they were

6: Mousset H-4 (no date) 1950 E16 Slavic Peoples E16

stantinople, in agreement with the Muscovite hierarchy. The thousandth anniversary of the death of the anchorite, Saint John of Rila, restorer of Bulgarian monastic life, was the occasion, in May, 1946, of impressive solemnities which were attended by the Patriarch Alexis. It was the second time in ten centuries that the head of the Russian Church had visited the monastery. He officiated in person. The head of the Communist Party, George Dmitrov, took the opportunity of reminding the Bulgarian clergy that they should no longer look back towards the fallen régime :— 186* 795 648 659

'Today we can ask that our Church shall remain faithful to her millenial traditions and become, in fact, a Republican Church, by ceasing to render homage to the dynasty and the monarchs who have betrayed the Bulgarian nation. Let our Fathers in the Holy Synod and all honest servants of the Church understand that today we are living in new times, that they must on no account thwart the aspirations of the people, and that they may take example from the chiefs of the Russian Orthodox Church'.

We can fully understand this warning only if we visualise the state of latent tension existing in the relations between the Church and the Bulgarian State since the liberation. It had shown itself, since the month of January, 1946, in a protest from the Exarch, Mgr. Stephan, against the prohibition of religious instruction in the schools. Since the new Constitution provided for the separation of the Churches and the State, the Bulgarian Holy Synod announced in December, 1946, that, while remaining hostile to this separation, it would nevertheless accept it if the Charter surrounded the exercise of the Church's spiritual mission with juridical guarantees. Moreover, it demanded that lay instruction should be neither anti-religious nor anti-Christian, but strictly neutral. 659 [871]

At the same time, in order to create conditions facilitating adaptation to the new state of affairs, it announced a programme of reforms destined to 'democratise' the internal régime of the Church and to bring its principles more in line with those of popular power. [85]

So that, in Bulgaria, the separation did not appear as persecution; it was manifested rather by a strengthening of the autocephalous character of the Church, too closely bound up 186* 659

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Great Russians RF2
Slavic Peoples E 16

B Y SP 795 793 756 [887]

There is little trace of shamanism in the Balkans, and few instances of the combining of the functions of priest and doctor and magician except by accident. In peasant cults these offices are adopted to meet a special occasion, unless they are the speciality of a local wise woman. Women who have ceased to menstruate or widows may have to be chosen for certain rites, but this is only a temporary priesthood. The seeress mediates between ordinary people and spirits only when she is required to do so. Young men without physical defect only may be allowed to take part in certain ritual dances, etc. Almost each cult has its own 'priest'. The fulfilment of the village 'vows' and the sacrifice at the sacred village tree is performed by householders, and the high priest of the occasion is the host for that year. The mother of twins is, it is said, considered to be specially pure, and twins themselves have special occasional functions. I hazard that this arrangement is characteristic of peasant cults; and that the institution of a monopoly of priestcraft, whether on the part of the Christian church or by the priests of organised pagan cults, meant a profound social change, to uphold which popular custom had to be discredited.

B Y SP [845]

R SP 771 171

In Russia itself, so many parallels are found that a close

feature of the religious life of South Slav Orthodox communities and has died hard among the non-Orthodox. It represents an elaboration under peculiar circumstances of a strictly domestic cult with occasional ministrants, whose sporadic priestly duties are determined by their normal social function and status. A similar Lithuanian rite was also traditionally a strictly domestic affair. The *slava* embraces ideas and ceremonial found in the earliest accounts of Slav custom and which belonged to pre-Christian ideas, but other features, and the general form as we now know it, so closely resemble the celebration of the liturgy that the institution may well have arisen from an early practice of private celebrations, or imitations of the liturgy, perhaps at a time of a Christian minority, or further encouraged by the conditions of Turkish occupation. There is still a tendency to think that anything that is not traceable to the Churches' institutions is necessarily pre-Christian in origin. The cycle of Christmas rites also shows a mixture of sources and evidence of late formation, and considerable local variety when the cycle of the whole season, which may include rites transferred from other seasons, is considered. In any case, the past is not always 'fossilised'. While a

SP 795 174 771 793